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“Shouting the People”: The Aesthetics of Live Performance and Soul

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction

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in Musicology

by

Wade Fulton Dean

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

"Shouting the People": The Aesthetics of Live Performance and Soul

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Professor Robert W. Fink, Chair

"Shouting the People: The Aesthetics of Live-Soul Performance" considers the relationship between mid-twentieth century Black life, discursive practice, and music-making. Critiqued and examined heterogeneously, "Shouting the People" examines live-soul performance and the distinct conditions that enabled its collaborative production. This process, broadly conceived, underscores the expressive and critical practices that underly the making of meaning around a given performance. Within "Shouting the People's" three case studies, expressivity within music making is theorized as the evidence of a particular composition's revision via an alchemy between a distinct setting, musical production, spectatorship, discursivity, and aesthetic practice; otherwise identified as live(ness). Each chapter describes distinct modes of live(ness) during soul performance. These sonorous episodes are critiqued through empirical analysis intertwined with praxis-informed methods cultivated within musicology and Black Study. "Shouting the People" demonstrates that music-making within the Black vernacular tradition is an antiphonal, and thus, ongoing project; antiphonal due to Black music's capacity to invoke the tropes of other sonic

events; ongoing due to Black music's capacity to instantiate additional tropes will be inevitably invoked.

The dissertation of Wade Fulton Dean is approved.

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For Ma, Pop and Erin.

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2019	Research and Commentator - "Shirley Murdock," UnSung – TV One, Los Angeles, California
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2017	Fellow, New Leaders Council, Los Angeles, California
2015 – 17	Education Chair, West Adams Neighborhood Council, Los Angeles
2015	Project Manager and Event Coordinator, "Black Music and the Aesthetics of Protest" Conference, University of California, Los Angeles
2013 – 14	Graduate Ambassador, Graduate Division, University of California Los Angeles
2012 – 18	Mentor and Team Lead, Minds Matter, Los Angeles
2011	Assistant Coordinator for Annual meeting of Society for Ethnomusicology, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Prologue

Soul and hippies, two phenomena, seemingly at odds with one another: at least that's how Aretha Franklin responded to the idea of recording a live album at the Fillmore West in San Francisco. The venue, opened in 1968 by impresario and concert promoter Bill Graham, was a haven for left- coast patrons hip to the sounds of psychedelia. For Jerry Wexler of Atlantic Records, playing the Fillmore West was a clear opportunity to introduce Aretha's music to a wider audience. She, however, was unconvinced. "She was afraid she didn't belong there," Wexler recalled. "She saw the flower children as devotees of bands like the Jefferson Airplane and the Grateful Dead. She was afraid they wouldn't understand or relate to her."[1] Still, Wexler pushed ahead with securing Aretha's residency at Graham's Bay Area mecca.

For three nights (March 5–7, 1971), "The Queen" held court in front of a phalanx of devoted fans. This audience, however, was not the expected brood of "flower children." As journalist Michael Lyndon reported at the time, "the grass roots that Aretha has drawn were not the hippies, but black teenage kids, most of them, like Aretha, in the Fillmore for the first time." Lyndon thought her performances were truly stellar, "one of those small Paradises everyone hopes will dot their lives."[2] Each evening began with a rendition of Aretha's hit, "Respect," and a request: "Good evening. Hi. Hello! We're gonna ask you to just one thing, alright; and that just to relax, loan your souls to us for a few minutes. I promise you that we're gonna give it back."[3] The expressive and seemingly impromptu balance among organ, bass and back beats; the howls and screams from Aretha following her gospel moans giving over to vocal run and melisma; Aretha's

[1] David Ritz, *Respect: The Life of Aretha Franklin* (New York: Back Bay Books, 2014), 235.
[2] Michael Lyndon, "Soul Kaleidoscope: Aretha at the Fillmore," *Ramparts* October 1971, 10.
[3] "Respect," Apple Music, track 12 on Aretha Franklin, *Don't Fight the Feeling,* Warner Music Group, 2005.

musical appeal to mutuality over those three nights highlighted the powerful participative processes that underly African-American music making among its audiences and artists.

On May 19, 1971, Atlantic Records released highlights of these performances as a LP entitled *Aretha Live at the Fillmore West.* Like similar endeavors by musicians including Donny Hathaway, Bill Withers, and Curtis Mayfield, the success of this live album rested on what Mark Anthony Neal would describe as an "organic" presentation. This organicism, what Paul Gilroy describes theorizes as "a relationship to identity … enacted in a way that the performer dissolves into the crowd,"[4] found itself circumvented amidst the corporate seizure of forms of Black popular music like soul and the decline of Black public life during the mid-sixties and early seventies. As a consequence, the live recordings that appeared throughout this era, Neal writes, "document the last vestiges of the very intimate relationship" among Black musicians and their audiences.[5]

Historian Anthony Heilbut locates a portion of these vestiges within an expressive practice known as "shouting the people." In mid-twentieth century Black life, these expressive gestures were spontaneously deployed during weekend events known as "programs." Both concert and competition, "programs" were a kind of music making that (re)interpreted themes and conventions inherent to Black critical traditions within socio-political sites such as the Black church. As historian Anthony Heilbut describes, "What will be remembered is not who sang best, but who got the most shouts." Describing this practice in the documentary "Mavis!," Heilbut reflects, "In gospel, the name of the game is 'shoutin' the people.' Everything depended upon how you reached the audience. The line I heard over and over from singers was, if you ain't shouted the people, you

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[4] Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic* (London: Oxford University Press, 1993), 200, qtd in Mark Anthony Neal, *What the Music Said: Black Popular Music and Black Public Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 77.

[5] Mark Anthony Neal, *What the Music Said: Black Popular Music and Black Public Culture,* 77.

ain't done shit."[6] This dissertation, entitled "Shouting the People: The Aesthetics of Live Performance and Soul," introduces an analytical paradigm for exploring the expressive interplay among musicians and audiences that has emerged from the Black vernacular tradition in musicological depth.

The riffs, grooves, motifs and inflections that have been cultivated within Black vernacular music are a wellspring of memory and experience. This sensuous assemblage is dense. It is also dynamic, insofar as the making of music is *itself* a critical process among participants rehearsing their unique relationships with the social-political worlds they inhabit. "Shouting the People" takes up this process and explores Black popular music's narrative utility in representing the structural shifts among Black communities throughout the mid- to late twentieth century.

The deliberative realm that Jurgen Habermas has theorized as the *public sphere* is an instructive model for elaborating these shifts. Broadly, the bourgeois public sphere describes the mediating realm between the state and private individuals whose societal bonds exceed the purview of their personal lives.[7] Its earliest participants (who were male and literate) assembled in public coffee houses, salons, and reading societies to generate rational responses to aesthetic and (eventually) political issues of the day. Sharpened by literary journals, novels, and periodicals, these debates created the rhetorical and analytical tools needed to engage with the state.

Feminists and African-American scholars have noted the exclusionary frame of Habermas's model, and they have endeavored to expand the institutional reach of the public sphere by dislocating white male bourgeois public life as the center of modern social and political arrangements. In a groundbreaking critique, Nancy Fraser demonstrated the limitations of

[6] *Mavis!*, directed by Jessica Edwards (2015; Canada: Home Box Office, 2015), Television.

[7] Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a category of Bourgeois Society*. Trans. Thomas Burger with Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991.

Habermas's theory, introducing the idea of a subaltern *counter-public sphere*. These parallel discursive spaces, Fraser observes, allow "members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counter discourses, which in turn permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs."[8] A concept of multiple, alternative public realms, therefore, enabled a more structurally nuanced investigation of cultural production among marginalized communities.[9]

Similarly, political theorist Michael C. Dawson conceptualizes the *Black public sphere* (hereafter, the BPS) as an alternative space for debating and deliberating the issues and concerns that underly Black life.[10] Yet, these interests are far from monolithic. The experience of being a Black woman in the Jim Crow South was not synonymous with that of a Black mother in an urban center like Chicago or Los Angeles. The lives of individuals are wide ranging and diverse, oft times exceeding the parameters defined by organized "political" resistance. An analysis of Black life and sociopolitical culture requires us to reject what historian Robin DG Kelley describes as "the tendency to dichotomize people's lives, to assume that clear-cut 'political' motivations exist separately from issues of economic wellbeing, safety, pleasure, cultural expression, sexuality, freedom of mobility, and other facts of daily life."[11] As a discursive incubator, the BPS has acted as a resource for cultivating and contesting such motivations among Black communities.

For its part, music is dynamic and generative. Its function and form are critical modalities for expressing the interplay between communal and inter-personal identity. As Simon Frith observes,

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[8] Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Exiting Democracy," *Social Text*, nos. 25/26 (1990) : 56–80

[9] Ibid., 56–80.

[10] Michael C. Dawson, "A Black Counterpublic: Economic Earthquakes, Racial Agenda(s), and Black Politics," in *The Black Public Sphere: A Public Culture Book*, ed. The Black Public Sphere Collective, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 199 – 227.

[11] Robin DG Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York: The Free Press, 1994), 9.

"music, like identity, as both performance and story, describes the social in the individual and the individual in the social, the mind in the body and the body in the mind …"[12] This "self-in-process" is illustrative of music's role in mediating lived experience with social-political life. The mid-twentieth century emergence and popularity of soul music among Black audiences is illustrative of this mediative process.

Since its identification as a musical genre during the late 1960s, descriptions of soul music traditionally have highlighted a unique — and at times, essentialized — relation with various sacred-secular expressive practices.[13] In late 1950's discourse, "soul" was cited as a stylistic component in various genres of Black vernacular music. Soul, observed *Ebony* magazine's Lerone Bennett Jr., heralded an "extraordinary turn in contemporary jazz." A new "movement" abounded among the hip-cats. So-called "classical oriented jazz" coveted the academy and concert hall. "Soul jazz," however, "faced the store front church" and "stressed a hard-swinging, gospel-flavored blues feeling."[13][14] Soul, Bennett argued, "is not even a music. It is the feeling with which an artist invests his creation." This essentialist and expressivist framework followed soul's continued rise in popularity as the onetime musical quality became an distinct and unmistakable

[12] Simon Frith, "Music and Identity," in eds. Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, *Questions of Cultural Identity,* (London: Sage, 1996), 109.

[13] A thorough explication of the nuanced relation between sacredness, secularity, sound, and Black vernacular music is beyond the scope of this introduction. Several scholars, however, have critiqued the relation between Secularity, notions of the sacred, Black life, and cultural production. Josef Sorett, for example, theorizes the trope of black sacred/secular fluidity in order to "trouble the way sacred/secular configurations have often been imagined as fundamentally different (from the West) when located in relation to African American culture (in the West)." For Sorett, clarifying imagined interplay between Black life and these terms "… is a necessary step towards grasping how entities marked as sacred and secular are entangled in real time." Josef Sorett, "Secular Compared to What? Toward A History of the Trope of Black Sacred/Secular Fluidity," *Race and Secularism in America,* ed. Jonathan S. Khan and Vincent W. Loyd (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 48. See also, Jon Michael Spencer, *Blues and Evil,* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1993), Houston A. Baker Jr., *Blues Ideology, and Afro-American Literature: A Vernacular Theory,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), Albert Murray, *Stompin' the Blues,* (New York: Da Capo Press Press, 1976), Philip V. Bohlman and Jeffers Engelhardt, "Resounding Transcendence—An Introduction" in *Resounding Transcendence: Transitions in Music, Religion, and Ritual,* eds. Jeffers Engelhardt and Philip V. Bohlman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[14] Lerone Bennett, "The Soul of Soul," *Ebony Magazine,* December 1961, 112.

generic phenomenon. Throughout the mid to late sixties, it provided a distinct space within which Black men and women could stage the changes in their socio-political lives. In public discourse, the change was felt as a revised pride in Black cultural production and identity. Arthur Conley asked, "do you like … that sweet soul music"; Sam and Dave declared that they were "soul men"; and Curtis Mayfield proclaimed, speaking for an entire counterpublic, that "we're a winner." Indeed, insofar as blackness indexed power and beauty, Black soul was the music that most animated this claim. In August 1969, Billboard magazine announced that "Soul" would replace "Rhythm and Blues" as its de facto designation for Black popular music.[15]

This revision led to a renewed question among news and entertainment media outlets: just what *is* soul? As Emily Lordi observes, Black writers found themselves linking "the 'soul' of soul music not just to the church but more specifically to the oppressive historical conditions that had made the church a segregated crucible of black expression in the first place."[16] This discourse, Lordi writes, rechanneled "religious logic into a secular faith in collective redemption." Indeed, the language of soul's novelty rested upon a well-rehearsed "recuperative logic." This soul discourse, Lordi continues, "democratized, politicized, and spiritualized theories of the redemptive value of black marginality — culturally specific versions of the Judeo-Christian belief in the value of suffering — that had animated black intellectual discourse for nearly a century."[17] Subsequent decades witnessed the continued invocation of this paradigm. During the mid-nineties, for example, linguist Geneva Smitherman identified soul as "the essence of life; feeling, passion, emotional depth — all of which are believed to be derived from struggle, suffering, and having

[15] Qtd. In David Brackett, *Categorizing Sound: Genre and Twentieth-Century Popular Music* (Berkeley:

[16] Emily Lordi, *The Meaning of Soul: Black Music and Resilience Since the 1960s* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2020), 21.

[17] Ibid., 22. See Anna Julia Cooper, *A Voice from the South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 138, W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 8, 175.

participated in the Black Experience. Having risen above the suffering, the person gains soul."[18] Waves of Black and Black-identified scholarship have painted and repainted musical and ontological portraits of soul, while additional frameworks have introduced compelling and comprehensive examinations of the style's ideological and musical qualities.[19] Altogether, these interventions seek to elaborate what Monique Guillory and Richard C. Green anthologize as "the chameleon-like nature of soul."[20] However attractive this expansiveness might be, it fails to capture what Lordi has identified as "the visions of black struggle and survival" fostered by soul. In other words, difficulties in reconciling the concept's valencies stem from its conceptualization as a fixed and distinct thing (what is soul?).

Soul, Robin D.G. Kelley writes, is best understood as a *discourse* through which African Americans, at a particular historical moment, claimed ownership of the symbols and practices of their own imagined community."[21] Similarly, Lordi theorizes the concept as a discursive "habit of thinking" that is "constituted through a network of strategic performances – music, literary, journalistic – meant to promote black thriving, if not liberation."[22] "Shouting the People" takes up

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[18] Geneva Smitherman, *Black Talk: Words and Phrases from the Hood to the Amen Corner,* Revised Ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), 266.

[19] See Fred Moten, who describes soul "a will to proceed." Similarly, Paul Gilroy identifies the concept as a drive that "resists the reach of economic rationality and the commodifying process. Fred Moten, review of Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America by Saidiya V. Hartman and Soul: Black Power, Politics, and Pleasure, ed. Monique Guillory and Richard C. Green, The Drama Review 43, no. 4 (1999): 174, Paul Gilroy, "Question of a 'Soulful Style' (interview with Richard C. Green and Monique Guillory)," Soul: Black Power, Politics, and Pleasure ed. Monique Guillory and Richard C. Green (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 251. See also Portia Maultsby, "Soul," in *African American Music: An Introduction,* ed. Mellonee V. Burnim and Portia K. Maultsby (New York: Routledge, 2014), 277 – 298; Mark Anthony Neal, *What the Music Said: Black Popular Music and Black Public Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1999); Brian Ward, *Just My Soul Responding: Rhythm and Blues, Black Consciousness, and Race Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Kevin C. Young, *The Grey Album: On the Blackness of Blackness* (Minneapolis: Gray Wolf Press, 2012).

[20] Monique Guillory and Richard C. Green, "By Way of an Introduction," in Guillory and Green, *Soul,* 3. [21]Robin

[21] Robin D.G. Kelley, *Yo Mama's Disfunktional!: Fighting the Culture Wars in Urban America,* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997), 23 - 26.

[22] Lordi, *The Meaning of Soul,* 8.

a comparable critical posture and asks, "what is soul *doing?"* To make this query for any genre is to highlight the broad meaning-making continuum that circumscribes it and its corresponding components. This *soul continuum* comprises a network of interpretive strategies and revisions that musicians and audiences execute consistently around a tune and its specific components (rhythm, melody, and harmony). These strategies are usually imagined as *communicative interplay* among musicians interpreting a composition in the recording studio. But new kinds of communicative interplay around the same tune in an alternative setting – for example, Aretha Franklin's 1972 rendition of "Respect" at the Fillmore – occasions a performance that is not only distinct from the album, but fixed for subsequent interpretation as well. As such, "live recorded albums" are ideal objects of study for exploring the array conditions, relationships, and experiences that contribute to the making of music.

The concept of "liveness" in performance studies has become a fluid rubric for describing a given performance's spatial, temporal, aesthetic, and phenomenological qualities. Following the proliferation of recorded music during the first half of the twentieth century, the term "live" emerged as a way to distinguish human-sourced musical experience from sound recording and replicative technologies. The late nineteenth century arrival of the phonograph, for example, abstracted the perception between human origin and sound. Following Derrida, Alexander G. Weheliye observes that this abstraction suggested a " 'space-time distanciation' in which cultural productions, like a musical performance, are 'distanced from [its] context, both spatially and temporally, and re-embedded in new contexts which may be located at different times and places.'" The phonograph's arrival into this live performance dominated domain signaled a disruption between vision and sound, what Weheliye describes as a "spatio-temperal rift between the moment

of production and reception that allows for different conceptions of the cultural object."[23] Amongst scholars of music and performance – in addition to performers and audiences – this rift gave rise to an ideological binary where live performance is valorized for its realness and "purity" while recorded music, considered as a derivative, is labeled "unnatural" or mechanical. This paradigm, I argue, incorrectly reduces liveness into an ontological category that arrests sociability and meaning making within a fixed temporal and spatial frame.

Theater scholars Paul Allain and Jen Harvie, for example, reduce liveness to an idea that expresses "a quality of live performance – the sense that something is happening here and now." This feels important because "it apparently distinguishes a live performance from recorded performance- based media … indicating that live performance has some intrinsic qualitative and even political difference form other forms of performance."[24]Contextualized as such, liveness might be nothing more than the aesthetic production of excitement during a performance, "because risk is unavoidable where accident cannot be edited out (as it can in recorded media)." In-person music making, Alain and Harvie conclude, is a dynamic process that, "… unlike the passive and staid form [of]recorded media" enables the production of meaning in a distinct and singular way. Conversely, Phillip Auslander argues that "live performance cannot be said to have ontological or historical priority over mediatization, since liveness was made visible only by the possibility of reproduction."[25] Here, Auslander writes against the technophobic anxieties that that found such purchase during the first half of the twentieth century. These anxieties and tropes, born of the early twentieth century's Modernist turn, interpreted mechanical reproduction as an encroachment upon

[23] Alexander Weheliye, *Phonographies: Grooves in Sonic Afro-Modernism,* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 31. See also Sarah Thornton, who argues that during the 1950s, liveness as a discursive concept emerged after vinyl records became the primary mode of musical conception. Sarah Thornton, *Club Cultures: Music, Media, and Subcultural Capital,* (London: Routledge, 1995), 41.

[24] Paul Allain and Jen Harvie, *Routledge Companion to Theatre and Performance* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 168.

[25] Phillip Auslander, *Liveness: Performance in a Mediated Culture,* (New York: Routledge Press, 2008), 54.

music as a human produced experience. Because mechanical reproduction (wax cylinders, broadcast radio, albums, etc.) unsettled the connection between music and the humans who produced it, liveness emerged as a way to bracket off the in-person experience of human produced music. Conceived in this way, liveness connoted interplay between performance and perceptions of the present, what Auslander terms "the im-mediate."[26] This interplay indexes an in-person experience of performance that is itself unrecordable. Liveness, framed in this temporally and spatially fixed way, is an ontological category that is, for influential performance scholar Peggy Phelan, depreciated at best (and at worst totally corrupted) by mediatization. Phelan describes the ontology of authentically "live" performance as "representation without reproduction." The only life of true performance, she maintains, is in the present. Performance, she writes, "cannot be saved, recorded, documented, or otherwise participate in the circulation of representations of representations … To the degree that performance attempts to enter the economy of reproduction, it betrays and lessens the promise of its own ontology."[27] For Phelan, the strength of live performance lies in its independence of technological, economic and linguistic forms of mass reproduction. Performance, she argues, is singular and independent of reenactment. It refuses reproduction. That is to say, a performance is live because it "occurs over a time which will not be repeated," otherwise described by Phelan as a "maniacally charged present."[28] Yet liveness, as Auslander deconstructs it, "is always already inscribed with traces of the possibility of technical mediation (i.e., mediatization) that defines it as live." As concept and category, it is "… pressed into service as part of a vocabulary designed to contain this crisis by describing it and reinstating

[26] An appropriation of the Baudrillardian term "mediatized," the "im-mediate" denotes "a particular cultural object [as a] product of the mass media or of media technology. A "mediatized performance," he writes, is a "performance that is circulated on television, as audio or video recording, and in other forms based in technologies of reproduction." Auslander, *Liveness: Liveness: Performance in a Mediatized Culture*, 4.
[27] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 146.
[28] Ibid., 148.

the former distinction discursively even if it could no longer be sustained experientially."[29] Therefore, Auslander argues, liveness depends on reproduction – "[it] can exist only within an economy of reproduction."[30]

Schneider sees liveness as itself a form of re-enactment, undermining simplistic ontological descriptions of the live as an "in time category" or a "matter of temporal immediacy." The admixture of the live and performance, Schneider argues, represents a temporal syncopation. The live and the reenacted, within this context, share a difficult kinship. Reenactment is *citational*, a form of signifying. It is also ongoing, naming "an interval … that is given to multiple and simultaneous times." For Schneider, a reenactment is a performance practice [that] appears to 'take place' in time, live, even as the times that take place are given to be multiple, layered, or crossed."[31] Reenactment, thus, is not synonymous with recording. Rather, reenactment underscores the citational quality of Black cultural production, what James Snead famously indexed as "the cut." Within Black vernacular music, Snead writes, "the 'cut' overtly insists on the repetitive nature of music by skipping it back to another beginning which we've already heard."[32] For Schneider, reconsidering the live as a mode of reenactment rethinks the relation between singularity and liveness that Allain and Harvie described above: singularity within live performance is an accumulative force, heard as "… lines of influence or reverberation that … call backwards as well

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[29] Phillip Auslander, *Liveness: Performance in a Mediatized Culture,* 17.

[30] Ibid, 57.

[31] Rebecca Schneider *Performing Remains: Art and War in Times of Theater Reenactment,* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 90. Additionally, Schneider argues that Auslander's citation of Phelan misreads her argument. Phelan, she writes, "… does not romance the term 'live,' nor offer her terms for performance's resistance to reproduction relative to that term, and Auslander brazenly (and unapologetically) misses Phelan's larger point by twisting her claims to shift his aims. In fact, Phelan is far more interested in (live) performance's 'death' – or inanimation if you will … Her more nuanced argument is pitched against the 'trap of visibility by which 'the real' and 'representation' have been misrecognized, especially in twentieth-century identity politics, as coterminous." Though Schneider's clarification is a critical intervention how liveness is read through Auslander's analysis, the scope of this introduction does not sufficiently allow for a thorough adjudication of these claims. See Schneider, *Performance Remains,* n.18 and Phelan, *Unmarked,* 6.

[32] James Snead, "Repetition as a Figure of Black Culture," *African American Review,* 5, no. 4 2017, 652.

a forward, [anticipating] misrecognition, [courting] it, and, simultaneously, [redirecting] the past as having become itself through re-enactment."[33] If the live is the evidence of syncopated time within performance and liveness is a quality of that (live) performance, I propose *live(ness)* as an elaborative frame that describes the dialogic undoing of song into social text.

Live(ness) names the meaning-making network that emerges from Brown's Apollo performance, his in-person audience, and the future audiences generated by the album's subsequent circulation. Broadly, live(ness) foregrounds the interplay of events and participative interactions that contribute to defining a (live) performance's perceived distinctiveness. This interplay can be best understood as the dialogic contestation and reconciliation of lived experience, in addition to performance knowledge, amongst musicians and their audience for example. Live(ness) corresponds with musicologist Paul Sanden's observation that the present state of performance is not adequately served by a flattened binary of live *vs.* recorded.[34] "Rather than a concrete ontological category with well-defined essential characteristics," he understands liveness as a dynamic notion "among different people and at different times," a fluid and discursive concept marked by "its emergence from particular social environments and historical moments for particular ideological purposes."[35] Sanden's notion of liveness, therefore, does not require the dismissal of electronic mediation. Rather, it is best understood as "the persistent perception of characteristics of music's live performance within the context of – and often with the help of – various levels of such mediation." Sanden indexes these levels within seven categories of the live:

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[33] Rebecca Schneider, "Solo Solo Solo," in *After Criticism: New Responses to Art and Performance,* (Maulden: Blackwell, 2001), 23-47. Likewise, Alexander Weheliye challenges a binarized "original-repetition" description of performance and cultural production. Repetition, Weheliye argues, "activates difference;" that is to say a "repetition of difference" model of performance does not query "the copy's" deviation from "the source." This scheme, Weheliye writes, "assumes that difference will indeed be different in each of its incarnations." Alexander Weheliye, *Phonographies: Groove in Sonic Afro-Modernity*, 32.

[34] Paul Sanden, *Liveness in Modern Music: Musicians, Technology, and the Perception of Performance,* (New York: Routledge Press) 3, 4.

[35] Ibid., 32.

temporal, spatial, fidelity, spontaneity, corporeality interactivity, and *virtuality*.[36] These categories do not represent some array of absolute values. They are, rather, a dynamic system of conceptual and perceptual relationships that mediates the formation of meaning between performers, audiences, and future audiences.[37] As I define it, soul music's *live(ness)* insists upon these relationships and advances an additional portrait of the dynamic milieux of history, narrativity, performance knowledge, and communicative practice that circumscribes the song-social text transformation of live recorded Black music.

"Shouting the People" is comprised of three chapters. The first, "Throwing Ugly: Live(ness) and the Organization of a Soul Public," takes James Brown's 1963 recorded performance of "Lost Someone" at Harlem's Apollo Theater and introduces a framework for reading the interplay between live(ness) and musical practice. Several critics have named Brown's performance on this breakthrough "live" album as a canonic early episode within the soul tradition. Brown's masterful interactions with the raucous Wednesday night audience that laughed, talked, and clapped back through two of the Apollo's infamous "Amateur Night" shows are often cited as a primary constituent of soul as a popular genre. This formulation, while not without some truth, rests on idealized notions of gender and Blackness that beg for deconstruction. This chapter interrogates the discursive practices that contribute to such interpretations and presents an alternative paradigm for understanding music making's role in organizing Black identity.

Chapter Two turns to the soundtrack of a documentary film set in Los Angeles, a document of live(ness) that, like Cooke's 1963 Florida tour, was lost to audiences for decades. On January 13–14, 1972 Aretha Franklin, the Reverend James Cleveland and the Southern California Community Choir recorded a "live" gospel concert film at the New Temple Missionary Baptist Church in

[36] Sanden, *Liveness in Modern Music: Musicians, Technology, and the Perception of Performance,* 11.
[37] Ibid., 12.

Watts. The film, directed by veteran Hollywood Sydney Pollack, was long considered uneditable thanks to pervasive synchronization problems – but Atlantic records released and packaged most of its soundtrack six months later as the double LP *Amazing Grace.* For *Rolling Stone'*s Jon Landau, Aretha's reinterpretation of the gospel idiom not only left him "struck … by the comprehensiveness and depth" of each arrangement," but by the enveloping aura of her voice: "As she hits note after note that I always knew was there but had never heard before, the distance between listener and participant falls away."[38] As with her performance at the Fillmore described above, creative brilliance in this setting was a shared endeavor among all participants. As musicologist Braxton Shelley observes, "in effective gospel performances, entire congregations become one large choir." This interactive shift is best understood as the use of "familiar items – scriptures, songs, and sounds – from the shared culture" towards the cultivation of unique experiences and a shared belief system; what Shelley theorizes as "the gospel stance."[39] Chapter Three advances this claim, highlighting specifically the participative impulses that underly individual expressivity during two peak moments of group performance: Aretha's arresting interpretation of the gospel hymn "Precious Memories," in addition to Thomas Dorsey's "Precious Lord Take My Hand" and Carole King's "You've Got a Friend."

Chapter Three, entitled " 'I Want You to Remember This:' Memory, Soul, and Pop Cultural Production," explores nostalgia's affective utility in reading soul performance. In June 1985, RCA Records released a live recording of Sam Cooke's 1963 appearance at Miami Florida's Harlem Square Club that had languished in RCA's archive for over two decades. The album, *Live at the Harlem Square Club 1963,* provided what RCA described as an opportunity to bolster Cooke's reputation as "a founding father of soul," presenting "him in a setting in which he has never before

[38] Jon Landau, "Review: 'Amazing Grace,' Aretha Franklin" Rolling Stone Magazine, August 3rd, 1972.
[39] Shelley, "Analyzing Gospel," 64.

been heard on record."[40] The album was received positively by critics and audiences, coming in at #11 in the *Village Voice'*s authoritative "Pazz and Jop" poll that year. For media theorist Michael D. Dwyer, the success of *Live at the Harlem Square Club 1963* illustrates a predominant wistful sensibility that underlined popular film and music's relation with their audiences during the early to mid-nineteen eighties. "Pop nostalgia," Dwyer argues, should not be understood as a specific genre or reception practice. Rather, it is an "affective cultural formation" that names the "intensity one experiences with a cultural text that produces meaning for the past and the present."[41] Following Saunders, my analysis situates Cooke's performance of "Having a Party" as a reenactment in both 1963 and 1985, and dissects the social, political, and cultural conditions that gave rise to attempts among Black communities to reconcile their present lives with the soul of their past amidst a post-soul economy of reproduction.

[40] Press release, "RCA Releases a historic Live Concert LP by the Legendary Sam Cook," 1985, Box 3, Folder 21, Michael Ochs Collection, Rock and Roll Hall of Fame Library and Archives. Qtd in Hamilton, *Just Around Midnight: Rock and Roll and the Racial Imagination*, 48.

[41] Michael D. Dwyer, *Back to the Fifties: Nostalgia, Hollywood Film, and Popular Music of the Seventies and Eighties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 4.

I Throwing Ugly: *Live(ness) and the Organization of a Soul Public*

Introduction:

Among mid-twentieth venues, the Apollo Theater in Harlem New York was the chitlin circuit's "crown jewel." Wednesday evening has been, for most of its history, "Amateur Night."[42] For the residents of New York's upper West Side, Amateur Night was a "forum where ordinary Harlemites passed judgment on the talents of people like themselves and where there was even a slim chance that the dream of appearing before the footlights on Amateur Night might be realized. Those who survived the verdict of the audience had certified talent."[43] For example, on November 21st, 1934, seventeen-year-old Ella Fitzgerald won the $25 first prize singing Hoagy Carmichael's "Judy" and "The Object of My Affection" before a raucous yet discerning audience.

Amateur Night's run down was straightforward. Aspiring talent gathered backstage at 11:00 pm. Contestants rubbed the "Tree of Hope" as they were called on stage by the emcee.[44] A

[42] Prior to his tenure at the Apollo Theater, manager and impresario Frank Schiffman introduced an amateur night at the Lafayette Theater. There it was billed as the "Harlem Amateur Hour" and hosted by Ralph Cooper. Upon being hired to manage the Apollo, Schiffman and Cooper started "Audition Night" before changing the billing to "Amateur Night in Harlem." See Hatch, James V. "The Long Road to Harlem Traveled to Harlem's Apollo," *Ain't Nothing Like the Real Thing: How the Apollo Theater Shaped American Entertainment,* ed. Richard Carlin and Kinshasha Holman Conwil (Washington, DC: National Museum of American History and Culture through Smithsonian Books, 2010), 59. Garrett. "Apollo Theater," The Encyclopedia of New York City (2nd edition), ed. Kenneth T. Jackson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 46 – 47.

[43] David Levering Lewis, "City of Refuse: Early Harlem," *Ain't Nothing Like the Real Thing: How the Apollo Theater Shaped American Entertainment,* 53.

[44] The original "Tree of Hope" began as an Elm tree in front of the Lafayette Theater (131st Street and Seventh Avenue). As Marion Caffey, the current producer of the "Amateur Night at the Apollo recalls, "when it was a real tree, actors used to stand out in front of it and pull green leaves off of it. The green leaves represented luck and money, that they would make money if they went into the theater to audition, they would get the job." In addition to performers looking to make it big, the tree of hope was a hub for Black Harlemites seeking work during this period. "Rubbing the tree of hope's bark brought success," writes Valery Hope. Following the city of New York's expansion of its avenues in 1934, Frank Schiffman

Aspiring talent gathered backstage at 11:00 pm. Contestants rubbed the "Tree of Hope" as they were called on stage by the emcee.[45] A series of questions followed as they anxiously stood underneath the house's spotlight –"Where are you from? What are you going to do for us this evening?" As Douglas Wolk explains, "… someone would announce what song you'd be performing, and you'd have a cruel and hungry audience waiting for you. If you were less than stellar, it was the hook for you—the comedy 'stagehand' Porto Rico would chase you off the stage."[46] Praise or approbation was loud, and unpredictable. A forgotten lyric – deftly recovered via subtle vocal pirouette – could elicit rapturous applause and howls. A bland and precise note-for-note cover, however, could illicit jeers, derisive boos and the stagehand's hook. James V. Hatch describes the boisterous quality of a particular portion of the audience. The "second balcony became the hawk's nest, where seats were twenty-five cents. Like Shakespeare's groundlings, the audience members expressed their approvals or dislike with direct dialogue to the talent. They were potentially 'hanging judges' to a singer's career."[47] In the fall of 1962, James Brown

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mounted a portion of the tree near the Apollo stage. See Valery Boyd, *Wrapped in Rainbows: the Life of Zora Neale Hurston,* (New York: Scribner, 2003), 94. "Black History Month: About the Amateur Night at the Apollo's Good Luck Tree of Hope," WLNY online, February 27th, 2020, https://newyork.cbslocal.com/2020/02/27/black-history-month-about-the-amateur-night-at-the-apollos-good-luck-tree-of-hope/.

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[46] Douglas Wolk, *33⅓: Live at The Apollo,* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2004), 1 – 10.

[47] James V. Hatch, "The Long Road Traveled to Harlem's Apollo," *Ain't Nothing Like the Real Thing: How the Apollo Theater Shaped American Entertainment,* 59.

identified this setting as the ideal site for his next recording, a live album. "I wanted that wild amateur-night crowd," Brown recalled, "because I knew they'd do plenty of hollering."[48]

Syd Nathan, founder and president of King Records, rejected the idea outright. "You mean you want to record your stage show live?" Nathan asked. "That's right," Brown replied. "James, you can't keep on recording the same songs over and over again. Nobody's going to buy that … I'm not going to spend money on something where a lot of people are going to be screaming. Who wants a lot of noise over the songs?"[49] In an industry that depended on singles being sold in mass, full length albums – let alone live albums – were unheard of, especially for a small independent operation like King. As far as Nathan was concerned, anything outside of this 45rpm-hit song model was a waste of his money. Live performances, in other words, were nothing more than a vehicle to drive record sales; a novel occasion for audiences to hear a hit song being sung by a King Records artist.

Brown knew better. A live album, he surmised, would capture an interactive element that his back catalogue of studio produced hits failed to reflect.

> People who couldn't get to one of my shows, especially an Apollo show, missed that special thing that always happened live. I guess some of the people who did get into the shows missed that special thing when they listened to the records. I knew there was a lot more to what I did than could be recorded in a studio anyway. By the time we wound up the week [at the Apollo in May 1962], I knew I wanted to do a live album so that people could at least hear what kind of a show I had.[50]

Brown, unlike Nathan, understood his audience. He understood the power of live performance, recognizing that audiences had little to no interest in spending their hard-earned money on onstage

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[48] James Brown and Bruce Tucker, *James Brown: The Godfather of Soul,* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1986), 134.
[49] Ibid.,, 130.
[50] Ibid., 129.

renditions of "Please, Please, Please" or "Try Me." Brown's fans wanted something more. They wanted to experience "Mr. Dynamite" – the drama and spectacle of the "Hardest Working Man in Show business" performing their favorite songs. As childhood friend Leon Austin notes, Brown's "not gonna come out there and be cool. And he ain't gonna have on this pretty suit that ain't gonna get dusty. He gonna wallow. He gonna just be dancin', splittin', messin' up his knees. Or he may scream so hard he can't sing the next night, but he ain't gonna worry about that."[51] Likewise, saxophonist and onetime bandleader JC Davis remembers Brown being "a guy determined … to be noticed. He was determined that he was going to be the man, he's going to do something to make people remember us, even if it was [climbing] up onto the rafters and [falling] down and [killing] himself."[52] This account, Lordi observes, underscores "the crucial link between one's raced body and once's soul. Singers like Brown … rejected [a no sweat aesthetic … and performed] a cultural narrative by which embodied racialized labor yielded ascendant style."[53] Wolk complicates this sentiment, observing that "on his own terms [Brown] was an unstoppable champion, and those terms were people paying to hear him sing and being reassured that what they were paying for was popular." Every small-town auditorium – every jook joint, roadhouse and backroad hovel – presented Brown with opportunities to incrementally reify his growing reputation as a dynamic performer. A live album, Wolk continues, would "… demonstrate that being James Brown was itself a hit."[54] Staged within a cultural institution like the Apollo and circulated by the Black Public Sphere's crosscurrents, this unique recording would be a sonic affirmation; a

[51] Gerri Hirshey. "Mister James Brown." *Rolling Stone,* April 1982.
[52] Smith, *The One: The Life and Music of James Brown*, 88. For additional narratives about Brown's performativity during this early period, see Dante Carfagna, "The Journeyman: Saxman J.C. Davis," *Wax Poetics 28.*
[53] Emily Lordi, "Souls Intact: The Soul performances of Audre Lorde, Aretha Franklin, and Nina Simone. *Women and Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory*. 26, no. 1 (2016) : 65 – 66.
[54] Wolk, *33⅓: Live at The Apollo,* 27.

legitimizing social text featuring "Mr. Dynamite" as he performed twelve Chitlin'-Circuit-hewn songs before a bombastic and critical audience.

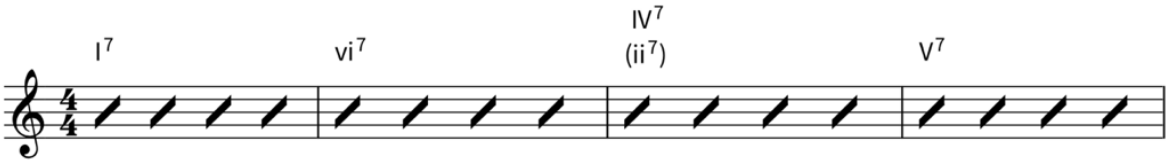
King Records released and packaged Brown's performance as an LP, posthumously entitled *Live at the Apollo*.[55] The record was a hit, spending sixty-six weeks on Billboard's Top Pop chart. Among critics, the album has been celebrated as an exemplar of the soul music tradition; a project that, writes Peter Guralnick, "[plays] off all of the fiery grittiness of its surroundings, the fiercely narrowed focus and casual improvisation of live performance, the magical incantation and exhortatory atmosphere of its church-like setting."[56] These aesthetic and expressive qualities, he continues, are notably invoked in Brown's performance of "Lost Someone." "Here in a single multilayered track you have embodied the whole history of soul music, the teaching, the preaching, the endless assortment of gospel effects, and above all the groove that was at the music's core."[57] Taking "Lost Someone" as its object of study, this chapter explores and troubles this musical event's relationship with identity, subject formation, and more broadly, cultural production. These idioms, indexed as idealized notions of gender and Blackness, are discursively encoded and mediated via narrative, critique, and story. For Brown, such notions are personified as the "Hardest Working Man in Show Business" who, against all odds, crafted a seminal performance.

[55] "Live at the Apollo" is not the album's original title. As Wolk observes, "the title of the album has never quite stabilized actually. When the Solid Smoke label reissued it in 1980 it was retitled *Live and Lowdown at the Apollo Vol.1* … and where did that 'lowdown' come from? Possibly from Marva Whitney's JB-produced 1969 album, *Live and Lowdown at the Apollo.* The Polydor CD that came out in 1990 is *James Brown Live at the Apollo, 1962*, to distinguish it from his three later *Apollo* albums. At least that's what it says on the spine –the disc itself is labeled as *The Apollo Theater Presents, In Person, The James Brown Show*. The 2004 edition is *James Brown Live at the Apollo (1962).*" Like Wolk, I use "Live at the Apollo." Wolk, *33⅓: Live at The Apollo*, 5.
[56] Peter Guralnick, *Sweet Soul Music: Rhythm and Blues and the Southern Dream of Freedom*, (New York: Back Bay Books, 2012), 236.
[57] Ibid., 236.

Part I

Brown, alongside his bandleader Robert "Bobby" Byrd, composed and recorded "Lost Someone" on February 9th, 1961. "I was trying to get a pop hit; I based it on the chord changes of Conway Twitty's 'It's Only Make Believe,' which was popular at the time," Brown recalled in his biographer Bruce Tucker.[58] This harmonic component – what the songwriting duo described as a "one step forward, two steps back" chord progression - is best understood within the context of a cyclical progression traditionally associated with mid-twentieth century musical genre, doo-wop, etc. (Figure 1). [59] Within this scheme, the submediant and sub-dominant (vi^7 – IV^7) maintains the listener's interest by delaying a given composition's cadential return to tonic (V^7 – I).

Figure 1.1: Doo – Wop Harmony

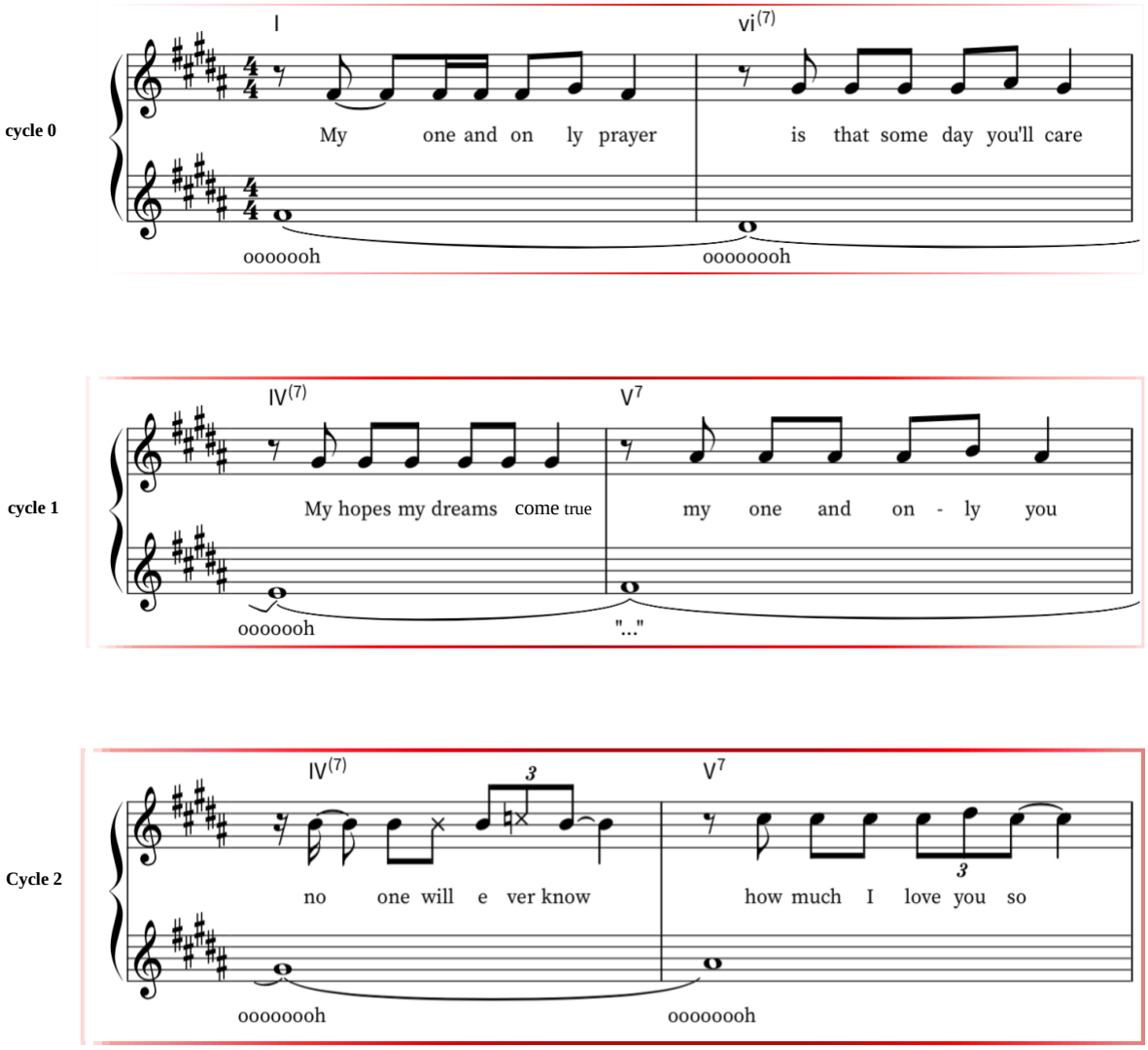


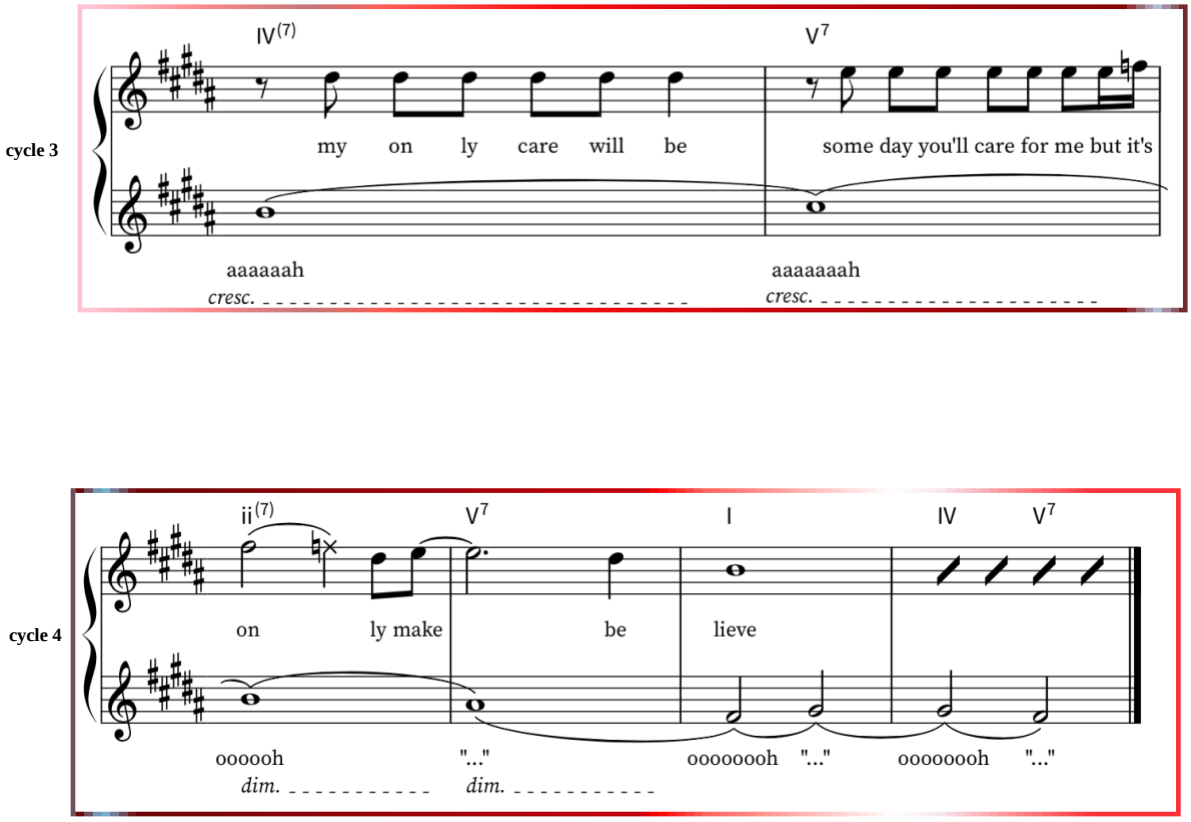
"It's Only Make Believe" is a twelve-bar variation of this progression in the key of B major. The tune features several subdominant – dominant cycles. A brief tonal analysis of these harmonic events is an instructive step towards understanding Brown and Byrd's perception of "one - two step" drive in this composition. As Figure 2a demonstrates, the iterative oscillation of each subdominant-dominant couplet delays the composition's return to tonic in measure eleven. For the listener, the accruing tension generated amidst cycles one through four elicits feelings of delayed

[58] Brown and Tucker, *James Brown: The Godfather of Soul,* 123
[59] Wolk, *33⅓: Live at The Apollo,* 64. See also Appendix A

gratification. The relation between the composition's harmony and this mode of affective production is reflected in the chiaroscuro red bordered examples below.

Figure 1.2a: "It's Only Make Believe" – Drive and Affect Analysis



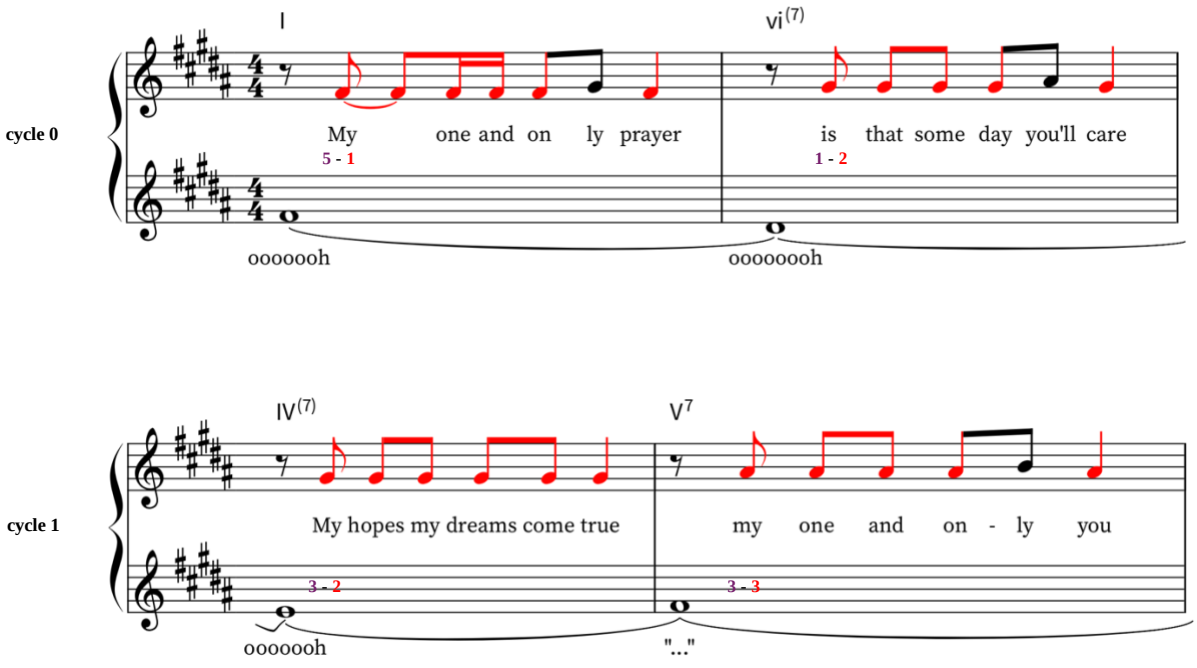


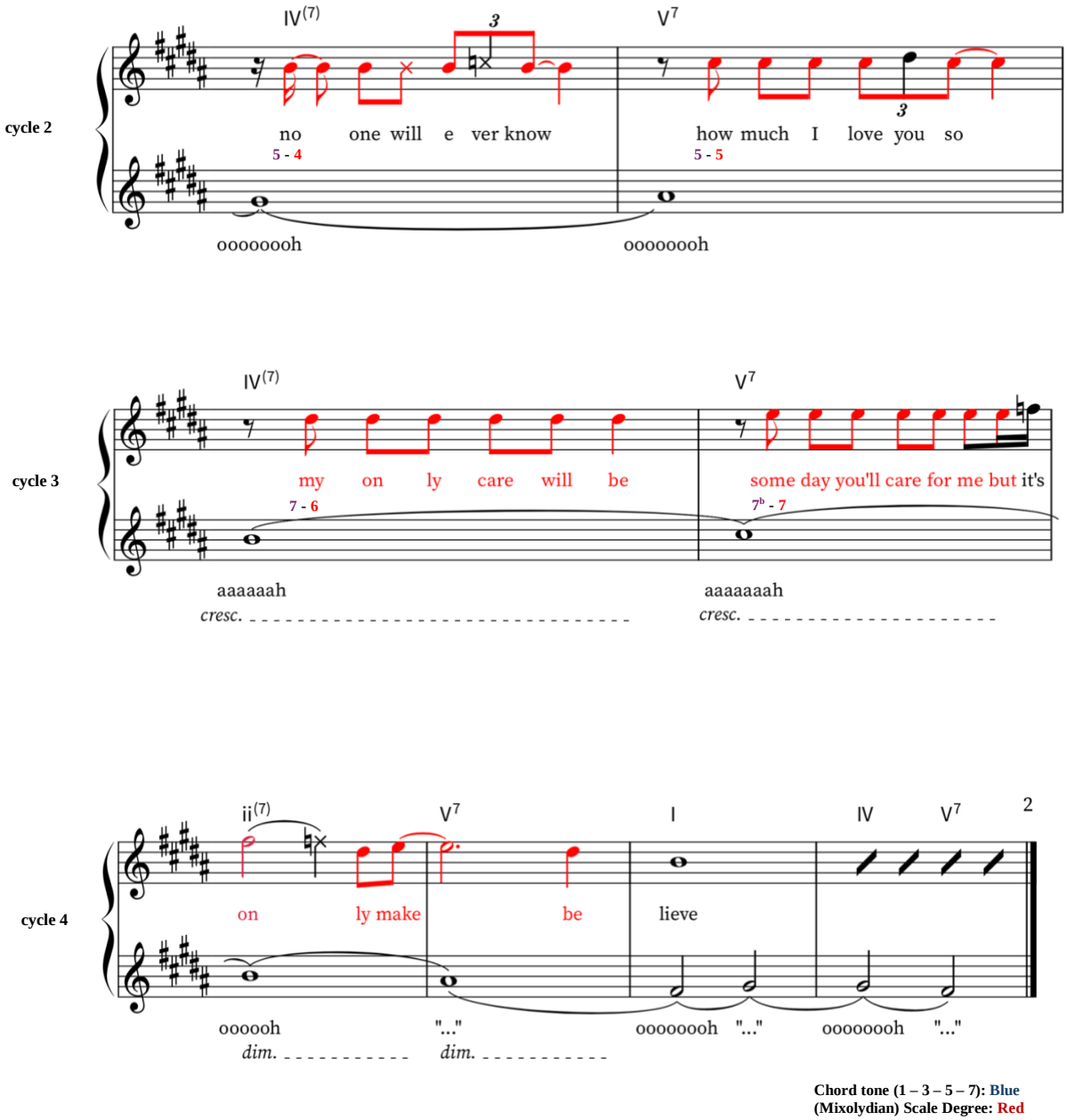
A modal harmonic framework is useful in crafting a clearer composite of "It's Only Make Believe's" constraint-gratification quality. As such, the melody – diatonically bookended by F#3 and F#4 - is best understood as a rising mixolydian scale. Twitty confesses *"my one and only prayer, is someday you'll care"* ($F^{\#}3$); overtaken by quixotic aspiration, he rises two scale steps for *"my hopes, my dreams come true, my one and only you*" ($G^{\#}3$ - $A^{\#}3$). The next two scale steps underscore this sentiment as he laments, *"no one will ever know, how much I love you so"* (B3 - $C^{\#}3$). Finally, Twitty feels emergent hope during the third cycle, *"my only care will be, someday you'll care for me but it's …"* ($D^{\#}3$ – E3). The melody's ascent from scale degrees one to seven mirrors the angst and passion swelling within the singer's heart, and the audience is invited to

listen in. The drama is accented and animated by the sub-dominant – dominant oscillation in cycles one through three.

The fourth and final cycle finds Twitty dejected as he inwardly declares *"[it's] only make believe"* ($F^{\#}4$ – E3 – $C^{\#}3$ – B3). This final phrase, earnestly articulated within an authentic cadence during the fourth cycle, resolves the tension accrued over the course of his performance. Figure 1.2b shows in greater detail the melody's stepwise forward accent over the subdominant-dominant oscillation unpacked above, the "one step – two step" drive that Brown and Byrd would cleverly apply to their own composition.

Figure 1.2b: "It's Only Make Believe" – Modal Analysis



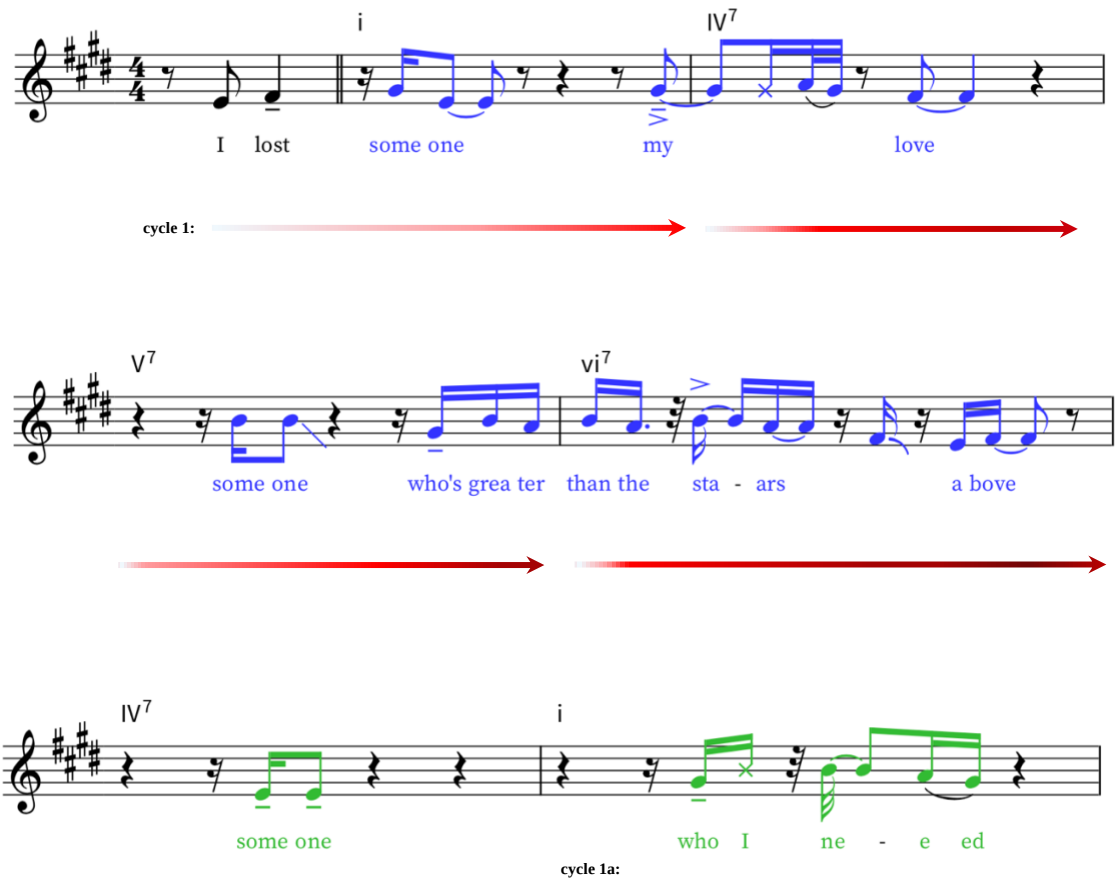


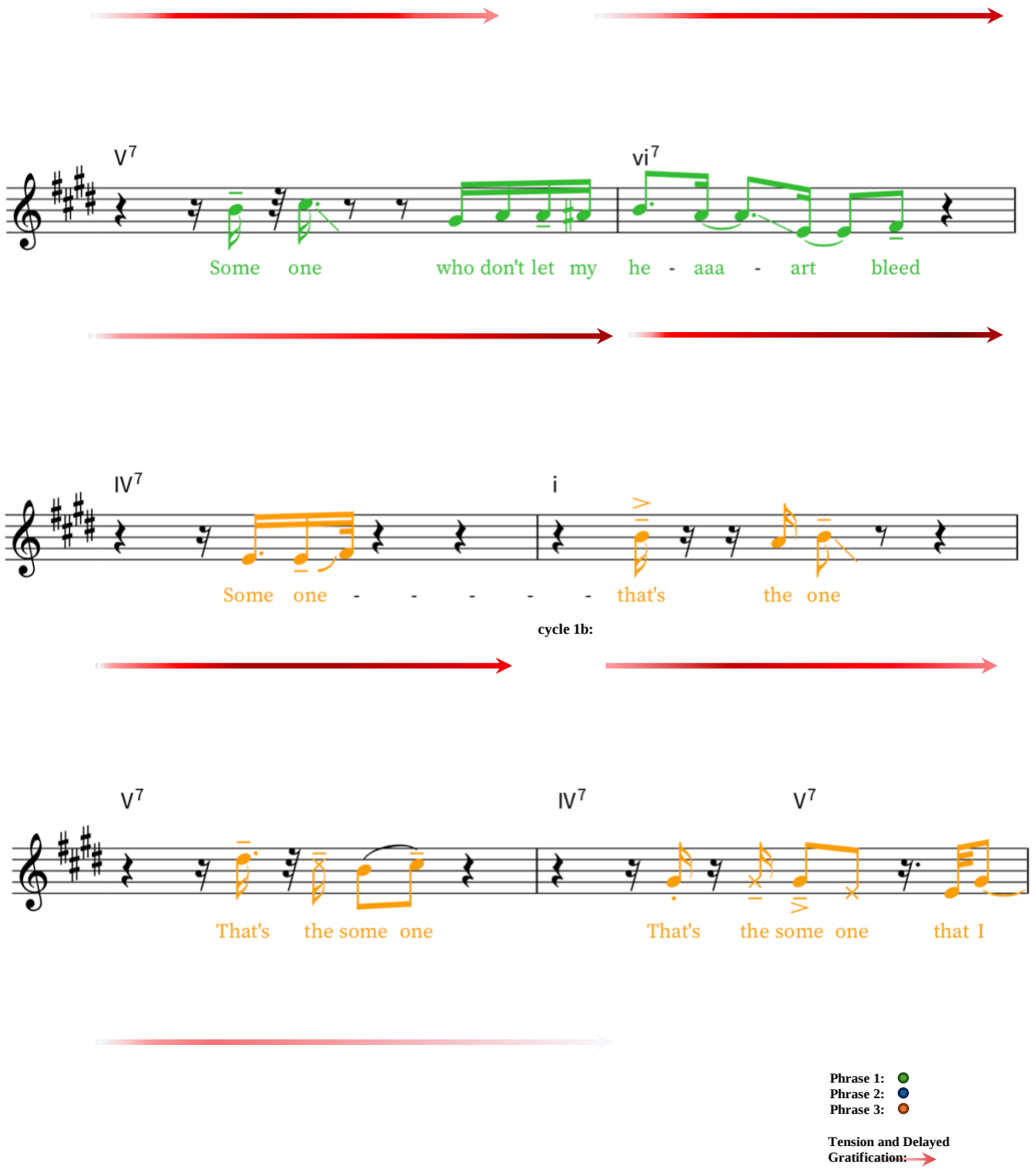
Chord tone (1 – 3 – 5 – 7): Blue
(Mixolydian) Scale Degree: Red

”Lost Someone” is a C#-minor variation of the 50s doo-wop progression which reproduces the harmonic drive of “It’s Only Make Believe” within an ABA’ frame. Brown solemnly introduces the verse, singing *“I lost someone, my love, someone, who’s greater than the stars above.”* Calm gives way to passion and angst as he confesses *“someone, who I need. Someone, who won’t let my heart bleed.”* Brown immediately gathers himself, somberly bemoaning *“someone, that’s the someone, that’s the someone, that’s*

the someone that I lost." Throughout the verse, the "one step-two step" feel emerges from the melody's displaced relation with the harmony's settled-unsettled forward progression. The former is phrased in four bar increments. The later consists of the tonic, subdominant, dominant, submediant, and subdominant. Functionally, the first and third chords signal stability. The pre-dominants in bars two, four and five, however, suggests the opposite. Notably, the deceptive motion between the submediant and sub-dominant introduces an additional degree of instability. This cadence delays the tonic's resolution. The harmony's expressive telos, therefore, reflects a five-bar sequence. Delayed gratification, figure 3b notes, emerges from the melody and harmony's four-five syncopated interplay.

Figure 1.3a: "Lost Someone" – Drive and tension ("one step forward, two steps back") in A section

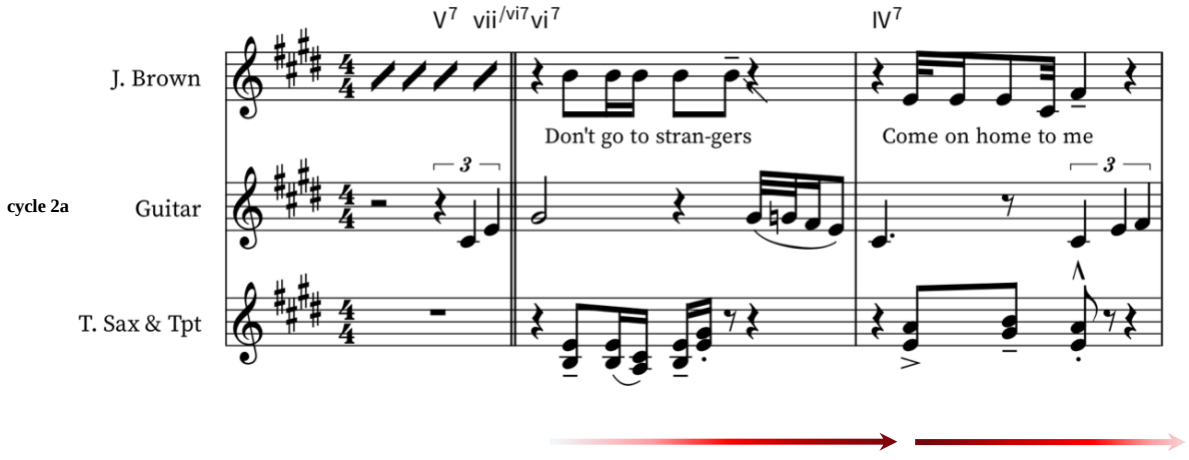




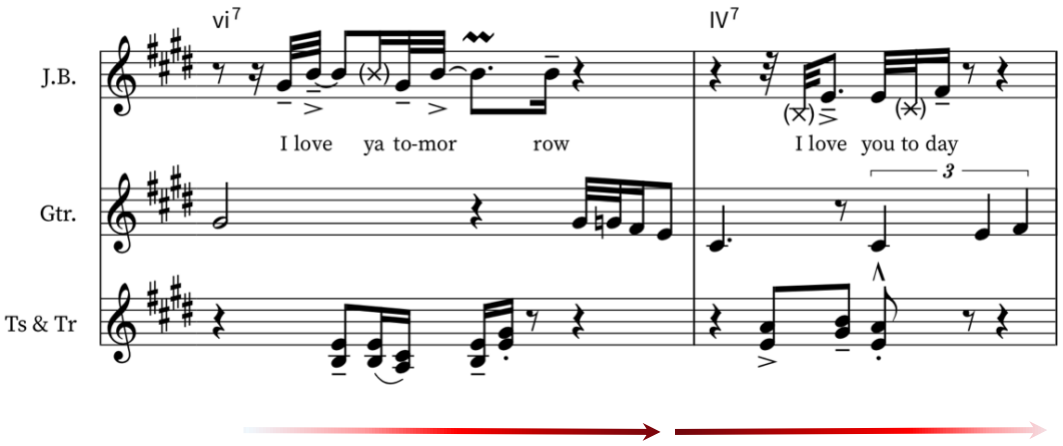
This structural mixture is continued in the refrain. Following a secondary dominant (vii/vi^7) pivot chord in measure fourteen, the one step – two step effect is reactivated by a passage that oscillates between vi and IV. This plagal effect is emphasized by the melody's pendular fifths and the ascending - descending C$^{\#}$-minor triad performed

by guitarist Les Buie. Woeful and repentant, Brown sings *"don't go to strangers - come on home to me. I love you tomorrow - I love you today. Help me, help me - I'm so weak. Gee wiz I love you - I'm so weak."* The phrases within the first three cycles are organized into couplets, and the unstable – stable affect produced by the submediant and subdominant during these harmonic sequences highlights the frantic quality of Brown's remorse and heartache. Overtaken by desperation, he makes one last intreat declaring, *"I love you tomorrow."* Four beats of silence follow the last syllable ("row") articulation on beat one. Brown, in addition to the listener, are left wondering. Did his impassioned apology fall on deaf ears? Will he be forgiven? Will she take him back? These questions are accented as the submediant gives over to the dominant during this two-bar episode, and the uncertainty is finally resolved as Brown sings *"I"* on beat two of m. 25, a subtle recapitulation that at once punctuates and recalibrates the tension accrued throughout the vamp.

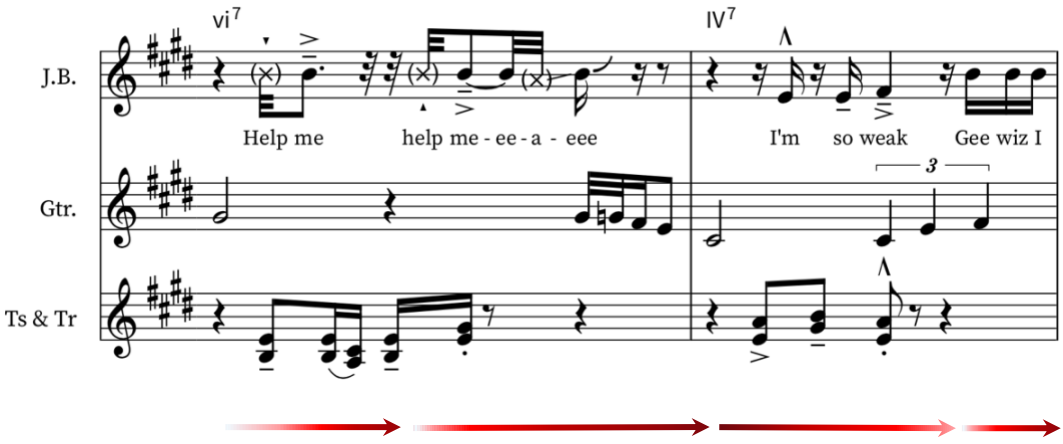
Figure 1.3b: ""Lost Someone" – Second iteration of drive and tension ("one step forward, two steps back"), B section



cycle 2b

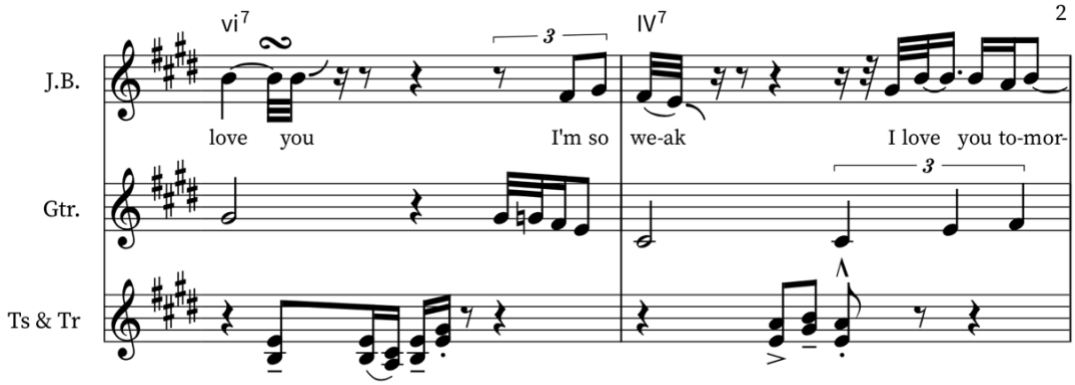


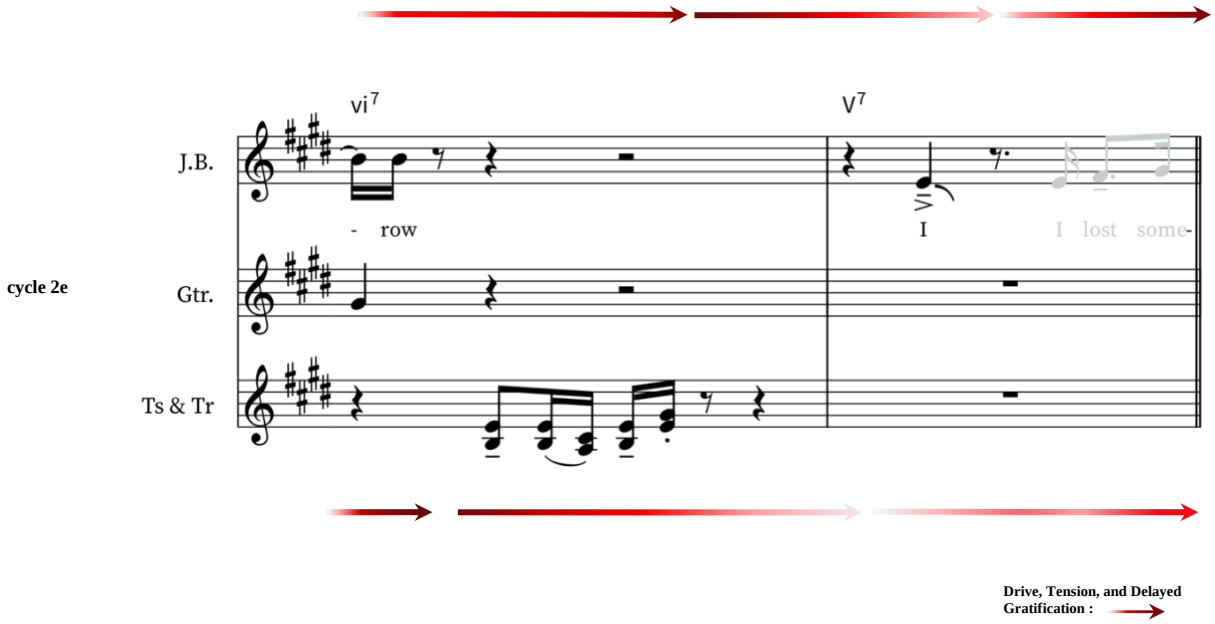
cycle 2c



Drive and Tension:

cycle 2d





The offset assemblage of "Lost Someone's" formal components is the musical material from which drive, tension, and delayed gratification emerges. During his Amateur Night appearance, Brown navigates this one step – two step material superbly, most notably during the refrain. Among essayists and critics, the performance's celebrated station in the soul tradition is reflected in the seemingly "unscripted eruptions" and raw emotions that comprise this vamp like episode.[60] "It sounds like Brown is flicking away the verse structure," Wolk observes, "… but he's not … it's actually a faithful reading of the song … the effect, though, is of a lover with a fraying tether clinging to a few phrases: 'I love you tomorrow,' 'help me,' 'I'm so weak …' You can hear the torn flesh at the back of [Brown's] throat."[61] An analysis of this sensuous episode, therefore, is a necessary step towards not only understanding

[60] Wolk, *33⅓: Live at The Apollo*, (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2004), 64.
[61] Ibid., 46.

"Lost Someone's" canonic quality, but also its role within the discursive practices that make meaning around iterations of Black culture like this one.

Part II

Midnight approaches at the Apollo as Brown brings the fourth song of his set, "I Don't Mind," to a close. His brow; sweat-laden. His voice; labored and gravelly. Gazing upon an audience of 1500 Harlemites, he utters the ballad's final line, *"you're gonna miss me."* Screams and howls abound. Amidst the crowd's ruckus and ballyhoo, a woman enthusiastically cries out *"I sure do, baby."* Immediately, the band cues up a(nother) single chorus of "Hold It," an uptempo vamp performed between tunes while on the road.[62] Brown looks out on the audience. With raspy voice, he runs down his past hit singles within an F# major apologue. *"I said if you leave me I'LL GO CRAZY - 'cause I know it's true now. YOU'VE GOT THE POWER – And I want you to TRY ME. 'Cause I DON'T MIND - don't leave me BEWILDERED. 'Cause this old heart can't stand no more."* Each couplet is immediately punctuated by triadic dual horn-hits. Brown begins to agonize, *"and if you leave me … if you leave … There's only thing I can do now … there's only one thing I can say … there's only one thing I can do now … there's only one thing I can say … there's only thing I can say."* The audience's anticipation builds with each iterative plea. They scream; louder, louder, and louder. As their passion crests, Brown coolly introduces "Lost Someone."

[62] Brown, in his autobiography, refers to this vamp as "the chaser." Here, I follow Wolk, who identifies "Hold It" as 1958 hit record written by guitarist Billy Butler and tenor saxophonist Clifford Scott and recorded by pianist Bill Doggett. Wolk, *33⅓: Live at the Apollo*, 44.

Screaming, RJ Smith writes, is an "ugly sound. Always has been." Dialogic and generative, James Brown uses this ugliness as way to connect with his audience. Each ecstatic utterance, Smith continues, is an opportunity to connect with the audience, to capture, harness, and use their fervor during this performance. "Brown was throwing ugly all over the Apollo," Smith continues. "It is an ugliness that he throws out to the crowd and that he wants thrown back."[63] Smith's observation is an instructive lens for understanding the interplay between what I will call the *live(ness)* of Brown's performance and its discursivity. Interconnected across time and space, this interplay names the meaning generated from the networked experiences of Amateur Night attendees, musicians, or individuals like Smith who listen *with* those attendees on record. Smith's own participation, for instance, is best understood as textual critique that emerges from his critical posture, or rather, his sense of "being there" *with* other various in-person "Lost Someone" participants (Brown, musicians, Apollo audience, etc.). In the months after the album's 1963 release, for example, radio deejays found themselves inundated by calls to play the album in its entirety. As journalist James Maycock notes, "the recording was so palpably alive, the radio listeners could almost see the rapt crowd and yellow spotlight on James Brown as he knelt, head bowed, holding the microphone stand with both hands and imploring 'I lost someone.'"[64] Philadelphia deejay Jerry Blavat reported a similar reaction. "I took it home and put it on my turntable. It was the most exciting live album; this was raw and it captured what [Brown] was onstage, man. Forget it! I busted that whole fucking thing wide open, just played the hell out of it. The whole fucking thing

[63] Smith, *The One: The Life and Music of James Brown,* 113.
[64] James Maycock, "James Brown, Live from the Apollo – A Classic Report from the Vaults," last modified October 24, 2012, https://www.theguardian.com/music/2012/oct/24/james-brown-live-apollo-classic-report.

…"[65] In this context, live(ness) − its song-social text shift − underscores Smith's engagement with screaming's gendered role in "Lost Someone," in addition to highlighting the mediated critical perspectives among future audiences who themselves will engage with, advance, or contest his reading of this performance.

Smith turns to the gospel tradition as he further unspools screaming dialogic utility among Brown and certain members of the audience. "The scream," he writes, "was a transfer from the black church …"

> Where else in public could a black man yell like he could at church? Where else would he not have been whipped, or institutionalized, or shoved to the margins for making the sounds that Brown is luxuriating in making right now at the Apollo? It is a scream activated by the church but not of it, a scream that is an agent of change.[66]

Ecstatic and fervent, screaming reflects the unsayable conditions circumscribing the lives of Brown and more broadly, the male members of his audience.[67] For Smith, screaming embodies the absurdity of navigating the entangled social and political prescriptions that govern the lifeworlds of Black men. In the face of such absurdity, the black subject announces its disgust with a cathartic cry, akin to what bell hooks understands as "the ways in which black men [confront] the hardships of life without their spirits being ravaged." Smith reminds us of the Black Church's institutional role in at once sheltering and "activating" the "thrown ugly" among Brown and the men gathered within the Apollo announcing their pain, and staking its transcendence on a holler.

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[65] Smith, *The One: The Life and Music of James Brown*, 121.
[66] Ibid., 113.
[67] See Maurice O. Wallace, *Constructing the Black Masculine: Identity and Ideality in African American Men's Literature and Culture, 1775 – 1995*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002). Also, see Hazel V. Carby, *Race Men* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998).

In this context, screaming is a refuge; a sound of solace that, for Smith, can be read as an invitation to reimagine the link between music making and subject formation. Yet, instead of an alternate way to hear this link among "Lost Someone's" male participants, Smith collapses the myriad of experiences comprising Black life into a singular and idealized expression of Black male interiority. A brief discussion of the "Soul Man," a prominent archetype in mid-twentieth century Black popular culture," is instructive is an instructive metaphor for this descriptive turn.

Emerging during the height of the Civil Rights era, the "Soul Man," writes Mark Anthony Neal, partially illustrated the "shifting locus of a noble struggle, decidedly secular – between good and evil; blackness and whiteness; military aggression and pacifism; sex and love, and 'class and crass.'" This figure, be it music, print, or film, was deployed as a universalizing elaboration of Blackness and cultural production. "Given the patriarchal focus of Black struggle in the twentieth century, it's not surprising the 'Soul Man' publicly articulated the trauma and tragedy of the black experience in ways that black women were often not allowed."[68] Smith spins precisely this kind of narrative, highlighting Brown's role in making "Lost Someone" into a "journey in which screams mark our progress." Brown, he continues, "builds a universe of screams and it is not his alone." This sonorous setting, he argues, is the "evidence of soul, in the old context, and evidenced of soul music in the present one, feeling its way at the Apollo: a soul that was not something for poor folks or Southern folks but for anyone in pain, a soul to acknowledge and find room for in your life."[69] Brown, in this context, is a seminal

[68] Mark Anthony Neal, *Soul Babies: Black Popular Culture and the Post-Soul Aesthetic,* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 15. See also, Mark Anthony Neal, *Looking for Leroy: Illegible Black Masculinities,* (New York: New York University Press, 2013), 126.
[69] Smith, *The One: The Life and Music of James Brown,* 113. A note on "poor folks": Robin D.G. Kelley interrogates the notion of an "authentic 'folk' culture within Lawrence Levine's popular culture argument.

conduit; Smith's singular sole-man who, by the force of his will, fashions his audience's fervor into a totalized idea of the Black experience. [70]

Rebecca Schneider would argue that this notion of music and seminal expressivity is best understood within the context of going "solo," focusing on a figure from the world of theater, the auteur. "As a category, 'solo' extended beyond the stage space to the entire creative project, we might include the general rise of auteurism in theater directing. In many ways, an auteur theater director can be considered a solo artist, working with mediums of other people's bodies, light, space, sound, text, etc., but generating a work that is primarily regarded as his."[71] Smith imagines Brown and his male audience similarly. In this context, the audience's participation is flattened and reoriented towards amplifying this auteur-like quality. The "universe of screams," are not conduits for understanding soul or the interior lives of Black men. Rather, this sonic terrain is a medium that Smith accents in the service of "Mr. Dynamite's" unique role in shepherding pain and struggle towards an iconic so(u)lo event. This focus on Brown-as-auteur,

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Levine maintains that popular culture, for producers and audiences, is a contested space. Kelley, however, argues that "terms like 'folk,' 'authentic,' and 'tradition' are socially constructed categories that have something to do with reproduction of race, class, and gender hierarchies and the policing of boundaries of modernism." See Robin D.G. Kelley "Notes on Deconstructing the Folk," *The American Historical Review* 97, no. 5, (1992): 1402. Likewise, Hazel V. Carby writes that "a mythology of the rural South conflates the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and two very distinct modes of production, slavery and sharecropping, into one mythical rural folk existence." Hazel V. Carby, "Ideologies of Black Folk: The Historical Novel of Slavery," in *Slavery and the Literary Imagination,* ed. Deborah E. McDowell and Arnold Rampersad Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 140.

[70] Due to its patriarchal tenor, "seminal" has fallen out of favor within contemporary Humanities discourse. Following the critical postures taken up by Emily Lordi and Tanisha Ford, I use it here judiciously in order to draw attention to the hetero-normative and anti-woman quality of traditional James Brown scholarship. See Emily Lordi, *Souls Intact: "Souls Intact: The Soul performances of Audre Lorde, Aretha Franklin, and Nina Simone. Women and Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory. 26, no. 1 (2016),* and Tanisha C. Ford, *Liberated Threads: Black Women, Style, and the Global Politics of Soul,* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

[71] Rebecca Schneider, "Solo Solo Solo," in *After Criticism: New Responses to Art and Performance,* (Maulden: Blackwell, 2001), 32 - 33.

however, mutes the array of intention, experience, and agency undergirding the ugliness thrown about by the men *and* women in the Apollo that evening.

In his autobiography, *The Godfather of Soul*, Brown gives a more specific account of the sonic conditions of his performance of "Lost Someone." "I knew it was one of those good times. The audience was with me, screaming … I thought, 'Man, this is really going to do it.'"[72] The feeling, however, would be short lived. As the ballad's verse gives way to its refrain, bassist Hubert Perry, following the voice leading implied by guitarist Les Buie, got lost. At the same time, members of the audience were growing a bit too enthusiastic. An older woman, the one who had previously declared "I sure do, baby" at the end of the previous song, announced herself once more with uninhibited abandon. "She looked like she had been seventy-five years old," Brown recalled.

> During a quiet stretch … the woman let out a loud scream, and the audience laughed right in the middle of this serious song. I thought "Well, there goes that song too." Then I thought I had better try to fix it some kind of way so I started preaching: "You know we all make mistakes sometimes, and the only way we can correct our mistakes is we got to try one more time. So, I got to sing this song to you one more time." I stretched out the song, hoping we could get something we could use …[73]

It is worth noting that this first-person account, like many surrounding James Brown, drifts between hyperbole and fact. Brown, after all, was known to stretch the truth about aspects of his life and music. As James McBride notes, "Brown was always foggy about his past … He told a biographer this, he told a reporter that."[74] But the truths and half-

[72] Brown and Tucker, *James Brown: The Godfather of Soul,* 135.
[73] Brown and Tucker, *James Brown: The Godfather of Soul,* 135.
[74] James McBride, *Kill 'Em and Leave: Searching for James Brown and the American Soul,* (New York: Random House, 2016). In a passage outlining when Brown moved from Barnwell South Carolina to Georgia, Smith makes a similar observation, writing "…James said he and his father moved to Augusta, Georgia, in 1938; to another, he declared it was in the second half of 1939. Smith, *The One: The Life and Music of James Brown,* 16 – 17.

truths circumscribing Brown and his music provides an opening into understanding the discursive terrain around cultural products from which paths of meaning are cut. This is the terrain on which Smith and Brown himself outline "Lost Someone" as a "great man of music" narrative. Smith highlights a seminal individual who, because of his savvy and showmanship, harnesses and reorients his audience's wayward passions towards a shared objective; and Brown casts himself as a future-sighted individual wrangling with a bevy of outcries that threaten to ruin the recording of his "serious song." The introduction of "preaching" evokes ideas of dominion, discipline, and expressive authority. Brown casts himself as a beacon, what Wolk, describing his performance, analyzes as "a vector of chaos;" because "chaos only means something by comparison with order."[75] This performance is more pilgrimage than journey. Brown is a so(u)le man — a masterful preacher shepherding the wayward, including his band (Perry), his audience (laughter) and a "seventy-five-year-old woman" (scream) towards something "we could use." This reading reduces everyone's participation *except* Brown into objects for the narrative to overcome. The raucous old woman is explicitly denied agency, her voice nothing more than a catalyst that necessitated his decision to preach. This narrative sleight of hand reifies Brown's "So(u)le Brother Number One" reputation for both present and future audiences.

This framework, however canonizing for Brown, is insufficient. It is therefore necessary to interrogate the experiences and discursive practices underlying the gendered, auteurist portrayal of Brown's performance. If preaching, as he later suggested, was a factor in animating this seemingly once in a lifetime event, then we will need to explore

[75] Wolk, *33⅓: Live at The Apollo*, (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2004), 38.

James Brown's idea of what preaching actually was, in all its dialogic complexity. Doing so will render a more heterodox portrait of "Lost Someone's" canonicity.

Part III

The "Terry," was the center of Black life in Augusta, Georgia. In the 1930s and 40s, Smith observes, Augustans "used the term as a shortening of 'the Negro Territory'." The area was originally an Irish enclave called Verdery's Territory. When the Freedman's Bureau moved emancipated slaves into the territory, the name changed, but the landscape remained pretty much the same.[76] The nexus of this community, located at the intersection of Ninth and Gwinnett streets, was an array of businesses, dancehalls, and houses of worship called the Golden Blocks. The neighborhood and streets, Smith writes, were … unpacked sand and clay and bisected by tiny lanes with colorful names: Thank God Alley, Electric Light Alley, Slopjar Alley:

> … Saturday was shopping day in the Terry, and blacks from the countryside came to buy supplies. Farmer hawked produce, and on the streets one could purchase sassafras, raw peanuts, hogsheads cheese, sorghum, shoes, magic roots. Sunday was less than a day of rest: Church services started at two in the afternoon so that the women could first make supper for their white employers.[77]

Hansome Washington lived just southeast of the Golden Blocks. She ran a boarding house and brothel; a terminus for journey men and working women. Brown came to live there

[76] Smith, *The One: the Life and Music of James Brown,* 20. See also J. Mark Souther, "Making 'The Garden City of the South' : Beautification, Preservation, and Downtown Planning in Augusta Georgia," *Journal of Planning History,* 20 no. 2 (2019): 87 – 116.
[77] Smith, *The One: The Life and Music of James Brown,* 21.

early in his life. "The way [he] remembered it," Smith writes, "[his father] parked him at the house of a family member …."[78] Brown called her Aunt Honey. From time to time, she showed Brown affection, baking him potato pone.[79] A penny-pinching attitude and firm hand, however, often eclipsed these acts of kindness. She beat him. She called him ugly. She banished him to the closet when men were over. The predilections of a rambunctious nine-year-old, it seems, were far less important than maintaining her business. "Honey was a good woman and I loved her to death, but she was a madam with other things on her mind," Brown recalled.[80]

The world outside of Aunt Honey's 944 Twiggs Street residence was Brown's playground and classroom. He joined a gang and learned to knife fight in the Carolina style. Each day was an opportunity to hustle. Each opportunity was an occasion to learn; and Brown learned by watching those around him. Home, Smith writes, "was where you went when there was absolutely nowhere else to go. In lieu of home, Brown ran wild in the Terry."[81] There, the drive to command the attention and respect of his peers was guided by an admiration of influential individuals. "Mr. Brown liked to have idols," recalled former Terry resident Emma Austin," somebody *he* could strive to be."[82] Preachers were notable role models. "At the churches there were a lot of singing and handclapping and usually an organ and tambourines, and then the preacher would really get done," Brown recalled. "I liked that even more than the music … I watched the preachers real close.

[78] Ibid., 22.
[79] Ibid., 22.
[80] Brown and Tucker, *James Brown: The Godfather of Soul,* 23.
[81] Brown and Tucker, *James Brown: The Godfather of Soul,* 23.
[82] Smith, *The One: The Life and Music of James Brown,* 36.

Then I'd go home and imitate them because I wanted to preach."[83] Marcelina Manuel da Graca was an exceptional icon of his adoration.

Graca, a charismatic faith healer, was born on January 25th, 1881, in the Cape Verde Islands, the then-Portuguese colony off the coast of West Africa. In 1904 he immigrated to New Bedford, Massachusetts. Fifteen years later he changed his name to Charles M. Grace and established the United House of Prayer for all People (UHOP) in nearby West Wareham. He began referring to himself as "Brother Grace" during a regional tour in mid-1920s. In time, his congregants came to know him as "Sweet Daddy" or simply "Daddy."[84] The mid-1920s and 30s witnessed UHOP's expansion throughout the eastern seaboard. In 1927, Grace arrived in Augusta. The Garden City's proximity to the Savannah River was an ideal location for securing a foothold with the working classes of both Georgia and South Carolina. A parade of decorated floats, cars, and brass bands marked UHOP's arrival.[85] A series a of tent revivals, held at the Terry's edge on Wrightsboro Road, followed this ostentatious spectacle. Such events were an reflected the intricacies of uplift and the gospel of prosperity. A brick-and-mortar site soon followed. In time, Augusta would grow to host one of UHOP's largest congregations.[86]

A sign announcing "Great Joy! Come to the House of Prayer and forget your troubles" hung above the Wrightsboro Road parish's front door. Its interior, despite its

[83] Brown and Tucker, *James Brown: The Godfather of Soul*, 18.
[84] Marie W. Dallam, *Daddy Grace: A Celebrity Preacher and His House of Prayer,* (New York: New York University Press, 2007). 51.
[85] Brown and Tucker, *James Brown: The Godfather of Soul,* 19.
[86] Marie W. Dallam, *Daddy Grace: A Celebrity Preacher and His House of Prayer,* 57. For an original methodology regarding thinking into certain practices and rituals developed within the House of Prayer, see Arthur Huff Fauset, *Black Gods of the Metropolis: Negro Religious Cults of the Urban North,* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 57.

rough wood and saw dust façade, was "cheery with bright colored crepe-paper festoons for decorations."[87] Worship services were held weekly between 7:30 and 8pm. These thematically diverse events, writes Marie W. Dallam, were animated by prolonged "periods of singing, member testimonials, and preaching by the elder." Monday, for example, "was a regular worship service; Tuesday was Pastor's Night; Wednesday was called Home Builders Night; Thursday was the Young Peoples' service; Friday nights the Mother House of the region held a Union service; Saturday was the Flood Gate Meeting; and on Sunday there was Bible study in the morning followed by three services throughout the day."[88] Broadly, the agenda guiding these three services consisted of:

> … announcements, music, and intense prayer, followed by a long period of people's 'coming to the mountain,' which essentially meant that the Spirit descended and caused some people to engage in ecstatic worship. Spiritual ecstasy could take many forms, such as dancing, speaking in tongues, falling down, crying, and even 'walking the benches,' in which people stood on their seats and jumped from one another …[89]

A musical accompaniment of brass (trombones, euphoniums, sousaphones, etc.) and percussion (drum kit, tambourines, hand claps, etc.) energized this fervent mode of worship.[90] Such praise and music-making, known among parishioners as "shout," invoked Psalm 150's call for the "people to praise God with exuberant music. The term "shout"

[87] Dallam, *Daddy Grace: A Celebrity Preacher and His House of Prayer*, 56.
[88] Ibid., 64.
[89] For an original methodology regarding thinking into certain practices and rituals developed within the House of Prayer, see Arthur Huff Fauset, *Black Gods of the Metropolis: Negro Religious Cults of the Urban North*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).
[90] Trombones within the ensemble, Lee Johnson writes, were featured and arranged in a manner that mirrored the harmonic setting employed by gospel choirs of the era. "Shout" bands, he continues, were structured hierarchically, consisting of "the leader, the solo trombone; background section, which includes the first tenor, second tenor, and third tenor; run man or run horn section; baritone, bass horn, and the rhythm section. Joseph Lee Johnson, "Religious Worship Music in the United House of Prayer for All People: A Brief Examination of the Shout Band Tradition and its use of the Trombone," PhD diss., (West Virginia University 2015).

comes from the book of Joshua, where God charges the Hebrews to conquer Canaan by marching around the city while blowing trumpets.[91]

Sermons were routinely delivered by an appointed elder; that is, of course, unless Grace was present. Oftentimes, these visits were unannounced. "If Daddy Grace was attending a service," Dallam writes, "he arrived after it was well underway. Regardless of what had been happening prior to his arrival, his entrance always caused waves of excitement among the crowd as the music kicked into high gear, people called out and rushed toward him, and others caught the Spirit." Brown highlights the congregation's reaction to this event in greater detail: "Once Grace got to preaching and the people would get in a ring and they'd go round and round and go right behind one another, just shouting. Sometimes they'd fall out right here in the sawdust, shaking and jerking and having convulsions. The post in the place were padded so the people wouldn't hurt themselves."[92]

The congregation's enthusiasm, however, should not be attributed to Grace's skills as a rhetorician. Quite the contrary, his preaching style was disarmingly dispassionate, what Dallam describes as "[closer to] the calm homilies of Catholicism than the lively 'fire and brim stone' approach taken up by both Pentecostalism and African American Christianity more generally."[93] Similarly, the Baltimore, Maryland based newspaper *The Afro-American* noted that Grace, despite a lack of stylistic flair, could "… charm an audience with his showmanship, personal magnetism, and sincere interest in the problems of others …" UHOP's 1952 quarterly noted his capacity to communicate without reaching

[91] "And it came to pass at the seventh time, when the priests blew with the trumpets, Joshua said unto the people, Shout, for the Lord hath given you the city." Joshua 6:16. Ibid., 63.
[92] Brown and Tucker, *James Brown: The Godfather of Soul,* 19.
[93] Dallam, *Daddy Grace: A Celebrity Preacher and His House of Prayer,* 66.

"above a common man's understanding, [saying] the thing that everyone can understand."[94] Grace's sway and influence over a given UHOP assembly seemed to rest on his ability to recognize and affirm their lived experiences. As Smith points out, Grace spoke to "those who were new to town, uprooted from the Depression or disconnected by poverty," by building messages of self-help and community activities, music, and food.[95] Brown's enthusiasm for Grace pays tribute to Grace's ability to capture an audience's affection and rouse their shared regard for his leadership and authority.

Brown's resort to "preaching" during "Lost Someone," therefore, suggests a desire to capture his charisma, to appropriate the expressive dominion that Daddy Grace wielded over the Wrightsboro Road congregation. The idea of charisma emerges from a "public archive of widely held beliefs about authority and identity," in what Erica Edwards understands as the *charismatic scenario*.[96] Charisma, literally meaning "gift of grace," is what Edwards, following Bourdieu, identifies as a *habitus*, a "structuring structure" for political fictions and ideals of patriarchal leadership.[97] Edwards conceptualizes these fictions and ideals in three ways: as a *phenomenon*, as an *authority formation*, and as "the *discursive material* for the elaboration of black social and political identities,

[94] *House of Prayer Quarterly* 11, no. 3 (1952). Notably, Dallam emphasizes that evidence supporting this interpretation has yet to be discovered. Moreover, aside from excerpted sentences and three of his sermons, UHOP publications did not make an effort to transcribe Grace's public addresses. See Dallam, *Daddy Grace: A Celebrity Preacher and His House of Prayer*, 215 n97.
[95] Smith, *The One: The Life and Music of James Brown*, 65.
[96] Erica R. Edwards, *Charisma and the Fictions of Black Leadership*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 23.
[97] Edwards invokes Bourdieu's "structuring structure" to foreground charisma as a sort of *habitus*. The habitus, Bourdieu writes, highlights "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them." Pierre Bourdieu, *Outlien of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 72.

relationships, and movements."[98] As phenomenon, charisma describes one's proximity to supernatural power and gifts. Among Black American social formations, this proximity is evidenced as "speaking in tongues, dancing and faith healing;" the "bodily passions" that Brown recalled above.[99] As an authoritative formation, charisma acts as a model for domination, "… what is sometimes referred to as the authoritarian personality." Where Max Weber accents charismatic authority as a "social bond of duty and faithful affiliation," Edwards highlights its flaws. Charismatic authority, she argues, "operates within gendered, racial ideologies of the self and the political." Its purveyors, she argues "hierarch as much through terror as through the seemingly benign manufacturing of consent."[100] Finally, charisma is a "story telling regime," what Edwards sees as a dynamic collection of "performative prescriptions, a compact of mythologies that covers over a matrix of liberatory and disciplinary impulses that both compel and contain black movements for social change." Unlike phenomenological and authoritative frameworks that fail to capture charisma's precariousness in twentieth-century Americana, this discursive scheme underscores the "sacred and secular narrative impulses" that "situates authority or the right to rule in one exceptional figure perceived to be gifted with a privileged connection to the divine." In this context, the charismatic formations deployed by Grace and imagined by Brown evoke a leader who is "gifted and a gift himself." Afforded "divine authority and power," this individual is "given to the people" and "given for the sake of historical change."[101]

[98] Ibid., 12. Emphasis mine.
[99] Ibid., 13.
[100] Edwards, *Charisma and the Fictions of Black Leadership,* 15.
[101] Edwards, *Charisma and the Fictions of Black Leadership,* 16.

As a performance, this charismatic formation is best understood as a theater-based concept theorized by Diana Taylor, the *scenario*. Cultivated in the mid-sixteenth century Italian genre comedia dell'arte, the *scenario* eschews written script in favor of an outline. The improvisational setting, Taylor observes, encouraged the inclusion of contemporary events into a plot, "[allowing] actors to adapt to audience responses, which in turn helped shape the drama."[102] The scenario is both dramatic sketch and what Edwards identifies as a medium for transmitting "historical knowledge through ritual." It acts as a malleable record, a "loosely scripted series of directions" that act as the premise for "reenactment, ritual, role-playing, and other forms of performance that transmit and transport history and knowledge." For Edwards, imagining preaching as a charismatic scenario calls attention to charisma's role as a performative and storytelling regime in Black American culture. The charismatic scenario, she continues, elaborates this regime as a "portable sketch, a movable set of prescriptions for body and affect," which collectively set the stage for a "series of extemporaneous bodily, spiritual, musical, and rhetorical affectations as well as the performance of an idealized, narrative of liberation that is rooted in history." This performance is a "motivating fiction;" a structuring record that expresses the hierarchical relationship between idealized individuals and the socio-political movements that are coalesced around them. [103] Edwards notes the manifold performances and narratives circumscribing these fictions:

> So it goes: A people cry out for liberation from a brutal and foreign regime while a leader is instructed in the spirit. The leader struggles against self-doubt and convention to rise to the promise of his calling. Passage through the burning bush experience, the kitchen conversation with God, the jail house conversation, or the wilderness flight builds toward the leader's

[102] Diana Taylor, "Afterword: War Play," *PMLA 124,* no. 3 (2010): 1888.
[103] Edwards, *Charisma and the Fictions of Black Leadership,* 16 – 18.

> swift entry onto the stage of history. Tables are tossed, angels wrestled, thieves expelled, frauds exposed, and most importantly, collective desires and destinies articulated.[104]

The affective scenario (spiritual, musical, and rhetorical) diagnosed above reifies and legitimates its fictiveness. Like the "repetitive cadences of black sermonic exegesis," Edwards continues, such fictions are reenacted again and again in the guise of Grace's expressive dominion, in Brown's rehearsal of this dominion during his Apollo performance, and his depiction of that performance within the allegorical narrative of the quote above. Mediated between the stage and page, Brown's sermonizing exhibits and normalizes "a specific organization of symbolic elements that fabricate and produce political authority," what Edwards identifies as a more general "charismatic aesthetic." Along with "habits of black sermonizing," examples of the charismatic aesthetic include the "deployment of music to create a collective ethos of resistance and change," and the "calling upon or silencing of women to authorize masculine power."[105] Now we can see why Brown thought going to a preaching break would allow him to regain power at the Apollo; this suppressive gesture would mute her while accenting *his* foresight and musico-dramatic authority. This preaching, however, does violence, reinscribing what Edwards categorizes as undemocratic ideals rearticulated through "gender and sexual normativities."[106]

Thus we have a choice. If Brown's sermon as he imagined it represented an expression of "power, performance, and aesthetic idealization," we can choose to counterpose to it a reading based in live(ness) which highlights *all* the players (in-person

[104] Edwards, *Charisma and the Fictions of Black Leadership*, 17.
[105] Ibid., 19.
[106] Ibid., 21.

and virtual) interacting with and contesting the given scenario's myths and truths. This reading practice begins with recovering "Lost Someone's" plurality of participation, most pressingly the experience and agency of that unnamed (and disempowered) woman.

Her attendance at the Apollo that evening was not a matter of chance or fate. Quite the contrary, she first caught Brown's ear during his act's matinee run earlier that afternoon. Seated just below a microphone, she screamed "sing it motherfucker, sing it" as Brown concluded the third song of his set, "I Don't Mind." Following their final number, "Night Train," he and the Famous Flames made a beeline to their dressing room. Hal Neely, King Records' vice president and sound engineer, nervously awaited them. With pocket tape recorder in hand, he played their set**. "**As soon as we heard the little old lady, we all busted out laughing," Brown recalled. "[Neely] didn't understand. All he could hear was her high piercing voice, but he didn't really understand what she was saying even though it was clear as a bell. Finally, somebody told him. *Then* he understood." Neely was stunned. "Oh no," he exclaimed, "I can't have that. I have to get it out of there and make sure she's not here for the other shows, too. This is terrible." Brown and the band disagreed. She had to be a part of his "Amateur Night" show later on that evening. She had to be on the album. The band understood that she was an asset who could encourage an already raucous Amateur Night audience to scream even louder.[107] Brown immediately dispatched Neely to find her. She was still sitting down front, he recalled. "Neely told her [that] he'd buy her candy and popcorn and give her $10 if she'd stay for the other three shows – he didn't tell her why."[108]

[107] Maycock, "James Brown, Live from the Apollo – A Classic Report from the Vaults."
[108] Brown and Tucker, *James Brown: The Godfather of Soul*, 136.

Of course, Brown expected the old woman's uninhibited participation; he *wanted* her to scream in a way that would accent his show and live album. His assumption was turned on its head when she chose to express herself at the "wrong" time. Brown's account betrays his need for control, his anxiety about the way this unexpected event (her scream and audience laughter) would (mis)shape his future audience's perception of his "serious song." Sermonizing recenters Brown's expressive authority, allowing him to call upon and silence the Apollo audience in a manner he chooses.[109] On the other hand, the unforeseen quality of this event reveals that this scenario, though enmeshed in power, is not a "closed system of narrative and/or performative authority."[110] That is to say, the unnamed woman – along with all the other "Amateur Night" attendees – are not bound by their assigned role and script. Thanks to the inescapable live(ness) of the event, they cannot be denied intention and agency. Brown's stylistic choices, though animated by lived experience, memory, and musical knowledge, were not made independent of the choices and expressive utterances of *all* "Amateur Night" participants. Their interactions with one another throughout this performance, therefore, will provide the raw material for analyzing the complete sonic and musical conditions that define "Lost Someone's" collaborative complex.[111]

Brown's live performance – except for its key (F major) and Hubert Perry's (in)opportune "reharmonization" during the refrain – adheres to the original's form and structure.[112] Perry's misstep illustrates the live(ness) that distinguishes this live

[109] Edwards, *Charisma and the Fictions of Black Leadership*, 29.
[110] Ibid., 19.
[111] Saidiyah Hartman's "critical fabulation," guides my thinking here. This writing practice, grounded in judiciously "[imagining] what cannot be verified," seeks to make productive sense of certain figures or events who are absent from the archive. Saidiyah Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," *Small Acts* 12 no.2, (2008): 1-14.
[112] See Appendix D

performance from its studio recorded counterpart. For example, the shared experiences among Brown and his band during their 1961 session at King Records yielded a unique rehearsal of "Lost Someone's" musical components. Guthrie Ramsey would argue that the aesthetic demands of that rehearsal are bested conveyed in terms of what he calls "troping cycles." Troping cycles are sequences arise from harmonic repetition, and are found among many African-American musical forms. The combination of choice and expression between each studio participant was engendered by their critical orientation with one another, this composition, the studio's spatial and temporal condition. Later, the critical postures taken up by Brown, his band, and the Apollo's audience yielded a a quite different array of choices and expressions. In the aggregate, these events – Perry's misstep, the audience's screams and laughter, Brown's sermon – not only produced a unique performance, but an icon of music-making upon which critiques of its relation with cultural production are, at this moment, being derived. This is live(ness).

Upon witnessing what he suggests above as the possible failure of his performance, Brown introduces the first and second troping cycles, singing

> Now I've got something I want to tell everybody. And I've got something I want everybody to understand, now. You know we all make mistakes sometimes. And the only way we can correct our mistakes. We've got to try one more time. So I've got to sing this song to you one more time. Now I want you to know that I'm not singing this song for myself now … I'm not singing this song for myself now … I'm singing it for you too.

The role of anaphora and epiphora, rhetorical techniques that emphasize words at the beginning and end of a given phrase, is notable. The former is conveyed by Brown's iterative articulation of "something," "mistakes," and "singing this song" at the beginning of each phrase. The latter marks the return to "mistakes," "one more time," and "myself

now" at the lyric's end. This device, altogether, evokes the composition's [two step – one step] as captured by the studio recording.

Figure 1.4: "Lost Someone" – *Live at the Apollo '62* – Troping Cycle 1 (Anaphora – Epiphora)

"Now I've got **something** I want to tell **everybody**.

And I've got **something** I want **everybody** to understand, now.

You know we all make **mistakes sometimes**.

And the only way we can correct our **mistakes**.

We've got to try **one more time**.

So I've got to **sing this song** to ya **one more time.**

Now I want you to know that **I'm not singing this song** for **myself now** …

I'm not singing this song for **myself now** …

I'm singing it for you too.

Anaphora:

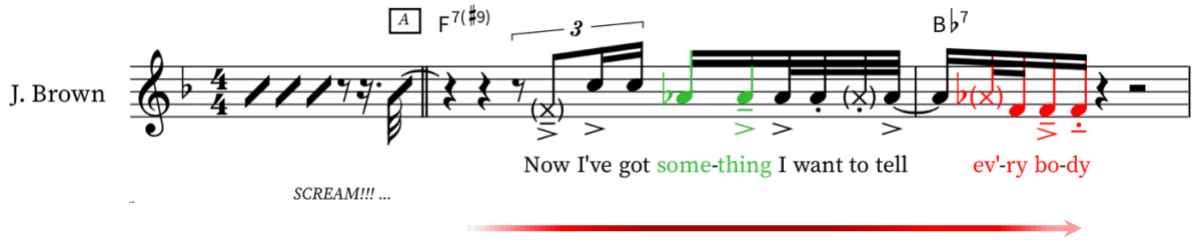
Epiphora:

The diatonic contour of Brown's phrasing here implies a F minor-pentatonic tonality. As in his studio recorded performance, the syncopated effect emerging from Brown's rhetorical turn evokes a sense of drive and delayed gratification. He achieves this sensibility by phrasing against and across each F^7 – B^{b7} couplet. In mm. 1-8, for example,

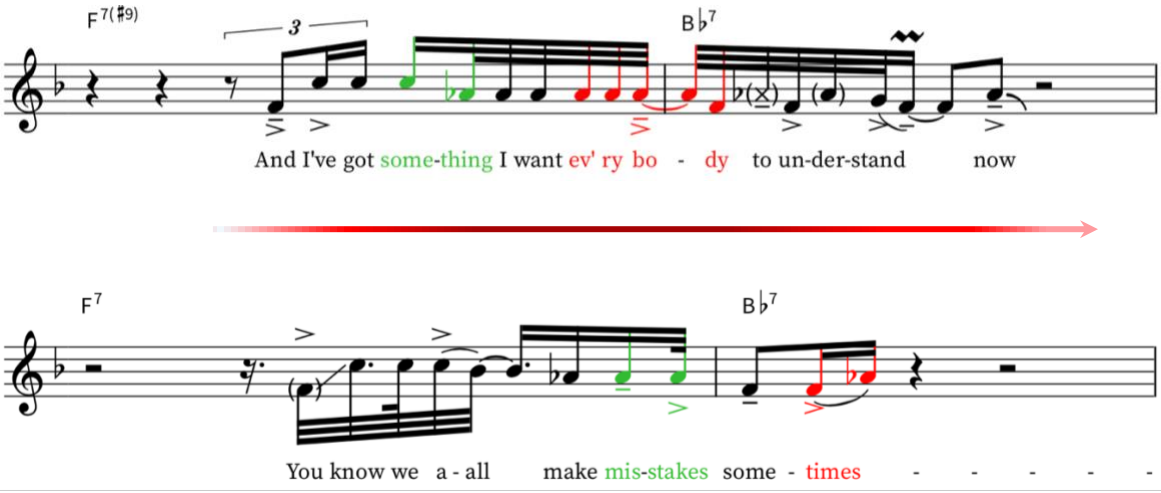
Brown begins and resolves his phrases on the unstressed portions of beats three and four. Notably, *"to tell …," "everybody,"* and *"mistakes"* are articulated and suspended across the bar-line. As Figure 1.5a demonstrates, these lyrics are stressed at different parts of the phrase. For example, *"everybody's"* rhetorical utility at the lyric's end and crest accents is reorganized in measures two through four.

This turn of phrase is amended slightly in the second troping cycle. Brown inflects *"sing this song"* on beats four and one of each bar, an iterative gesture that accents the subdominant and tonic's unsettled-settled quality. Altogether, Brown's elocution upsets the phrase's relation with the pulse. Tension and delayed gratification, what Anne Danielsen might call a certain "stable-unstable," arises, as the Apollo audience attempts to resolve their relation between Brown's stylized delivery and their imagined metric grid.[113]

Figure 1.5a: "Lost Someone" – *Live at the Apollo '62* - Troping Cycle 1

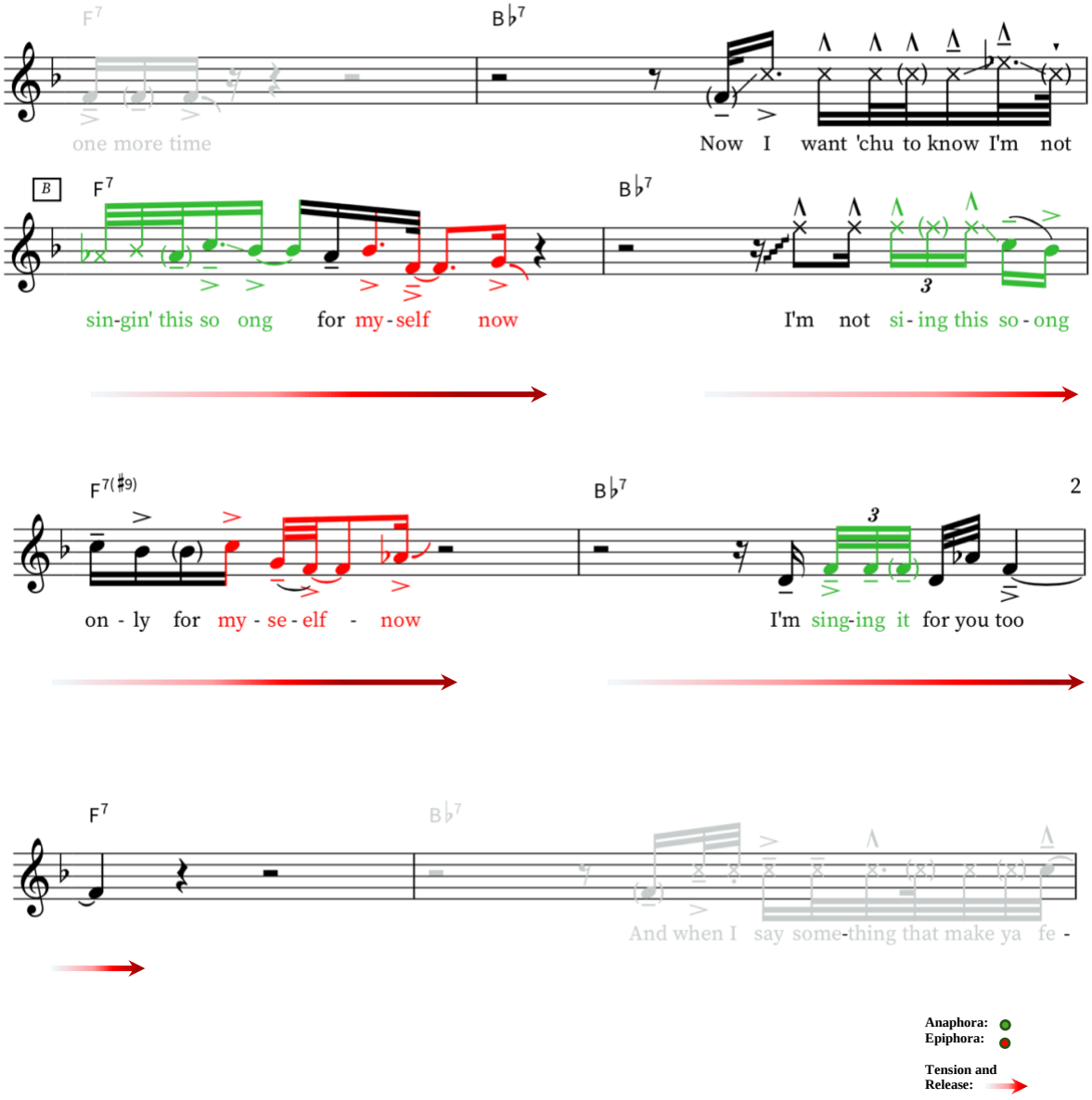


[113] Anne Danielsen, *Presence and Pleasure: The Funk Grooves of James Brown and Parliament,* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2006),



Anaphora:
Epiphora:
Tension and Release:

Figure 1.5a (con't): "Lost Someone" – *Live at the Apollo '62* - Troping Cycle 2



Brown's performance is reminiscent of a tonal mode of preaching traditionally employed during a sermon's climax. These modes, what religious scholar William Turner

identifies as "whooping, intoning, chanting, moaning, or tuning,"[114] broadly convey the stylized transformation of speech into melodic and rhythmic verse. For Martha Simmons, "tuning" describes a melodic strain attached to the spoken word. "Whooping" however, "is first melody;" a form "that can be identified by the fact that its pitches are logically connected and have prescribed, punctuated rhythms that require certain modulations of the voice, and is often delineated by quasi-metrical phrasings."[115] These modulations can be expressed as sustained tones, growls, or melismatic flourishes. Preachers, having established a tonal center, may also move beyond chanting to actual singing. As ethnomusicologist Joyce Marie Jackson observes, this expressive shift "shares with chanted sermons the characteristics of pitch stability—more or less equal lines, repeated contours, and formulaic rhetoric—but in addition, displays some of the embellishments characteristic of deliberate singing."[116] Similarly, Braxton Shelley advances "tuning up" as a way of accenting musical convention's interplay with this homiletic tradition.[117] Ethnomusicologist Jeff Todd Titon highlights this expressive nexus in a sermon given by Baptist minister and civil rights activist C.L. Franklin, a phenomenological account worth quoting at length for its relevance to Brown's 1961 performance:

---

[114] William Turner, "The Musicality of Black Preaching: A Phenomenology" in *Performance in Preaching: Bringing the Sermon to Life*, eds. Jana Childers and Clayton Schmit (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008) ___. Citing white east Kentucky parishioners, Bruce Rosenberg argues that the intermixture between chanting and preaching amongst Baptist and Methodist preachers during the Second Great Awakening. Bruce Rosenberg, *The Art of the American Folk Preacher* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 13-16. Gerald Davis, however, contends that whooping emerged from the chanted sermons – themselves a product of African performance traditions – that were heard during Antebellum Black worship services. Gerald Davis, *I Got the Word in Me and I can Sing it, You Know* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 10.

[115] Martha Simmons, "Whooping: the Musicality of African American Preaching" in *Preaching with Sacred Fire: An Anthology of African American Sermons from 1750 to the Present* eds. _____ (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2010), 866.

[116] Joyce Marie Jackson, *Black Preaching Styles: Teaching, Exhorting, and Whooping,* _____

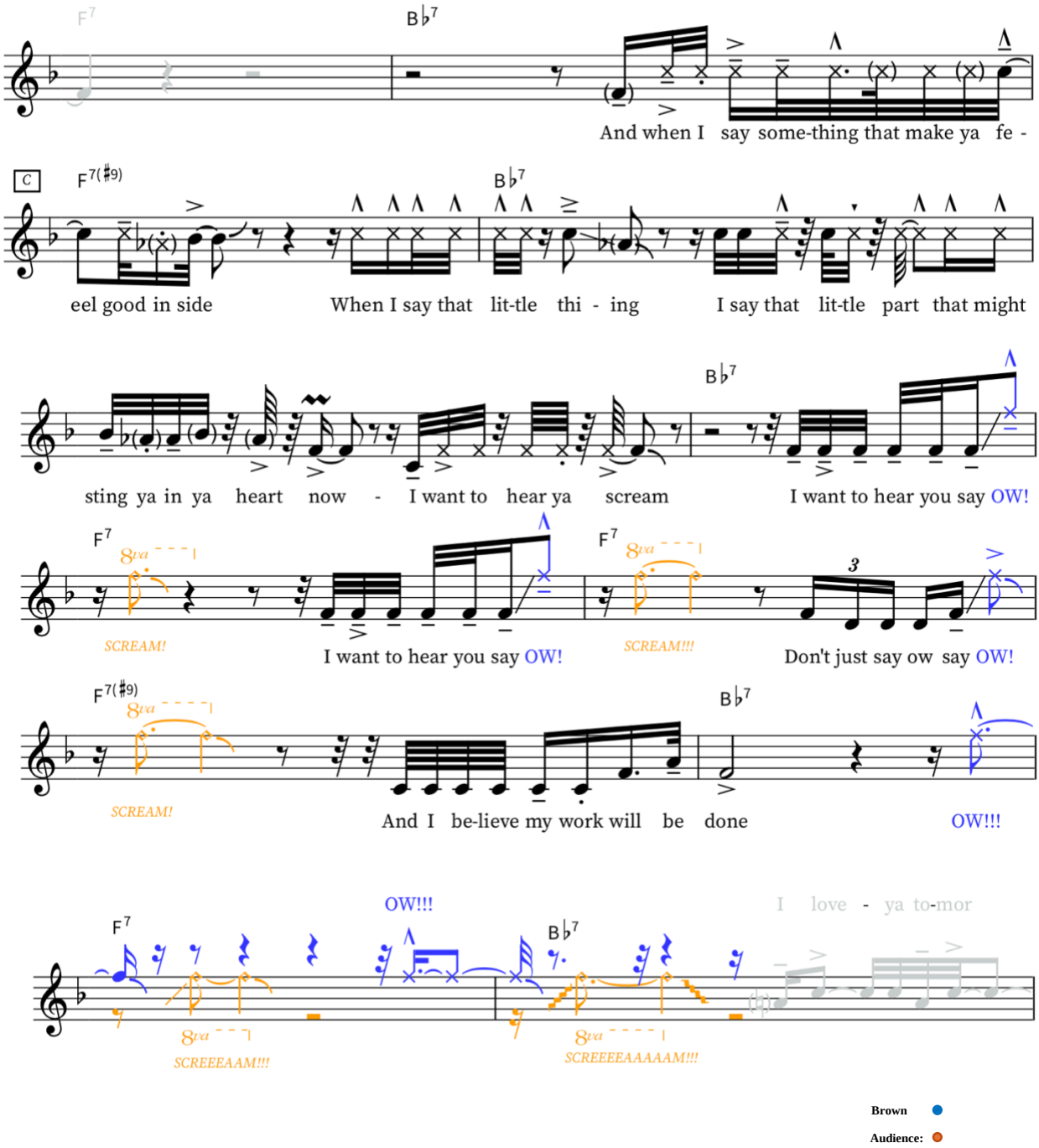
[117] Braxton Shelley, "Sermons in Song: Richard Smallwood, the Vamp, and the Gospel Imagination," PhD diss., (University of Chicago, 2017), 58.

> For twenty minutes the congregation has listened to their pastor's extemporaneous message on Mary at the Cross, and now they are anxious for "the sweet part," that hypnotic, half-changed and half-sung closing section when his message will move them to ecstasy. Franklin's tone shifts; he begins to draw out the last syllables of certain words. The range of his spoken intonation compresses nearly to a monotone; then, gradually, it expands as he starts to chant … Cries from the congregation punctuate the ends of Franklin's phrases and encourage him to continue: "That's right," "Preach Reverend," "Tell the truth …" [Franklin] establishes a melody, its tonic reinforced by the congregation's intoned response on the tonic pitch … The pace accelerates … As with one voice, almost drawing the sermon out of him, the congregation cries out, the pace quickens again and the sermon comes to a singing climax.[118]

This collaborative shift, notably the evolution of the interplay between Franklin and his congregants, give us a key to the expressive interactions among the participants in the charismatic scenario around "Lost Someone" at the Apollo. In the third troping cycle, for example, Brown returns to a minor pentatonic tonality, singing *"And when I say something that makes ya feel good inside."* A lone woman cries out *"sing it"* as Brown continues, *"when I say that little thing, I say that little part that might sting ya in ya heart now – I want to hear you scream – I want to hear you say ow! -- Don't say ow, say OW! – And I believe my work will be done –OW"* As highlighted in Figure 1.6a, each *" …say ow"* motif ascends F3-F4 or D3-F4 (mm. 6 – 12), and *the audience responds in kind.* Each "ow" is expressed as an F-harmonic partial, an "intoned response" on the tonic that at once matches, reinforces, and animates the cycle's pentatonic quality.

[118] Jeff Tod Titon, "Reverend C.L. Franklin: Black American Preacher-Poet," in *Folklife Annual,* ed. Alan Jabbour and James Hardin, (Washington DC: Library of Congress, 1987), 86.

Figure 1.6a: "Lost Someone" – *Live at the Apollo '62* - Troping Cycle 3



During the fourth cycle, enthusiasm and fervor continues to rise throughout the Apollo as Brown sings, *"I love you tomorrow … I love you today – I'm so weak – And DON'T take*

my heart away." The ascending-descending arc of these two-bar motifs, as well as their major and minor tonalities, remind us of the composition's "one step – two step" motion. Brown continues, chanting *"But come on … come on … Come on home to me"* Exuberance builds: A woman "woooo's;" another shouts; and yet someone else yells, as Brown maintains his lulling call of *"come on home to me … Come on home to me."*

Perhaps the musical episodes described thus far *do* seem to a support a hierarchical and gendered reading of this performance, what Smith, for example, highlighted above as a "journey in which screams mark our progress." Yet, a closer examination disturbs Smith's gendered, hierarchal framework. As demonstrated in the troping maps below, "Lost Someone's" interactive milieu is not centered around the singular figure of James Brown. Rather, as Figures 1.6b, 1.7b, and 1.8b demonstrate, even as Brown elicits quasi-musical responses and interjections, individual amateur night attendees are shaping *his* musical choices as well. Each *"woo," "sing,"* and "*sing it baby"* discloses a distinct participant declaring their critical posture with and against additional participants (Brown included). There are overt call and response episodes (*"let me hear you say ow"*) where Brown directly engages and provokes a distinct action from his audience. However, such episodes do not overpower the participants who scream and holler their own stake in a particular moment or the entire performance.[119]

A note on the troping maps that follow: Each column denotes individual and shared participation among musicians (Brown) and various "Amateur Night" attendees.

[119] A note on the troping maps that follow: Each column denotes individual and shared participation among musicians (Brown) and various "Amateur Night" attendees. The interactions among these participants are depicted in the later four columns. Placed in corresponded with the harmony (column 3), the quartile division in this section (beats one, two, three, and four) reflects a single measure. Changes in affective intensity among the audience (fervor, enthusiasm, ect.) is demarcated as light to dark orange. Extemporaneous interjections and utterances among distinct audience members are marked individually as well. See Appendix E for key.

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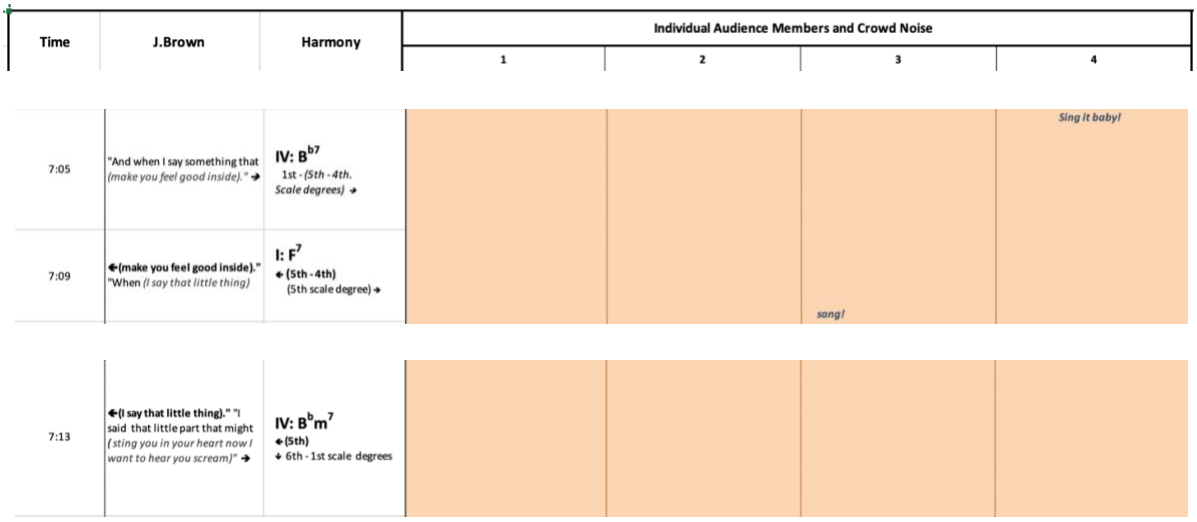
Figure 1.6b: "Lost Someone" – *Live at the Apollo '62* – Troping Cycle 3 (Map)



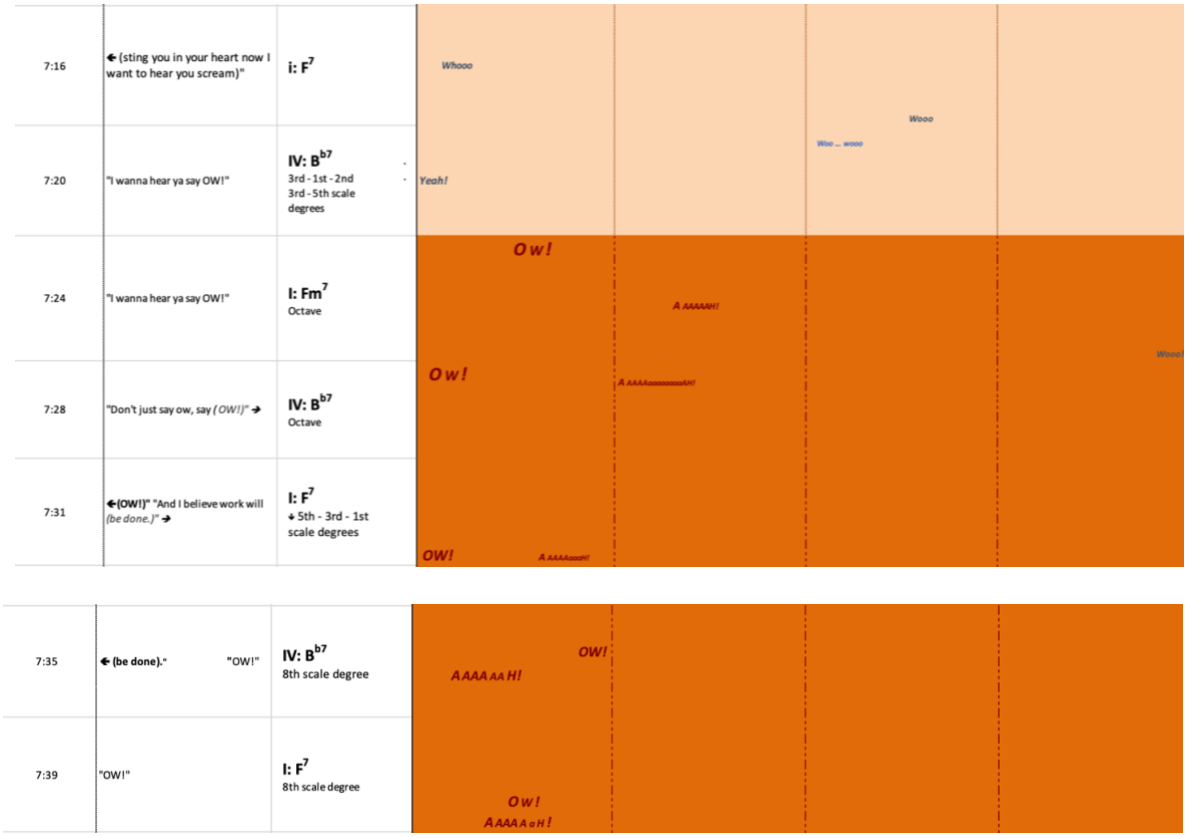
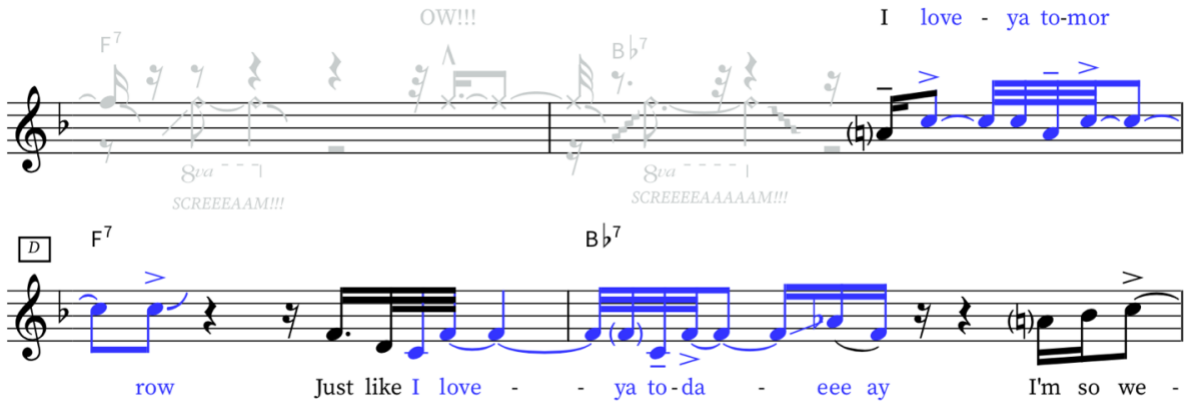


Figure 1.7a: "Lost Someone" – *Live at the Apollo '62* - Troping Cycle 4



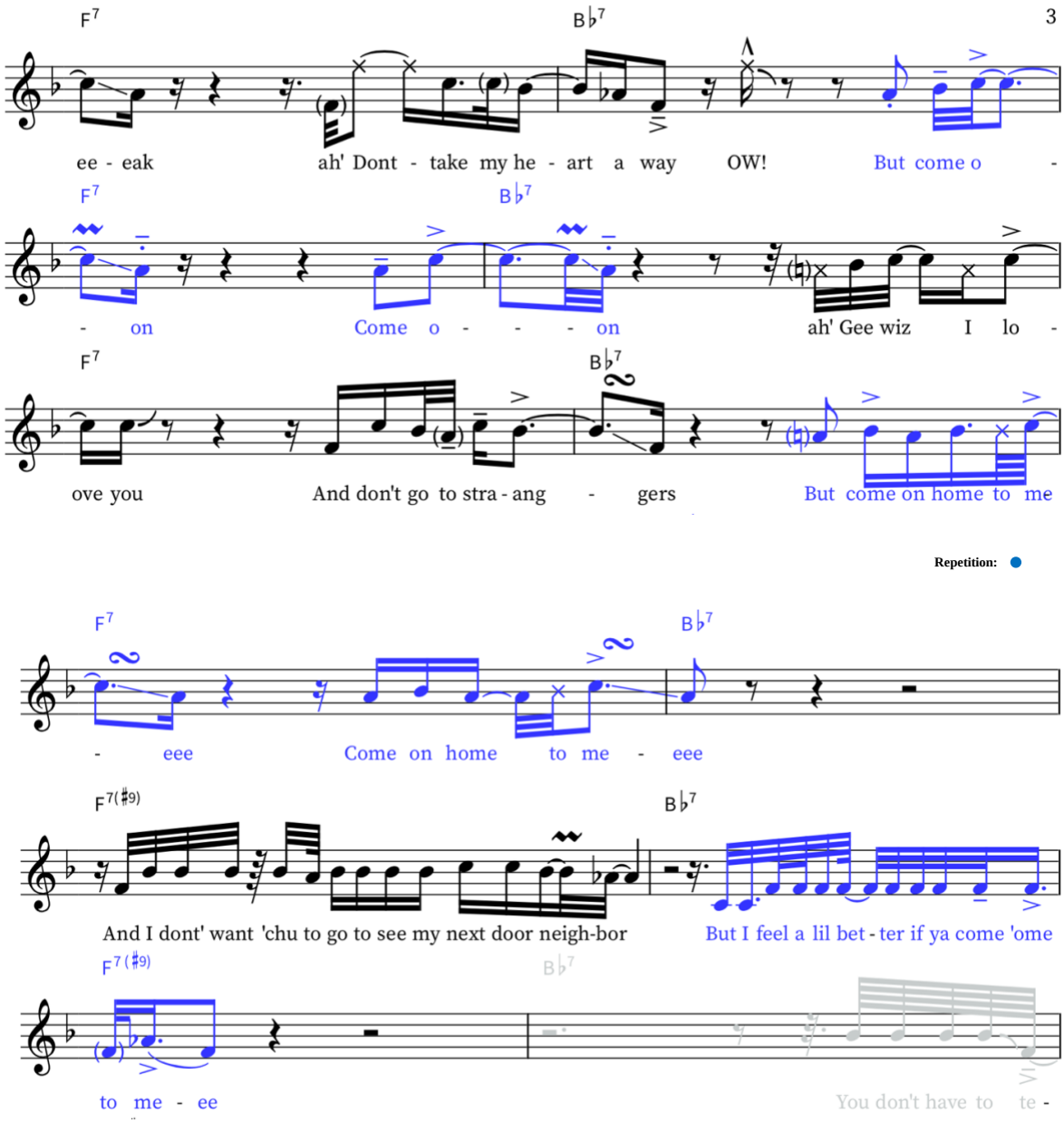
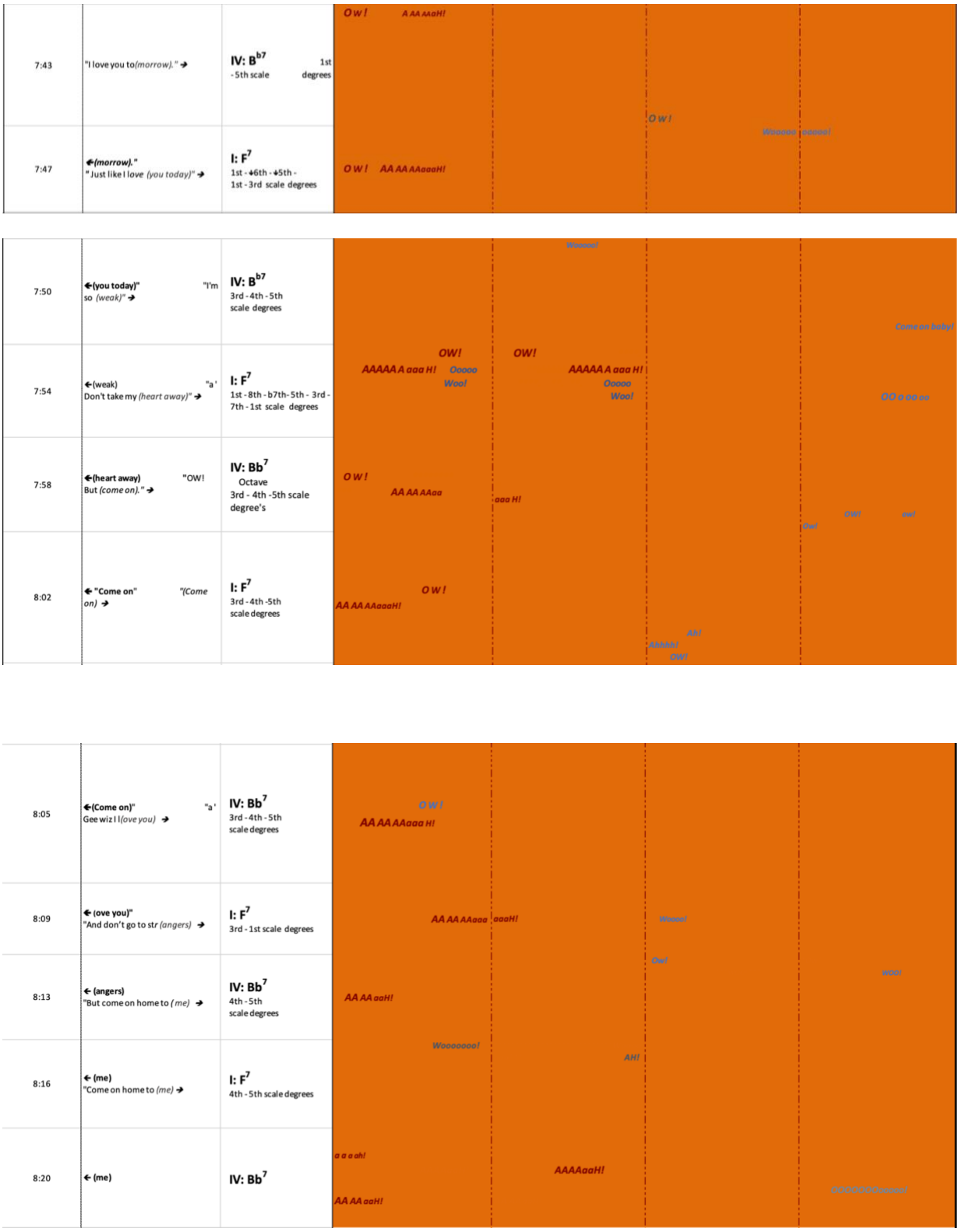
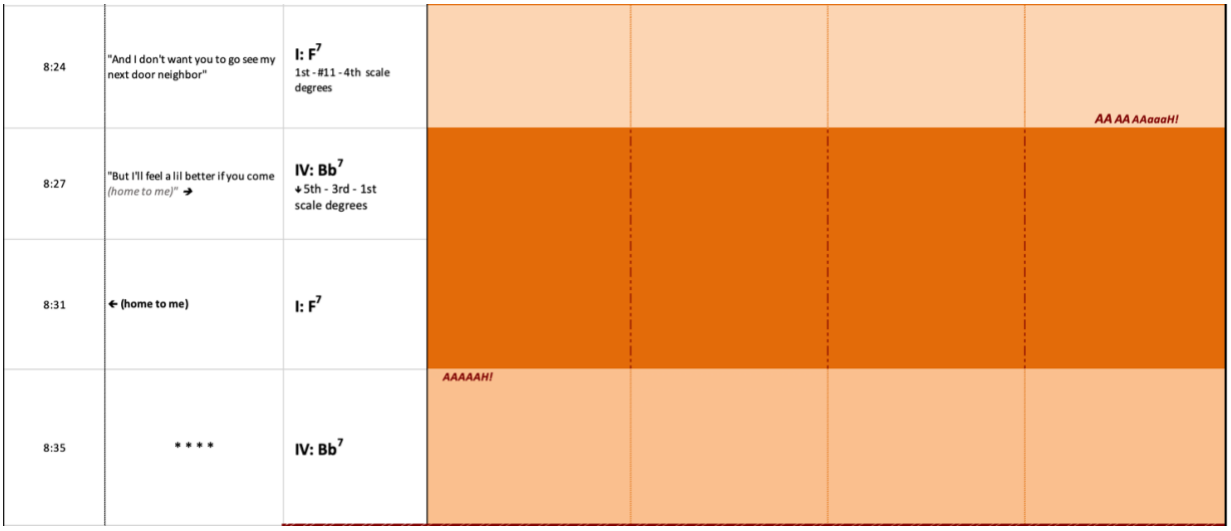

F7
B♭7
3
ee - eak
ah' Dont - take my he - art a way
OW!
But come o -
F7
B♭7
- on
Come o - - - on
ah' Gee wiz I lo -
F7
B♭7
ove you
And don't go to stra - ang - gers
But come on home to me
Repetition:
F7
B♭7
- eee
Come on home to me - eee
F7(♯9)
B♭7
And I dont' want 'chu to go to see my next door neigh-bor
But I feel a lil bet - ter if ya come 'ome
F7(♯9)
B♭7
to me - ee
You don't have to te -

Figure 1.7b: "Lost Someone" – *Live at the Apollo '62* – Troping Cycle 4 (Map)





The fifth troping cycle finds Brown markedly restrained as he once more subsumes his allocution within anaphora and epiphora. *" You don't have to tell me, but I believe someone over here lawd ... someone"* A lone female voice rises from the newly mellowed assembly, *"sing ... say it."* Brown continues, singing *"and I believe somebody out here lord ... someone – And I believe, I believe somebody over there lawd someone."* Another attendee announces herself, pointedly shouting *"yeah you baby you ... yeah you!"* Conversation and chatter continue to crescendo throughout the Apollo as Brown remarks, *"I said ... I said its getting a little cold outside. I wonder do you know what I'm talking about ... And ev'ry body needs somebody ... You know I'd like to sing this song."* Another attendee announces *himself*, *"G'on sing ya song ... g'on sing ya song."*

Figure 1.8a: **"Lost Someone" –** ***Live at the Apollo '62*** **- Troping Cycle 5**

Anaphora:

Epiphora:

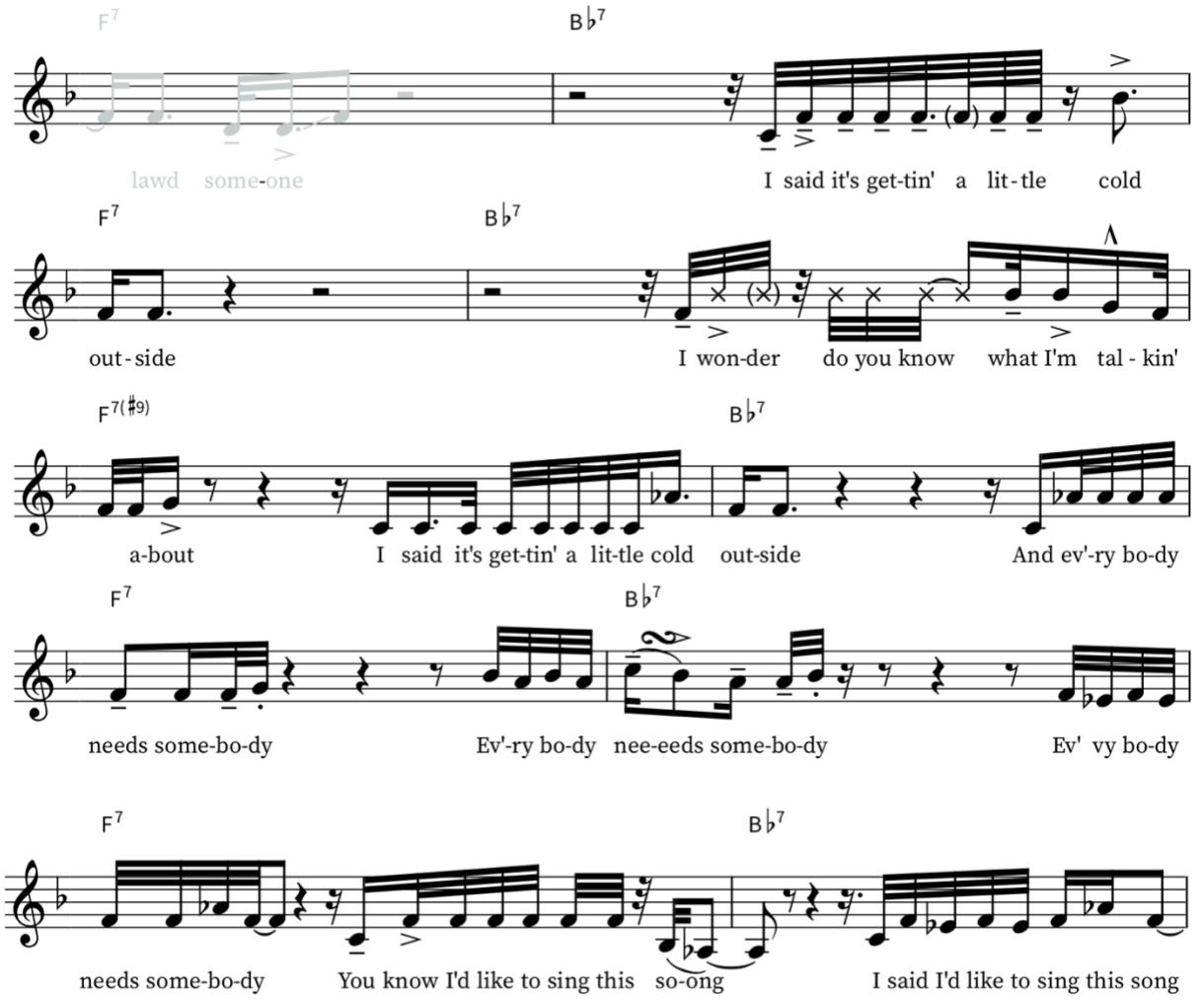
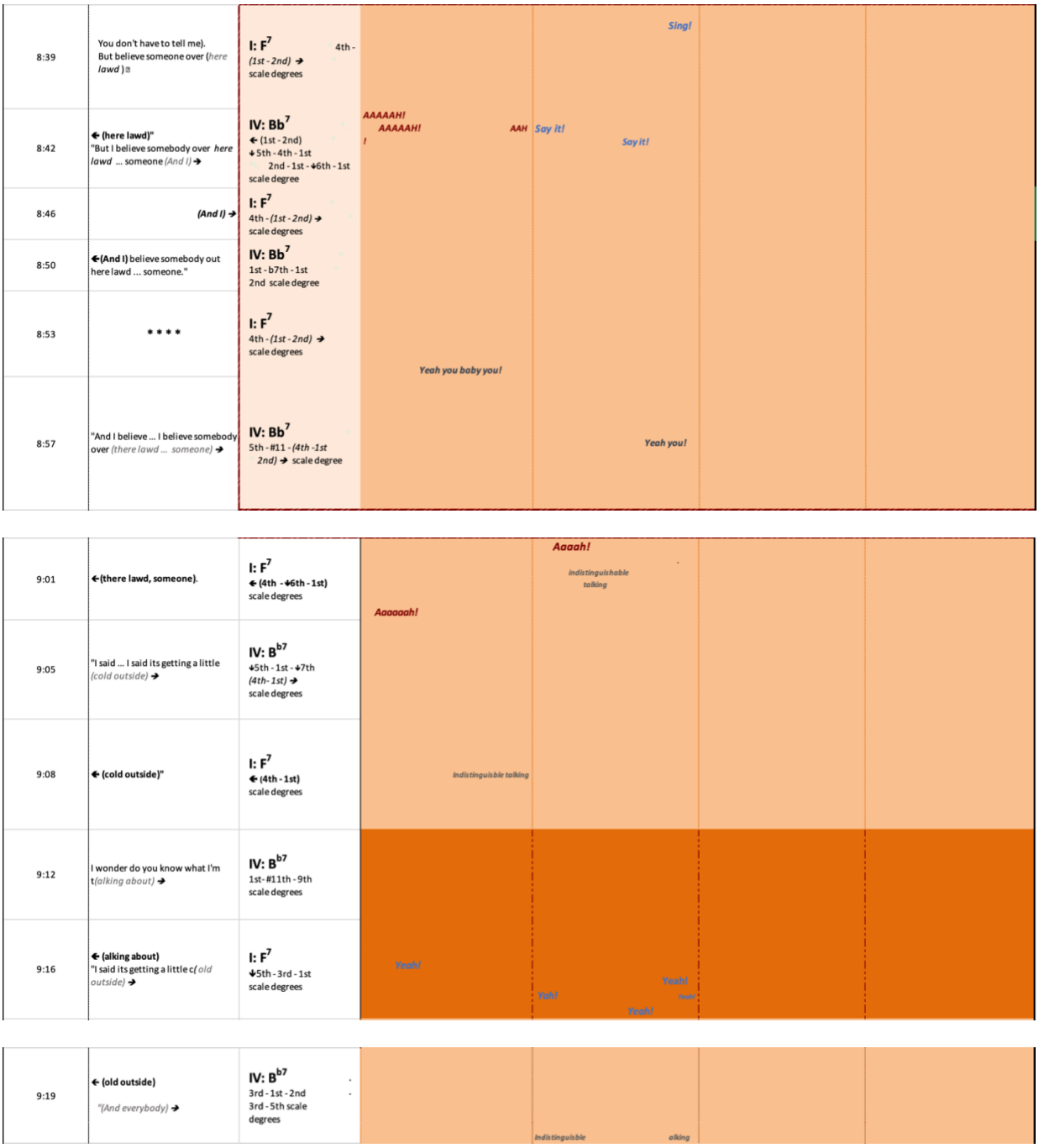
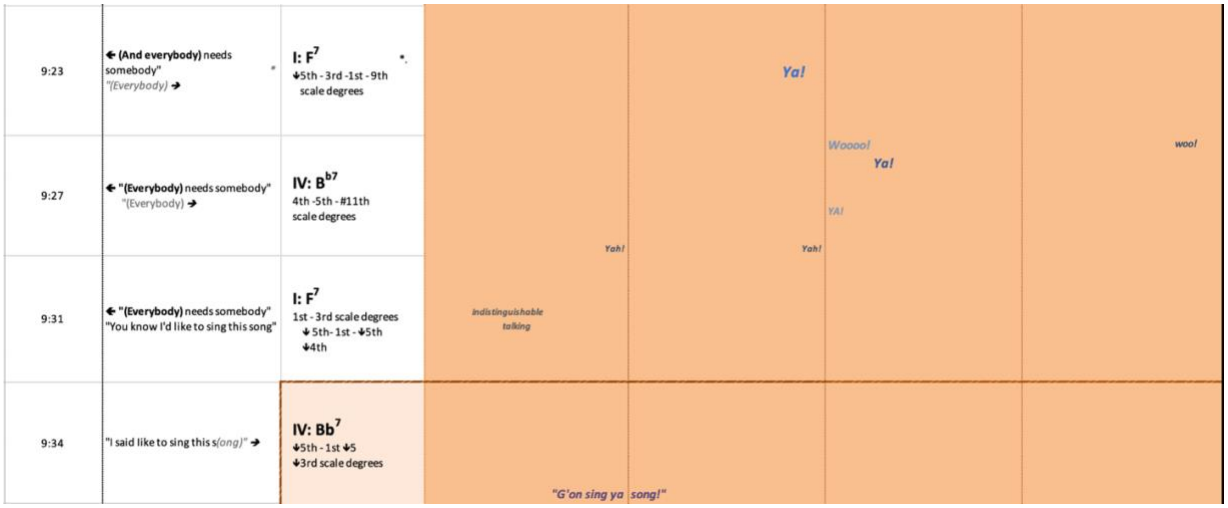

F7
B♭7
lawd some-one
I said it's get-tin' a lit-tle cold
F7
B♭7
out-side
I won-der do you know what I'm tal - kin'
F7(♯9)
B♭7
a-bout
I said it's get-tin' a lit-tle cold
out-side
And ev'-ry bo-dy
F7
B♭7
needs some-bo-dy
Ev'-ry bo-dy nee-eeds some-bo-dy
Ev' vy bo-dy
F7
B♭7
needs some-bo-dy
You know I'd like to sing this so-ong
I said I'd like to sing this song

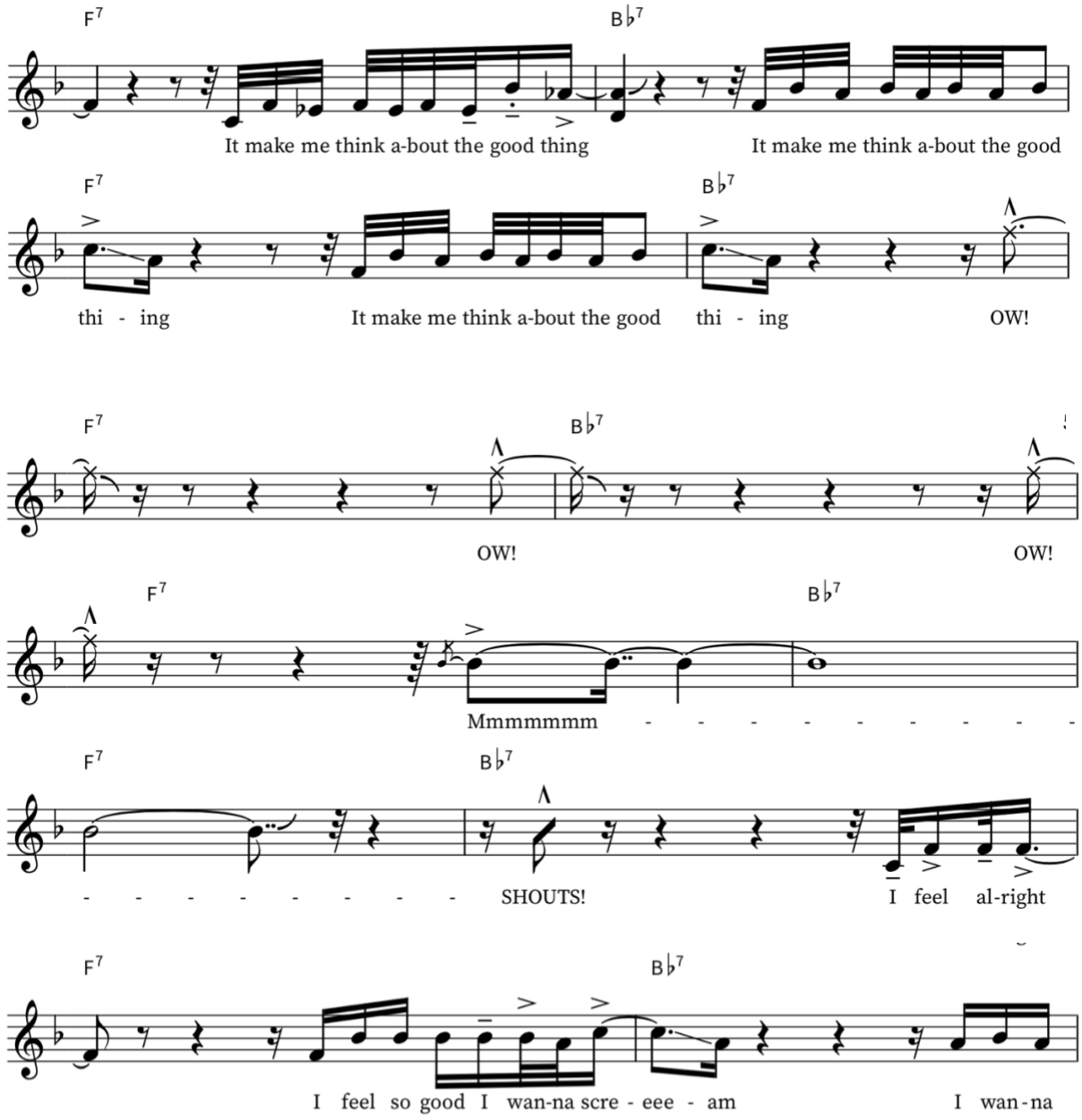
Figure 1.8b: "Lost Someone" – *Live at the Apollo '62* – Troping Cycle 5 (Map)





Sonic and musical drama continues to escalate as Brown introduces the final cycle. He is enlivened, affected and animated. *"You know it make me think about the good thing … it make me think about the good thing … it make me think about the good thing."* The rising trek of each repeated phrase (C4 – $B^{b}3$ and F3 – C3) stokes the accumulating drive and passion among all gathered within the Apollo. Suddenly, with uninhibited abandon, Brown cries out *"OW"* again and again. Each F-inharmonic call is met be an equally rousingly response. *"I feel like I wanna scream,"* he continues. *"I feel so good I wanna scream."* A woman cries outs, *"sing it."* Brown repeats, *"I feel like I wanna scream*," and nother woman shouts, *"gone' scream … gone' scream."* Yet again, "*I want to scream,"* and yet another voice announces *him*self, declaring *"goin scream!"* – and Brown erupts. His squall, sudden, strident, and striking, is met with an equally fervid response that echoes across the auditorium from all sides.

Figure 1.9a: "Lost Someone" – *Live at the Apollo '62* - Troping Cycle 6



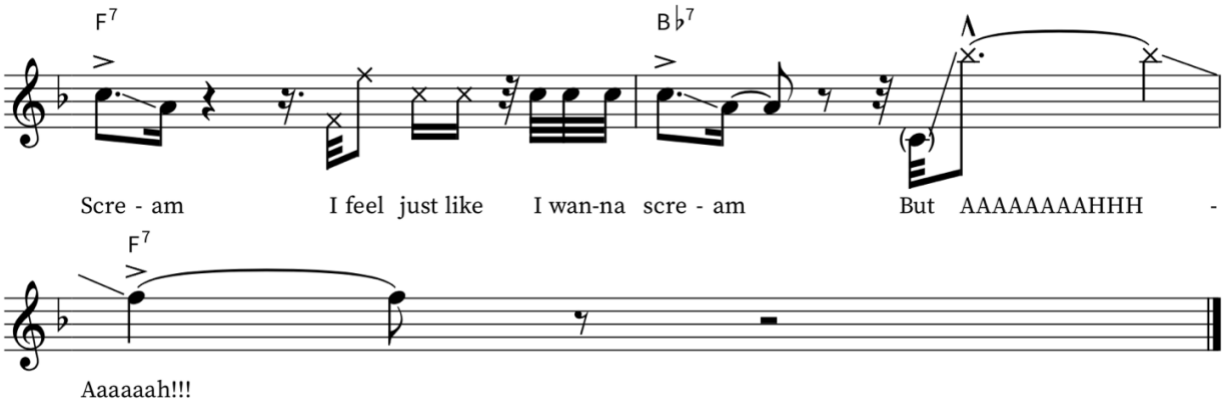
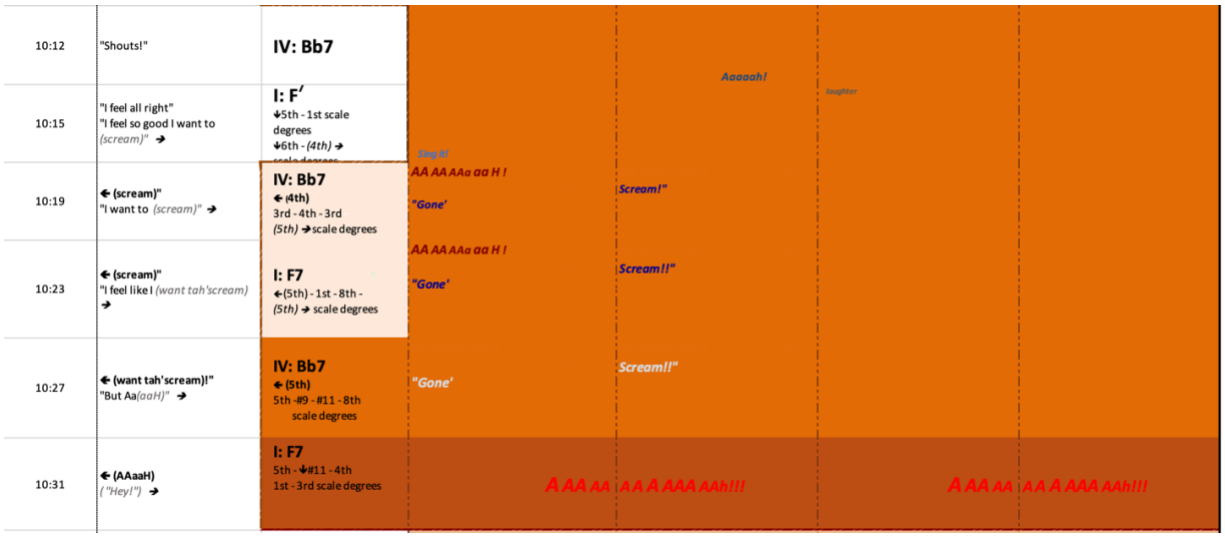


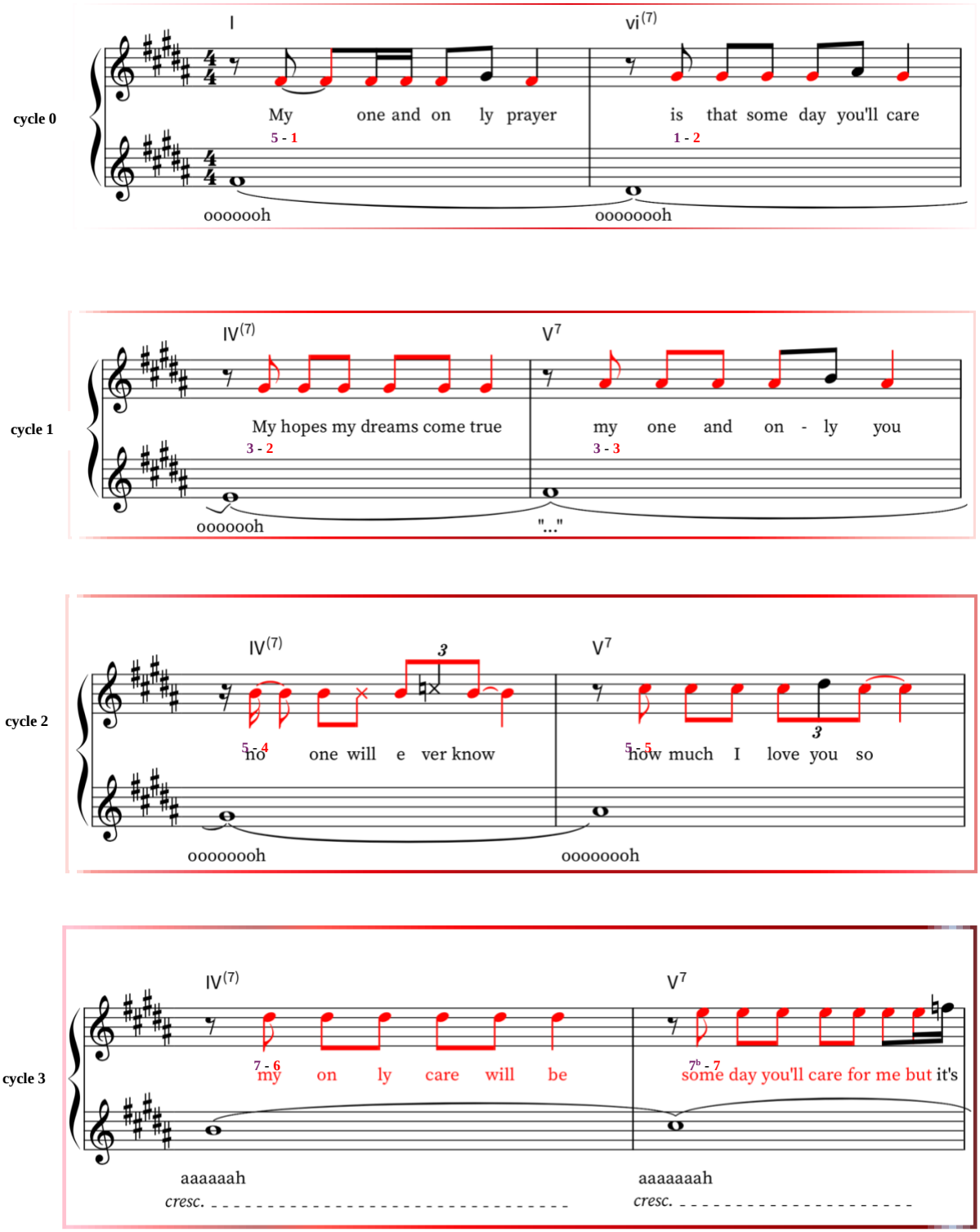
Figure 1.9b: **"Lost Someone" –** ***Live at the Apollo '62*** **– Troping Cycle 6**

Time	J.Brown	Harmony	Individual Audience Members and Crowd Noise			
			1	2	3	4
9:38	← (ong) It make me think about the *good (things)* →	I: F^7 ↓5th - 1st- 3rd scale degrees	*"G'on sing ya s ong!"*			
9:42	← (thing) "It make me think about the good *(thang)!* →	IV: Bb7 ↓5th - 1st - 3rd - 1st scale degrees			*"All right"*	
9:46	← (thing)" "It makes me thing about the good (thing) →	I: F7 1st - 5th - #11 - 4th scale degrees	*"All right"*			
9:50	← (thing)" "OW!"	IV: Bb7 8th scale degree	*"All Right!"*			
9:52	"OW!"	I: F7 8tht scale degrees	*OW! AAAAAAAA AAA AAA*	*AAaaaH!*		*OOoW!*
9:56	"OW!"	IV: B^{b7} 8th scale degree	*OW! AAAAAAAA AAA AAA*	*AAaaaaH!*		*OOOOoW!*
10:00	*[moans]*	I: F7 4th scale degree	*OW! AAAAAAAA AAA AAA*	*AAaaaaaaH!*		
10:05	*[moans]*	IV: Bb7				
10:08	*[moans]*	I: F7				*Woooooooo!*

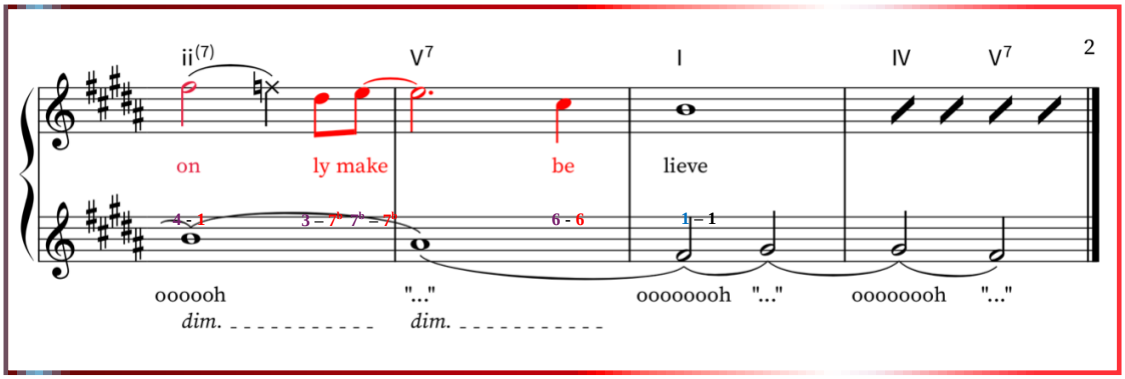


Altogether, these expressions – be it the howls and screams that follow Brown's instruction to the screams and howls that exhort him to engage with his audience -- demonstrates an alternative to the earlier noted "musical progenitor" paradigm. Yes, there are moments where Brown directly elicits and guides interactions among attendees. However, these episodes are only a portion of the story. As demonstrated in the examples above, the participative milieux that underlies this performance emerges from the generative ways that musicians and concertgoers respond to and engage with the unique circumstances that circumscribe this performance. Indeed, elaborating the interplay between this environment and "Lost Someone" is itself a critical step towards disrupting the soul tradition's penchant for idealizing notions of expressivity, Black identity and gender.

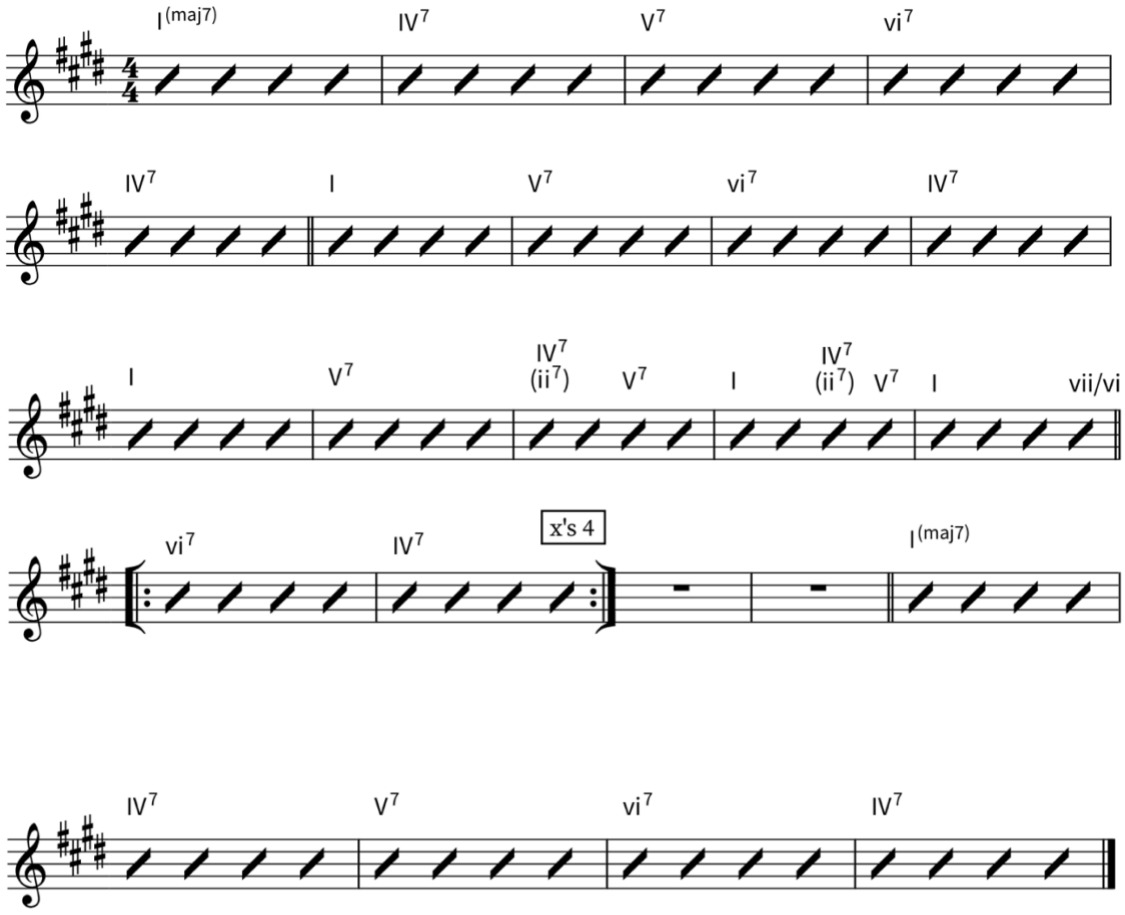
Appendix A: "It's Only Make Believe" – Modal and Tonal Analysis



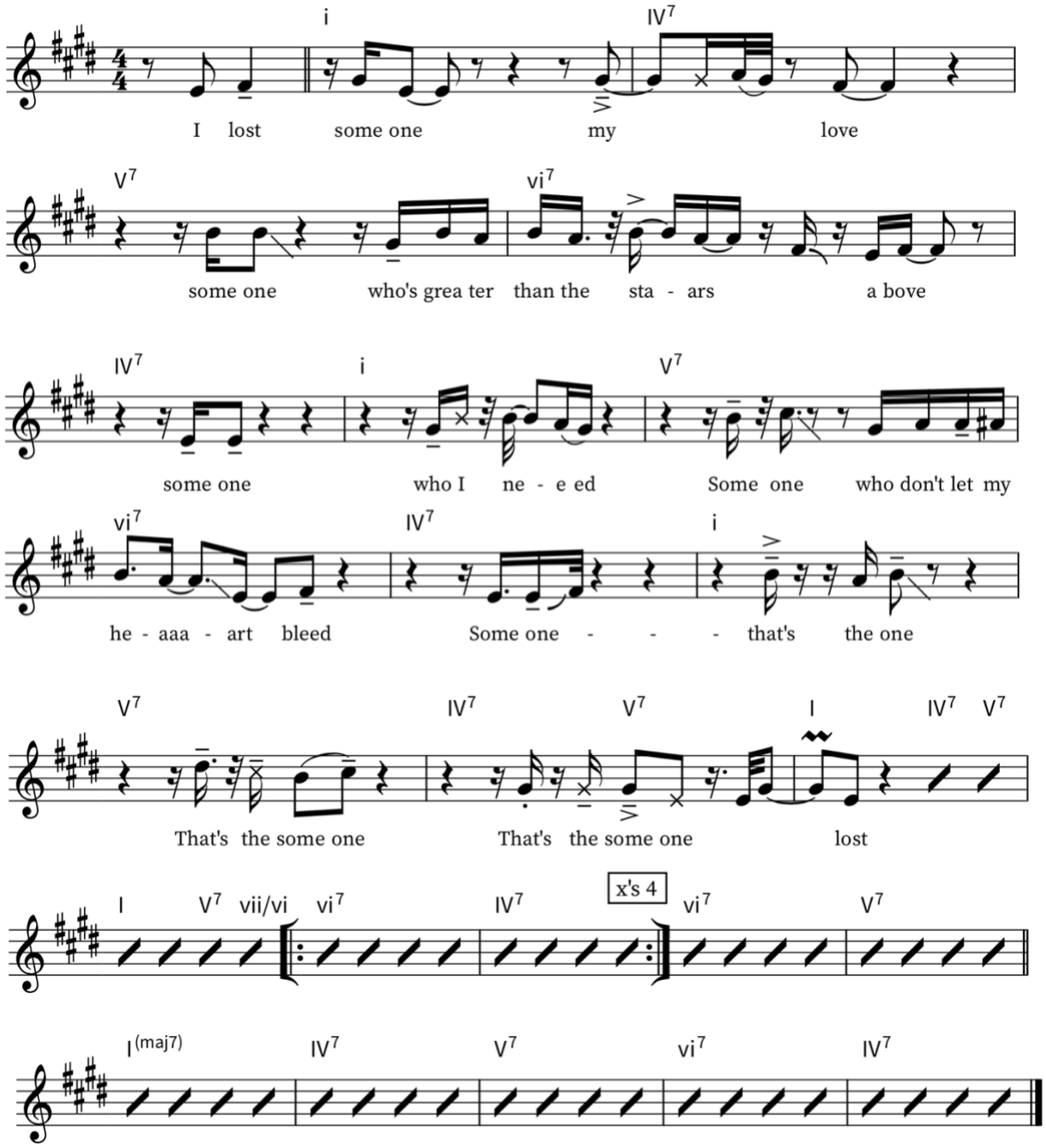
cycle 4

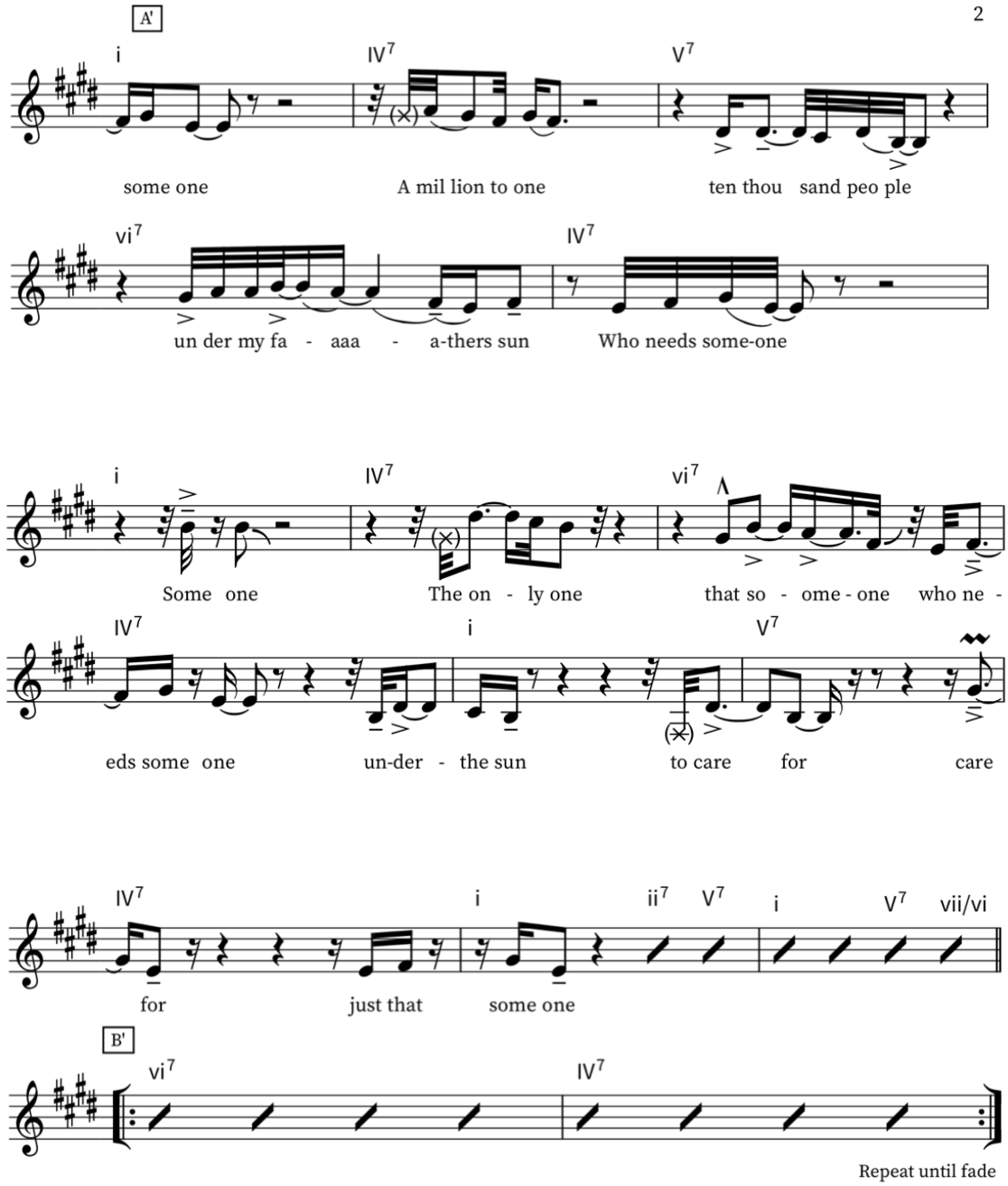

ii(7)
V7
I
IV
V7
2
on
ly make
be
lieve
4 - 1
3 – 7♭ 7♭ – 7♭
6 - 6
1 – 1
oooooh
"..."
dim.
oooooooh
"..."
oooooooh
"..."

Appendix B: “Lost Someone” Studio ’61 – Form and Harmony



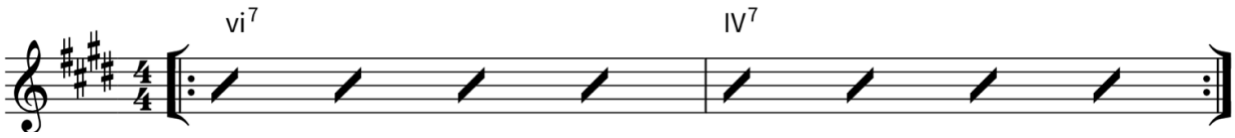
Appendix C: "Lost Someone," Studio '61 – Melody and Harmony (Sections A and A')



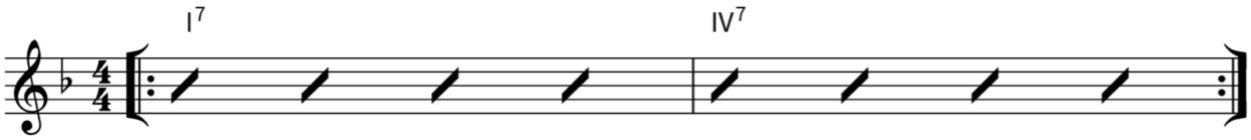

A'
i
IV7
V7
some one
A mil lion to one
ten thou sand peo ple
vi7
IV7
un der my fa - aaa - a-thers sun
Who needs some-one
i
IV7
vi7
Some one
The on - ly one
that so - ome - one who ne -
IV7
i
V7
eds some one
un-der - the sun
to care for care
IV7
i
ii7
V7
i
V7
vii/vi
for
just that
some one
B'
vi7
IV7
Repeat until fade

Appendix D: "Lost Someone - Refrain (Harmony)

Studio '61

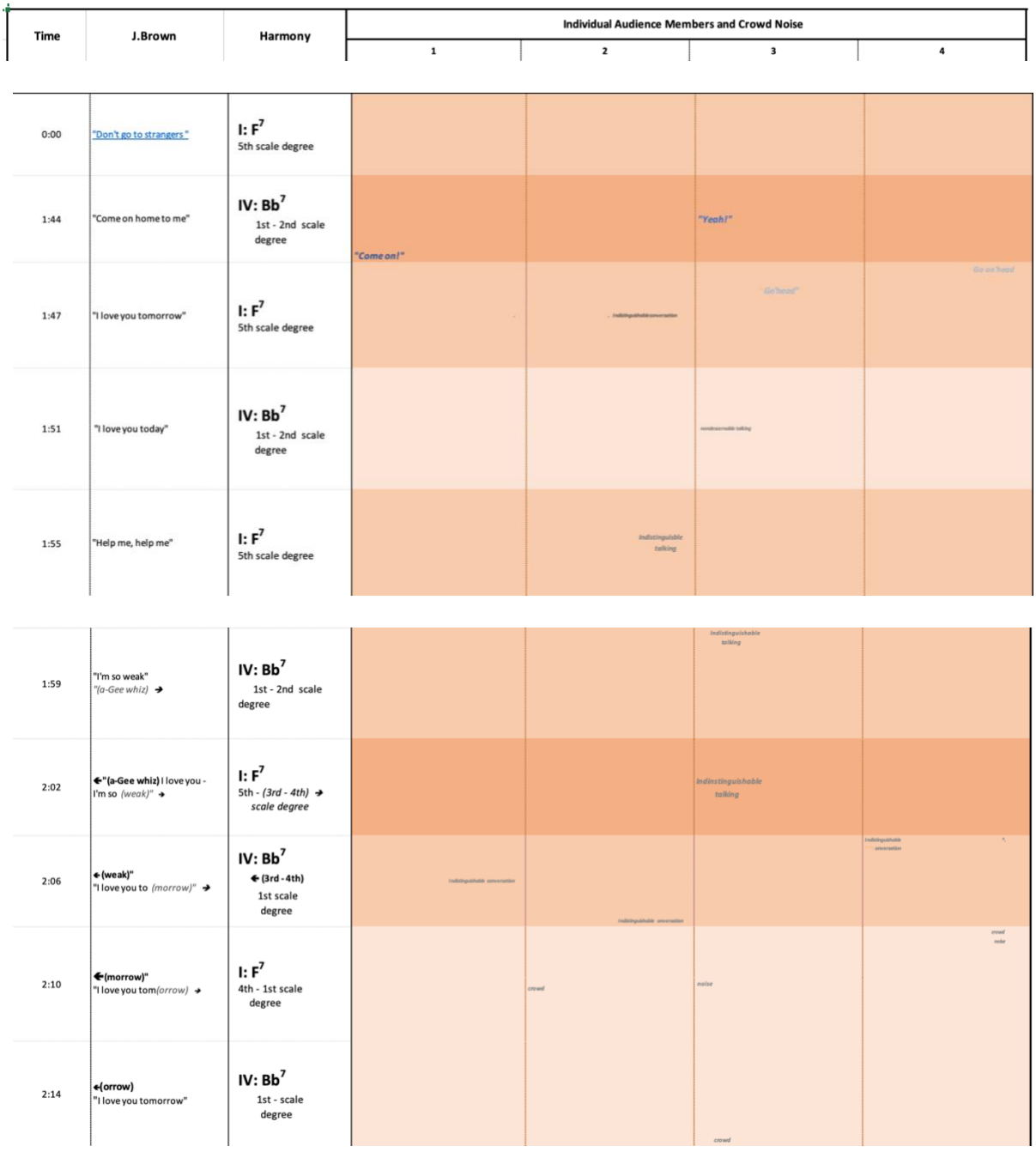


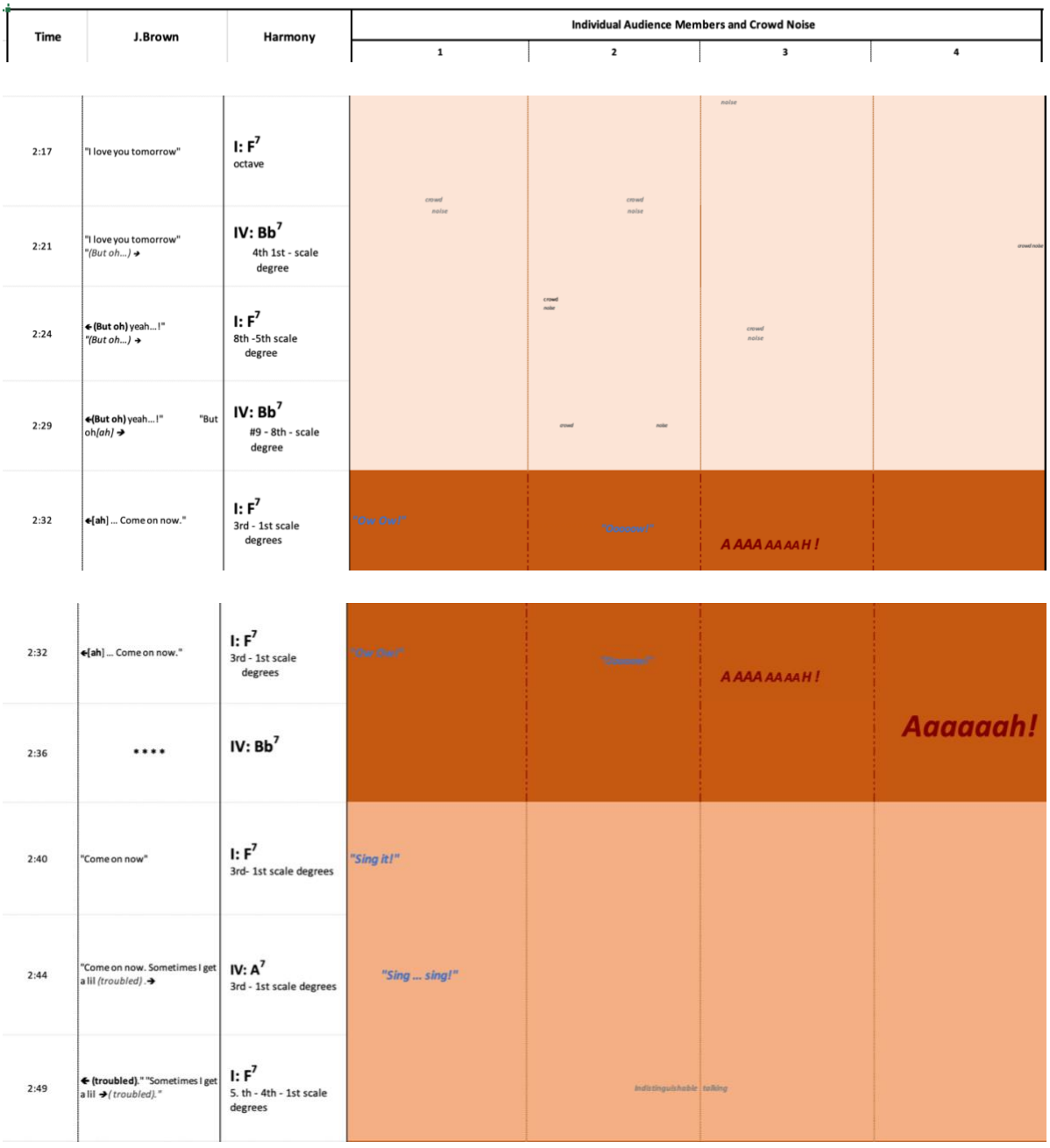
***Live at the Apollo* '62**



Appendix E: "Lost Someone" – *Live at the Apollo* – Troping Map of 1st *Refrain*

Figure 10




Time
J.Brown
Harmony
Individual Audience Members and Crowd Noise
1
2
3
4
2:17
"I love you tomorrow"
I: F7
octave
2:21
"I love you tomorrow"
"(But oh...) →
IV: Bb7
4th 1st - scale degree
2:24
←(But oh) yeah... !"
"(But oh...) →
I: F7
8th -5th scale degree
2:29
←(But oh) yeah... !"
"But oh(ah) →
IV: Bb7
#9 - 8th - scale degree
2:32
←[ah] ... Come on now."
I: F7
3rd - 1st scale degrees
"Ow Ow!"
"Yoooow!"
A AAA AA AA H !
2:32
←[ah] ... Come on now."
I: F7
3rd - 1st scale degrees
2:36
* * * *
IV: Bb7
Aaaaaah!
2:40
"Come on now"
I: F7
3rd- 1st scale degrees
"Sing it!"
2:44
"Come on now. Sometimes I get a lil (troubled) .→
IV: A7
3rd - 1st scale degrees
"Sing ... sing!"
2:49
← (troubled)." "Sometimes I get a lil →(troubled)."
I: F7
5. th - 4th - 1st scale degrees
Indistinguishable talking

Time	J.Brown	Harmony	Individual Audience Members and Crowd Noise			
			1	2	3	4
2:51	←**(troubled)**. But let me hear you say → *(yeah)."*	**IV: Bb^7** 5th -8th - 9th scale degrees		crowd noise crow d noise		indecernable conversation crowd noise
2:55	←**"(Yeah)"** "Let me hear you say → *(Yeah)*	**I: F^7** 5th - #9 - 8th scale degrees		***Yeah!***	d noise crow crowd noise	
2:59	←**(Yeah)"** Say it a lil bit (lou→*der*)	**IV: Bb7** 3rd - 1st scale degrees		***"Yeah!"***		
3:02	(lou←**der**)." "Say it a lil bit lou→*(der)*."	**I: F^7** 9th - 5th - 4th scale degrees		***Aaaaah!***		
3:07	←**(der)** "I love you to→*(morrow)*."	**IV: Bb^7** 4th - 5th scale degrees		***Aaaaah!***		
3:13	*"(I want you to)* →	**IV: Bb7**			*AAAaH!* *Ow .. Owl*	*Wooooo!*
3:17	←**"(I want you to)** come on" *"(I want you to come)* →	**I: F** ↓5th - 1st - 3rd scale degrees	*Sing!*		*"Wooooo!"*	*"Ooooooow!"*
3:21`	←"(I want you to come) **on now."** "I need your love *(so bad now).* →	**IV: A^7** (3rd - 4th- 5th- 1st) ↓5th - 3rd - 1st 2nd scale degrees	indistinguishable talking		indistinguishable talking	
3:24	←**(so bad now)"** "I need your love *(so bad now)."* →	**I: F** ↓1st - 4th - 5th- scale degrees	indistinguishable talking			indistinguishable talking
3:28	←**(so bad now)** "I just want you to come on *(home)."* →	**IV: A^7** ↓5th - 11th -9th *(8th)* → scale degrees	*Sing!*	*Oh!*	indistinguishable talking	

Time	J.Brown	Harmony	Individual Audience Members and Crowd Noise			
			1	2	3	4
3:32	←(home)." "I love you tomor*(row)*" →	I: F ←(8th) 1st - 3rd - 5th - 1st scale degrees		*Indistinguisble talking*		
3:36	←(row)" "I love you to*(morrow).*" →	IV: A 1st - 3rd scale degrees	*Oooooow!*			*crowd noise*
3:39	←(morrow)." "I love you tomor *(row)*" →	I: F 1st - 3rd - 5th - 1st scale degrees	*crowd noise*	*crowd noise*		
3:43	←(row)." "I love you tomor*(row)*" →	IV: A^7 1st - 3rd scale degrees		*crowd noise*	*crowd*	*noise*
3:47	←(row)." "I love you tomor*(row)*" →	I: F 1st - 3rd - 5th - 1st scale degrees			***, Indistinguisble talking*	
3:51	←(row)." "I love you tomor*(row)* →	IV: A^7 1st - 3rd scale degrees				
3:54	←(row)." "I love you tomor*(row)*" →	I: F 1st - 3rd - 5th - 1st scale degrees	*Sang!*			
3:57	←(row)." "I love ... ! →	IV: A^7 Octave		*A A AaH!*		
4:01	"I love you tomor*(row)* →	I: F 1st - 3rd - 5th - 1st scale degrees				
4:05	←(row)" "But I'm so *(weak).*" →	IV: A^7 1st - 3rd - 4th - 5th scale degrees	*Sing ... [inaudible] Wooooo!*			

4:08	←(weak)" "I'm so *(weak)*" →	**I: F** 1st - 3rd - 4th - 5th scale degrees	*Nondescernable talking*
4:12	←(weak)" "I'm so *(weak)*" →	**IV: A^7** 1st - 3rd - 4th - 5th scale degrees	
4:16	←(weak)" "I'm so *(weak)*" →	**I: F** 1st - 3rd - 4th - 5th scale degrees	
4:20	←(weak)" "I'm so...!"	**IV: A^7** 1st - 3rd - 4th - 5th scale degrees	*A A AAaH!*
4:24	"I'm so w*(eak)*" →	**I: F** 1st - 3rd - 4th - 5th scale degrees	

4:27	←(eak)" "I'm so *(weak)* →	**IV: A^7** 1st - 3rd - 4th - 5th scale degrees	*"Oooooooow!"*
4:31	←(weak)" "I'm so *(weak)*" →	**I: F** 1st - 3rd - 4th - 5th scale degrees	
4:35	←(weak)" "I'm so *(weak)*" →	**IV: A^7** 1st - 3rd - 4th - 5th scale degrees	
4:38	←w(eak)" "I'm so w*(eak)*" →	**I: F** 1st - 3rd scale degrees	
4:42	←w(eak)" "I'm so w*(eak)*" →	**IV: A^7** 3rd - 4th - 5th scale degrees	*A A AAaH!*

Appendix F: Troping Map and Analysis Key

Key:	Time	J. Brown - Melody and Lyrics	Harmony	Individual Audience Members &	
	Each Cell = 1 measure	→ (italicized arrow) = lyric sung across the barline. ←(Bold arrow) = continuation of previous lyric	Each cell denotes the chord and corresponding measure	1) Individual audience reactions and voices = *blue*. 2) Screams = *magent a*. Intense screams = *red*. 3) Notable female voice(s) = *purple* 4) Notable male voice(s) = *green*	The light to dark shifts in hue within orange background denotes the antiphonal energy intensity of the audience.

II Speaking Through Music: Communicative Practice, Musicianship, and the Black Public Sphere

In mid-January 1972, Aretha Franklin, together with the Reverend James Cleveland and the Southern California Community Choir (SCCC), recorded what would become the best-selling album of her professional career at the New Temple Missionary Baptist Church (hereafter referred to as New Bethel) on 8734 S. Broadway in the Watts neighborhood of South Los Angeles. Six months later, Atlantic Records released an edited and sequenced version of this performance as a double LP entitled *Amazing Grace*.

The album was received enthusiastically by critics and audiences alike. "Aretha set our souls free," The album was received enthusiastically by critics and audiences alike. "Aretha set our souls free," declared *New York Amsterdam News* journalist Linda Holmes. "It's not just Aretha on that album. It's all gospel-singing Black folks … Aretha is beautiful because she is all of us."[120] For *Rolling Stone Magazine*'s Jon Landau, *Amazing Grace* was "more of a great Aretha Franklin album than a great gospel album … while the sound is occasionally unorthodox, the material is largely from the basic repertoire, including many songs that Aretha has been singing all her life." It is within the interpretation of each hymn that Landau locates the album's brilliance.

> Aretha plays havoc with the traditional styles but sings like never before on record … In nearly every case, I found myself struck first by the comprehensiveness and depth of the arrangement and then by the brilliance of her lead voice. As she hits note after note that I always knew was there but had never heard before, the distance between listener and participant falls away.[121]

[120] Linda Holmes, "Amazing Aretha Does it Again," *New York Amsterdam News,* July 8, 1972, D1.
[121] Jon Landau, "Review: 'Amazing Grace,' Aretha Franklin" *Rolling Stone Magazine,* August 3rd, 1972.

Landau's self-described shift from listener to participant indexes the interactive and participatory impulses that animate what I have called live(ness), the participatory parameter that insists on the always-already meaning making continuum circumscribing a musical episode's rhythmic, melodic, and harmonic components.[122] This continuum, best understood as repository of knowledge and memory, shapes the ways that musicians and audiences forge distinct relationships with a given performance. Music theorist Braxton Shelley would argue that Landau's experience of Aretha playing "havoc with the traditional styles" resonates with what he calls "the gospel imagination," what he observes as a "shift from presentation to participation as [a] performance unfolds."[123] This chapter will elaborate a framework for understanding the dialogic impulses animating this imaginative shift for Aretha, her fellow musicians, and additional New Bethel participants.[124]

James Cleveland was clear that working with Aretha Franklin was not defined by verbal negotiation: "Aretha's not a talker … She's a musician who *talks* through music." While recording *Amazing Grace*, he continues, "she and I had our own shorthand."[125] There was indeed a long-shared gospel history behind this musical shorthand. In the early 1950s, Aretha's father, the Reverend C.L. Franklin, found himself in need of a minister of music. Cleveland, then an up-and-coming fixture in Chicago's gospel community, was asked to take on the task, eventually living in

[122] My conception of live(ness), inter-mutuality, and collaborative participation follows Samuel A. Floyd, who compellingly argues that "works of music are not just objects, but cultural transactions between human beings and organized sound." See Samuel A. Floyd, "Ring Shout! Literary Studies, Historical Studies, and Black Music inquiry," *Black Music Research Journal* 11, no. 2, (1991): 278.
[123] Braxton Shelley, *Sermons in Song: Richard Smallwood, the Vamp, and the Gospel Imagination,* ____ 47.
[124] "Musicking," coined by Christopher Small, attends to the sonic and social relationships that are instantiated by the act of music making. "The act of musicking," Small theorizes, "establishes in the place where it is happening a set of relationships, and it is in those relationships that the meaning of the act lies. They are to be found not only between those organized sounds which are conventionally thought of as being the stuff of musical meaning but also between the people who are taking part, in whatever capacity, in the performance..." Christopher Small, *Musicking: Meanings of Performing and Listening,* (Hanover: University Press of London, 1998), 2-4.
[125] Emphasis mine. Ritz, *Respect: The Life of Aretha Franklin,* 249.

the Franklin home, where he and Aretha became close, their friendship developing into mentorship. Cleveland, Anthony Heilbut reports, "introduced her to some 'deep piano chords'" that allowed "her a new found vocal and harmonic freedom beyond Clara's ken."[126] "If I was in the living room working out an new arrangement for the choir on piano," Cleveland recalled, "Aretha would slide on over and sit on the bench beside me."

> She'd watch me put together the chorus. She'd hear how I was going to voice the tenors against the sopranos. She saw how octaves worked. She saw how melody worked with the harmony and how harmony worked with the rhythm. She saw it all, and, just like that, she could do it all. [127]

Long experience working together studying melody, harmony, and groove grounded Aretha Franklin and James Cleveland's musical affinity. But what about the other *Amazing Grace* participants? What were the expressive processes and vernacular tropes shared among the choir, band, and congregation? How does Aretha use music to communicate with them – and they with her? Insights from jazz scholars Paul Berliner and Ingrid Monson are instructive here. In his book, *Thinking in Jazz,* Berliner highlights the metaphorical role of "conversation" among jazz musicians. "From the performance's first beat," Berliner writes, musicians "enter a rich, constantly changing musical stream of their own creation, a vibrant mix of shimmering cymbal patterns, fragmentary bass lines, luxuriant chords, and surging melodies, all winding in time through the channels of a composition's general form."[128] Monson takes up and formalizes this observation, noting that "the conversational metaphor used by jazz musicians operates on two levels: it simultaneously suggests structural analogies between music and talk and emphasizes the sociability of jazz performances." To explore the ways in which Aretha and other New Bethel

[126] Anthony Heilbut, *The Fan Who Knew Too Much: The Secret Closets of American Culture,* (Berkeley: Soft Skull Press, 2012), 118
[127] Ritz, *Respect: The Life of Aretha Franklin,* 44.
[128] Paul Berliner, *Thinking in Jazz: The Infinite Art of Improvisation,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 662.

participants talked with one another through music during *Amazing Grace* is to underscore what Monson observes as the "verbal aesthetic [that] underscores the collaborative and communicative quality of [jazz] improvisation." Temporary and enduring moments of community, she continues, "can be established in such moments through the simultaneous interaction of musical sounds, people, and their musical and cultural histories."[129] These musical interactions – repetition, antiphony, moans, hums, grunts, melisma, elisions, bent notes, oral declamations, and all the many ways of communicating musical individuality within collectivity – reflect the assemblage of expressive actions theorized by Floyd as musical signifying.[130] Like Floyd, who understands works of music as "… cultural transactions between human beings and organized sound," Monson takes for granted melody, harmony, and groove's signifyin(g) relation to one another, specifically highlighting the way these musical components construct participatory community among musicians and audiences alike.[131] Taking the stirring renditions of "Precious Memories" and "Precious Lord, Take my Hand" as objects of study, the analysis to follow introduces a structural framework for reading these components, emphasizing the dialogic utility of antiphonal practice, melodic improvisation, and harmonic invention among a whole host of musicking participants.

Part I

"Precious Memories" is the first song heard on the third side of *Amazing Grace*. The definitive 1999 reissue places the tune in its original place during the Thursday, January 13th

[129] Ingrid Monson, *Saying Something: Jazz Improvisation and Interaction,* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 2.
[130] Samuel A. Floyd, "Ring Shout! Literary Studies, Historical Studies, and Black Music inquiry," *Black Music Research Journal* 11, no. 2, (1991): 267.
[131] Floyd, "Ring Shout! Literary Studies, Historical Studies, and Black Music inquiry," 278.

performance (song #5, track #8). On the critically acclaimed 2018 concert film, however, it proceeds a medley of Thomas Dorsey's "Take My Hand, Precious Lord" and Carole King's 1971 hit record, "You've Got a Friend." But whenever it came around, Aretha appears to have understood "Precious Memories" as a key to the album's underlying meaning.[132]

John Braselton Filmore Wright composed the hymn "Precious Memories" in 1925, following the death of his three-year-old son. Organized in ABA (verse - refrain – verse) form, "Precious Memories" registers an unyielding need for solace amidst grief and suffering. The refrain, divided into four "scenes" of one line each**,** figures memory as a restorative and hermetic practice. The acty of remembering is an interior and healing alchemy that, for the disheartened, reorients despondency towards a still, abstracted peace:

Precious Memories, how they linger
How they ever, flood my soul.
In the stillness, of the midnight.
Sacred secrets, he'll unfold.

On October 21st, 1928, the Turkey Mountain Singers, a white string band, captured this sentiment on an unreleased 78 rpm disc. A year later, a white gospel quartet, the Simmons Sacred Singers, released it as OKeh 45299.[133] Subsequent iterations include stirring interpretations by gospel pioneers Rosetta Tharpe in 1948 and Cleveland himself in 1965. While Tharpe adheres closely to the original's ABA form and structure, Cleveland's arrangement takes some liberties. Performed in compound time (6/8), it begins with the refrain and features an original verse:

In sad hours. When I get a little lonely
The truth about Jesus, sweet love I told
Jesus whispered, I'll be with you
What a comfort to my soul.

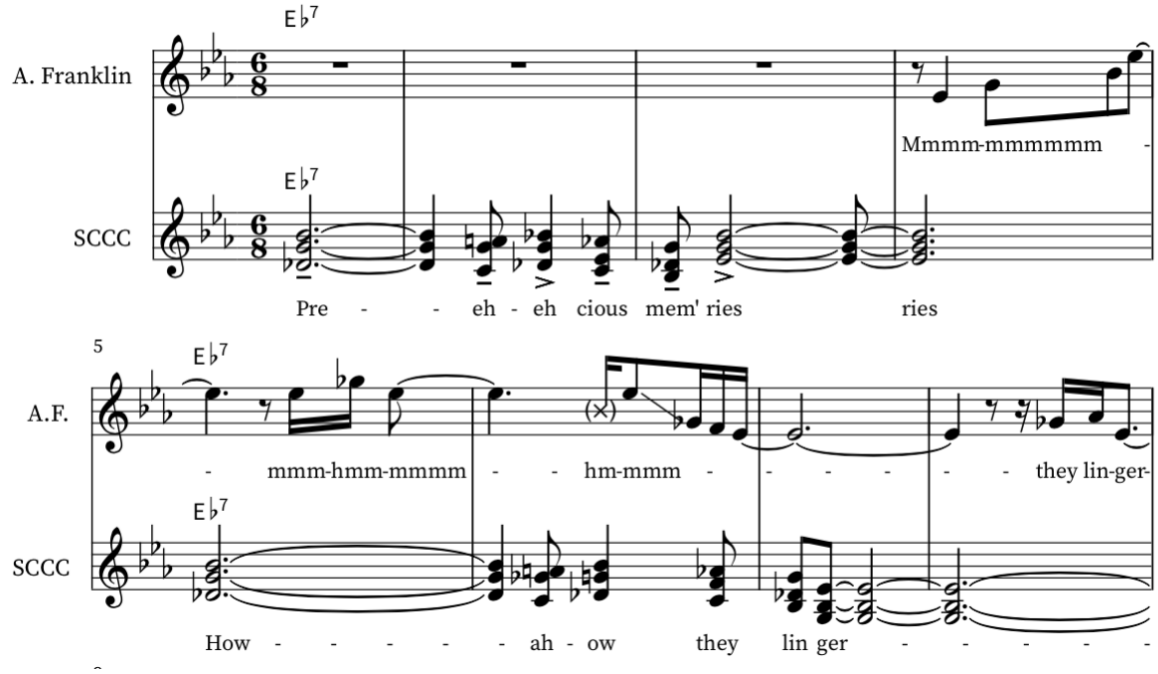
[132] Aretha Franklin and David Ritz, *Aretha: From These Roots* (New York: Villard, 1999).
[133] See *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, s.v. "OKeh 45299 (10-in. double-faced)," accessed November 17, 2024, https://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/object/detail/255196/OKeh_45299.

To capture the granularity of the musical communication between Cleveland's choir and Aretha, we must begin, somewhat laboriously, by "writing out" their intuitive musical shorthand, breaking down and analyzing the micro-interactions of this opening refrain, line by line, lyrical "scene" by lyrical scene.

Intro Refrain, Scene 1 ("Precious memories, how they linger")

The *Amazing Grace* version of "Precious Memories," naturally enough given Cleveland's participation, uses his arrangement's inverted structure (Figure 2.1) and thus starts with an unmeasured *ad-lib* version of the hymn's refrain. Following a brief piano introduction, the SCCC introduces the first line in three-part harmony. Aretha then hums an ascending line ($E^{b}4$, G4, $B^{b}4$, $E^{b}5$) that gently gives itself over to a bluesy moan and downward flourish ($E^{b}5$-$G^{b}5$ -$E^{b}5$; $G^{b}4$, F4, $E^{b}4$), and, following the chorus, breaks into words at *"how they linger"* in the fifth measure. Aretha's phrasing is subtle and worthy of note. The initial descending motion anticipates the melodic trajectory of the SCCC's performance in the subsequent measure. The flatted third (G^{b}) of Aretha's ad-lib implies a minor pentatonic tonality. This pentatonic figure – or rather, the way she contours it in accordance with the chorus's phrasing – is a medium of structural and stylistic mimesis, the first dialogic interaction between Aretha and her musical companions.

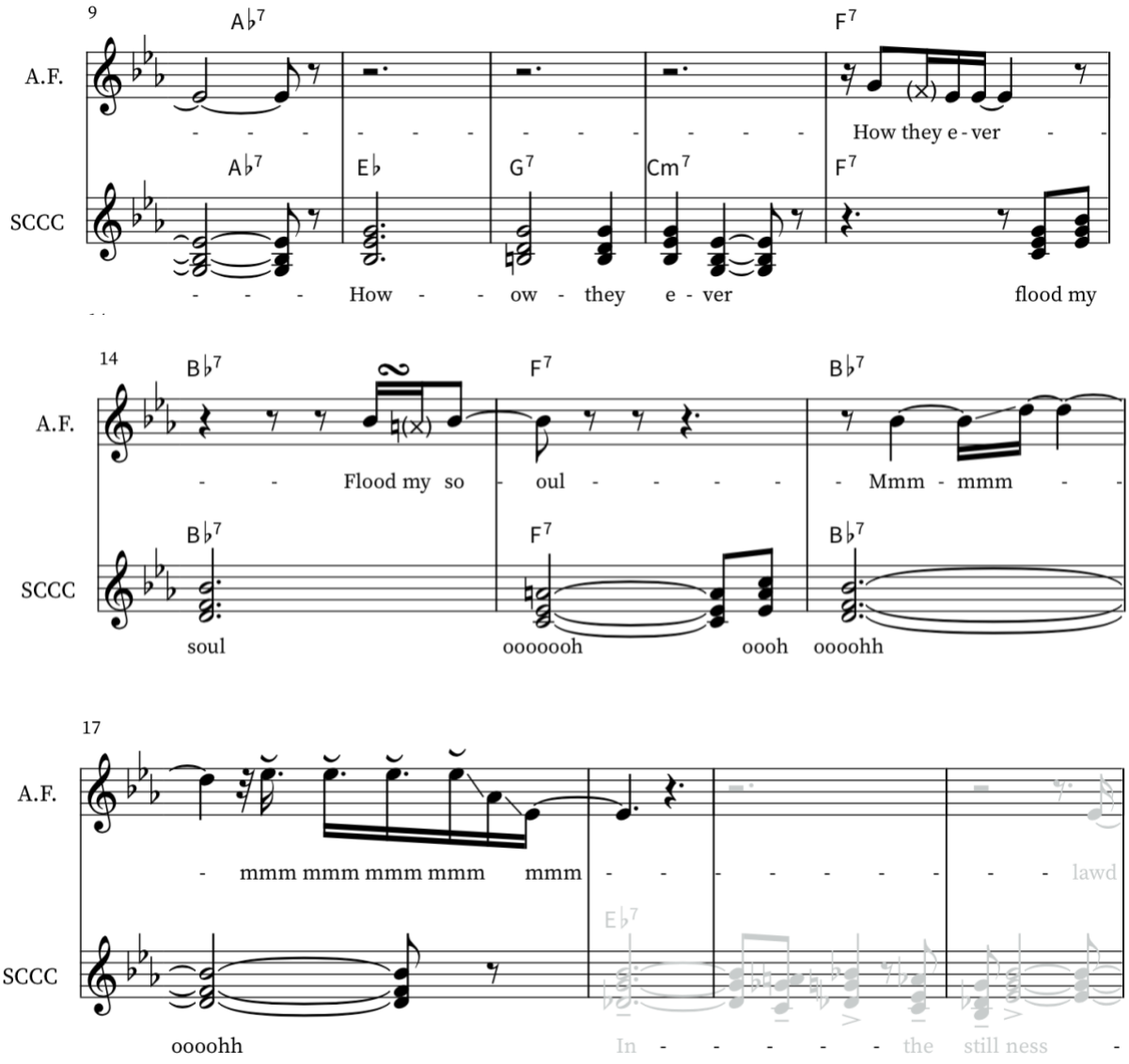
Figure 2.1: Transcription of "Precious Memories" – refrain line 1, performance by Aretha Franklin, James Cleveland, and the Southern California Community Choir (Video example: 29:10 - 29:22).



Intro Refrain, Scene 2 ("How they ever flood my soul")

The SCCC begins the second scene, with *"how they ever."* Aretha restates and fills in this line (Figure 2.2), her response a dialogic reflection of the choir melody's falling contour. The SCCC reverses direction with *"... flood my soul,"* and Aretha responds in kind, subtly adding an appoggiatura to their high note, B^{b}. The chorus interrupts its lyric with "ooooh" as Aretha moans another rising and falling melodic strain ($B^{b}4$ - D4 - $E^{b}5$ - $A^{b}4$ - $E^{b}4$).

Figure 2.2: Transcription of "Precious Memories" – refrain line 2, performance by Aretha Franklin, James Cleveland, and the Southern California Community Choir (Video example: 29:10 - 29:22).

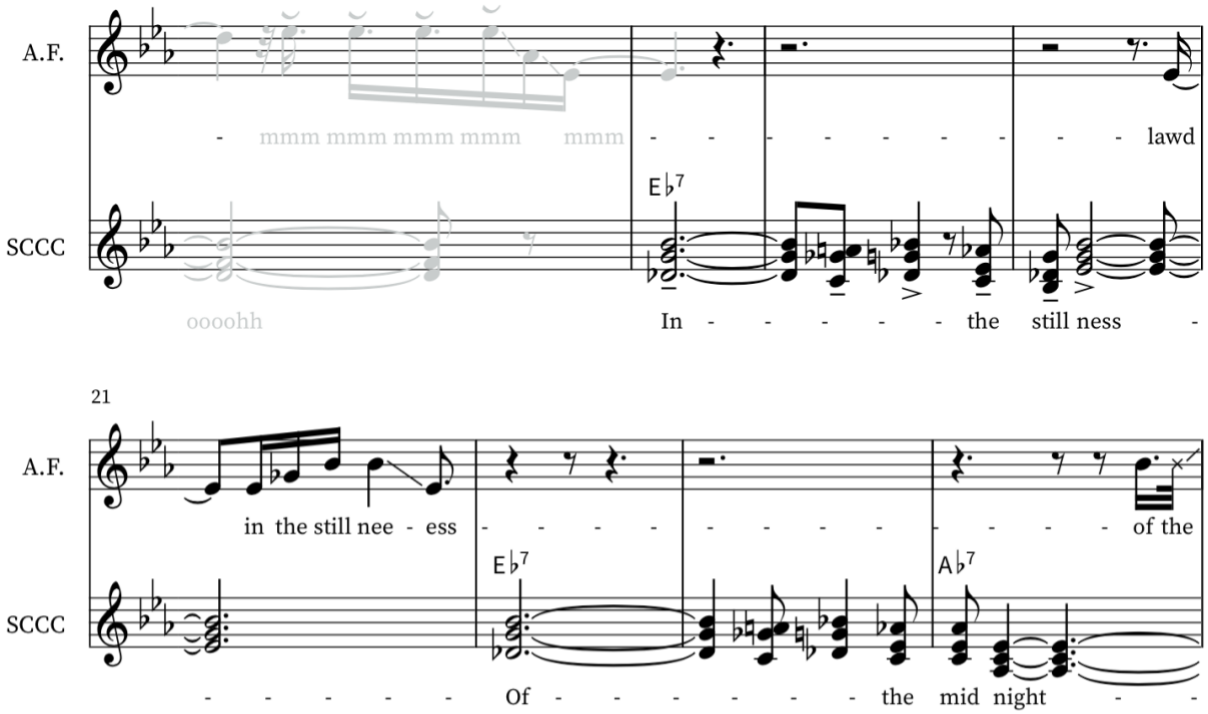


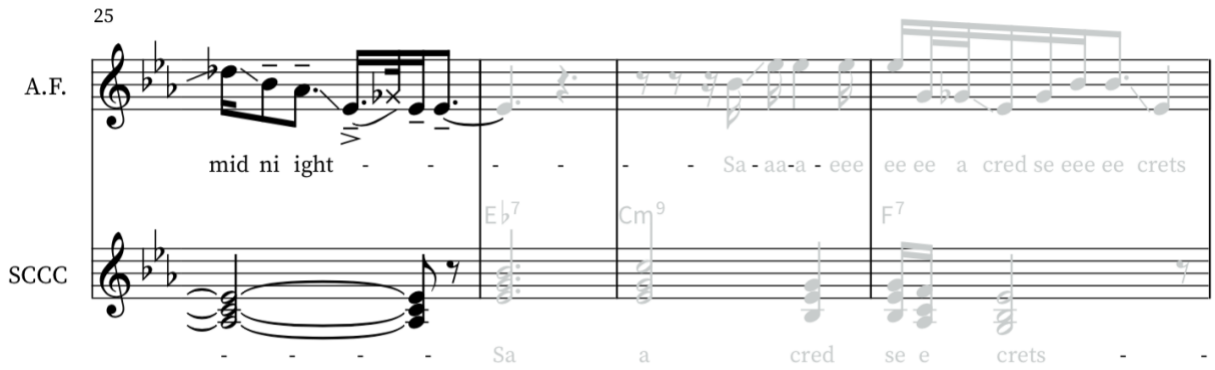
Intro Refrain, Scene 3 ("In the stillness of the midnight")

Again the SCCC begins the third scene, singing *"in the stillness"* (Figure 2.3), and Aretha once more gives her response within an Eb minor pentatonic framework that ascends a fifth to B^{b}4

before diatonically descending back to tonic. With deliberative care, the chorus nestles "of the midnight" within an $E^{b}7$ - $A^{b}7$ progression. Arriving on the word *"midnight,"* this decisive perfect fourth movement chimes like a clock, heralding a certain clarity breaking through the disorienting haze. Aretha decorates the sentiment elaborately, rising a minor third from the fifth scale degree ($B^{b}4$ - $D^{b}4$) and glissading downward to a tonic-mediant mordent ($E^{b}4$ – $G^{b}4$ – $E^{b}4$).

Figure 2.3: Transcription of "Precious Memories" – refrain line 3, by Aretha Franklin, James Cleveland, and the Southern California Community Choir (Video example: 29:10 - 29:22).

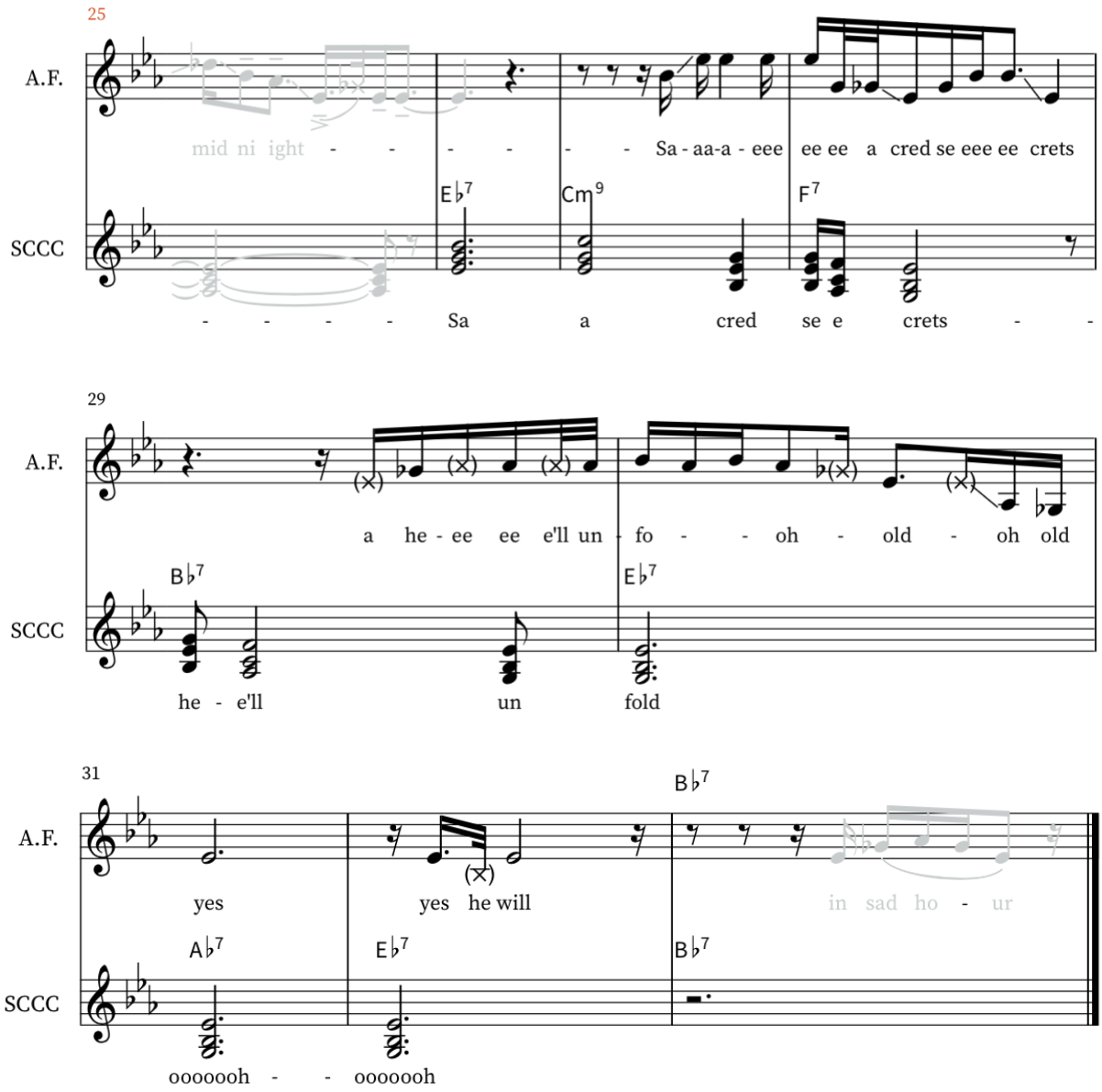




Intro Refrain, Scene 4 ("Sacred secrets he'll unfold")

The fourth and final scene (Figure 2.4) begins with the SCCC extending the phrase *"sacred secrets"* over a I – vi – V/V progression (E^{b7} – Cm^7 – F^7). Aretha develops this three-bar passage to an extraordinary degree, reiterating and embellishing the E^b minor pentatonic figure already heard in lines one and three. The chorus unfolds *"he'll unfold"* over the refrain's concluding dominant and tonic, and Aretha responds in kind, unfolding her signature E^b minor pentatonic ad-lib over both dominant and tonic (B^b7 – E^b7). As the SCCC steps back into its "ooooh" once more, Aretha steps forward speaking *"yes, yes he will"* over a last plagal cadence. Then, coolly, she steps forward into Cleveland's new text – *"in sad hour(s)"* – over the open half cadence that introduces the first verse.

Figure 2.4: Transcription of "Precious Memories" – refrain line 4, performance by Aretha Franklin, James Cleveland, and the Southern California Community Choir (Video example: 29:10 - 29:22).



* * * *

Verse 1

The scene is now set for the hymn proper to begin (Figure 3.1). Cleveland himself answers Aretha, as he and the chorus recapitulate her precursory gesture, with Cleveland articulating *"in sad hour"* to a descending C major pentatonic as the choir outlines the hymn tune's simple

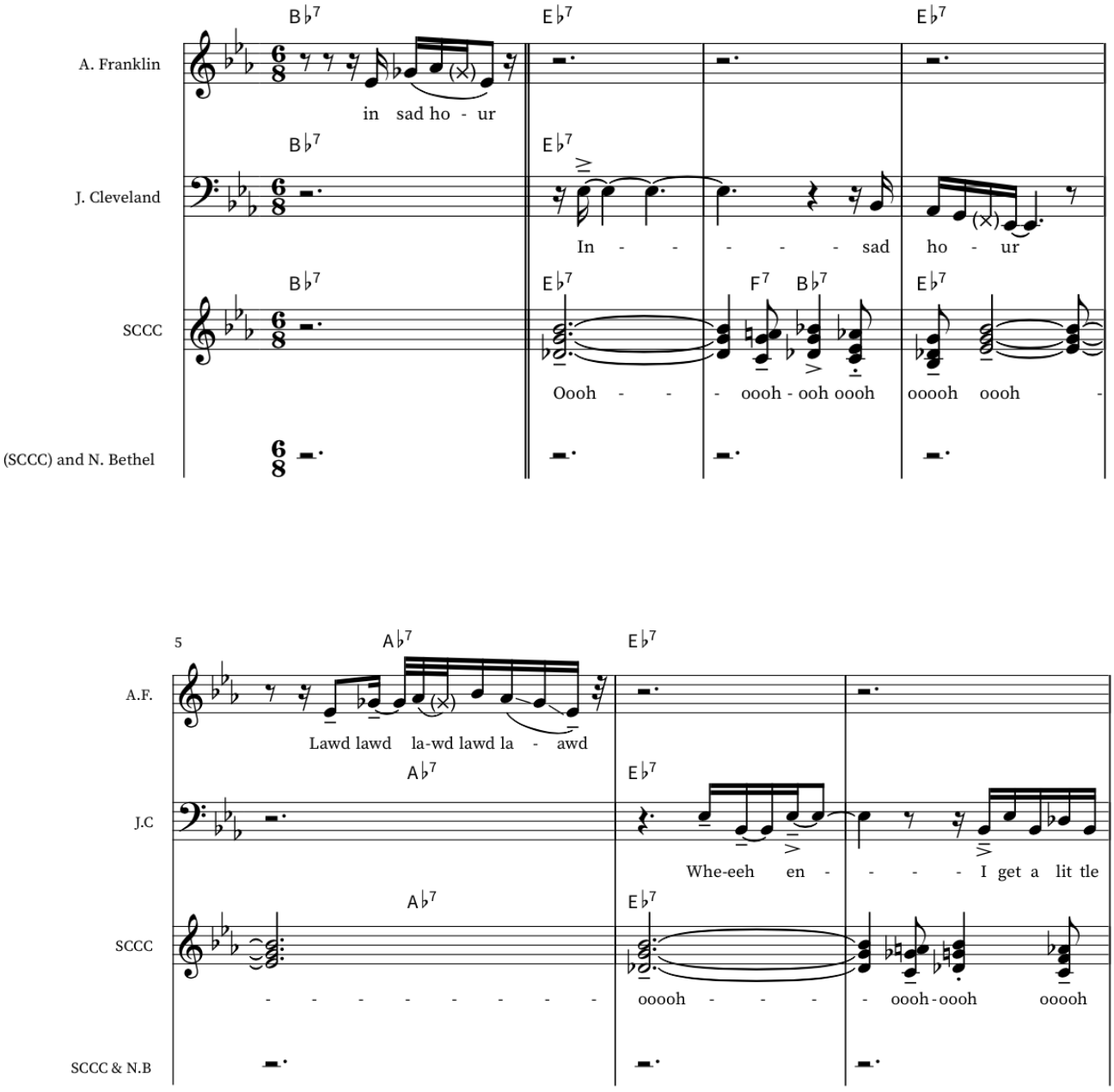
contour.[134] Aretha, returning to a minor pentatonic tonality, iteratively responds *"lawd – lawd - lawd – lawd - lawd."* Cleveland continues, turning in his text to the powerful subject of Jesus' "sweet love." Aretha, still caught up in the "sacred secrets" of the refrain, does not reply immediately, but later cries out *"Jesus ... Jesus ... Jesus ... Jesus whispers"* within the minor pentatonic frame. Cleveland and Aretha's complex heterophonic interplay on the word "Jesus" during this nineteen-bar passage (mm. 2 – 20) reflects a mode of antiphony that Jon Michael Spencer identifies as two-tiered responsorial form.[135] As Aaron Cohen notes in his appreciation of the recording, Franklin and Cleveland tend to blend together responsorially rather than just calling back and forth. This collaborative admixture, he continues, " … works for number of reasons … the call and response interplay between preacher and congregation being the most obvious."[136]

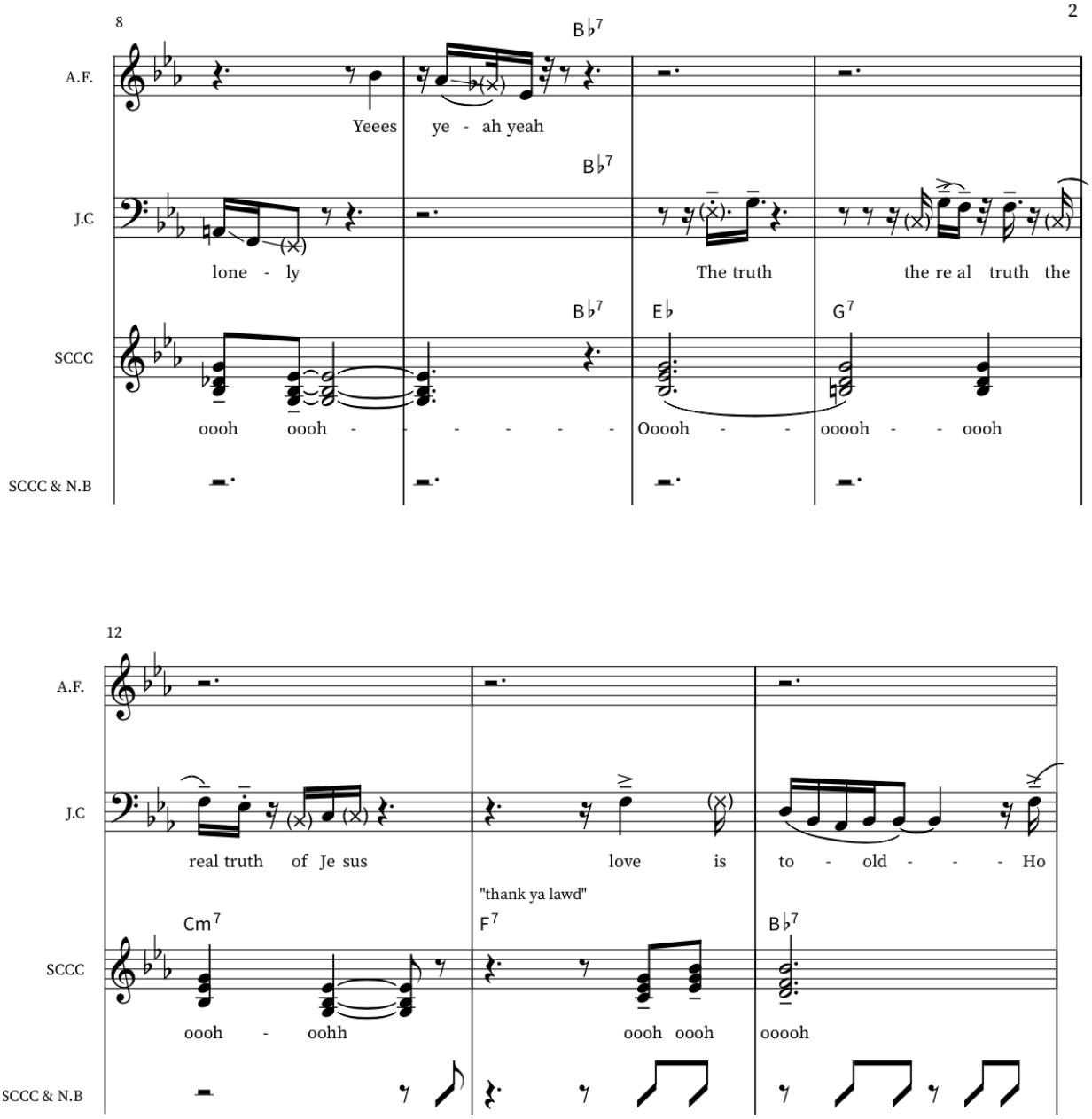
[134] The lineage of Cleveland's singing style, notes Anthony Heilbut, runs through Myrtle Scott, of the Roberta Martin singers and the groups narrator, manager, and baritone, Eugene Smith. "Smith's voice wasn't lustrous … but his irrepressible energy and spirit were dynamite in church." Additionally, Cleveland patterned himself after Martin-alumnus, Robert Anderson. Nicknamed "the Bing Crosby of gospel," Anderson's "husky, resonant baritone and immaculate phrasing" animated his capacity to mystifyingly interpret ballads. See Heilbut, *Gospel Sound: Good News and Bad Times,* 207.

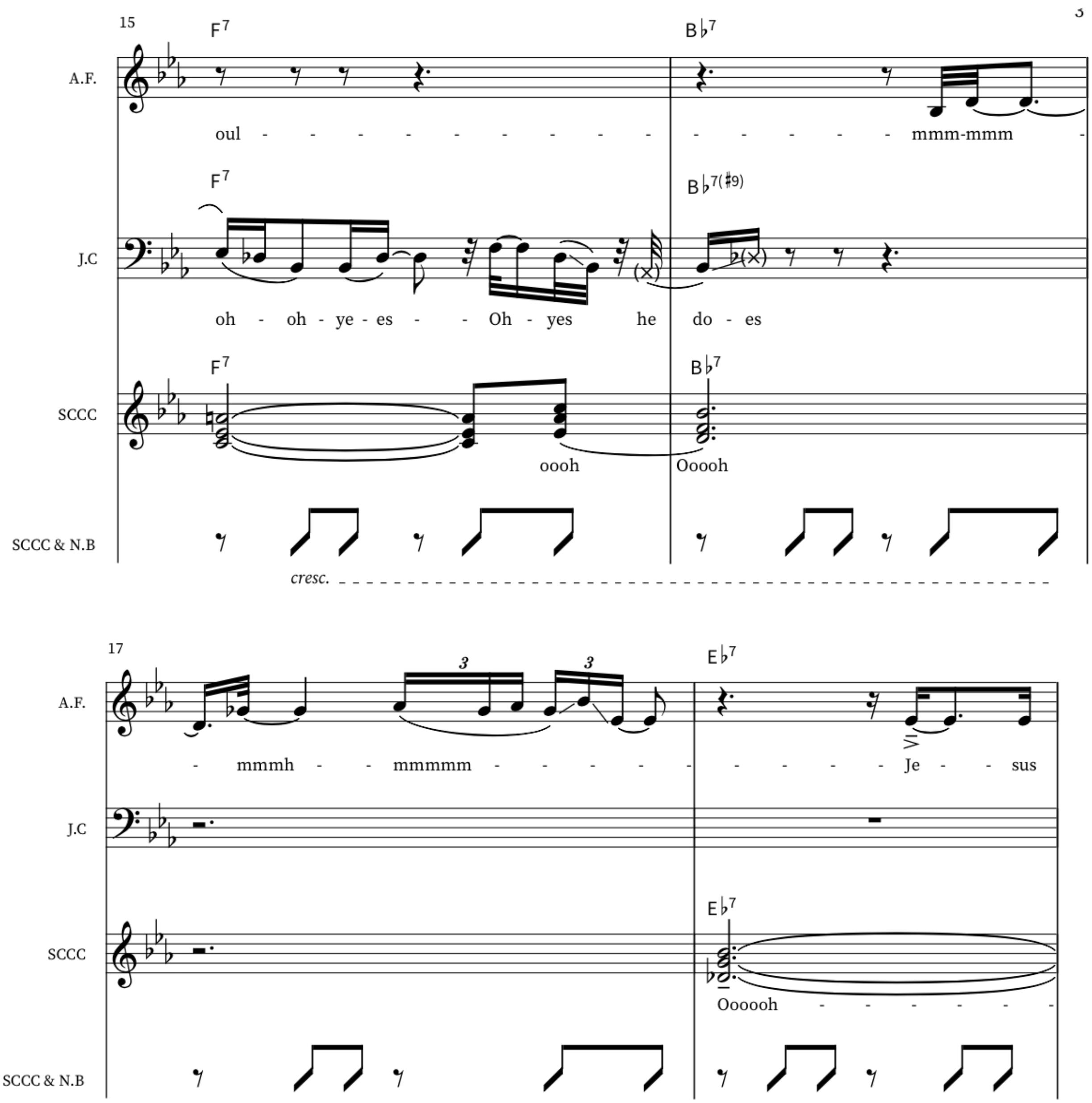
[135] Jon Michael Spencer, *Sacred Symphony: The Chanted Sermon of the Black Preacher,* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 7.

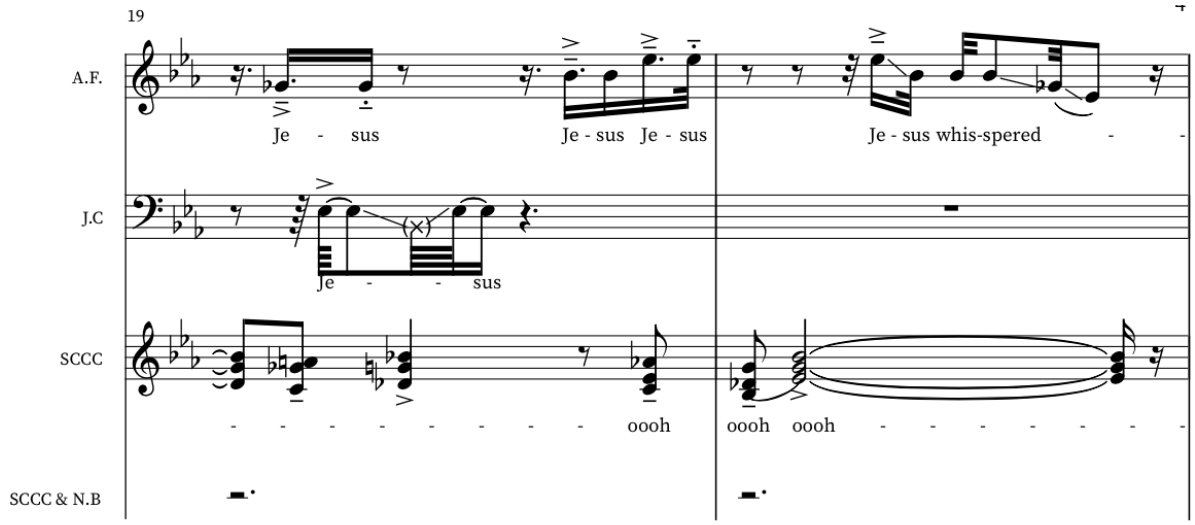
[136] Cohen, *33$^{1/3}$: Amazing Grace,* 110.

Figure 2.5: Transcription of "Precious Memories" – 1st verse performance by Aretha Franklin, James Cleveland, and the Southern California Community Choir



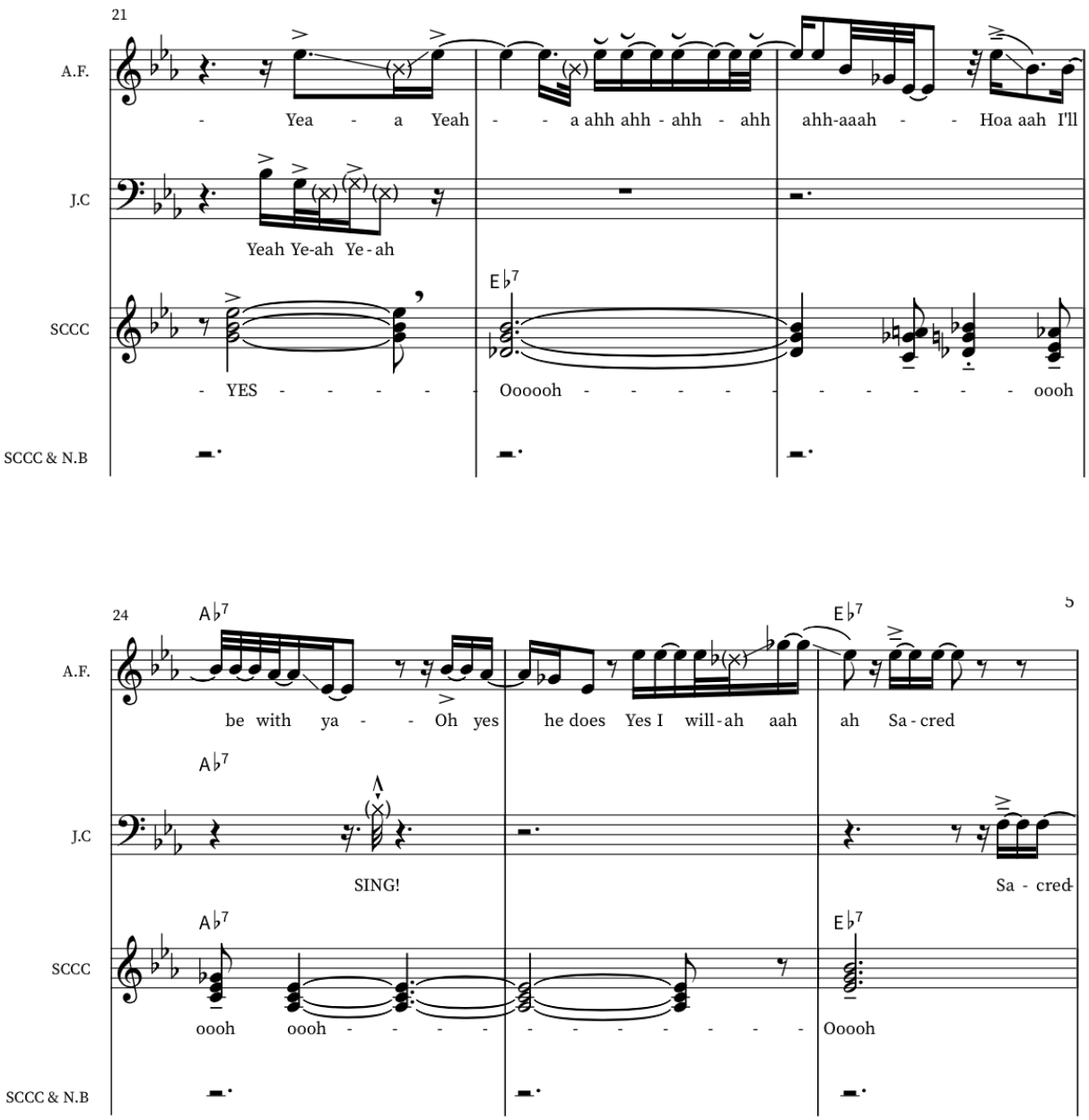

8
A.F.
J.C
SCCC
SCCC & N.B
B♭7
Yeees ye - ah yeah
B♭7
lone - ly
The truth
the re al truth the
B♭7
E♭
G7
oooh oooh - - - - - - -
Ooooh - - -
ooooh - - oooh
12
A.F.
J.C
SCCC
SCCC & N.B
real truth of Je sus
love is
to - old - - - Ho
"thank ya lawd"
Cm7
F7
B♭7
oooh - oohh
oooh oooh
ooooh

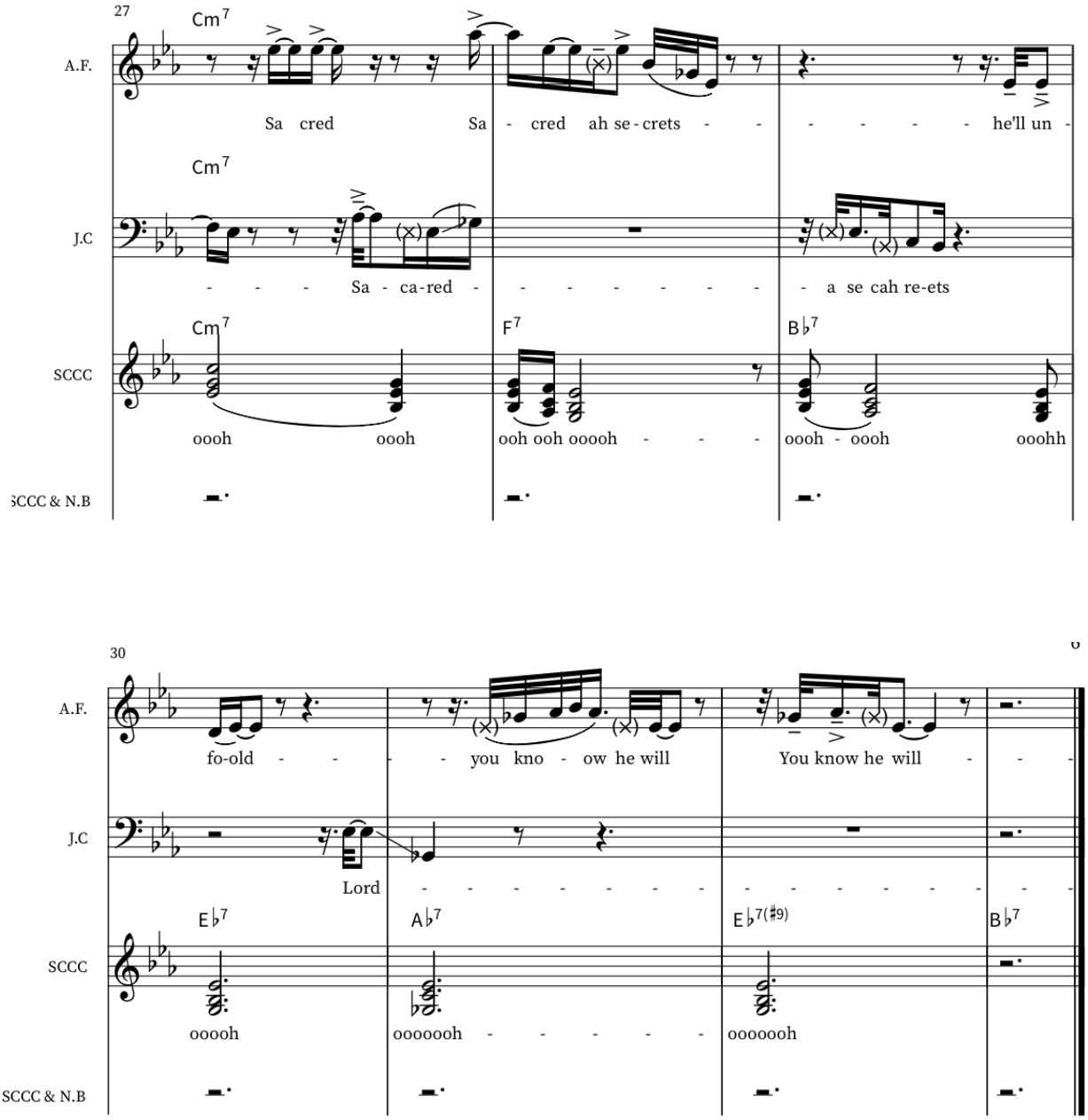

15
3
F7
B♭7
A.F.
oul - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - mmm-mmm -
F7
B♭7(♯9)
J.C
oh - oh - ye - es - - Oh - yes he do - es
F7
B♭7
SCCC
oooh Ooooh
SCCC & N.B
cresc.
17
E♭7
A.F.
- mmmh - - mmmmm - - - - - - - - - - Je - - sus
J.C
SCCC
E♭7
Oooooh - - - - - -
SCCC & N.B



The next five bars (mm. 21 – 25) find Aretha – along with Cleveland and the chorus – caught up in the positive presence of Jesus. The SCCC fervently proclaims *"yes"* within a second inversion E^b triad. Cleveland percussively utters *"yeah yeah yeah,"* descending from B^b3 to E^b3. Aretha continues on, once again turning to Eb minor pentatonic to ad-lib *"yeah I'll be with you - oh yes he does - yes I will."* She and Cleveland take up a two-tiered antiphonal posture with one another, iteratively crying out the key line from the refrain, *"sacred – sacred – sacred secrets, he'll unfold,"* before, with sober assurance, Aretha concludes the verse, nestling an ad-libbed "you know he will" within a final half cadence.

Figure 2.6: Transcription of "Precious Memories" – 1st verse performance by Aretha Franklin, James Cleveland, and the Southern California Community Choir


21
A.F.
- Yea - a Yeah - - a ahh ahh - ahh - ahh ahh-aaah - - Hoa aah I'll
J.C
Yeah Ye-ah Ye - ah
SCCC
E♭7
- YES - - - - - Oooooh - - - - - - - - - - oooh
SCCC & N.B
24
A♭7
E♭7
A.F.
be with ya - - Oh yes he does Yes I will - ah aah ah Sa - cred
A♭7
J.C
SING!
Sa - cred
A♭7
E♭7
SCCC
oooh oooh - - - - - - - - - - Ooooh
SCCC & N.B



* * * *

Over the previous paragraphs I have outlined in (perhaps excruciating) detail the myriad melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic components that animate just a few seconds of the ongoing

dialogic interaction of the musicians laying down *Amazing Grace*. Braxton Shelley's analysis of what he calls the "musical syntax conditioning musical experience" helps frame the communicative structure of these gestures.[137] Shelley rests his analysis on "active and agential form[s] of engagement," what Judith Butler has called a "habitus of listening."[138] These forms of engagement enable a phenomenological process, what Travis Jackson calls out as a musical performance's shift from being a "thing-in-itself" to a "way for listeners to engage with one another and to make their way through the world."[139] This shift and engagement, which Harris Berger refers to as "stance," elaborates the ways that musicians and audiences "grapple" with expressive culture's texts, performances, practices, and items: "If intentionality refers to the engagement of the subject with[their] object," he writes, "then *stance* is the affective, stylistic, or valual quality of that engagement."[140] Following Butler and Berger, Shelley theorizes the gospel "stance" as the way musical participants use "familiar items – scriptures, songs, and sounds – from the shared culture" towards the cultivation of collective experience and a shared belief system.[141]

Zooming out: Accounting for audience response and band interactions

This cultivation is notably reflected in the impromptu moments following "Precious Memories'" conclusion as a number of *Amazing Grace* participants ecstatically proclaim their shared belief and devotion on iterations of the word "yes." The analysis therein advances the

[137] Following Robert Fink, Shelley's use of musical syntax refers to the formal components that organize gospel song. Braxton Shelley, "Analyzing Gospel," Journal of American Musicology 72 no. 1, (2019): 187, n. 7. See Robert Fink, "Goal Directed Soul? Analyzing Rhythmic Teleology in African American Music, Journal of American Musicology 64, no. 1, (Spring 2011), pp. 179 – 238.
[138] Shelley, "Analyzing Gospel," 195.
[139] Travis Jackson, "Spooning Good Singing Gum: Meaning, Association, and Interpretation in Rock Music," *Current Musicology* 69 (Spring 2000): 33.
[140] Harris M. Berger, *Stance: Ideas about Emotion, Style, and Meaning for the Study of Expressive Culture*, (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2009), 15 – 16; 21.
[141] Shelley, "Analyzing Gospel," 64.

gospel stance's phenomenological utility and maps the dialogic currents animating the cumulative movement of musical discourse among various participants during this seemingly impromptu episode. The reader has been looking at transcriptions, now analysis adds a "map." Up until now I've been using detail transcriptions. It is now necessary to map of the dialogic currents that uses an added degree of graphic representation. In each figure that follows, I will juxtapose a more reductive transcription with a color-keyed soundscape analysis Each performer is identified by an individual column and corresponding color: A. Franklin – green, J. Cleveland (piano) – blue, Band (organ, drums, guitar, congo, bass) – lavender, Choir – red, New Temple Baptist Church congregation – orange. Shifts in color within individual columns (light to dark green, for example) depict changes in affective intensity and drive. I'll also be incorporating information about the placement and physical reactions of the performers and audience from the 2018 film.

Beginning with Aretha's $B^{b}4$ - $E^{b}4$ moan at 29:10, we hear various performers and congregants orienting themselves with one another as they bring into reality their immaterial relationship (memory, lived experience, etc.) during the interlude's E^{b} minor and major modules. Taken together with live(ness), the gospel stance resourcefully foregrounds the imaginative ways that Aretha – in addition to each *Amazing Grace* attendee and performer – uses musical expression to render the subjects of their shared belief via social text.

* * * *

Transition to "Precious Lord/You've Got a Friend"

Amidst the congregation's applause and fervor, the 2018 film of *Amazing Grace* shows us James Cleveland seated at a black baby grand piano using the pedal to sustain $E^{b}2$ and $E^{b}3$. Alexander Hamilton, *Amazing Grace's* choral director and arranger, guides the SCCC during an

impromptu ad-lib recapitulation of the hymn's first verse. Aretha, to his right at the pulpit, offers a melismatic rejoinder to each statement sung by the choir (Figure 2.6a/b). Cleveland continues to pedal E^b2 and E^b3. With his right hand, he immediately plays two identical riffs an octave apart (B^b3 - A^b3 – G^b3 – A^b3- B^b3; B^b4 - A^b4 – G^b4 – A^b4 - B^b4). As Aretha's eyes meet Cleveland's gaze, she moans gently, melismatically moving the syllable *"m"* from B^b4 to E^b4, as Cleveland cries *"yeah"* on E^b4. Individual members of the Southern California Community Choir (SCCC) cry out as well: *"yeah* (B^b4), *yeah* (E^b5), *yeah* (G^b4)." These disjointed iterations are then refashioned among the chorus into a first inversion E^b minor triad – *"YEAH!"* Cleveland refashions the SCCC's rising "yeah" into a falling perfect fourth (A^b4 - E^b4), gruff and graveled; the timbral shift reflects the interlude's emotional inflection. Once again, members of the SCCC immediately hit a first-inversion E^b-minor triad. Finally, Aretha delicately rehearses her arpeggiated B^b4 - E^b4 moan from some fourteen seconds prior.

Figure 2.7a: Transcription of interlude in between "Precious Memories" and "Precious Lord - You've Got a Friend," performance by Aretha Franklin, James Cleveland, and the Southern California Community Choir (Video example: 29:10 - 29:22). Note stems have been removed in order to underscore the dialogic quality of this episode.

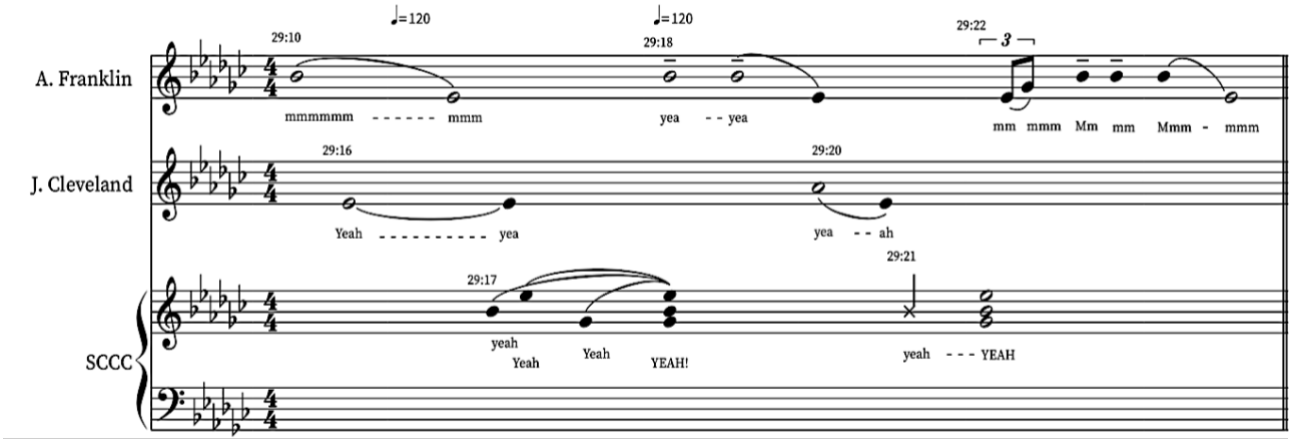
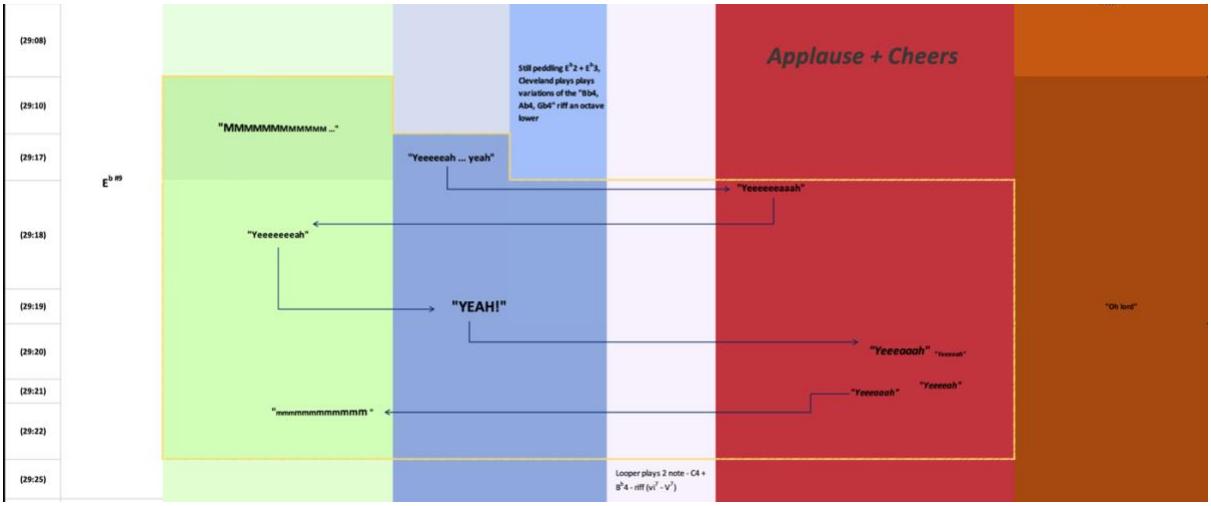


Figure 2.7b: Interlude - Soundscape Analysis



Looking to the congregation (Figure 2.7a/b), Cleveland asks *"I wonder is there anybody here who knows about the sanctified church?"* Individual New Bethel participants announce *"yeah."* Fervently, Cleveland cries *"let me hear you say it again."* Best understood as a moment of "tuning up," Cleveland's question spurs various participants in the room to modulate their shared experience of this moment through shared musical convention. The congregation, joined by an impromptu E^b-minor triad sung by the SCCC, responds in kind, as Cleveland – without hesitation – prompts them to *"say it again!"* The New Bethel audience and SCCC cry together on an open fifth *"yeah*," after which Aretha, as she has consistently been doing, brings the episode to an end, this time by turning her melismatic *"yeah"* into a falling fifth cadence (B^b4 - E^b4) onto the tonic.

Figure 2.8a: Transcription of interlude in between "Precious Memories" and "Precious Lord - You've Got a Friend," performance by Aretha Franklin, James Cleveland, and the Southern California Community Choir (Video example: 29:10 - 29:22).

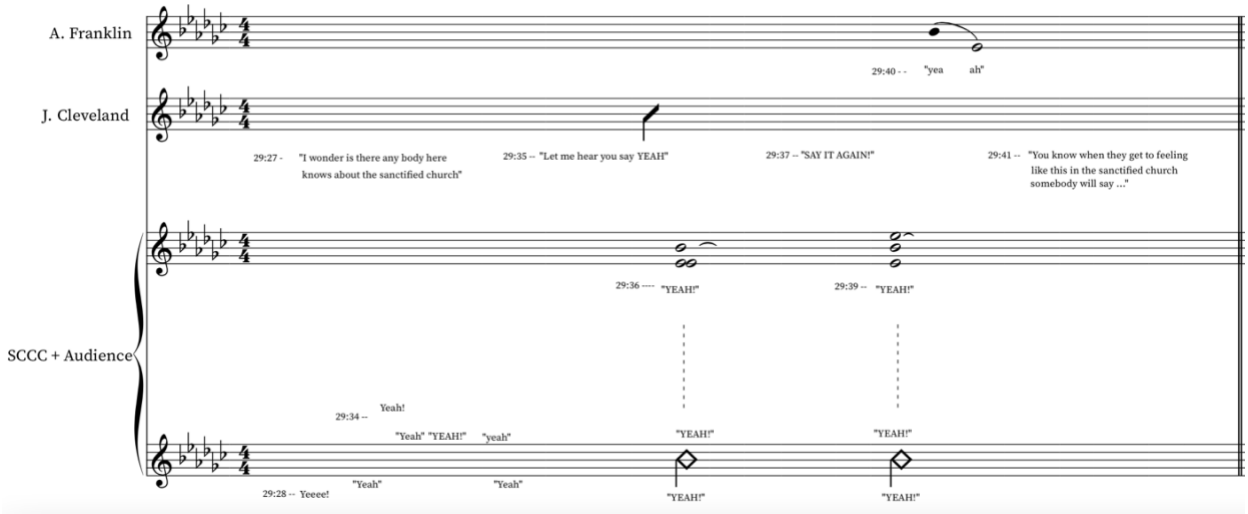
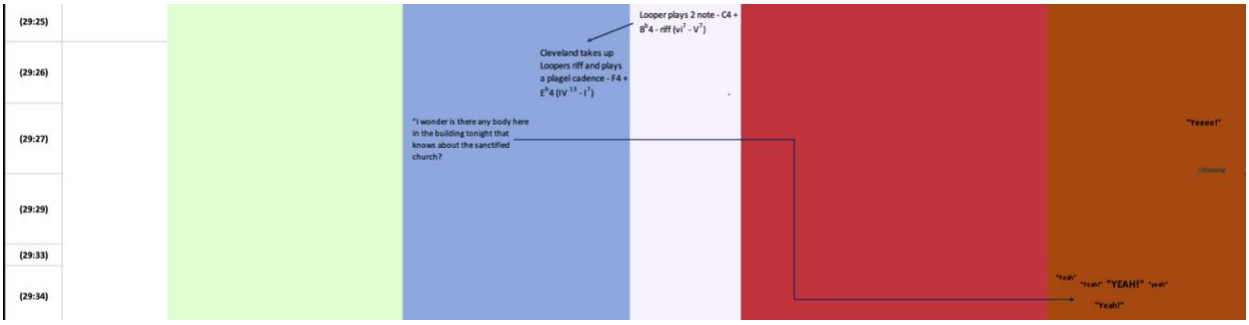
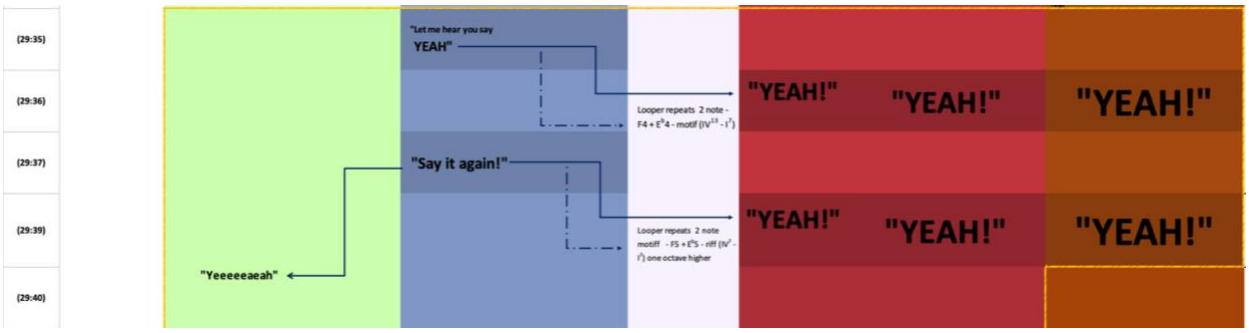


Figure 2.8b: Analysis





Words give way to song (Figure 2.8a/b) as Cleveland declares, *"you know when they get to feeling like this in the sanctified church, somebody'll say ...."* and while looking up at Aretha, plays an octave tremolo on E^b and sings *"yes"* on B^b4. Aretha replies *"yes they do"* within a syntactical ad-lib that inflects and echoes Cleveland's opening gesture eight seconds prior *("you know when ...")*. Finally, the SCCC, joined by members of the New Bethel congregation, chimes in with it's own *"yeah"* in a first inversion subdominant triad (A^b).

It is at this precise moment that the SCCC, Cleveland, Aretha, and congregation can be heard animated by a communal impulse to reorganize themselves into an ad hoc ensemble. Unique memories and shared ecstasy, what Shelley identifies as "gospel participation," are set forth within the familiar harmonic frame of the "gospel blues": **I – IV^7 – I – ii^7/V^7 – V^7 – I**.[142] As in refrain and verse, Aretha's stylization of *"yes," "yes they do,"* and *"yeah"* are antiphonally connected to the ensemble. Figure 2.9a demonstrates the function and form of each melisma, most notably the manner in which Aretha anticipates and outlines the melodic sonority and harmonic structure underlying the ensemble's articulation of "yeah."

[142] Shelley, "Analyzing Gospel," 186 - 188.

Figure 2.9a: Transcription of interlude in between "Precious Memories" and "Precious Lord - You've Got a Friend," performance by Aretha Franklin, James Cleveland, and the Southern California Community Choir (Video example: 29:10 - 29:22).

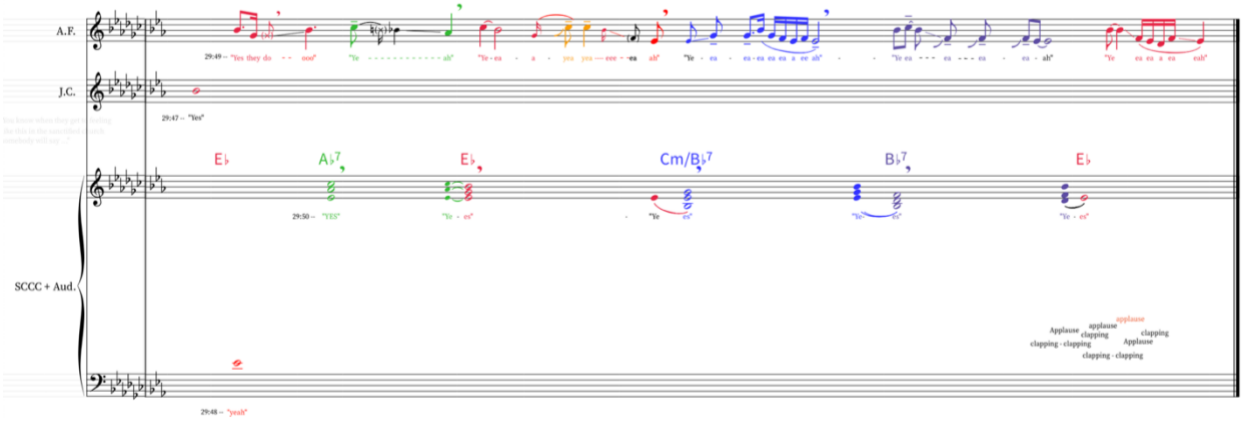
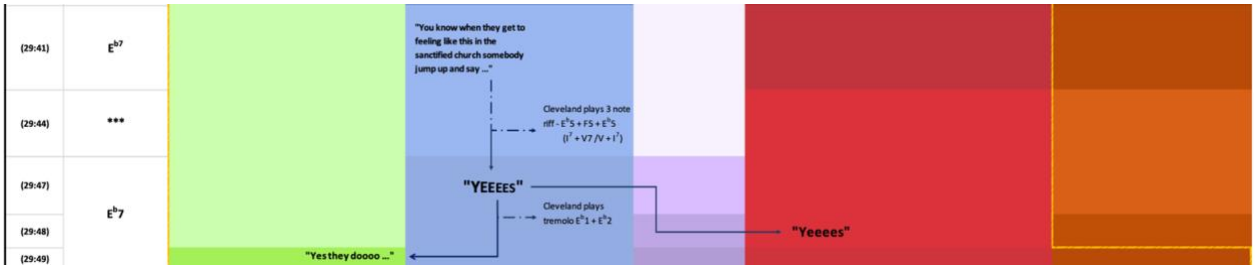
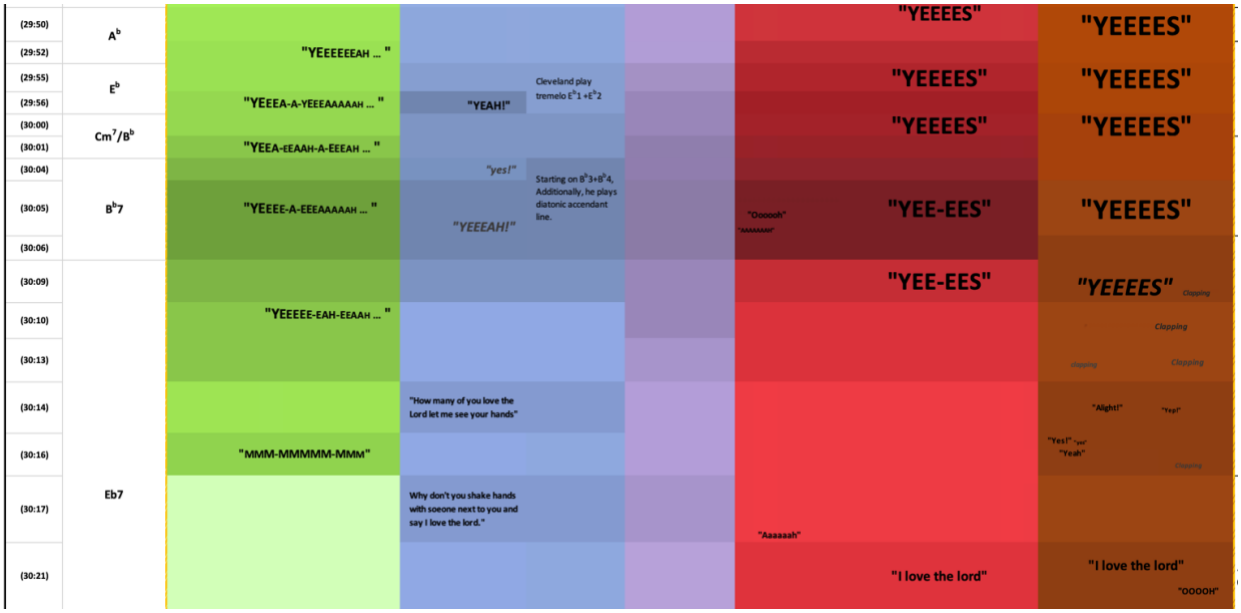


Figure 2.9b: Soundscape Analysis





The many, many interactions of this type all through "Precious Memories" reveal Aretha's masterful use of gospel convention to direct the melodic and harmonic movement of a given performance. Various New Bethel participants also deploy these conventions as a way to speak back, or rather, to speak *with* her. Take for example the *"yes – yes they do"* couplet shared between Aretha and James Cleveland prior to the interlude's climax (Fig. 2.9a, 29:47). This brief gesture can be read as a practical signpost around which the band, choir and congregation can come together. But these two phrases can also be understood as Cleveland's inviting Aretha to be still and sit with him once more at her father's piano. To sit and *be* together in this memory — to linger in its ephemerality — is to affirm the gospel stance's potential for comfort, praise, and joy. *"Yes"* — iteratively spoken by everyone gathered within New Bethel — is the sounded evidence of this potential being actualized through music. Musical speech, animated memory and lived experience are sonorous sites from which inter-mutuality affection is catalyzed. In the gleam of sacred secrets *yet* to be unfolded, trust and belief outweigh understanding. Cleveland might not have understood

the road leading to this moment. He might not have been able to completely register the ups and downs that brought the Reverend Franklin's daughter to this place. He does, however, understanding what she's saying in the moment (*"yes"*) – and he believes it.

Part II

With this in mind, let us pause briefly before continuing with this chapter's closing analysis and listen with Aretha Franklin as she sings through the moments of her life when words fail. Listening with care is a reading practice, a mode of participatory critique that refuses what Shonique Roache decries as the "material and discursive elasticity" of Black women.[143] (More on this below.) A disturbing attraction to pliability isn't just found among discussions of her music, but in the space between her public and private life as well. Aretha Franklin's off-stage demeanor, belying her image as the "Queen of Soul," was pensive and quiet. "I was with Aretha for three years and if I were to count the words I heard her say other than singing it couldn't have been more than two hundred … She seldom said anything."[144] Ray Charles echoes this sentiment, noting that "you hear her singin' and you think that's her sure-enough personality, but it ain't. She's so shy she might not say a word to you."[145] Her sister Carolyn Franklin once observed that "on-stage and in the studio no one is more confident, but offstage it's a different story … it sounds crazy that someone as gifted as my sister Aretha would harbor doubts, but she does."[146] Arguably, the tension between onstage confidence and offstage doubt is the terrain from which inter-mutuality between Aretha

[143] Here, the Black body is a "repository of antebellum white ideals and desires," a cache of Western epistemologies constituted by "the structural positionality of the black feminine" from which incongruities like masculine and woman – publicity and private are formed. Shoniqua Roach, "Black Sex in the Quiet," *A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 30, no. 1 (2019): 127.
[144] Cohen, *33 1/3: Amazing Grace,* 71 – 72.
[145] Ritz, "Aretha Franklin's Ghostwriter on the Singer's Enduring Mysteries," *Rolling Stone Magazine …* 2018.
[146] _____, *Respect: The Life of Aretha Franklin,* 26.

and her audience emerges. Their story, in other words, is resonant with her's. A listening practice, therefore, does not seek to bridge the space that enjoins Aretha's public and private life with speculative commentary. Nor does it try to pair her life and music with conjecture or speculative interpretation. Rather, this method highlights the conditions (social, political, etc.) and perspectives circumscribing her story as she tells it within a given medium (music, print, etc.) across space and time. To listen *with* Aretha is to participate in the making of music — in the musicking of *Amazing* Grace; be it during the moments prior to, during, and after her Watts revival. Such a practice enables a more nuanced portrait of the perspectives, experiences and choices that animate inter-mutual communication during this performance.

Narratively situating the *Amazing Grace* album, soul historian Craig Werner writes that "by the time [Aretha] reached New Temple's stage, she had traveled many a weary mile. She had wandered the corporate wilderness of midtown Manhattan and initiated audiences from Paris to the Fillmore West."[147] Aretha Louise Franklin was born on March 25th, 1942 in Memphis, Tennessee. Her father, Clarence LaVaughn Franklin (C.L.), was a progressive minister who rejected fundamentalist attitudes regarding music's role in sacred and secular life. "I saw Aretha's daddy as one of the few preachers powerful enough to dispel that old myth that says gospel and blues are mortal enemies," James Cleveland recalled. "He had the courage to say that they actually go together as proud parts of our heritage as a people."[148] Her mother, Barbara, was a nurse's aide, pianist and singer whose voice, according to Mahalia Jackson, was as good as any within the gospel world.[149] In 1942, Franklin became pastor of Friend Baptist Church in Buffalo, NY. A fiery sermon

[147] Craig Warner *Higher Ground: Stevie Wonder, Aretha Franklin, Curtis Mayfield, and the Rise and Fall of American Soul* (New York, New York: Crown Publishers, 2004), 186 - 187.
[148] Ritz, *Respect: The Life of Aretha Franklin,* 18.
[149] Nick Salvatore, *Singing in a Strange Land: C.L. Franklin, the Black Church, and the Transformation of America,* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2005), 59.

the following summer at the National Baptist Convention led to an invitation to Detroit' New Bethel Baptist Church. But while C.L. Franklin's national profile was rising, his marriage was failing. In 1948, Barbara moved back to Buffalo, and she succumbed to a heart attack four years later. Aretha was devastated. "Our mother leaving and our mother dying were the two great traumas of our childhood," her sister Erma observed.[150] Ruth Bowen, her longtime booking agent, concurs, giving us the crucial biographical detail that, after her mother's sudden death, her voice literally went away:

> I've known Aretha since she was a little girl … she was a traumatized child. It's one thing to have your mama move out of the house for reasons you don't understand. But it's another to have your mama die of a heart attack as a young woman. Aretha was ten when that happened. And it happened just like that — no preparation, no warning. Frank [C.L. Franklin] told me that he was afraid that Aretha wouldn't ever recover, *that she was unable to talk for weeks.* She crawled into a shell and didn't come out until many years later. What brought her, of course, was the music. Without the music I'm not sure Aretha would have ever found her way out of the shell (emphasis mine).[151]

Aretha's emerging musicality left her community of friends and family awestruck. As fellow songwriter Detroit and family friend Smokey Robinson notes, she was a "shy girl who came alive when we started playing records. I heard her singing along with Sarah [Vaughan] in a way that scared me." Her piano playing was comparably stunning. "There was a grand piano in the Franklin living room …," Robinson continued. "We'd pick out little melodies with one finger. But when Aretha sat down, even as a seven-year-old, she started playing chords — big chords."[152] Her brother Cecil offers a slightly more detailed record of Aretha's aural proficiency. "Here's how it worked — Aretha heard a song once and played it back immediately, note for note. If it was an instrumental, she duplicated it perfectly. If it was a vocal, she duplicated it just as perfectly. Her

[150] Ritz, *Respect: The Life of Aretha Franklin,* 34.
[151] Ritz, *Respect: The Life of Aretha Franklin,* 27.
[152] Ibid., 31.

ear was infallible."[153] After her mother died, Aretha was never a talker; music provided the syntax for communicating her interior life.

In 1954, Aretha joined her father on the gospel circuit. Within two years, J.V.B. Records released her first single, "Never Grow Old," and just four years later, she signed with Columbia. Nine albums followed, each stellar, each selling below expectations. In 1961, at age 19, she married Ted White, who rhythm and blues singer Betty Lavette later described as a "gentleman pimp." Dissatisfied with her career's trajectory at Columbia, Aretha signed with Atlantic Records in 1966, and released the album *I Never Loved a Man the Way I Love You* one year later. "She hit the ground running," Cecil recalled. "The first record was a hit and so was the second and third and so on. She took off like a rocket."[154] Aretha was happy. She was hurting as well. White was abusive, and stories of discord creeped into the press. Aretha and her publicists labored mightily to sell a counter-narrative. As her sister-in-law Earline Franklin describes, "Aretha always clung to this fairy-tale story line. She wanted the world to think she had a storybook marriage."[155] But her music gave up the truth, her voice spilling out the secrets she tried so hard not to unfold.

In February of 1967 Aretha reimagined and recorded Otis Redding's "Respect." Atlantic released the record two months later. The anthemic demand for Black freedom and women's liberation was a hit. White insisted that she strike while the iron was hot. Aretha had to tour. He insisted that she headline every major venue. Aretha, however, was not ready. "Sometimes she'd call me at night," recalled her producer and then Atlantic records president Jerry Wexler. "She always spoke in generalities. She never mentioned her husband, never gave me specifics of who

[153] Ibid., 43.
[154] Ritz, *Respect: The Life of Aretha Franklin,* 254.
[155] Ibid., 174.

was doing what to whom. She just said that she was tired of dealing with so much. She was a woman who suffered silently … she held so much in."[156] Later that year, Aretha began *Lady Soul.* "She showed up at our sessions looking like she had literally taken a beating," Wexler recalled. "But I didn't ask any questions. I gave her a big hug and told her we were overjoyed to see her."[157] By the end of 1967, Wexler recalled, "she was easily the most beloved artist in the country."[158]

In 1968, *Time* magazine's Chris Porterfield published a cover story that positioned Aretha as the epitome of a new "sound of soul." It was an acknowledgment of her hard work and success, but Aretha deeply resented Porterfield's reporting. She was indignant at racist passages that treated her successful father like a street hustler, detailing his "Cadillac, diamond stickpins, and $60 alligator shoes," and off-handedly dismissed his painful infidelities as those of a "strapping, stertorous charmer who has never let his spiritual calling inhibit his fun-loving ways." Porterfield's depiction of Aretha's own off-stage life, though searingly obtuse and condescending, did capture a spiritual exhaustion that concerned her family and friends. "She sleeps till afternoon, then mopes in front of the television set, chain-smoking Kools and snacking compulsively."[159] His reporting quoted celebrated peers who noticed things were not right. "I don't think she's happy," observed gospel pioneer Mahalia Jackson.[160] "For the last few years Aretha is simply not Aretha," Cecil opined. "You see flashes of her, and then she's back in her shell."[161]

Embittered, Aretha resolved to keep the press at arm's length. "It was definitely a turning point …" Ruth Bowen recalled. "She'd never trust the press again. It took her a long time to agree to any more interviews. It became another one of her many fears – this fear of having secrets

[156] Ibid.,, 175.
[157] Ibid., 176.
[158] Ibid., 180.
[159] Chris Porterfield, "Lady Soul: Singing it Like it Is." *Time,* June 1968, 62 – 66.
[160] Ibid.,
[161] Ibid.,

revealed."[162] By 1968's end, writes her biographer David Ritz, "Aretha was exhausted. She had enjoyed extreme triumph and … suffered extreme setbacks. Her drinking was out of control. With her popularity at new heights, her career was more demanding than ever."[163]

The following year Aretha and White separated. Shortly thereafter, they were divorced. Months later, she began on again-off again relationship with Temptations frontman Dennis Edwards. "To be honest, I wasn't that much of a one-woman man," Edwards recalled, "Word on the street was that she wasn't much of a one-man woman."[164] Aretha was happier, but still hurting, and her music revealed what words failed to express. Remembering the recording session that produced the ballad "Call Me," guitarist Jimmy Johnson notes that "she may have cried doing the lyrics of that song – because she definitely had us crying."[165] It was around this time that Aretha met clothier Ken Cunningham, who "appreciated [her] as a beautiful black woman."[166] She stopped drinking and began taking dancing lessons.

But turmoil and volatility came back with a vengeance in 1970. In its January 15th issue, *Jet* magazine reported that Charles Cooke, brother of slain balladeer Sam Cooke, had been shot during the early morning hours in Aretha's Detroit home, and that Ted White, with whom she was still embroiled in a bitter divorce, was the assailant. Later that March, she and Cunningham had a son. They named him Kecalf (pronounced "Kalf"). She was back in the studio, completing work on the LP *Spirit in the Dark.* The title single, released in May, rose to number three on the R & B charts. A month later, Aretha played the International Hotel in Las Vegas. She was drinking again, and her voice was not in top shape. A month later, Aretha broke down before a 6,000-person audience in St. Louis's Keil Auditorium. She was only able to sing one song, "Respect." As her

[162] David Ritz, *Respect: The Life of Aretha Franklin,* (New York: Back Bay Books, 2014), 192.
[163] Ibid., 200.
[164] Ibid., 202.
[165] Werner, *Higher Ground,* 176.
[166] Ibid., 180.

sister Erma observed, “she had huge fears she was not willing to look at or even name.” Her brother Cecil called it “nervous exhaustion.” Carolyn was a bit more exact. Her sister, she opined, was still afraid “that she wasn’t enough.”[167]

1971 was the “Age of Aretha.” In mid-March, backed by a stellar touring band led by saxophonist King Curtis, Aretha played the famed Filmore West in San Francisco, and the resulting live double LP peaked at number one on Billboard’s R & B chart. Three months later, the Apollo Theater announced to the world in its distinctive garnet marquee lettering: “She’s Home – Aretha Franklin.”

Figure 2.10: Fans waiting in line to see Aretha Franklin at the Apollo Theater, 252 West 125th Street, Harlem, June 2, 1971. From the New York Daily News via Getty Images

[167] Ibid., 224 - 225.

For five nights the Queen held court before an assembly of adoring Harlemites. Her performance, *Billboard* magazine reported, enacted a collaborative compact, a "cohesion and knitting together of singer and audience and song."[168] The theater's director of community relations, Peter Long, described her opening night as "the most overwhelming thing [they] have ever had at this theater." For *New York Times* journalist C. Gerald Fraser "the thousands of black people who saw and heard Miss Franklin were more than an audience. They were part of a black interaction—they came not to only to see and hear 'Lady Soul,' 'Soul Sister No. 1,' 'The Queen of Soul' and all those other labels she bears, but also to participate with her in an exultation of their blackness."[169] Aretha, Fraser continues, did not perform in the "usual sense." Rather, she "grunted, sighed, screamed, and hollered," embodying what he identifies as "the black man's condition: his frustrations, his anger, his pride – a ritual in song that we, as black people, can identify with and participate in collectively."[170]

Fraser's understanding of Aretha's performance as a departure from the "usual" highlights the event's importance, invoking a kind of sacredness associated with this Harlem institution among fans of Black music and more broadly, Black cultural production. The phrase "ritual in song" invokes the feelings of ecstasy and transcendence traditionally associated with the Pentecostal tradition. But to bear witness to Aretha's voice – to the *un*usual ways that she grunts, sighs, screams and hollers – is for Fraser to exult in a gendered experience of Blackness. In Fraser's account, the meaning-making processes taken up by the Apollo audience, their distinct relation

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[168] Ian Dove, "Talent: Talent in Action - ARETHA FRANKLIN," *Billboard (Archive: 1963-2000),* Jun 12, 1971. 27, https://www.proquest.com/magazines/talent-action-aretha-franklin/docview/1040671614/se-2?accountid=14512 (accessed December 28th, 2020)

[169] Fraser's *New York Times* article is discussed and quoted in Darcy Eveleigh, Dana Canedy, Rachel L. Swarns, and Damien Cave, "Aretha Franklin, Queen of the Apollo," in *Unseen* (New York: Hachette Book Group, 2017). C. Gerald Fraser, "Aretha Franklin 'Soul' Ignites the Apollo," *New York Times,* (New York, NY), June 4, 1971.

[170] Ibid.; in the *New York Times* article, Fraser cites A.X. Nicholas's book *The Poetry of Soul* in his analysis of "the black man's condition."

with Blackness and Aretha's anything-but-usual mastery of melody, harmony and groove, are placed within a discursive frame that, for Fraser, elides Aretha's "she" into a "we," imagined, perhaps inevitably at this place and time, as a an expansion of "him." Co-constituted by the urban rebellions in Watts, Memphis, Detroit, and Newark, in addition to the controversy surrounding the Moynihan report and forms masculinist rhetoric circumscribing various black nationalist movements, attitudes like Fraser's privileged, as Robin D.G. Kelley notes, the intentions, worldviews, and "expressive lifestyle[s] of black men adapting to economic and political marginality."[171] Thus for Fraser, Aretha's performance, and *her* relationship with *her* audience (which of course had a large component of women), are reduced to a liminal rite that conjures and bind up the wounds of male experience.

This gendered Blackness has been critiqued by several theorists. Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones would recognize this as one of their "myths of vocal gender." For Dunn and Jones, certain vocal myths (icons like the sirens or Calliope, for example) explain and justify the "placing, or rather displacing, of the female voice in a patriarchal culture through its alignment with the material, the irrational, the pre-cultural, and the musical." Refigured in this way, the female voice is situated "within a textuality identified as masculine thus opposing her literal, embodied vocality to his metaphorical, disembodied 'voice.'"[172] Farrah Jasmine Griffin uses Dunn and Jones's framework to recapture the voices of Black women. For male listeners like Fraser, Griffin observes, Aretha's female voice simply accompanies their own masculine journeys towards "creative discovery."[173]

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[171] Robin D.G. Kelley, *Yo' Mama's DisFUNKtional!: Fighting the Culture Wars in Urban America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997), 23 – 24. See also Nikol G. Alexander-Floyd, *Gender, Race, and Nationalism in Contemporary Black Politics,* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 24.
[172] Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones, *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1994), 7.
[173] Farrah Jasmine Griffin, "When Malindy Sings: A Meditation on Black Women's Vocality, *Uptown Conversation: The New Jazz Studies,* ed. Robert G. O'Meally, Brent Hayes Edwards, and Farrah Jasmine Griffin,

Such discovery, Roach would argue, following Saidiyah Hartman's conception of the commodity's [black chattel's] fungibility, signals the special *fungibility* of Black femininity, the "material and discursive elasticity" of Black women.[174] Hartman sees "the captive body as an abstract and empty vessel vulnerable to the projection of other's feelings, ideas, desires, and values," and thus a "repository of antebellum white ideals and desires vessels through which whiteness and white agendas were shored up." In opposition, Rhodes advances a Black feminine scholarship that explores its structural positionality as a terrain from which Western epistemological notions of oppositional difference – masculine/feminine, public/private, and blackness/whiteness – emerge. If Black femininity is the terrain from which the "white public as such has been constructed and recognized," Rhodes writes, "then the appearance of black female subjectivity in public (and/or private) is always already a violent enterprise."[175] Fraser epitomizes this violence as he extracts and repurposes Aretha's fungible musical labor for his own masculinist enterprise. This reading practice, Rhodes would argue, not only circumscribes "the conditions of possibility" for women in the public sphere, but the especially tight confines for Black women within it as well.[176] To escape, we can turn with her to Kevin Quashie's brilliantly conceived notion of "the quiet" as alternative reading practice for interpreting subject formation, public life, and blackness.[177]

The Quiet is a "sensibility of being," a metaphor for the interplay of Black subjectivity and interiority. The interior is an expressive space that lies beyond the boundaries of public

(New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 113. See also Lindon Barrett, *Blackness and Value: Seeing Double* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[174] Here, the Black body is an "repository of antebellum white ideals and desires;" a cache of Western epistemologies constituted by "the structural positionality of the black feminine" from which incongruities like masculine and woman – publicity and private are formed. Shoniqua Roach, "Black Sex in the Quiet," *A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 30, no. 1 (2019): 127.

[175] Roach, "Black Sex in the Quiet," 127.

[176] Ibid., 127.

[177] Ibid., 128.

expressiveness.[178] Quiet is not synonymous with silence. Silence relies upon publicness. It is a demonstration, a hailing practice that calls attention to the act of repression and suppression. [179] Silence is stillness – the repression of self, the suppression of sound. But, crucially for Quashie, the Quiet is not still. The Quiet refuses spectatorship. It moves the "inexpressible expressiveness" of interior life (its impulsiveness, creativity, and danger) that can appear publicly, have and affect social and political meaning, challenge or counter social discourses," though none of this, "is its aim."[180] The Quiet underscores openness and being; the "full feeling" of "human astuteness" that occasions a "contagious being through openness;" being oriented towards the "preparedness for encounter rather than on the encounter itself."[181]

The relevance of the Quiet to the shy, damaged girl who went quiet for weeks after her mother's death; to the traveling musician who rationed the words spent on even the most valued collaborators; to the celebrity who adamantly refused to explain herself to the press; should be painfully obvious. This is why I have turned to micro-readings of what I hope the reader will now recognize as a set of musical interaction within the Quiet *("Jesus whispers ... sacred secrets"),* listening as closely as possible with Aretha as she quietly uses music to make herself understood.

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[178] Here Quashie thinks inner life alongside Elizabeth Alexander. The inner life – the "black interior," Alexander writes, illuminates "life and creativity beyond the public face of stereotype and limited imagination." It is metaphysical, -- "beyond the black public everyday toward power and wild imagination that black people ourselves know we possess but need to be reminded of." Highlighting Black artists and cultural production, Alexander writes that the black interior denotes an inner expanse in which they have found "selves that go far, far beyond the limited expectations and definitions of what black is, isn't, or should be." Elizabeth Alexander, *The Black Interior: Essays,* (St. Paul: Graywolf Press, 2004) x, 5. Curious of the ways that black artists employ fiction to refuse the constrictions of fact, Kevin Young advances Alexander writing that within Black culture there is a tradition – a "hiding tradition" of concealing oneself, life, loves, and more … in plain sight. Such a tradition, he theorizes, is taken up by the practice of storying. I unpack this in greater detail within the chapter's later portions. See also Galen Johnson, who defines the interior thusly: "There is an inner life. It is the life of thought, the life of the heart, the life of dream memory. These are interiors that encounter lines of exterior force that shape, fold, or break them … It is philosophically difficult to speak of interiority in light of the weight of the outside." Galen A. Johnson, "Inside and Outside: Ontological Consideration," in *Merleau-Ponty, Interiority and Exteriority, Psychic Life and the World,* ed. Dorethea Okowsski and James Morley (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 25–34.

[179] Quashie, *The Sovereignty of Quiet: Beyond Resistance in Black Culture,* 20.

[180] Ibid., 22.

[181] Quashie, *Black Aliveness, or a Poetics of Being,* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2021), 20–21.

The Quiet centers the experiential networks that inform music-making; the stylized ways, for example, that Aretha called upon memory, lived experience, and performance knowledge as she elaborated her relationship with Blackness as a Black women on the Apollo's stage, or inside the New Bethel Church in Watts. This micro-reading practice also highlights the audience's interpretive framework as well, highlighting modes of interaction, participation and inter-mutual affection that even Gerald Fraser fails to acknowledge.

Ironically, amidst the crowd gathered underneath the Apollo's twilit awning that Monday evening Fraser had encountered a devoted fan who elaborated what he found in Aretha's music:

> [She] has the genius of combining all forms of black culture into music; the way black people approach the totality rather than an isolated aspect. Her voice and her style have the totality of the experience of black people in this country. No matter how pained she is in the song, she is never the victim. She can deal with it. That's the way we are. We can deal with it.[182]

Aretha's songbook, artistry and Black life itself are unpacked here with remarkable nuance. "Her voice and style" are illustrative of an experiential system – an archive comprising the cherished and mundane moments from which relationships, both intimate and platonic, emerge. On the one hand, one might argue that this devoted fan makes Fraser's point for him: "she is never the victim ... she can deal with it ... that's the way we are ... we can deal with it" – a reading invoking patriarchal notions of resiliency and grit. But this member of Aretha's public also hears within Aretha's music the pain that exists within a Black woman's thankless moments. They hear her as she loves; they hear her as she hurts and hopes; they hear her on stage giving herself over to quiet moans that sing the parts of her life that words failed to name. Emily Lordi would theorize this "recuperative alchemy" as the abandonment of an inhospitable expressive system (a song's written melody, harmony, groove, and lyrical content) in favor of alternative modes of

[182] Fraser, "Aretha Franklin Soul Ignites the Apollo."

communication. Each grunt and shout affirms the transformation of struggle into survivorship. Each whispered moan announces her "performative claim to *multiple* expressive homes."[183] Similarly, Griffin observes that the voices of Black women "create … aural [spaces] where listeners can momentarily experience themselves as outside of themselves, as 'home' or as 'free.'" Such spaces, she continues, "can be simultaneously political, spiritual, and usual. It is the context the listening or the hearing that embodies the voice with meaning."[184] As Aretha moved her voice through the Apollo and among her audience, she communicated an unuttered invitation: "help me deal with it." From this request emerges the imagined kinship that, for this fan, rests on their experience of hearing something in the Quiet: Aretha's unspoken promise that (together) *"we can deal with it."*[185]

Aretha left all that on stage. In her dressing room after the Apollo show, after the Quiet conjured up by a performance of "Spirit in the Dark," several newsmen (always men), Gerald Fraser included, are eager to receive her words. "I'm not really a talker," she demurred.[186] Weeks later, Charles L. Sanders, *Ebony* magazine's managing editor, found himself in Aretha's bi-level penthouse apartment. He is writing a profile, to be Ebony's December 1970 cover story. Aretha is showering upstairs. Norman Dugger, one of Aretha's assistants, is stirring about and cooking lunch. Sanders waits and reflects on his time spent as an unofficial member of the entourage during the Queen's multi-city tour. Night after night Aretha evoked a shared togetherness in music making, a "very special thing she was able to get going with an audience." Aretha's problems, he

[183] Emily Lordi, "Souls Intact: The Soul performances of Audre Lorde, Aretha Franklin, and Nina Simone. *Women and Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* 26, no. 1 (2016) : 57.
[184]
[185] Gayle Wald. *It's Been Beautiful: Soul! And Black Power Television.* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).
[186] Fraser, "Aretha Franklin Soul Ignites the Apollo."

recalled, “weren’t any more special than the problems that a whole flock of women wrestle with and try to solve.”

Sanders is still waiting. “Use the pressure cooker for those ham hocks ‘cause I’ll be down to eat right away.” As Aretha makes her way into her sparsely furnished living room, Sanders compliments her “outta sight” outfit. “Oh thanks,” she graciously replies. “How was the flight from Chicago?” “No problem, except the food was lousy.” “Well, Norman is working on that problem right now and we’ll eat pretty soon. O.K.? Right on!”[187] As they finish their meal, Sanders tries to coax a semblance of vulnerability and candor from Aretha. True to her reputation, she keeps her personal life close to the vest. Past experiences with the press have taught her that her personal life is best left inaccessible to the public. Sanders gets it. Unlike “certain writers … who think they can boost their hack reputations by coating every entertainer with an aura of the forbidden and bizarre,” he is not interested in gossip or sensationalizing her intimate life.[188] Finally, an opening. “Let’s take *Brand New Me,”* Aretha suggests. “That’s one that expresses exactly how I felt when I recorded it, and actually how I feel right now-like a brand-new woman, a brand new me.”[189] From there, she discusses overcoming her storied shyness. She cites “the Black revolution’s” role in forcing her, in addition to “the majority of Black people to take a second look at [themselves].”[190] The movement’s “self-worth” sentiment, she continued, encouraged her to explore and enact a “very *personal* evolution – an evolution of the *me* in myself.”[191] Hours pass. Aretha, a lit Kool cigarette in hand and a Pepsi in the other, looks out over Seventh Avenue from her penthouse window. The gesture is subtle and clear; a signal her conversation with Sanders has reached its end. Roberta Flack plays in the background. She discloses her excitement about

[187] Ibid., 128.
[188] Ibid., 132.
[189] Ibid., 132.
[190] Ibid., 132.
[191] Ibid., 134.

upcoming projects. Her next album, *To Be Young Gifted and Black,* will be released soon. Additionally, she will be taping a live "all gospel" LP at the beginning of the following year. "It's going to be with James Cleveland and we'll record it with a good choir."[192] As her brother Cecil recalled, "the bookings [were getting] bigger, the travel [was] crazier, and [Aretha's] moods [were] shakier." The upcoming gospel recording was a necessary and welcomed pause; a "beautiful and healing interlude" in the highs and lows of his sister's life.[193]

Part III

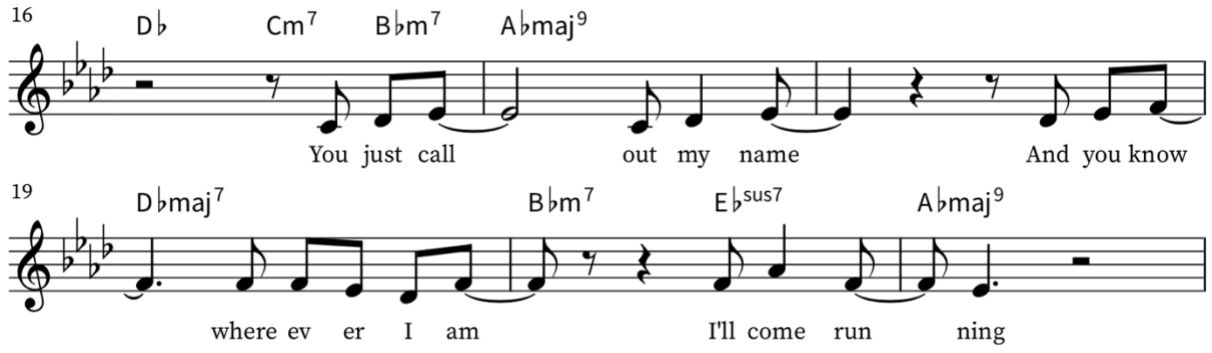
Shouts and applause eclipse the final bar of Aretha's ecstatic take on Clara Ward's "How I Got Over." Cleveland looks up from his piano and addresses the audience. "We've taken for the next song – two songs really – one of pop and one of gospel; and mixed it together … And we 'gone sing it one way and then we 'gone turn 'round and sing it another way … And you need a friend and Jesus said call my name, 'cause *I'll be there*.'"[194] Staggered rejoinders *("WELL … Yes … ALRIGHT!")* erupt from the congregation as Aretha introduces the program's next song, a medley of Carole King's "You've Got a Friend" and Thomas Dorsey's "Precious Lord, Take My Hand."

The former was composed during a January 1971 recording session that produced *two* chart topping albums: James Taylor's album *Mud Slide Slim and the Blue Horizon,* and King's award-winning second LP, *Tapestry.*[195] "You've Got a Friend," she recalled, was the closest to "pure

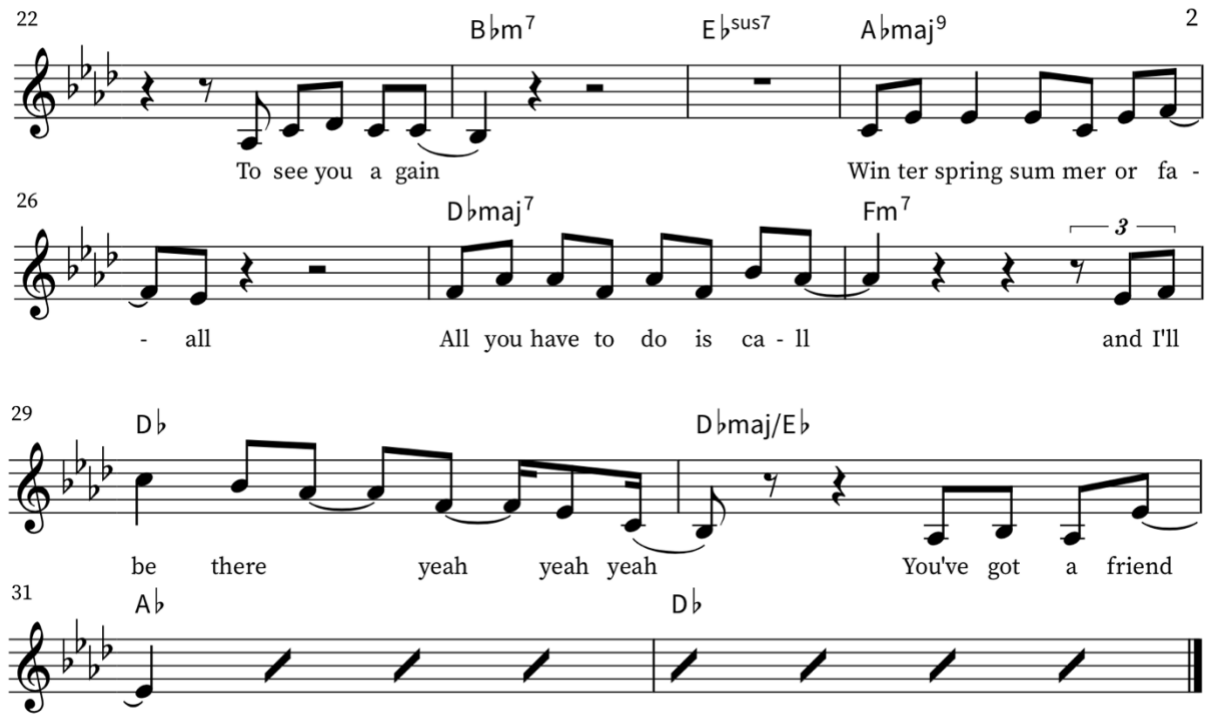
[192] Ibid., 134.
[193] Charles L. Sanders, "Aretha: A Closeup Look at Sister Super Star," 254.
[194] Emphasis my own.
[195] Taylor debuted his version of "You've Got a Friend" in May 1971, three months after *Tapestry's* release. The single would reach one on the *Billboard 100*. To date, *Tapestry* still holds the record for most consecutive weeks at number one by a female solo artist. The album would continue on the US *Billboard* 200 the next 318 weeks; six years after its debut.

inspiration as I've ever experienced. The song wrote itself. It was written by something outside of myself, through me."[196] Music critic Jon Landau agreed, praising a "simplicity of singing, composition, and ultimate feeling [that] achieved the kind of eloquence and beauty that I had forgotten rock was capable of."[197] Throughout the refrain, for example, King unpacks consolation and comfort as she sings *"you just call out my name - and you know, wherever I am - I'll come running, to see you again,"* within three to four note melodic wisps in A♭ major. The sentiment is punctuated further as she ascends and descends an octave from the third scale degree. *"Winter spring summer or fall,"* she resolves, *"all you have to do is call – and I'll be there."* The stepwise motion gently accents King's promise of friendship; a promise that she assuredly resolves, *"you've got a friend."*

Figure 2.11. Carole King, "You've Got A Friend," melodic outline



[196] _____, *The Mojo Collection: The Ultimate Music Companion,* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 2007), 229.
[197] Jon Landau, "Tapestry," *Rolling Stone,* April 29 1971



Dorsey's "Precious Lord, Take my Hand," composed in the wake of tragedy and crisis, makes a similar promise. In August 1932, Dorsey's wife Nettie Harper died in childbirth. Within twenty-four hours, his infant son Thomas Jr. was dead as well. A week of profound grief followed. Theodore R. Frye, his friend and colleague, encouraged him to "get away from home … and kind of get [himself] together." They soon found themselves at a piano within the "Poro" college, a beauty training school. As Dorsey recalled in Michael W. Harris's *The Rise of Gospel Blues,* "I plunked 'round on the piano … played a song or two, a hymn." Dorsey was "simply 'fumbling' around at the keyboard with 'an old tune that's sung to many songs, many sets of lyrics,'" Harris continued. "While it appears that Dorsey had no intention of composing at that moment, he clearly was seeking out the soothing effect of religious song, in this instance traditional Anglo-Protestant

hymnody."[198] His meandering that evening soon gave way to playing George Allen's "Maitland." "I began fooling around on the piano and a tune came to me," Dorsey recalled. It was an old tune, but I found myself stumbling up on some new words which suited my mood of dejection and despair:"

> *Precious Lord – take my hand. Lead me on Let me stand. I am tired.* True, I was so tired. *I am weak. I am worn. Through the storm.* Plenty storm in my life now. *Through the night.* Hard night. *Lead me on to the light.* There had to be a light somewhere. There must be some happiness left somewhere. There must be success somewhere. *Precious Lord. Take my hand. Lead me on.*[199]

Elated, Dorsey summoned Frye to the piano. "I called out: 'Come here, Frye. Listen to this." Frye was equally excited listening to his friend's composition. "That's it, man. That's it." Dorsey performed the song the following Sunday at his church, Pilgrim Baptist in Chicago.

He soon released the hymn through his publishing company and mail-order business, and it did not take long for "Precious Lord" to become a mainstay of the gospel circuit, with the Heavenly Gospel Singers releasing the earliest known recording on February 16th, 1937. Several notable versions followed, including the Soul Stirrers in 1939, Sister Rosetta Tharpe in 1941, and the Five Blind Boys of Alabama in 1954. In 1956, Aretha – just fourteen years old -- recorded her first take in her father's church, New Bethel Baptist. Released three years later by J.V.B Records, the two-sided single documents a surprisingly mature mode of musical expression. As essayist Doreen St. Felix observes, "already a mother without her mother … [Aretha] draws from a font of pain and awe and indignation so worldly that you may flinch in disbelief." Each phrase is sung "as though she is wrapping her instrument around death and strangling;" as though she is leaving

[198] Michael W. Harris, *The Rise of Gospel Blues: The Music of Thomas Andrew Dorsey in the Urban Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 26. For a concise analysis of "Precious Lord's" textual voice, thematic message and formal components, see pp. 220 – 240. See also Thomas A. Dorsey, "The Thomas A. Dorsey Story: From Blues-Jazz to Gospel Song," Chicago, 1961.
[199] Alfred Duckett, "An Interview with Thomas A. Dorsey," *Black World,* July 1974.

"Dorsey's man-made words behind, as they are inefficient for expressing the way she feels both about her God and about transmitting the miracle of her voice."[200] For St. Felix, the force of Aretha's music lies in her capacity to communicate the sacred secrets that she has yet to name. The voice is a sound portrait; a distinct and on-going rehearsal that, in the wake of this nascent moment in Detroit, is rehearsed once more in Watts as Aretha sets Dorsey and King's music to her life's story.

* * * *

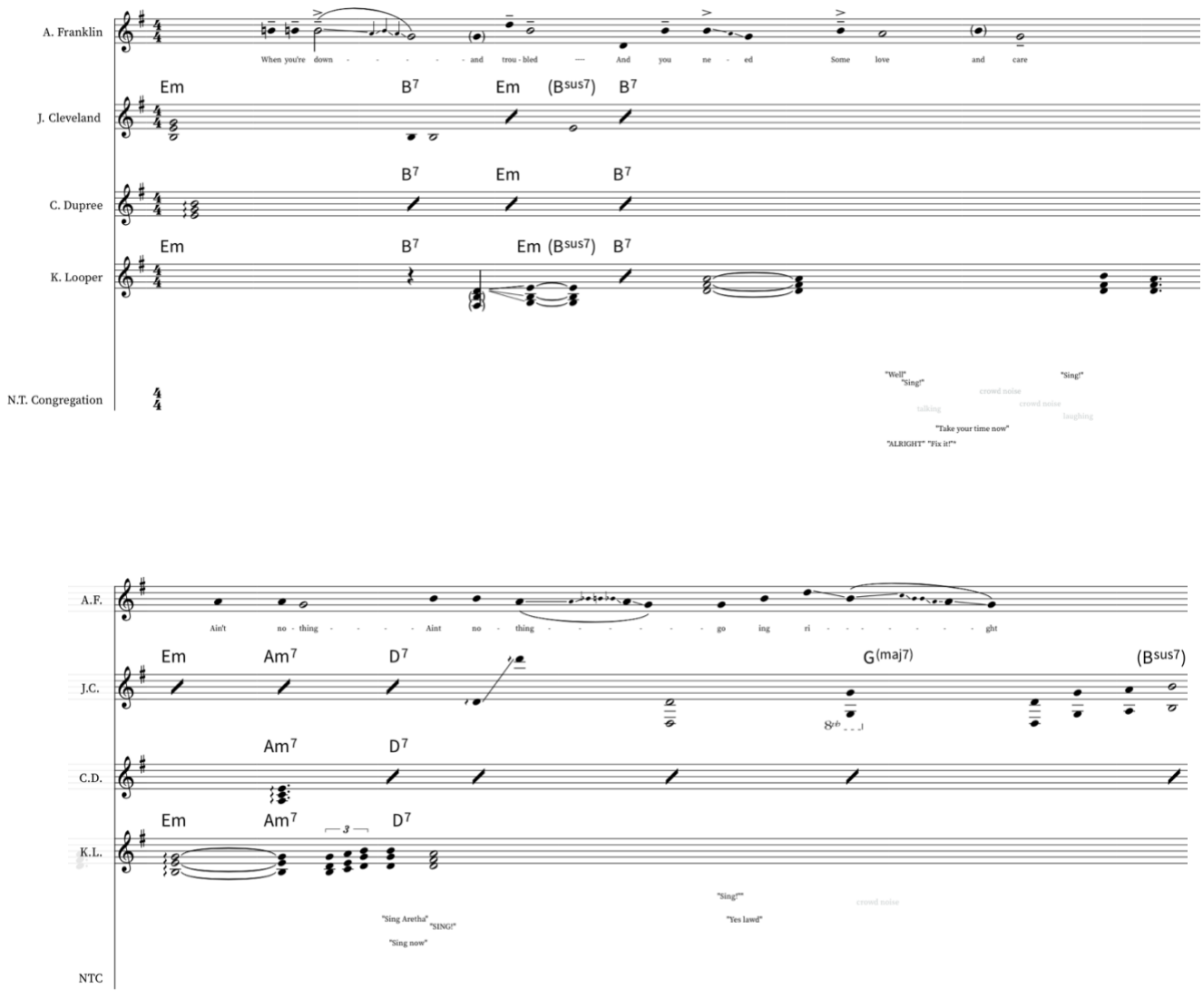
Prelude (Figure 2.12)

Quiet anticipation lingers among the New Temple congregation as Cleveland draws his remarks to a close. An arpeggiated E-minor triad follows as Aretha introduces a rhythmically open prelude. *"When you're down and troubled … and you need some love and care."* Various band members interweave short motifs into her phrases. Absent a consistent pulse, their shared statements enact momentum and drive. Following Aretha's introduction *("when you're down"),* organist Kenneth Lupper plays a B^7-Em-$Bsus^7$-B^7 figure. The wax and wane of each chord dramatizes the episode's overarching uncertainty, evoked by the words "down" and "troubled." Shouts erupt from the audience as Aretha sings *"ain't nothing … ain't nothing going right."* Lupper situates an ascending diatonic triplet figure between each phrase as interjections erupt from the audience once more: *"Well …" – "Sing!" – "Take your time now …" – "ALRIGHT!"* These vernacular statements, introduced amidst a ii-V-I harmonic sequence, stokes the episode's nascent tension as Aretha resolves, *"close your eyes and meditate on him … and soon, he'll be there."*

[200] Doreen St. Felix, "The Clairvoyance of the Fourteen-year-old Aretha Franklin, *The New Yorker,* August 17, 2018.

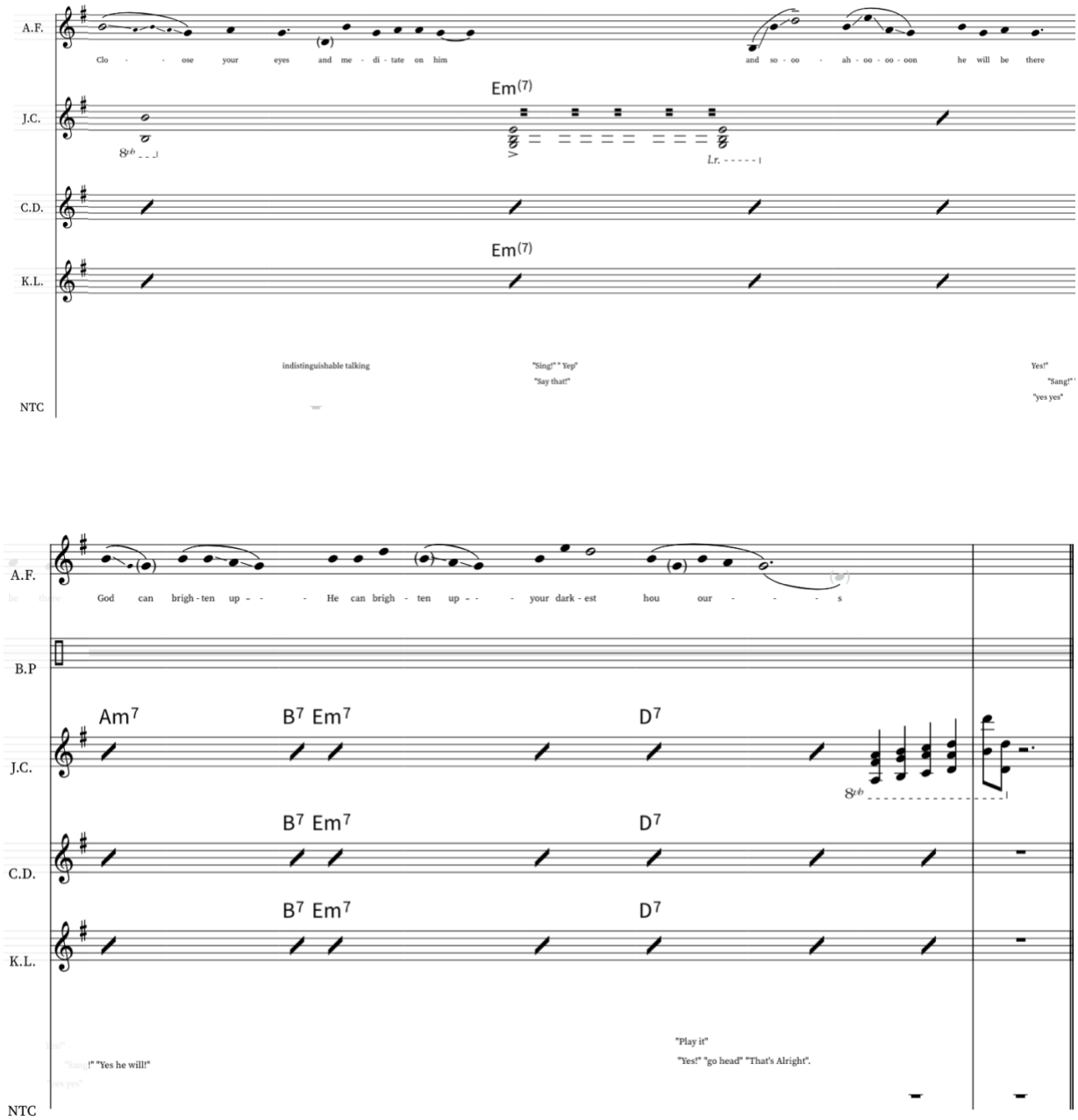
Again, the congregation voices their approval: *"Yes" – "Sing!" – "Yes he will!"* Cleveland plays an Em7 tremolo in his left hand as Aretha declares an unfeigned reminder. "God can brighten up … he can brighten up, your darkest hours."

Figure 2.12: "Precious Lord - You've Got a Friend" - Prelude



Time	Harmony	Aretha Franklin Denotative / Analysis	James Cleveland	Southern California Choir + Alexander Hamilton	New Temple Missionary Baptist Church Congregation
00:00 (31:53)	$Em^{(7)}$	"When you'e down,			
00:05 (31:56)	B^7				
00:08 (31:59)		"And troubled ..."			
00:12 (32:04)	$Em^{(7)}$				
00:14 (32:06)	B^7	"And you need ..."			
00:18 (32:09)	$Em^{(7)}$	"Some love and care"			"Well" "Sing!" crowd noise "Sing!" talking *crowd noise *laughing "Tak e your time now" " "Alright" "Fix it!"**
00:21 (32:12)					
00:27 (32:18)	Am^7	"Ain't nothing ..."			"Sing Aretha" Sing! "Sing now"
00:32 (32:23)	D^7	"Ain't nothing going ..."			"Alright "Sing!" crowd noise "Yes lawd"
00:39 (32:29)	$G^{(maj7)}$	" ... right"			*Cheering* "Yes!" "Take your time."

Figure 2.12 (con't): "Precious Lord - You've Got a Friend" – Prelude



As with the postlude to *Amazing Grace*'s version of the hymn "Precious Memories" analyzed at the beginning of this chapter, the motifs and statements that pervade this episode are rooted in the musical knowledge and backgrounds of various participants. As ethno-musicologist Ingrid Monson observes, such participants have "a personal listening world" – a personal "aural knowledge" that converges with the knowledge and musical backgrounds of the others. Thus it is not only Aretha who "talks through music," but, to a greater or lesser extent, *all* of the *Amazing Grace* participants. The calls and cries among the congregation, for example, reflect their

individual experience coalescing with a shared affection for the gospel tradition during this unique setting. Similarly, the interplay among Aretha and her fellow musicians during this performance emerges from their skill as working musicians, plus the habits inculcated by their previous work together as a group. "We listened to one another," recalled bandleader and drummer Bernard Purdie. "To allow yourself to do your thing, you have to have other people supporting you and we supported each other so well, so much with the rhythm, we were never thinking about solo work. The rhythm section was always super, super tight because of the respect we had for each other. It wasn't about us, it wasn't about solo work, it was about a section."[201] Before we dive into a detailed transcription of how this mutual support network functioned, the interplay between intertextuality, improvisation, and Black vernacular music needs to be unpacked and theorized briefly. What are all these musicians working together to *do?* And what does their work have to do with the fact that they are going to be working together on two songs – one sacred and Black, one secular and white – at the same time?

Intertextuality, broadly conceived, emphasizes the creative reuse and recombination of idiomatic tropes and phrases in an original way from one setting to another. This expressive process, called Signifyin(g), is identified by Henry Louis Gates as Afro-diasporic culture's trope of tropes; "a mode of formal revision" that is "is often characterized by pastiche, and, most crucially, on repetition of formal structures and their differences." In this context, the allusion and transformation of speech within the "black language game" – marking, loud talking, testifying, calling out (of one's name), sounding, rapping, playing the dozens, etc. – are privileged over novelty.[202] Musicologist Samuel Floyd locates signifyin(g) textual and rhetorical practices in the

[201] As Cohen notes, Purdie's group, "Pretty Purdie and the Playboys, including Rainey and Dupree, released *Stand by me (Watcha See is Whatcha Get)* in the summer of 1971. That album included their own jazz-funk version of Carole King's You've Got a Friend." Cohen, *33 1/3: Amazing Grace,* 44.
[202] Henry Louis Gates, *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African-American Literary Criticism,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 57-59. See also, David Bracket, *Interpreting Popular Music,* 123.

"cultural transactions between human beings and organized sound." During a given performance, participants use these practices to "comment (Signify) on other figures, on the performances themselves, on other performances of the same pieces, and on other and completely different works of music." Even genres can signify on other genres:

> Ragtime Signifies on European and early Euro-American dance music, including the march; blues on the ballad; the spiritual on the hymn; jazz on the blues and ragtime; gospel on the hymn, the spiritual, and the blues; rhythm and blues and rock; funk on soul; rap on funk; bebop on swing, ragtime rhythms, and blues …[203]

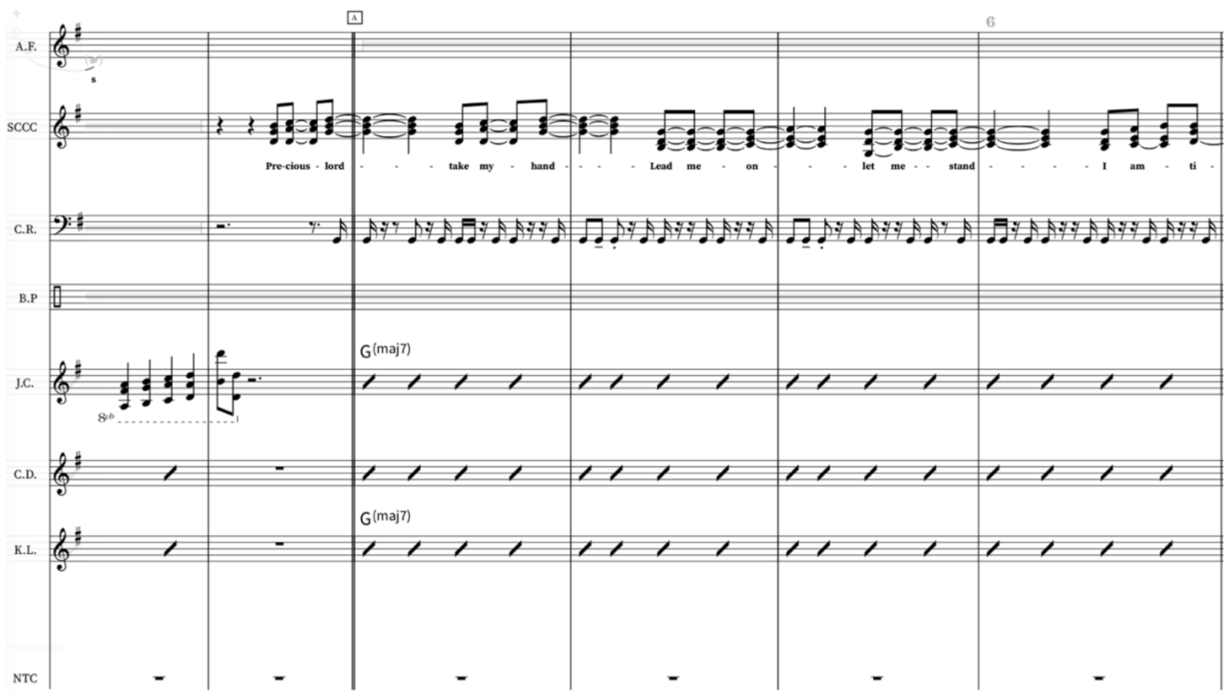
Altogether, these practices and processes are not only helpful in conveying the relationship between "Precious Lord" and "You've Got A Friend," but also the utility in combining them within this setting.

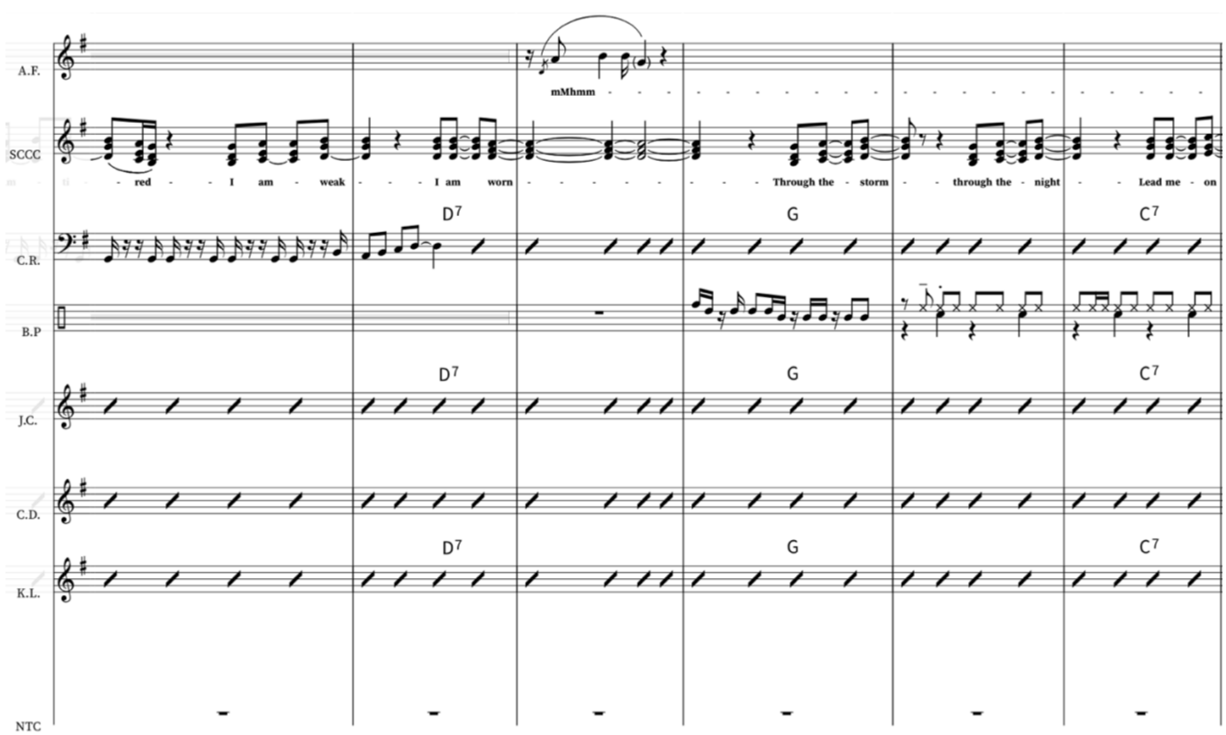
Verse 1 and Refrain (Figure 2.13)

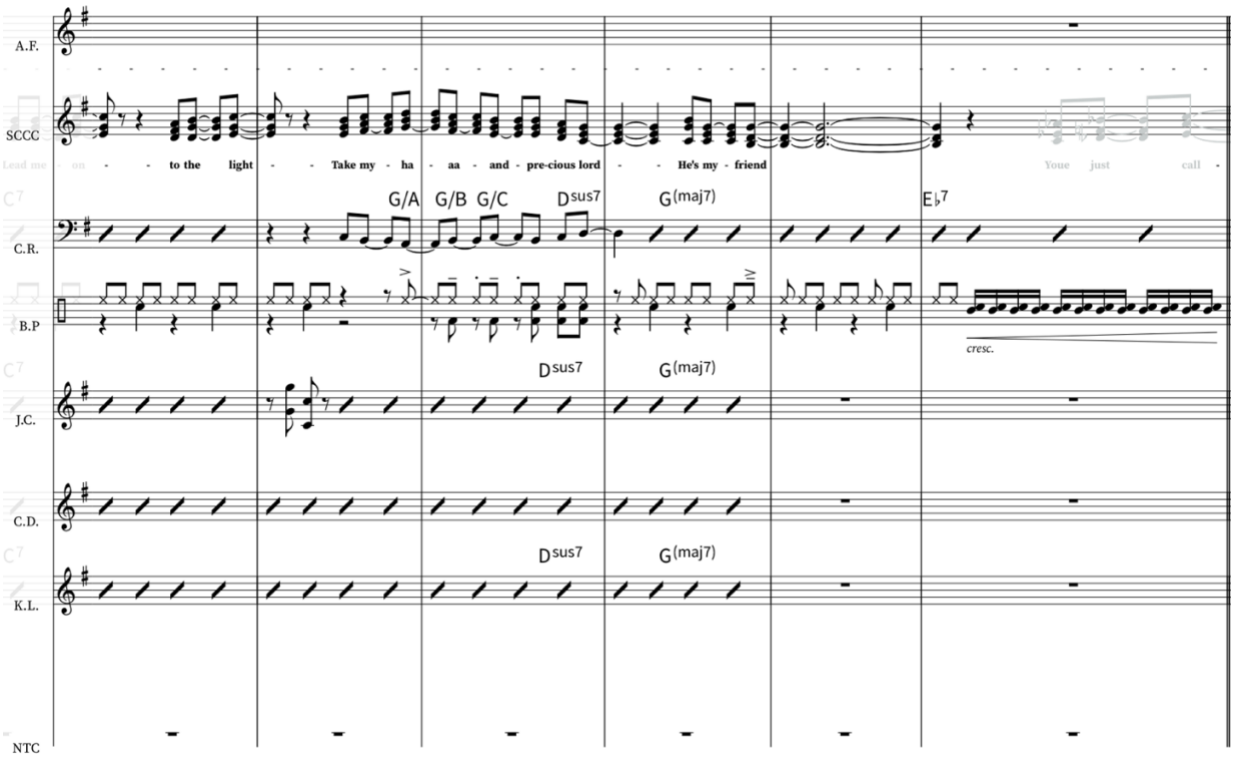
Friendship and the Godhead – an intimate and shared companionship with Jesus Christ amidst hard times; these sentiments are evoked as bassist Chuck Rainey and the SCCC introduce the first verse of "Precious Lord/You've Got a Friend" (PL/YGF). Their biphonic interpretation, alongside Rainey's single-note ostinato, is sober and temperate. *"Precious lord, take my hand – lead me on, let me stand – I am tired, I am weak, I am worn."* Dispassion gives way to dogged determination as Purdie plays a descending anapestic figure on toms. The choir advances, weaving in the first references to King's secular text: *"through the storm, through the night – Lead me on, to the light – Take my hand precious lord, he's my friend."* Their shared performance signals melancholy and exhaustion; a wistfulness and hope that proceeds an affirmation of the Divine's comfort.

[203] Samuel A. Floyd Jr., *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting its History from Africa to the United States,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) 271.

Figure 2.13: "Precious Lord - You've Got a Friend" – Refrain (1st Chorus)



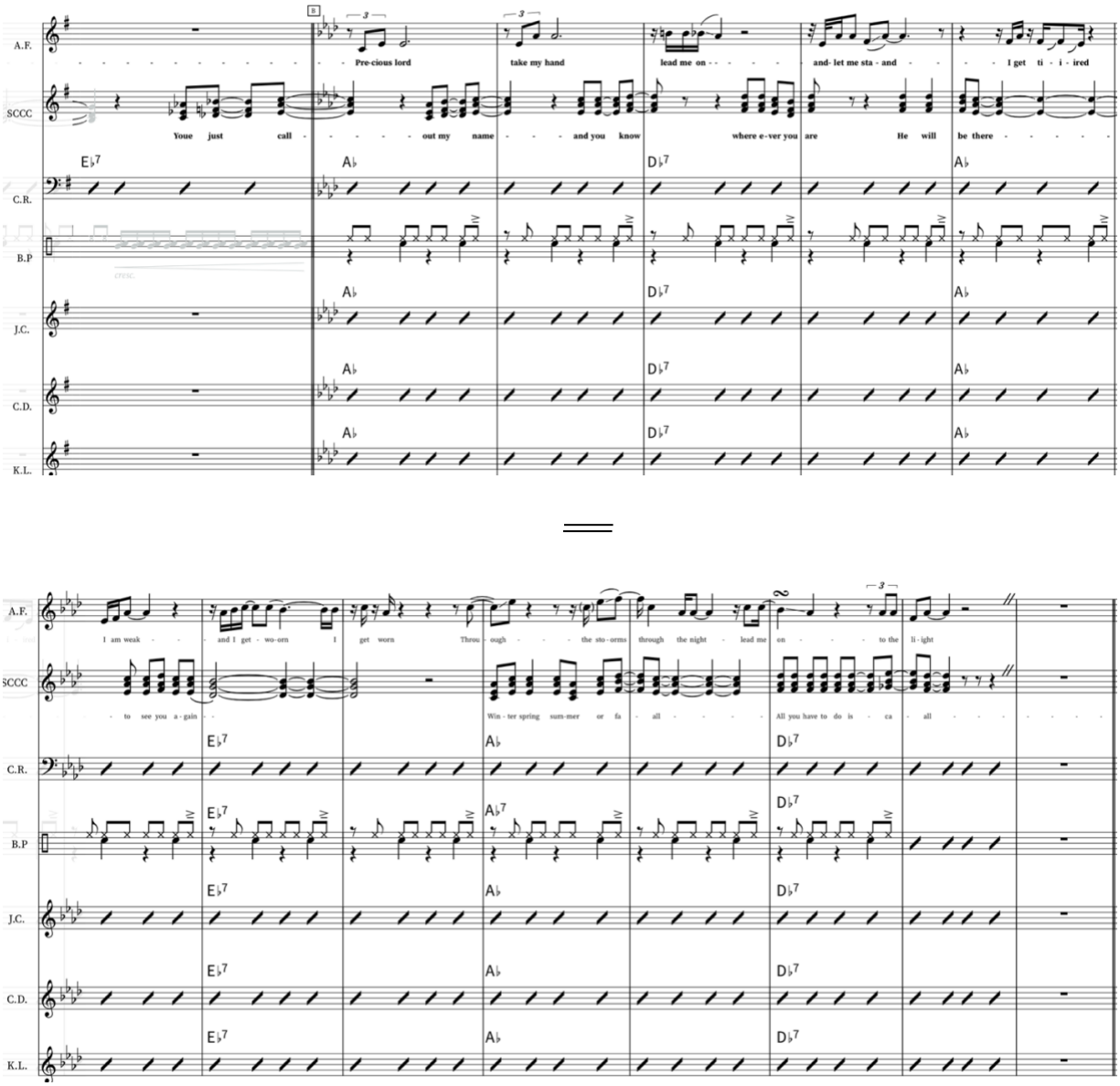




Verse 2 and Refrain (Figure 2.14)

The second verse is marked by a half-step modulation to A-flat major. The choir and Aretha, as the rhythm section shifts to a "straight eighths" feel, introduce a point-counterpoint arrangement of Dorsey and King's melodies. Aretha's role in this polyphonic episode is hardly univocal. Her vocality is itself intertwined in, and at times, constituted by the SCCC's interpretation. As Figure 2.14 demonstrates, Aretha's stylized revision of "Precious Lord's" formal components signifies on the musical choices among two participants: the choir's austere rehearsal of "You've Got a Friend's" verse and refrain, in addition to the groove laid down by the ensemble.

Figure 2.14: "Precious Lord - You've Got a Friend" – Refrain (2nd Chorus)



For Floyd, this musical interplay reflects the antiphonal signifyin(g) principle that he has identified as Call-Response. Within Black American vernacular tradition, this term "implies the presence of signifyin(g) figures (Calls) and signifyin(g) revisions (Responses, in various guises) that can be

one or the other, depending on their context." During a musical performance, participants are constantly engaging with a tune's formal components (melody, harmony, and rhythm), expressive figures, alternative performances of the same tune, in addition to other works of music.[204] Call-Response, in this context, highlights music making's conversational quality.

This conversation consists not only of the collision of two separate texts; it determines the collaborative quality of improvised expression among Aretha, the SCCC and the members of her band. If intertextuality conveys the coalescence of aural knowledge and circumstantial competency during music making, then *intermusicality*, Monson argues, highlights "the aurally perceptible musical relationships that are heard in the context of particular musical traditions." These relationships are not theoretical. Rather, they are a critical aspect of communicative chemistry, that is, the ability to pick up and riff off of one another's ideas, among improvising musicians.[205]

Vamp (Figure 2.15a/b)

This expressive alchemy is reflected in "Precious Lord – You've Got a Friend's" *vamp*. What does it mean to "vamp" in a gospel or jazz context? And how might that function change the way we listen to the micro-interactions between musicians, soloists, and choir in *Amazing Grace?* In Ingrid Monsons's influential account of improvisation in Black music, a vamp consists of "repeated figures (usually two to four bars in length that may include an oscillation between two harmonies, a short, repeated harmonic progression, and a bass ostinato or pedal-point figure."[206] Guthrie Ramsey describes this same combination of characteristics as a *troping cycle,* "because *vamp* seems to denote only the harmonic successions and melodic patterns typical of the section."

[204] Floyd Jr., *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting its History from Africa to the United States,* 271.
[205] Ingrid Monson, *Saying Something: Jazz Improvisation and Interaction,* 128.
[206] Ingrid Monson, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call out to Jazz and Africa,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 100

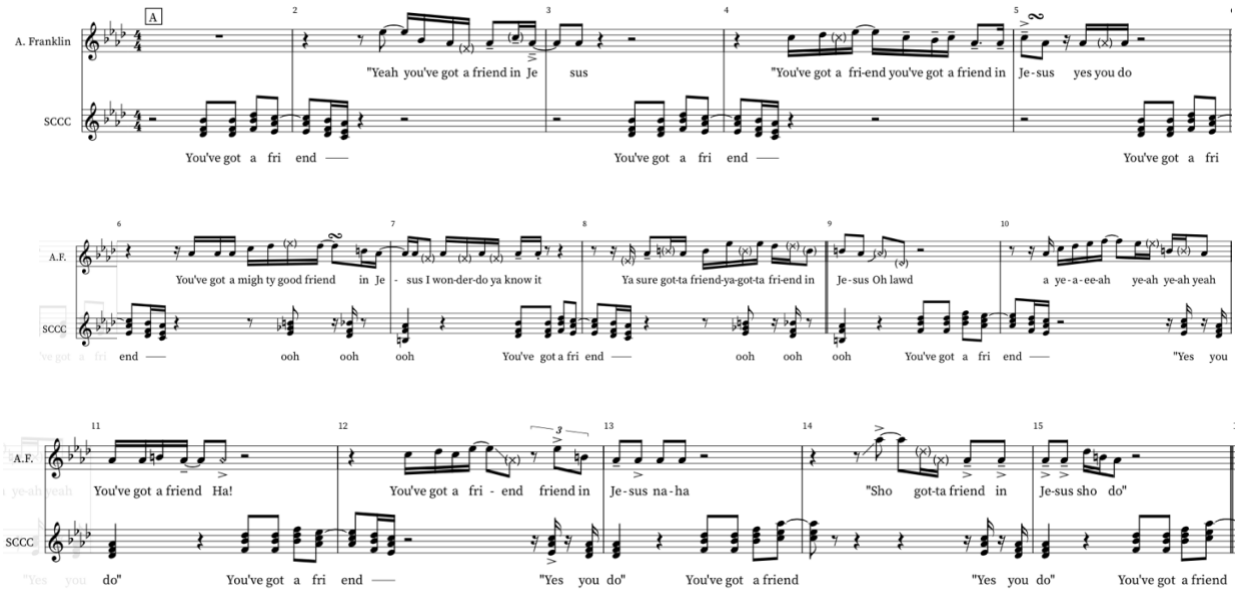
Recognizing the vamp as a kind of cycle, he argues, better conveys it function (repetition and escalation), in addition to the "aesthetic demands and requirements placed on singers or instrumentalists."[207] For Braxton Shelley, the vamp, both an "iterated musical figure and an entire formal unit," is where most gospel performances "achieve their affective ends."[208] Thus Shelley turns toward "pitch and texture-based intensification;" arguing that vamps are larger episodes that emerge as smaller "musical modules" are iterated and reiterated. Intensification during an iterative episode emerges from "escalatory practices, 'inverting', tonal modulation, and textual accumulation." These techniques, shared among musicians and congregants during iterative modules, "[give] rise to the formal units known as vamps."[209] This is the framework within which the individual styles and interpersonal relationships of a given gospel performance can be understood. Poly-textual and poly-rhythmic participation among Aretha, the SCCC, and members of her rhythm sections, make up the complex intertextual musical conversations that animate this moment of performance.

The PL/VGF vamp is organized around a V/V-V cycle ($A^{b}7 – D^{b}7$ in the key of G^{b}). Poly-rhythmic interaction is enacted by individual participants signifyin(g) off the timeline and one another. The SCCC's closed-voiced declaration of *"you've got a friend"* illustrates the pattern. This phrase, iteratively articulated on the third beat of every other measure (on the $D^{b}7$ chord), is the vamp's foundational trope. Two phrases are then added in mm. 6 and 10: *"ooh, ooh, ooh"* and *"yes you do."* These small changes evoke "the cut," a metaphor that reads cyclic repetition in Black music as, in James Snead's famous formulation, like a record scratch, "skipping back to another beginning which we have already heard."[210] A cut does not diminish an episode's groove,

[207] Guthrie Ramsey, *Race Music: Black Cultures from Bebop to Hip Hop,* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 200.
[208] Shelley, "Sermons in Song," 162
[209] Shelley, "Sermons in Song," 164.
[210] James Snead, "Repetition as a Figure of Black Culture," *African American Review,* 653.

since the cycling back is itself already suffused into the rhythm of vamping. The groove, therefore, is deepened and intensified by the cut.[211] As Figure 2.15 captures, this upsurge in drive is reflected in Aretha and the choir's performance of a unifying, because intertextual, lyrical trope: *"you've got a friend – in Jesus."* (There is a subtle and elegant cultural signifyin(g) going on here: in returning the phrase "you've got a friend," taken from the "white," secular song in the medley, to its gospel roots, Aretha enacts the symbolic repossession of a pop cliché made all too fungible by cultural appropriation.)[212] Rising excitement in the congregation from the repetition of this trope are then delayed and prolonged by the band's seemingly impromptu departure and return to a stylized iteration of it.

Figure 2.15a: "Precious Lord - You've Got a Friend" – Vamp (1st Chorus)



[211] Ibid., 106.

[212] Gospel songs that use the trope *Jesus is my friend* are almost too numerous to mention. Consider, to take only the most famous examples, titles like "What A Friend We Have in Jesus," "Jesus is My Friend," "Jesus, Friend of Sinners," etc.

Interactions among the rhythm section, most notably Bernard Purdie on drums and Charles Rainey on bass, are inextricable to this displacement. Purdie fuses ghosted backbeats with blended patterns all over his kit, a variation of the celebrated style affectionately dubbed "the Purdie Shuffle."[213] Rainey's contribution is melodic and intricate, a "sliding tenths" technique that allowed Rainey to play the full range of his bass (on the open E, A, D, and G strings) at the same time.[214] As did Purdie above, Rainey defines their interplay as "listening to one another" during their shared invention of the groove:

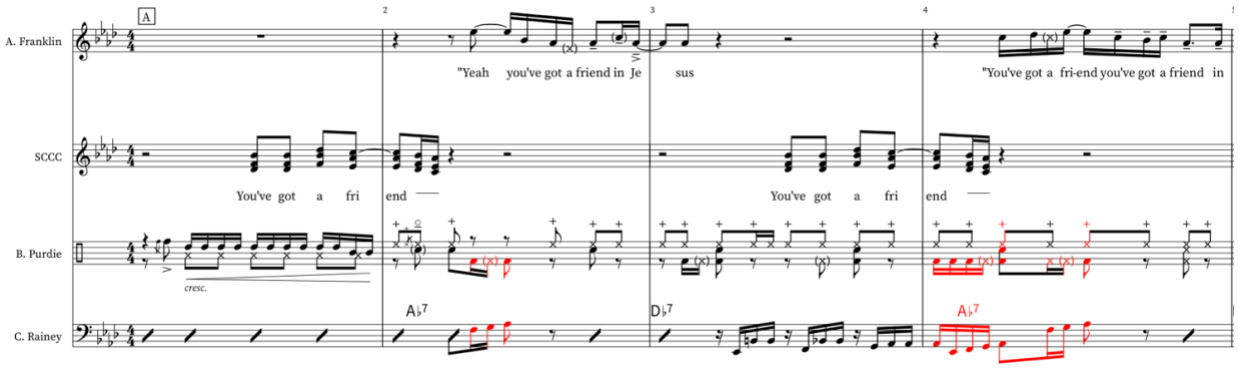
> "Bernard played with a full nuance. You could hear all the inside of his playing or what they call weak rhythms. You sort of put them in your head when you're playing a mundane figure. If you're playing a certain feel, you hear all the other rhythms within that. Bernard plays the dominant rhythm, but he also has a lot of energy in playing the nuances. And he doesn't make them obvious to where I have to play what he's playing. We just play the groove, but I don't have to make the accents. With Bernard I have a whole spectrum, as long as I play the groove. That's what separates him. He's got a good feel, but it's not in your face to where you have to play certain things. You just have to play the groove … you have a choice. You have a choice of what to play within his groove and that's what makes all the difference."[215]

This interaction emerges during the vamp's first four bars (Figure 2.15b) as Purdie plays the dominant (two and four) beats on the snare. The "nuances" that Rainey identifies above are articulated as sixteenth note patterns on the kick drum. As demonstrated in Figure 9, Rainey takes up, intermixes, and at times, revises these patterns as ascending diatonic motifs and parallel

[213] As described in his New York Times profile, the "Purdie Shuffle" began as "a regular shuffle, but then he began weaving in … ghost notes, created by lightly brushing the snare with the fingers or stick. And instead of a straightforward tapping on the high-hat, he moved his right hand up and down so that he was hitting the side of the high-hat, then the top, over and over creating this tock-tick tock-tick sound." David Segal, "A Signature Shuffle Enjoys a New Life," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), March 30th, 2009.
[214] Cohen, *33$^{1/3}$: Amazing Grace,* 46.
[215] Bernard Purdie, *Let the Drums Speak: The Story of Legendary Drummer Bernard "Pretty" Purdie* (Allenwood, NJ: Pretty Media, LLC, 2014), 144.

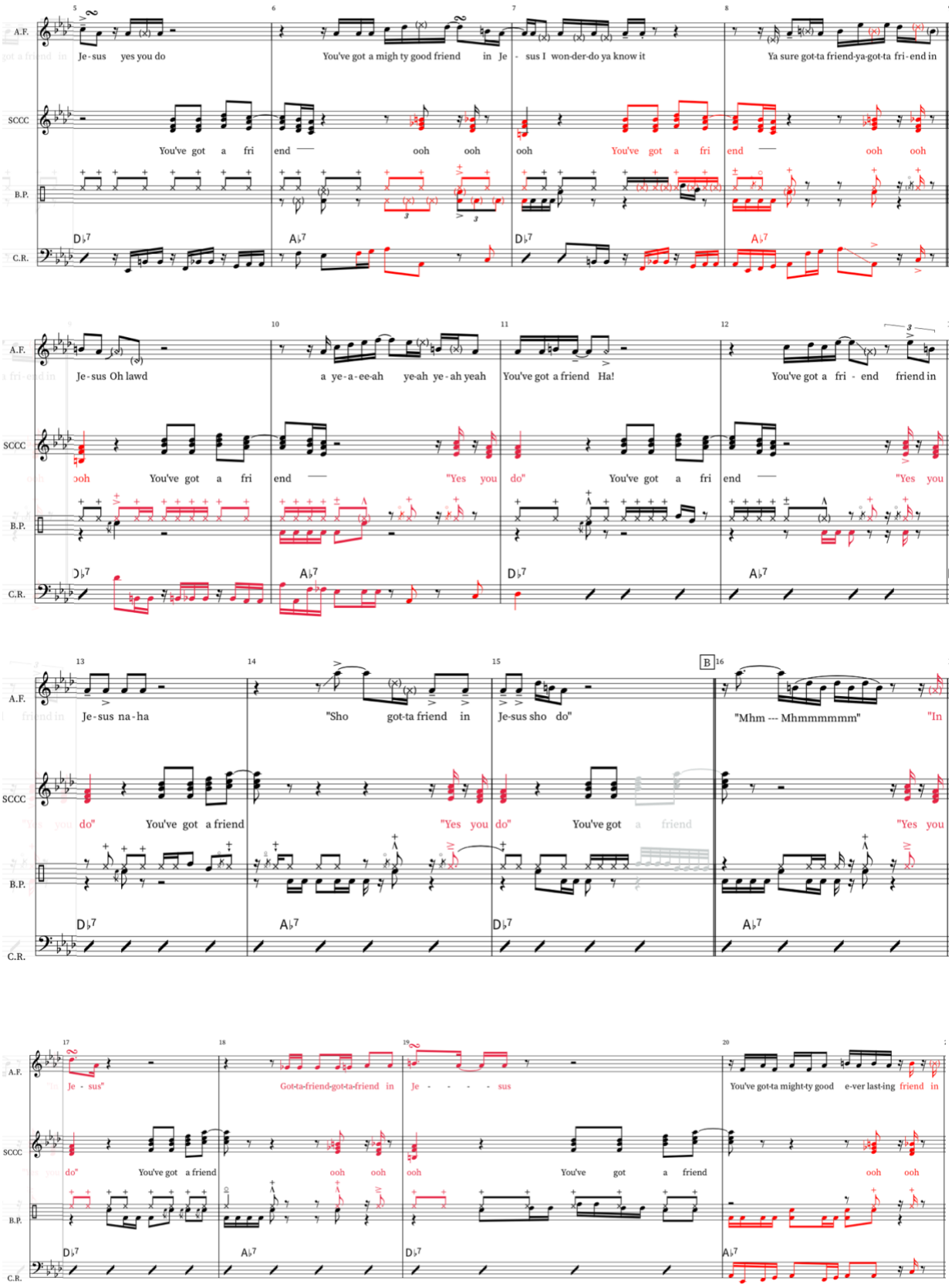
chromatic patterns in mm. 2-4. The climbing trajectory of Rainey's phrase, alongside Purdie's kick-drum, creates the vamp's sense of escalation and momentum. Animating the intertexual vamp's *"you've got a friend – in Jesus"* trope, the passing back and forth of this pattern throughout this and the following module, illustrates the gospel drive's dialogic (re)production among its various participants.

Figure 2.15b: "Precious Lord - You've Got a Friend" – Vamp (1st Chorus), with instrumental groove



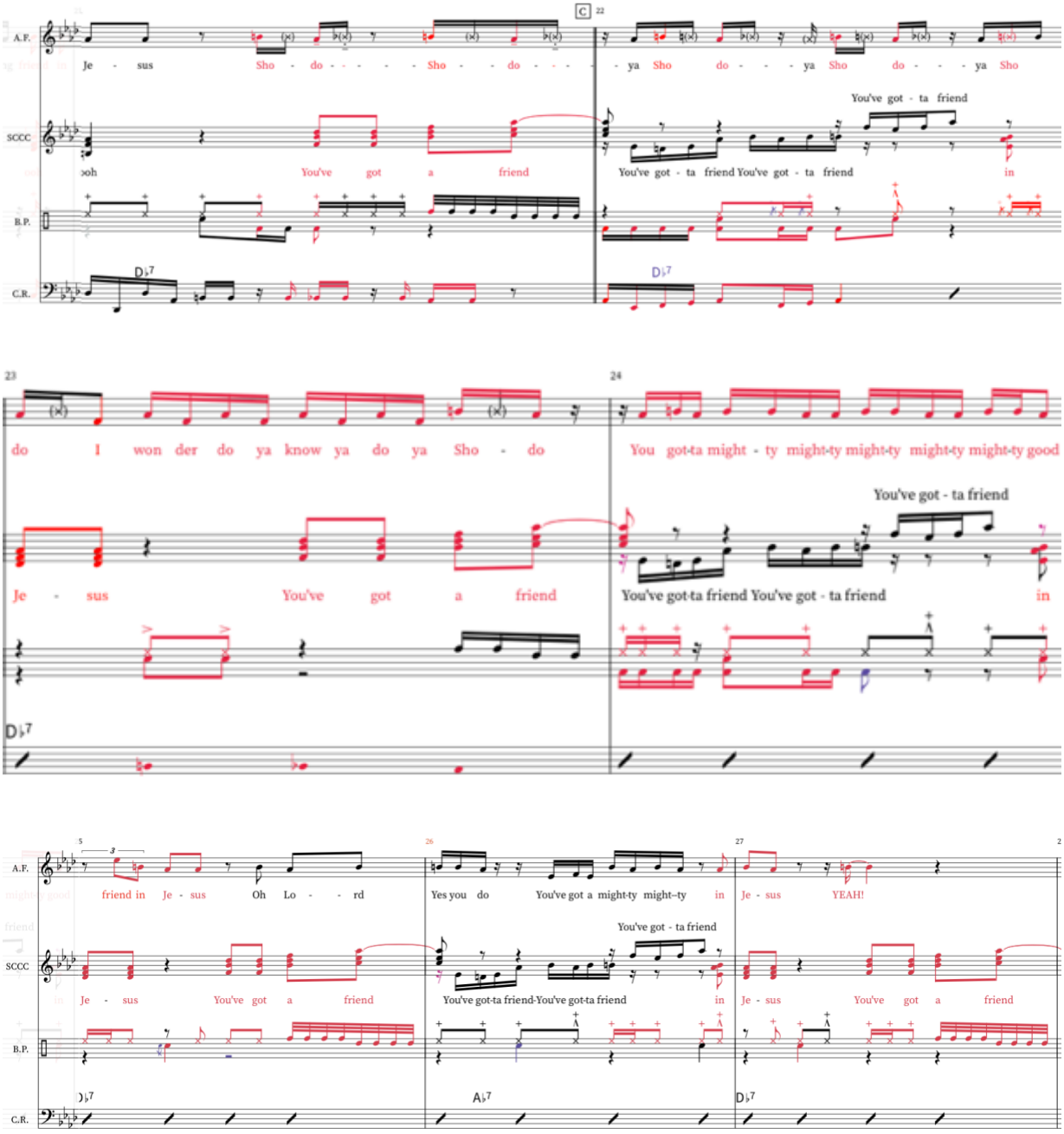
This interplay is not limited to the rhythm section, as Purdie and Rainey sync their expressive choices with the choir's *"you've got a friend – ooh ooh ooh"* passage. As Figure 2.15c details, Purdie plays two patterns on the high-hat and kick drum: an eighth-note triplet (m. 6) and eighth note plus offbeat sixteenth note motif (m. 8). These cuts into the groove, played both with and against Rainey and the choir's on-and-off the beat placement of *"you've got a friend – oh oh oh/yes you do,"* create a distinctive disturbance in its flow (technically, it is a hemiola). This subtle but compounding set of rhythmic shifts intensifies the shared experience of escalation among all participants.

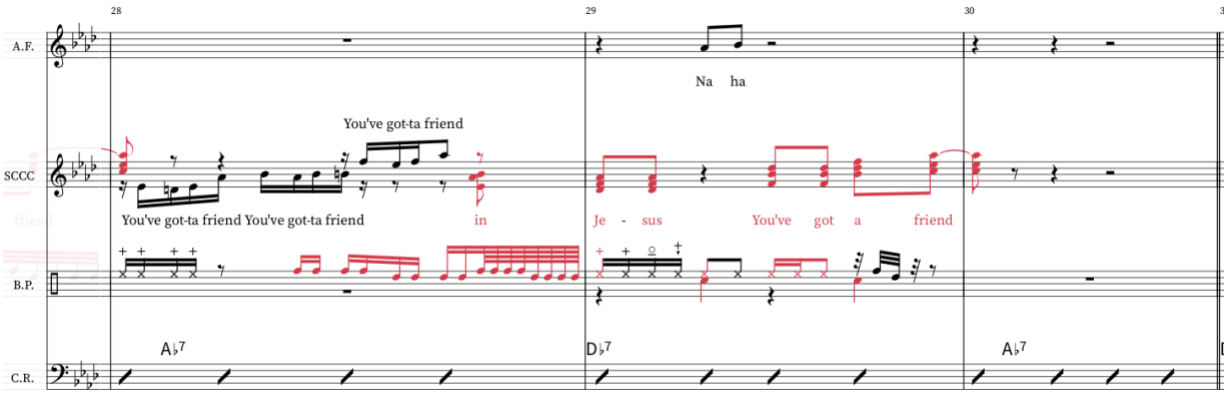
Figure 2.15c: "Precious Lord - You've Got a Friend" – vamp continues, with instrumental groove



This cross-rhythmic inter-mutuality is advanced further, perhaps to the limits of gospel musicality, during the second module, as the choir yet again revises the vamp's intertextual master trope. The group splits, building up *"You've got a friend – in Jesus"* in three staggered layers (mm. 22, 24, 26), then comes together to declare as one, *"you've got a friend"* (mm. 23, 25, 27). Over this, Aretha introduces a syncopated and extended A^{b}-minor pentatonic riff in which the phrase *"You sho' do gotta mighty good friend in Jesus"* is fragmented to throw off no less than *six* iterations of a falling minor third hemiola on the phrase *"sho' do."* As Figure 2.15d demonstrates, the heterophonic tension here among Aretha and the choir – the irregular strong-weak beat inflections shared among both lyrical strains – generates nan intensifying series of hemiola effects, which Purdie and Rainey reinforce, deploying their own rising motifs around key syllables articulated by Aretha and the choir. Note particularly how Purdie, floating his signature shuffle on top of Rainey's descending chromatic progression, quietly but perfectly places his hi-hat and kick into terse rhythmic dialogue with the SCCC and Aretha's performance. As the notes highlighted in red show, the rhythm section's improvised patterns are stylized to match *both* the choir's performance and Aretha's equally improvisatory and stylized vocal ad-libs.

Figure 2.15d: "Precious Lord - You've Got a Friend" – Vamp (2nd Module)





* * * *

Aretha is singing.

Aretha and her musical companions are also talking through music. But they are not simply singing and speaking into a void. Aretha herself, during this 1972 winter in Watts, is singing out her life in response to this song. She is singing with this band, with this choir and with this audience. She is singing of days gone by and days to yet to be of joy and laughter.

Aretha is singing; and she is not singing alone. As Purdie observed above, the individual musical choices expressed throughout this this gospel-pop medley are inextricable from the expressive choices of other participants: "To do your thing, you have to have other people supporting you."

Yes, Aretha is singing. She is talking with the choir; and they with her. *"You've got a friend,"* they remind her. *"Yeah, you've got a friend – in Jesus,"* she responds.

Aretha is singing, but she is also talking with Purdie and Rainey; not simply through the fixed frameworks of melodic and rhythmic syntax, but also through the fleeting inflections that underly each revision of "*sho' do.*" Aretha Franklin's capacity to make her singing speak – to elicit participation among publics and audiences across space and time – is a veritable

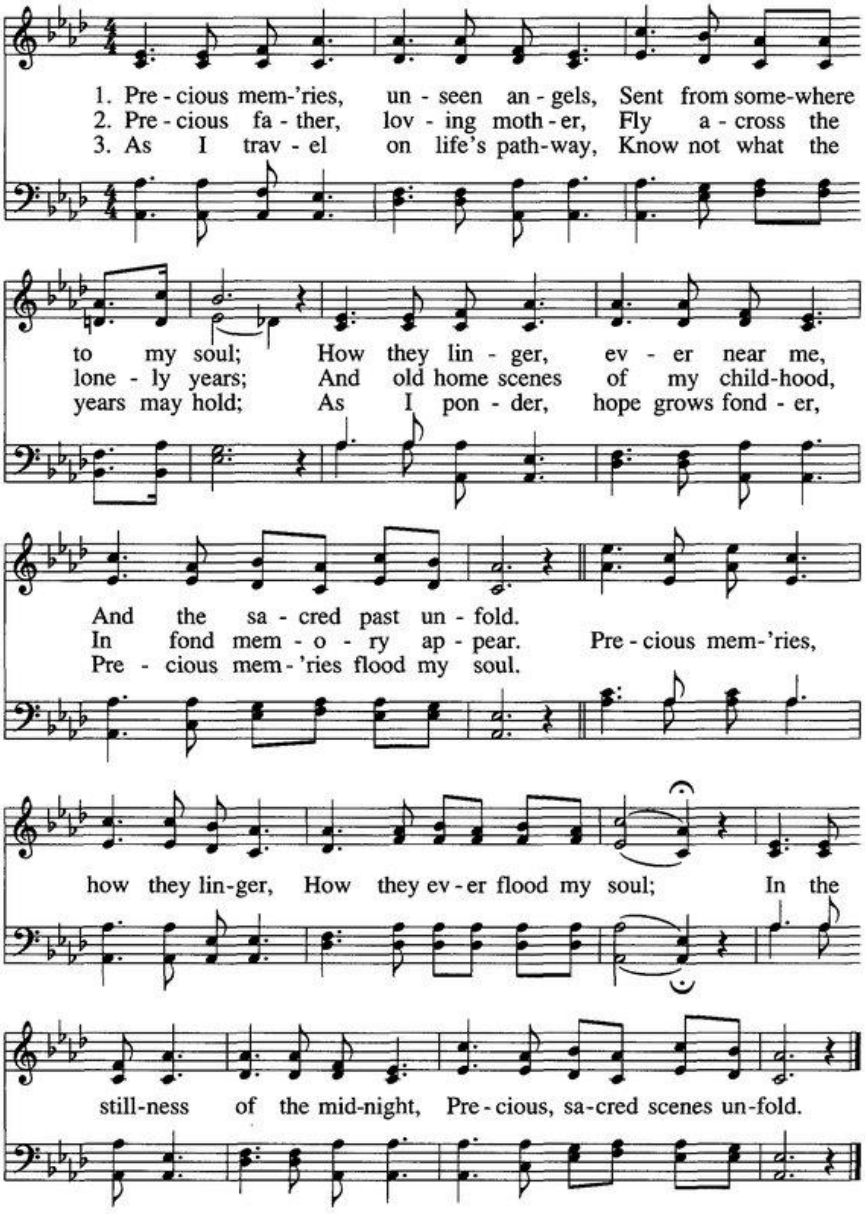
phenomenon. Yet, equally important are the ways that audiences speak back to her. These full-duplex interactions, whether expressed in person with a carefully placed *"yeah"* or *"right!"* captured on tape, or through the complex discursive judgements rendered long after the last note is sung, are critical to the making of meaning around a musical performance.

> *"Ain't it good to know that you've got a friend?*
> *People can be so cold*
> *They'll hurt you, and desert you*
> *They'll take your soul if you let them*
> *Don't let them ...*

Appendix A

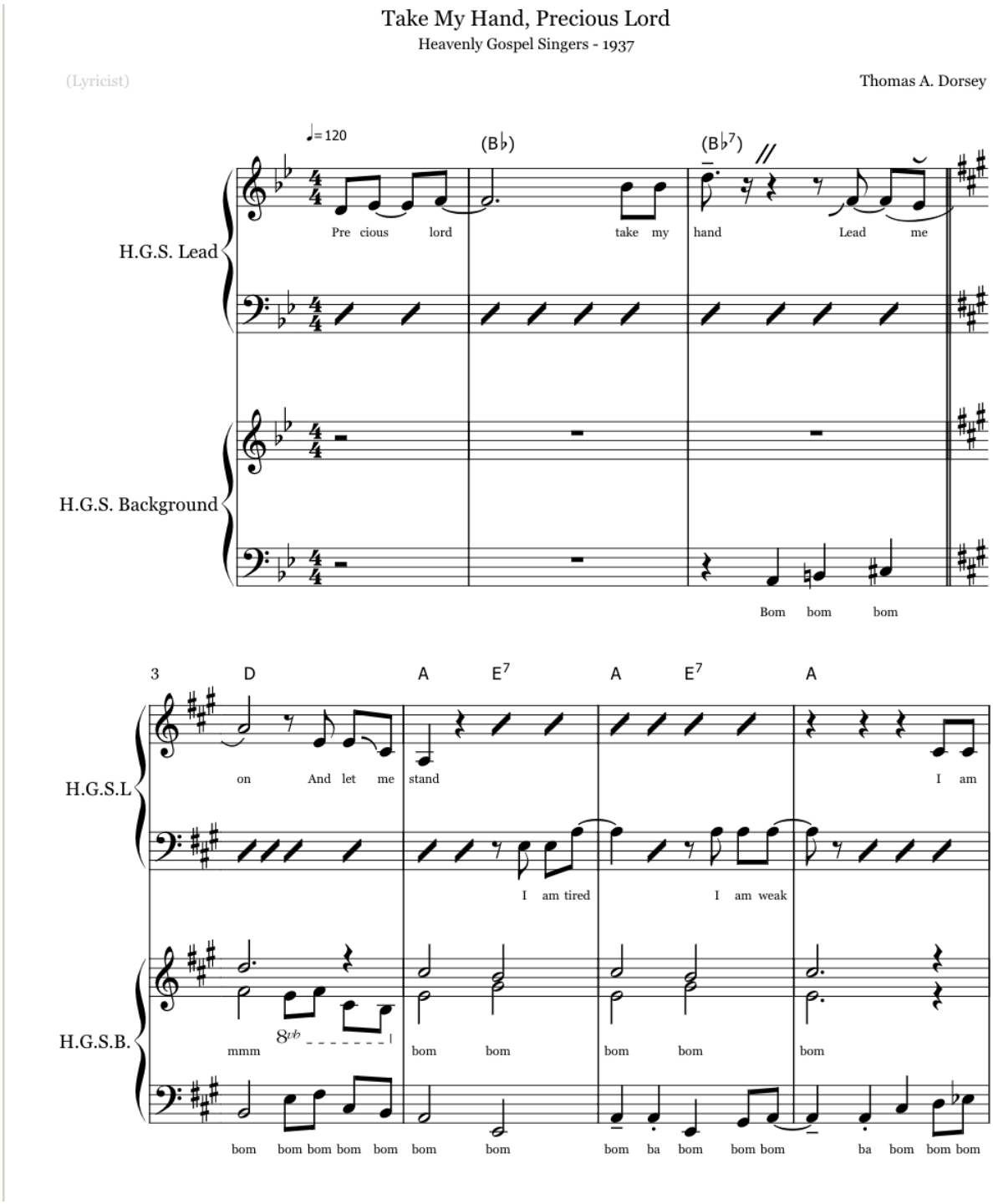
517 PRECIOUS MEMORIES

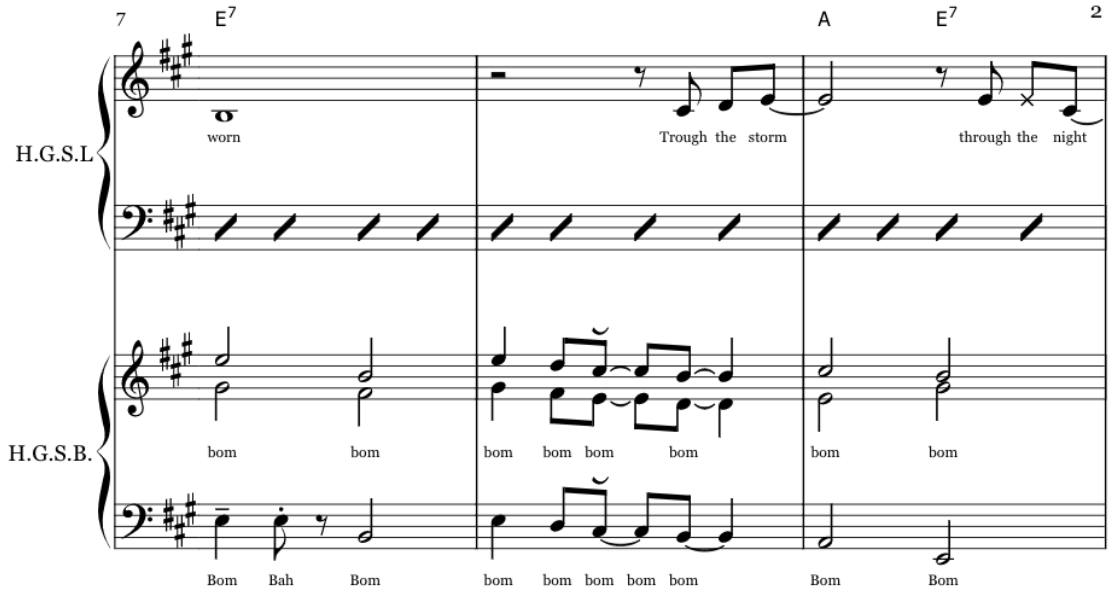
I will not leave you orphaned; I am coming to you.
John 14:18

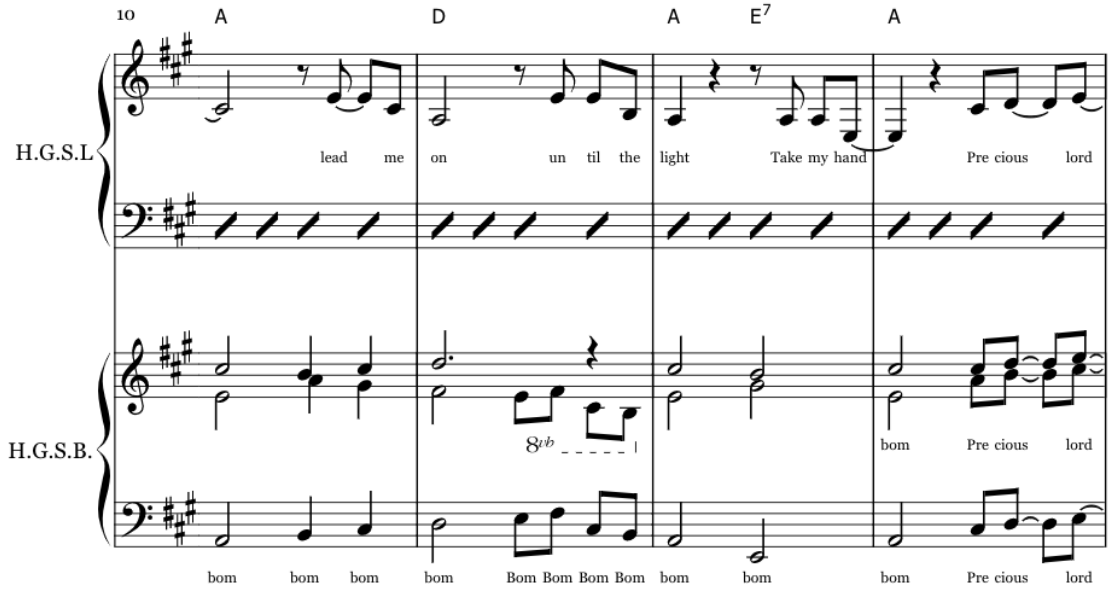


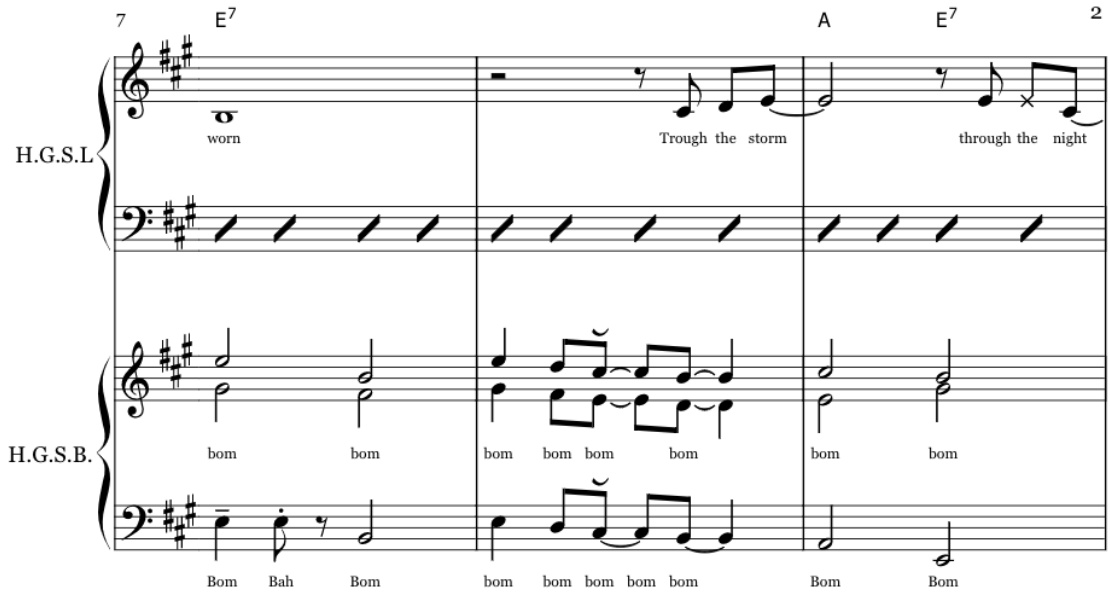
Text: J. B. F. Wright and Lonnie B. Combs
Tune: PRECIOUS MEMORIES, 8 7 8 7 with refrain; J. B. F. Wright

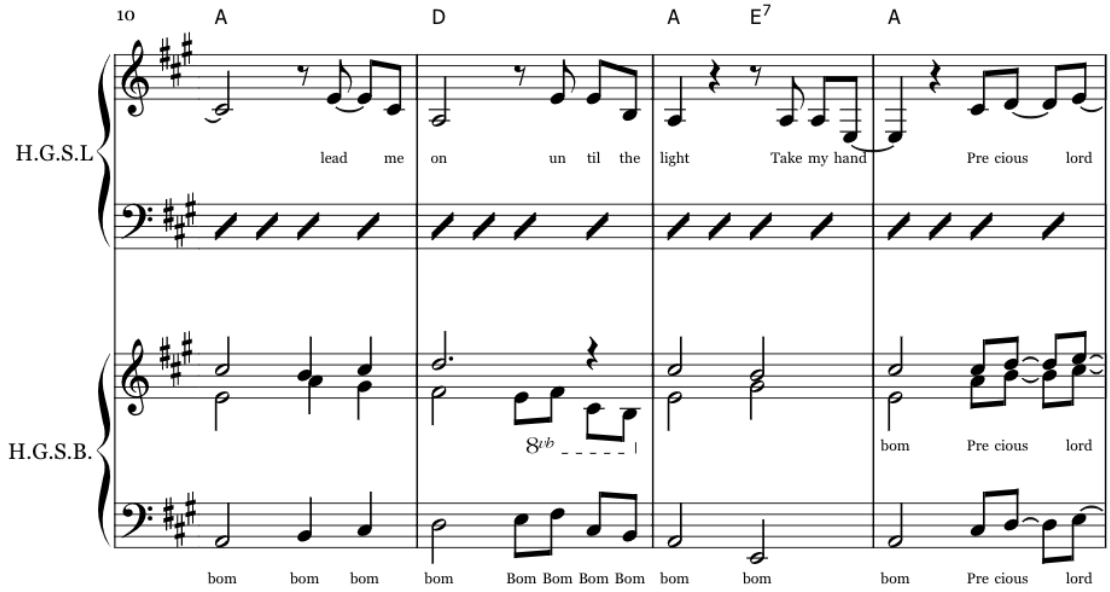
Appendix B

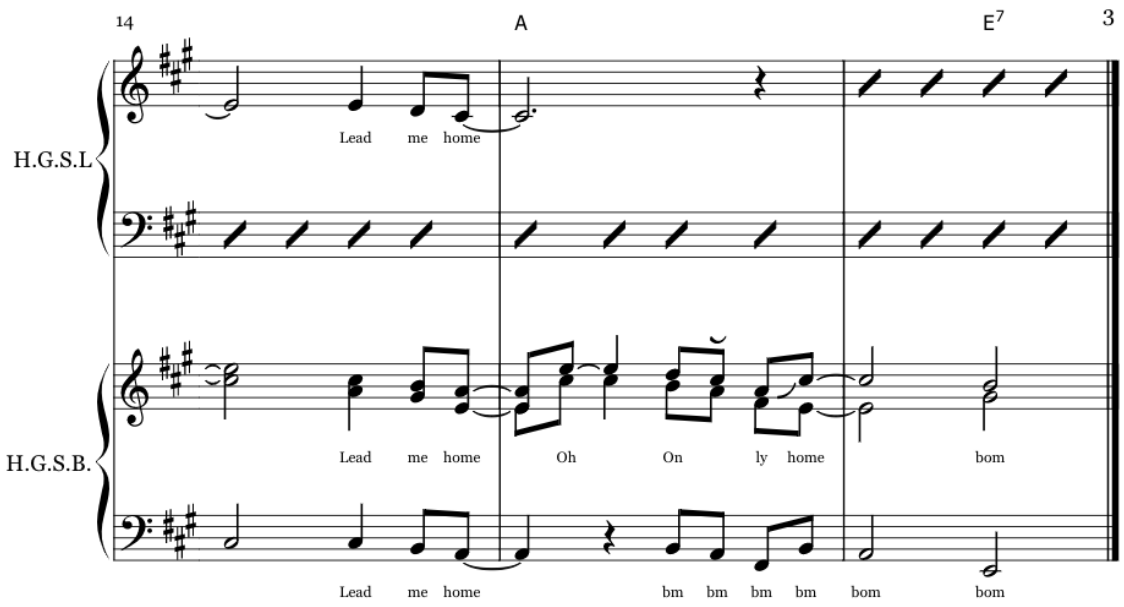

Take My Hand, Precious Lord
Heavenly Gospel Singers - 1937
(Lyricist)
Thomas A. Dorsey
♩= 120
(B♭)
(B♭7)
H.G.S. Lead
Pre cious lord
take my hand
Lead me
H.G.S. Background
Bom bom bom
3
D
A
E7
A
E7
A
H.G.S.L
on And let me stand
I am
I am tired
I am weak
H.G.S.B.
mmm
bom bom
bom bom
bom
bom bom bom bom bom bom bom
bom ba bom bom bom
ba bom bom bom


7
E7
A
E7
2
H.G.S.L
worn
Trough the storm
through the night
H.G.S.B.
bom bom
bom bom bom bom
bom bom
Bom Bah Bom
bom bom bom bom bom
Bom Bom

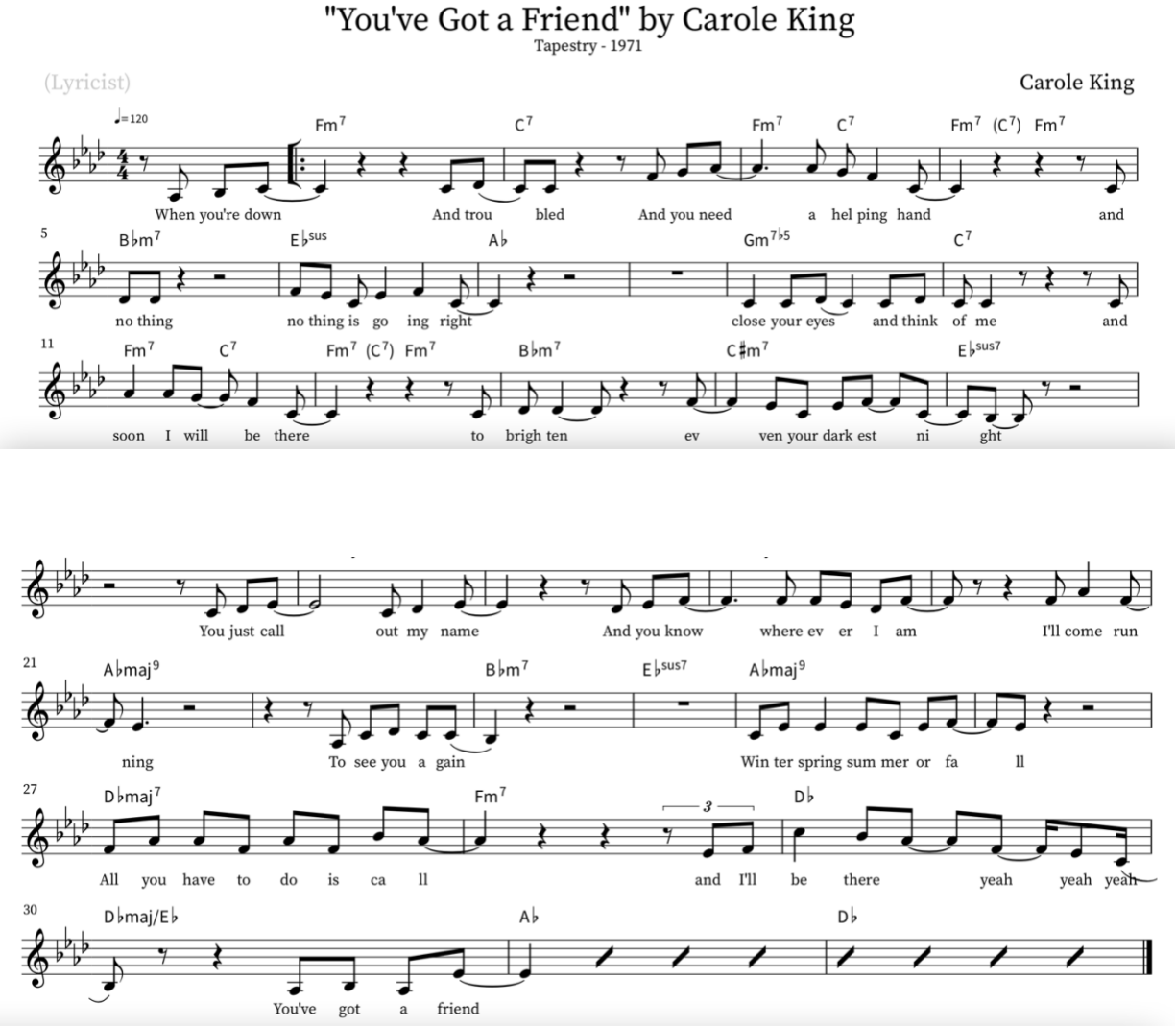

10
A
D
A
E7
A
H.G.S.L
lead me
on un til the
light
Take my hand
Pre cious lord
H.G.S.B.
8vb
bom Pre cious lord
bom bom bom
bom
Bom Bom Bom Bom
bom bom
bom
Pre cious lord


7
E7
A
E7
2
H.G.S.L
worn
Trough the storm
through the night
H.G.S.B.
bom bom
bom bom bom bom
bom bom
Bom Bah Bom
bom bom bom bom bom
Bom Bom


10
A
D
A
E7
A
H.G.S.L
lead me on un til the light Take my hand Pre cious lord
H.G.S.B.
8vb
bom Pre cious lord
bom bom bom bom Bom Bom Bom Bom bom bom bom Pre cious lord


14
A
E7
3
H.G.S.L
H.G.S.B.
Lead me home
Lead me home Oh On ly home bom
Lead me home bm bm bm bm bom bom

Appendix C


"You've Got a Friend" by Carole King
Tapestry - 1971
(Lyricist)
Carole King
♩= 120
Fm7 C7 Fm7 C7 Fm7 (C7) Fm7
When you're down And trou bled And you need a hel ping hand and
5
B♭m7 E♭sus A♭ Gm7♭5 C7
no thing no thing is go ing right close your eyes and think of me and
11
Fm7 C7 Fm7 (C7) Fm7 B♭m7 C♯m7 E♭sus7
soon I will be there to brigh ten ev ven your dark est ni ght
You just call out my name And you know where ev er I am I'll come run
21
A♭maj9 B♭m7 E♭sus7 A♭maj9
ning To see you a gain Win ter spring sum mer or fa ll
27
D♭maj7 Fm7 3 D♭
All you have to do is ca ll and I'll be there yeah yeah yeah
30
D♭maj/E♭ A♭ D♭
You've got a friend

III "I Want You to Remember This": Live(ness), Critical Memory, Nostalgia, and the Black Public

Introduction

On January 12th, 1963, Sam Cooke played the Harlem Square Club in Miami. A simple request introduced the final song of his thirty-six-minute set: "I want y'all to remember this — you've got to remember this." In the decades that followed, the tapes of this performance would be forgotten, unreleased and buried inside the RCA Victor archives. By the 1980s, Cooke himself was relegated to the realm of memory and nostalgia. His music—the few pop songs that were known to the public—were marketed as Golden Oldies.[216] This would change in 1984 when luck and a hot tip circulating within the record industry would unearth Cooke's long-lost performance. For critic Robert Christgau, the record was an "impressive document whose rousing climax suggests what might have ensued if he hadn't died two years later."[217] Indeed, it is tempting to follow Christgau's suggestion and imagine a world where Cooke lived through the sixties, seventies, and eighties. For Black audiences of the mid-eighties, this performance straddles two distinct eras of cultural production: the *soul* and the *post-soul.* Soul is the soundtrack of 1960s-era campaigns for Black civil rights. But "post-soul" underscores the quite different aesthetic discoveries and experiences

[216] The term "oldies but goodies" is usually attributed to Los Angeles r&b DJ Art Laboe, whose first LP compilation of the same name was released in 1958, with the variant "golden oldies" dating roughly to the period of the Harlem Square performances. There is some irony to the fact that most of the "oldies" in Laboe's first collection were rock 'n' roll singles less than five years old at the time.

[217] Robert Christgau, "Two key Sam Cooke Albums, and One Redundant One, Remember a Puzzling Singer," *Blender,* October 2005.

of Black Americans born between the early 1960s and 1978, a generational cohort first defined by Black cultural critic Mark Anthony Neal, who also identified himself with these "post-soul babies."[218] This chapter explores the 1984 re-emergence of Cooke's Harlem Square Club performance and its subsequent double reading as both soul and post-soul text by the Black public sphere. Reopening a racialized conversation about Black crossover that followed his untimely death in 1963, the discourse surrounding the album's release sought to litigate once and for all Cooke's status as the "father of Soul" within an aesthetic of *post-soul nostalgia* that was hugely influential in the popular culture of the 1980s. Focusing on Cooke's live rendition of his 1962 hit, "Having a Party," musicological analysis interrogates the studio and live performances, underscores the ongoing meaning-making processes that underpin the soul tradition and its post-soul echoes.

Part I

Cooke's recording career began with the Soul Stirrers, a renowned jubilee quartet based in Chicago. In 1950, the up-and-coming Cooke was tapped to replace the quartet's lead singer, Rebert H. Harris. Filling Harris's shoes, however, was no easy task. As Anthony Heilbut observes, "Harris not only created but defined the terms of good quartet singing." Lyrically, "he introduced the technique of ad-libbing … Melodically, he originated the chanting background of repetition of key words." Jeff Farley, a member of the Soul Stirrers, expressed a similar sentiment. "That man could

[218] Mark Anthony Neal, *Soul Babies: Black Popular Culture and the Post Soul Aesthetic,* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 3. Neal follows S. Craig Watkins, who argues that "in periods of great disorder and transition … new ideas, social movements, and ideological strategies are mobilized to make sense of societal flux and instability. In the process, the ideas, belief systems, and symbolic terrain of a given period become more fragile and vulnerable to competing ideological worldviews." S. Craig Watkins, *Representing: Hip-Hop Culture and the Production of Black Cinema* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 54.

just stand and move a church. He had the ability to make up verses as he went along. If the people were really shouting, he'd keep on. We would just chant the standard refrain, he would go where he wanted to go … He started all that."[219] Cooke nevertheless found his footing: "Sam started as a bad imitation of Harris and wound up with his own yodel: *Whah-ah-oh-ah-uh-ah-uh-oh.* After that, he could sell what he had better than any other member of the Soul Stirrers." The nineteen-year-old's boyish good looks, sex appeal and vocal allure almost singlehandedly widened gospel's appeal to younger audiences. "In the old days, young people took seats six rows from the back, the old folk stayed up front," recalled Farley. When Sam came on the scene, it reversed itself. The young people took over."[220]

This crescendo in teen adulation was reflected in the Soul Stirrer's July 22nd, 1955 appearance at Brother Clarence Welch's First Annual Summer Festival of Gospel Music. Held at the Shrine Auditorium in Los Angeles, the festival was one of several events that marked gospel's growing popularity and influence among younger Black audiences. Enthusiasm throughout the sixty-five-hundred-seat venue was infectious, "a shared experience in which the audience was fully as participatory as the performers and in some ways even more invested in the spirit."[221] The Soul Stirrers performed "Nearer to Thee," a hit single written by Cooke. The audience's response to their performance was electric. As Specialty Records artist and repertoire (A&R) man Bumps Blackwell recalled, "it was awesome, phenomenal: [Sam] was like a black Billy Graham. Shit, the girls were following him around like the pied piper. Girls and young guys … but the chicks would just be completely gone."[222] Blackwell, equally enthralled, recognized that Cooke's potential far outpaced the limited world of gospel.

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[219] Anthony Heilbut, *The Gospel Sound: Good News and Bad Times,* (New York: Limelight Editions, 1997), 79.
[220] Ibid., 88-89.
[221] Guralnick, *Dream Boogie: The Triumph of Sam Cooke,* 107.
[222] Ibid., 109-110.

Blackwell pitched his idea the following evening to Art Rupe, Specialty's founder and president. Rupe, however, was skeptical. As Blackwell notes, "it wasn't that he didn't believe in Sam," but Rupe, who thought he knew his gospel audience, was convinced that a sacred artist should not be screaming like, say, Little Richard, his secular label mate. "Art would never let us make the crossover from gospel to pop. [He] was always worried about the reaction from the religious people."[223] But Blackwell and Cooke believed they knew how to avoid burning the bridge to his gospel audience. They released "Loveable," a secular remake of Cooke's gospel hit "Wonderful", under the pseudonym "Dale Cook" in 1956. This did not fool his fanbase. J.W. Alexander, Cooke's friend and business partner, recalled that "there was a whispering campaign going on … he was ostracized."[224] Cooke was understandably hurt. However, he remained undeterred. With Blackwell's assistance, he pressed forward, revising his public musical image in accordance with the pop aesthetics of the post-war era. They were not interested in genres marked as "race music," like blues or rock 'n' roll. On the contrary, their sights were set on a mainstream repertoire and a white audience. In June 1957, Cooke signed with Keen Records, an upstart independent label founded by his former engineer Bob Keane. Later that fall, he released "You Send Me" – a B-side doo-wop ballad that, within weeks of its September debut, shot to #1 on both the rhythm & blues and pop charts. Taken together, "Loveable" and " You Send Me" were critical components in inaugurating what ethnomusicologist Mark Burford identifies as Cooke's "pop album artist persona."[225]

Cooke and Blackwell's crossover aspirations rested on pursuing the paths blazed by, among others Harry Belafonte, and Sammy Davis Jr. Central to their project, Burford writes, was

[223] Guralnick, *Sweet Soul Music: Rhythm and Blues and the Southern Dream of Freedom,* (New York: Back Bay Books, 2012), 35.
[224] Guralnick, *Dream Boogie: The Triumph of Sam Cooke,* 140.
[225] Mark Buford, "Sam Cooke as Pop Album Artist – A Reinvention in Three Songs," *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* 65 no. 1 (Spring 2012), 113 – 178.

a different repertoire marked by the "mainstream" aesthetic of white pop crooners like Morton Downey, Sr.[226] Sam, Blackwell argued, was "a modern Morton Downey and concentrating commercially with this in mind, and securing OLD DOWNEY HIT MATERIAL etc., with today's POP treatment, should bring Sam to the front – with both the teenagers and housewives."[227] Downey rose to prominence in the 1920s as an interpreter of traditional Irish melodies and pop standards. He expanded his commercial appeal in the thirties by acting as a pitchman for the Coca-Cola company. As Burford argues, Downey's crossover success lay in his capacity to sell his Irish tenor persona as a yardstick for mainstream Americana.[228] This "flexible essentialism," Burford continues, rested on what Paul Gilroy would identify as "accenting or muting ethnic characteristics in accordance with the context of their performance, historical circumstance, political leanings, family heritage, personal ambition, or artistic prerogative."[229] Thus Downey "a performer who sounded his ethnic particularity while, at the same time, exhibiting mastery of broadly circulating musical repertory," modulated his Irish identity in two directions.[230] Burton analyzes Cooke's 1960 rendition of "Danny Boy," a traditional Irish melody originally recorded by Downey in 1946, as a virtuoso performance of flexible essentialism. What stands out, most notably, is Cooke's use of expressive techniques cultivated within the gospel quartet tradition while singing "white." Throughout his performance, Cooke improvises countermelodies alongside harmonized backing vocals, signifying upon the jubilee quartet tradition by deploying "localized ornaments within a predominantly faithful treatment of the melody – for example, the melismas at the ends of phrases

[226] Buford, "Sam Cooke as Pop Album Artist – A Reinvention in Three Songs," 134.
[227] Ibid., 133.
[228] Ibid., 139. As historians of music and popular American culture know all too well, Irish musicians had read as "black" — and had been literally "blacking up" on stage — for almost a century before the Irishmen of Bing Crosby's and Downey's generation made the successful transition to "whiteness."
[229] Paul Gilroy, *Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness,* ([…]), 99.
[230] Buford, "Sam Cooke as Pop Album Artist – A Reinvention in Three Songs," 139.

… and the hint of deliberate rasp on the highest note."[231] Like Downey before him, Cooke registers his racial particularity within a mainstream, "middle of the road" setting. Cooke's cross-over allure thus emerges from a capacity to be in two placea – and times – at once: he can entice the affections and tastes of both his past (Black) and future (white) audiences.

Let's be clear: it would be a mistake to categorize "You Send Me," "Danny Boy," and the other pop-style records released during Cooke's Keen Records years as simply Blackwell's "Morton Downey Jr. model" made manifest in sound. Genre-busting Afro-Caribbean artists like Harry Belafonte, for example, were additional inspiration. Belafonte's *Calypso* album was still riding the top of the charts in 1957, and the thirty-year-old singer "was about to star in his second major motion picture, was an outspoken voice in the civil rights movement, had produced his own box office record-breaking national tour … and was reported to be looking at a $1 million gross."[232] Cooke was impressed by Belafonte's ability to advance his brand of soft sophistication and sex appeal towards mainstream legitimacy and commercial success. Cooke made his intentions clear in an impassioned op-ed for the *New York Journal-American*:

> "I burn with ambition to achieve the kind of showbusiness stature that Harry Belafonte and Nat 'King' Cole have achieved. Or the kind of stature Jackie Robinson and Dr. Ralph Bunche have achieved in their fields. With it I can achieve material gain – and more than that, I believe that the aforementioned distinguished Americans have been able to do so much for the Negro people and for the human race because they first achieved great stature in their field, then utilized their stature to impart to the world a better understanding of what is right and what is wrong … I have always detested people, of any color, religion, or nationality, who have lacked courage to stand up and be counted. As a Negro I have – even in the days before I began to achieve some sort of recognition as a performer – refused jobs which I considered debasing or degrading."[233]

[231] Ibid., 136.
[232] Guralnick, *Sweet Soul Music: The Triumph of Sam Cooke,* 158.
[233] Ibid., 272.

Blackwell and Cooke's conception of "crossing over" thus rested on crafting overlapping mainstream personas that would speak to an interracial listening base. Yet, Cooke's affinity for Belafonte in particular suggests that he was not simply interested in becoming a sepia-skinned pop balladeer. The column above, though ghost-written by his then manager Jess Rand, is an important lens through which to understand the political nuances of Cooke's drive for mainstream acclaim. Racial pride is bound together with bourgeois-integrationist attitudes and the struggle for political equality. Such a goal-directed ideological milieux prefigures charismatic male leadership as a conduit for an imagined and shared ideal of Black excellence.[234] Success as a crossover artists, in other words, would not only expand his audience, but also give Cooke the material resources to become a more powerful Black artist, a license to enact the latent *political* power behind mainstream popularity.

In 1958, Cooke and his long-time advocate at Specialty Records, gospel veteran J.W. "Alex" Alexander, established their own publishing company, Kags Music. In addition to securing control over his future catalog, the move put Cooke in the position to safeguard the royalties of any artists he himself might develop and to provide creative guidance to younger songwriters. That same year Cooke began a three-week residency at one of the white cabaret circuit's most iconic venues, the Copacabana in New York City. His performance was a disaster. Rand recalled that "what shocked me was that he had no showmanship, he didn't know. what to say," and his friend Lou Rawls observed that Sam "looked like a fish out of water."[235] The Black press expressed similar sentiments. "We were pulling for him all the way. We hated to see him not go over, for he's a good kid, talented and shy and with ambition to get ahead without tricks and stepping on

[234] Erica Edwards critiques this framework, see Edwards, *Charisma and the Fictions of Black Leadership* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012). See also E. James E. Teele, *E. Franklin Frazier and "Black Bourgeoisie"* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002).
[235] Guralnick, *Sweet Soul Music: The Triumph of Sam Cooke,* 186.

others. But … his performance at the Copa was lacking." Cooke's crossover aspirations were further complicated by growing frustration with Keen. "Sam just withdrew" observed future manager Allen Klein. "That's why you'll find from '59 on, he just played Henry Wynn's chitlin' circuit with people like Jackie Wilson and James Brown. He continued to make records, but he often didn't even do those songs in the shows. It was two different worlds."[236] In January 1960, Cooke signed with RCA Victor; a career move that inaugurated what Guralnick described as an "uninterrupted period of growth, exploration, and measurable success." [237] In 1961 Cooke, alongside in-house producers Hugo Peretti and Luigi, released a string of hits including "Cupid," "Twisting the Night Away," and "Another Saturday Night." That same year, along with Alexander and fellow Soul Stirrer Roy Crain, he established his own label, SAR Records, which soon amassed a notable roster, including the Soul Stirrers, Johnnie Taylor, the Valentinos, and the Sims Twins.[238]

The spring of 1962 found Cooke with two new compositions to sell. "Bring it on Home to Me" was a rearrangement of "I Want to Go Home," a 1959 rhythm & blues lament by Charles Brown and Amos Milburn. The reworked tune retained the original's catchy antiphonal structure and gospel-tinged tenor, and Cooke pitched it to soul singer and songwriter Dee Clarke, who hadn't scored a hit since his 1961 ballad, "Raindrops." But Clarke just didn't hear himself in the song. Undeterred, Cooke reached out to Luigi Creatore, one half of RCA Victor's in-house production team, "Hugo and Luigi."[239] Luigi needed little convincing, and a recording date was immediately reserved for April 26th at RCA's Hollywood studio.

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[236] Ibid., 186
[237] Guralnick, *Dream Boogie: The Triumph of Sam Cooke*, 208.
[238] Originally signed as "the Womack Brothers," the Valentinos would garner acclaim via the release of their second side for SAR records, "It's All Over Now." The tune would later become a hit for the Rolling Stones.
[239] Creatore, alongside his cousin and writing partner Hugo Peretti, contributed to several Cooke's hits, including "Having a Party," "Bring it On Home to Me," "Chain Gang," "Cupid," and "Twisting the Night Away."

The session's comradery was palpable, and it bled over to the other song being recorded that day, "Havin' A Party." Most, if not all, of his closest friends, peers, and colleagues were in attendance. Rene Hall, Cooke's longtime arranger, assembled a polished group of instrumentalists with a large string section in addition to a seven-piece rhythm section consisting of two percussionists, two bassists, two guitars, and a keyboardist. Lou Rawls and the Sims Twins were asked to provide backup vocals. Sugar Hall and his wife Barbara were present, as was Alexander and SAR Records office manager Zelda Sands. Even Walter Hurst, Cooke's lawyer, was there, along with former Keen Records assistant A&R specialist, Fred Smith.[240] As RCA engineer Al Schmitt recalls, "Everybody was just having a ball. We were getting people out there [on the floor], and some of the outtakes were hilarious, there was so much ad lib that went on."[241]

Analysis 1: "Havin' A Party" (studio version), 1962

"Havin A Party" was conducive to ad libbing, since its harmony consisted largely of the familiar "major-minor" gospel change between B^{b} and its relative minor Gm^{7}. Forward motion within each cycle manifests as this submediant, here felt as a weak pre-dominant chord, pulls away and returns to the tonic. This feeling of anticipation and drive is periodically resolved by plagal and authentic cadences in the verse, refrain, and vamp.

Like "Everyone wants to Cha Cha Cha" and "Twisting the Night Away," "Having a Party" is composed in a reportorial fashion. Cooke's phrasing is laid back; an unprepossessing repartee shared with his audience that reflected everyday (Black) conversation. Lyric and melody are aligned in a manner that beckons his listening audience to join in the revelry. It is a mode of musicianship that Keen Records tunesmith Herb Alpert recalled well. "I remember he used to

[240] Peter Guralnick, *Dream Boogie: The Triumph of Sam Cooke*, 326.
[241] Ibid., 326.

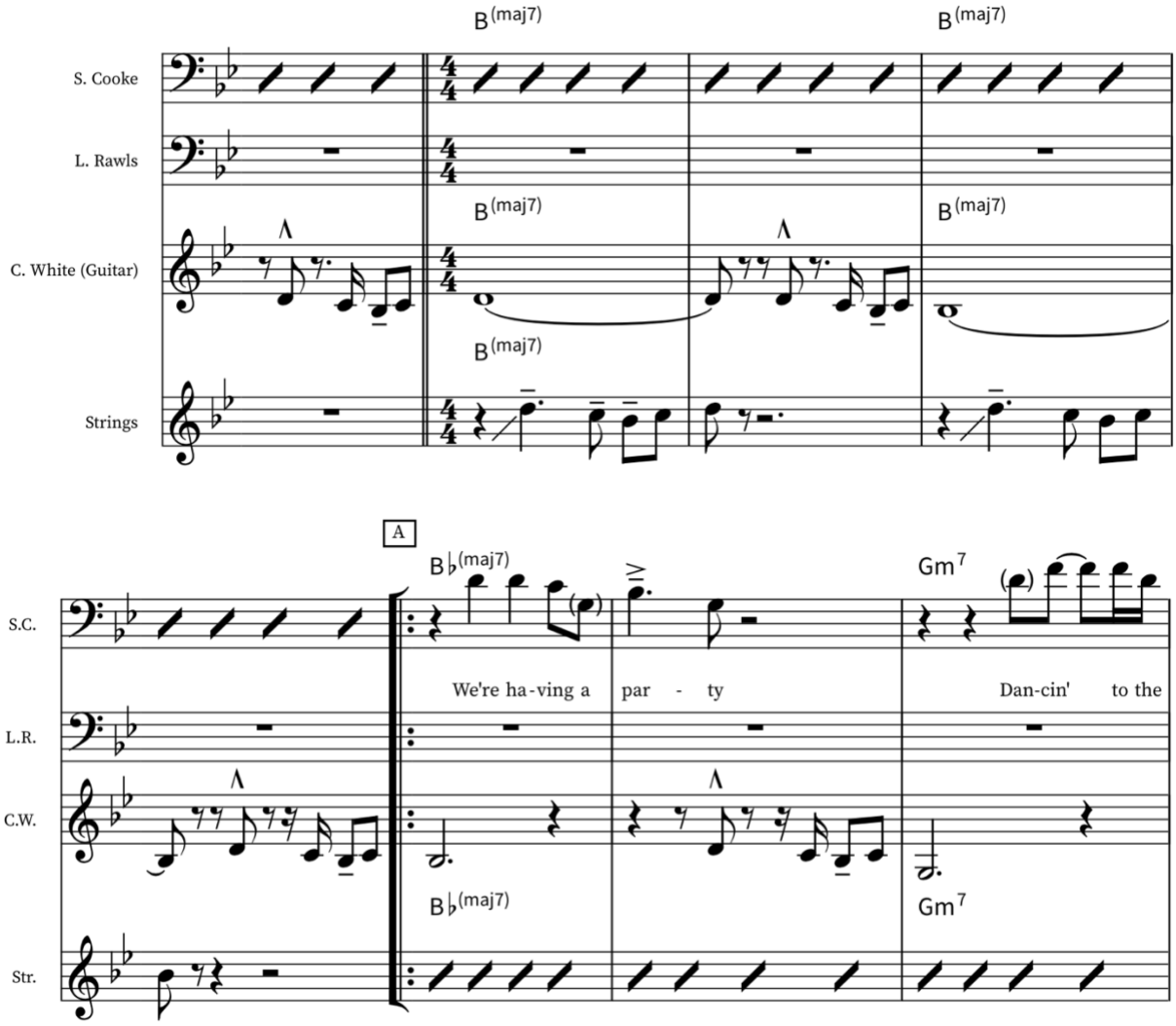
come in with lyrics in a loose-leaf folder that looked a little suspicious, like they'd never work in a song … things like 'the Cokes are in the ice box … let's have a party.' But when he picked up his guitar and played, it was like a whole other piece of music because of his time and the melody he put to it … the silence between the notes."[242] Cooke, thought Alpert, "had a way of phrasing, a way of presenting his feelings that was uniquely his. I mean, he was talking right to you, he wasn't trying to flower things up with words that didn't connect."[243] Lou Adler, Alpert's song writing partner at Keen Records, echoes the sentiment. "if you listen to his lyrics, they're just conversational … It didn't' matter if it was a real rhyme or not, as long as it felt right. I've seen him pick up a guitar and … almost talk to you in the way that he was writing. And maybe it's a song or a lyric that he'll never use. But it sounded good when he was doing it."[244]

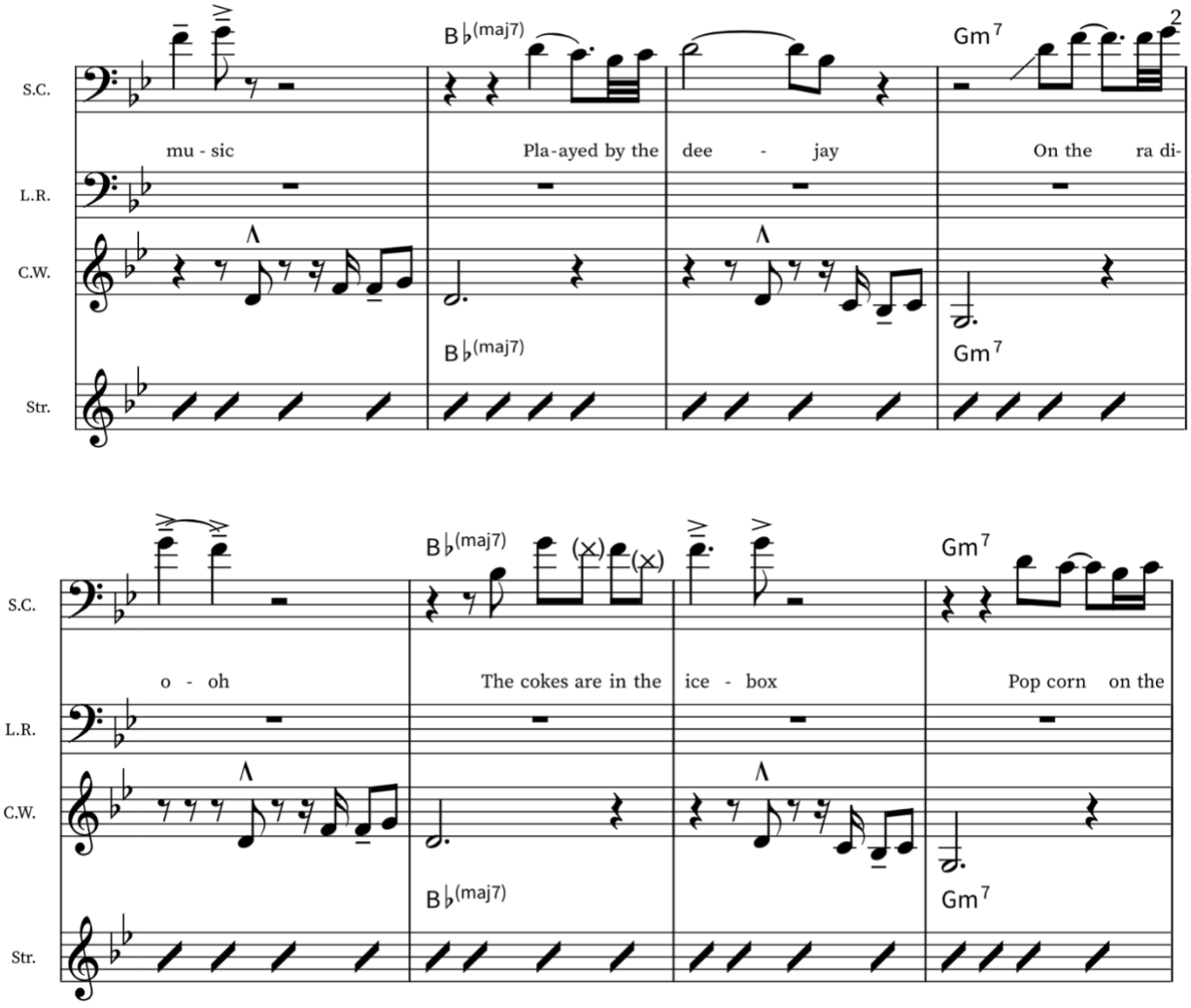
Verse (Figure 1)

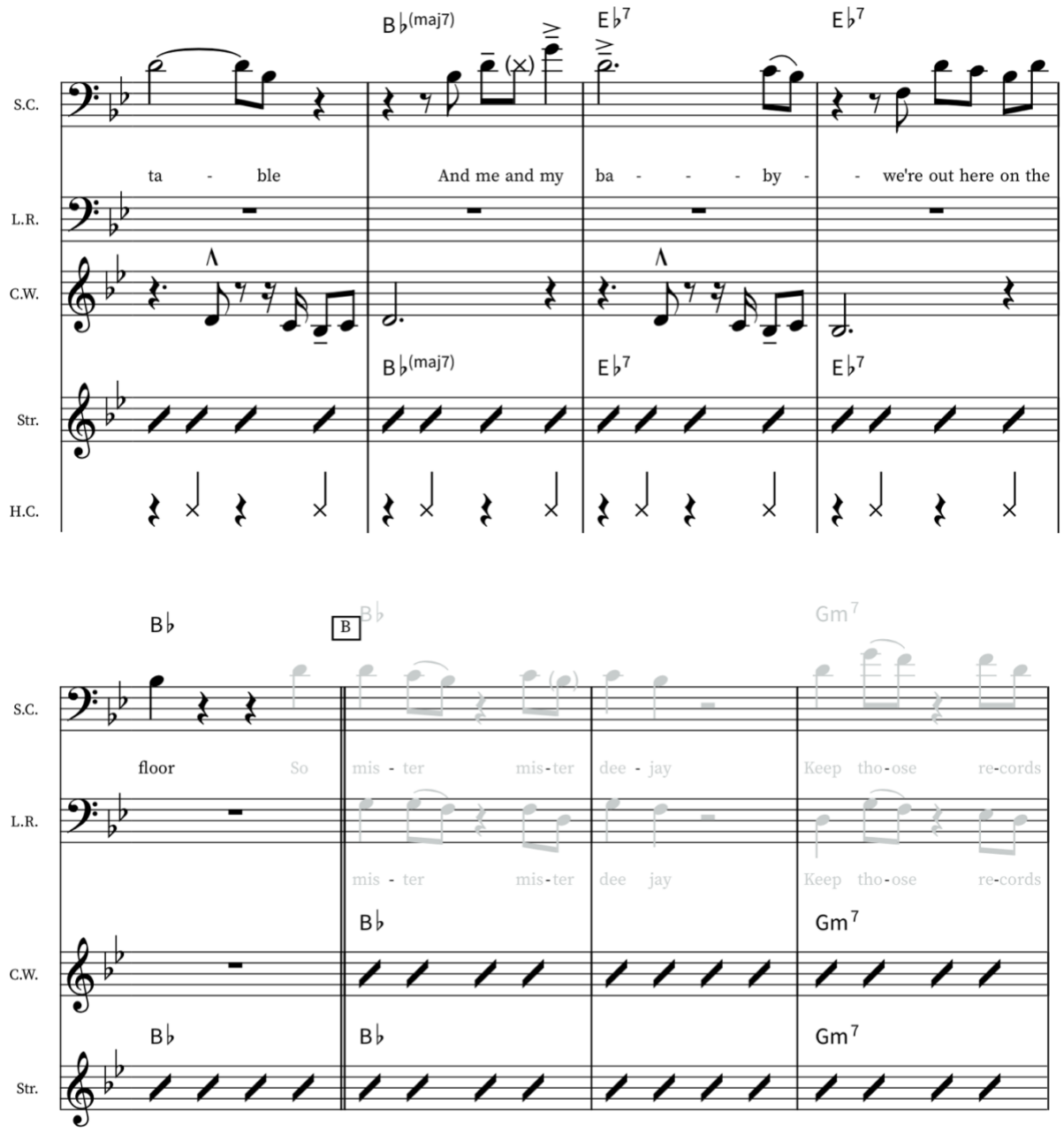
Cooke, comping easily over Cliff White's muted guitar, reports a self-referential moment of everyday enjoyment as it happens (Figure 1): "We're having a party – dancing to the music – played by the deejay – on the radio." (The music we're hearing might also be, might as well be *that* music.) Alongside the harmony's ebb and flow, the melody's down-up contour introduces a bit of tension, which Cooke inverts during the verse's later half: "The Cokes are in the ice box – everything's on the table – and me and my baby – we're out here on the floor." As the virtual camera pans, the melody's shape and contour are phrased to coincide with the plagal resolution of the harmonic cycle. This subtle compositional gesture, introducing the next section, marks a shift in affect and dynamic contrast.

[242] Hilburn, "Sam Cooke - Our Father of Soul," *Los Angeles Times*
[243] Guralnick, *Dream Boogie: Triumph of Sam Cooke,* 197.
[244] Ibid., 197.

Figure 3.1: "Having a Party" – Studio '62 – Introduction and 1st Verse




S.C.
L.R.
C.W.
Str.
mu - sic
Pla-ayed by the
dee - jay
On the ra di-
B♭(maj7)
Gm7
2
o - oh
The cokes are in the
ice - box
Pop corn on the

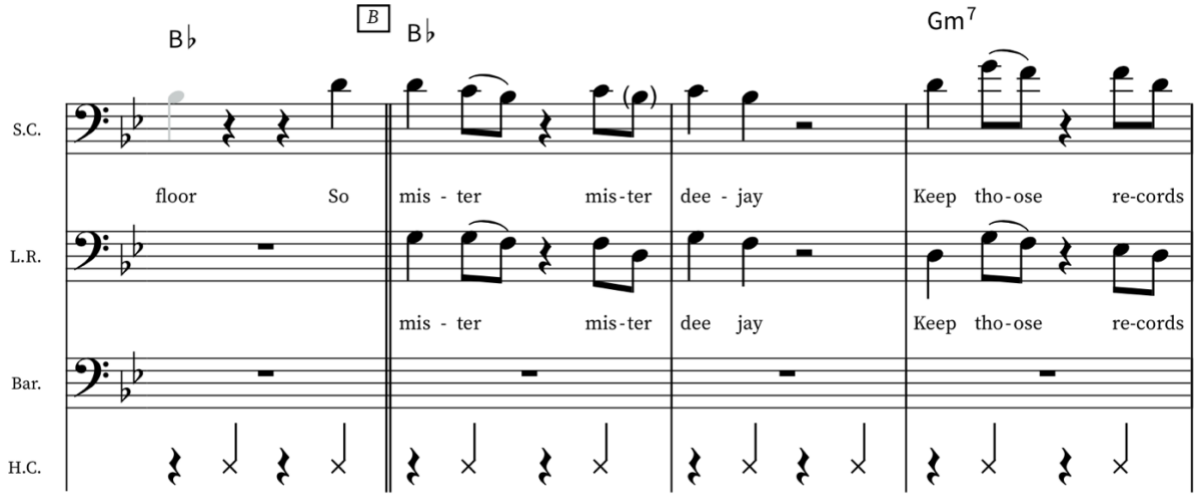


Refrain and "Vamp" (Figures 2-3)

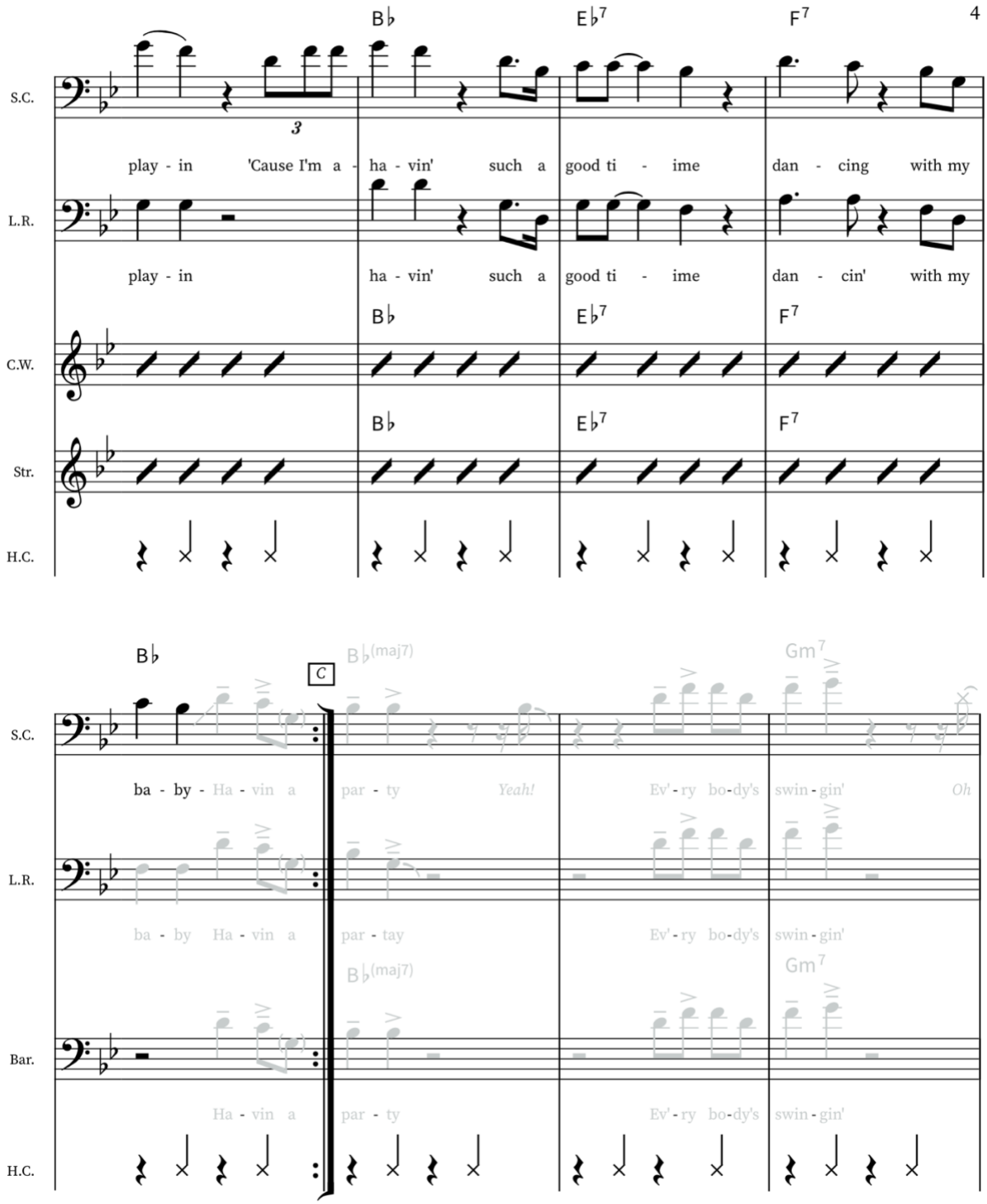
The song's refrain (Figure 2) finds Cooke and Rawls singing "so mister, mister dee-jay – keep those, records playing – cause I'mma havin' such a good time – dancing with my baby." Their phrasing is slightly but consistently asynchronous, evoking the impromptu interactions that

define the feeling of having a party. This good-time heterophony was taken up by participants and observers as the recording session wore on. As engineer Al Schmitt recalled, Barbara and Sugar Hall, along with Alex and some of the musicians, began doing a slow twist during a playback of the twelfth take. "Then they over-dubbed the additional voices and hand claps of just about everyone in the room."[245]

Figure 3.2: "Having a Party" – Studio '62 – Refrain



[245] Guralnick, *Dream Boogie: The Triumph of Sam Cooke*, 326.



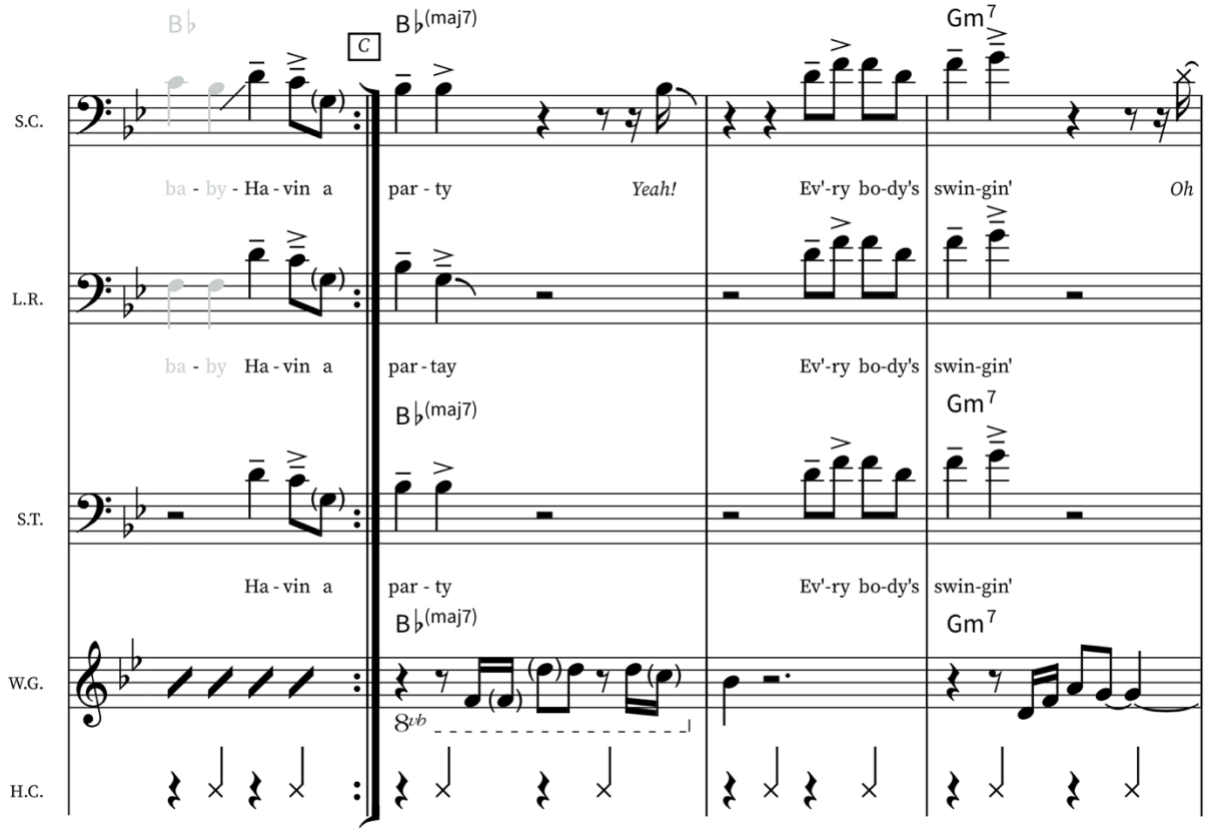
Several components, most notably the melody's intervallic structure, contribute to what Guralnick calls its "anthemic quality"; each eight-bar phrase is articulated on the first and fourth

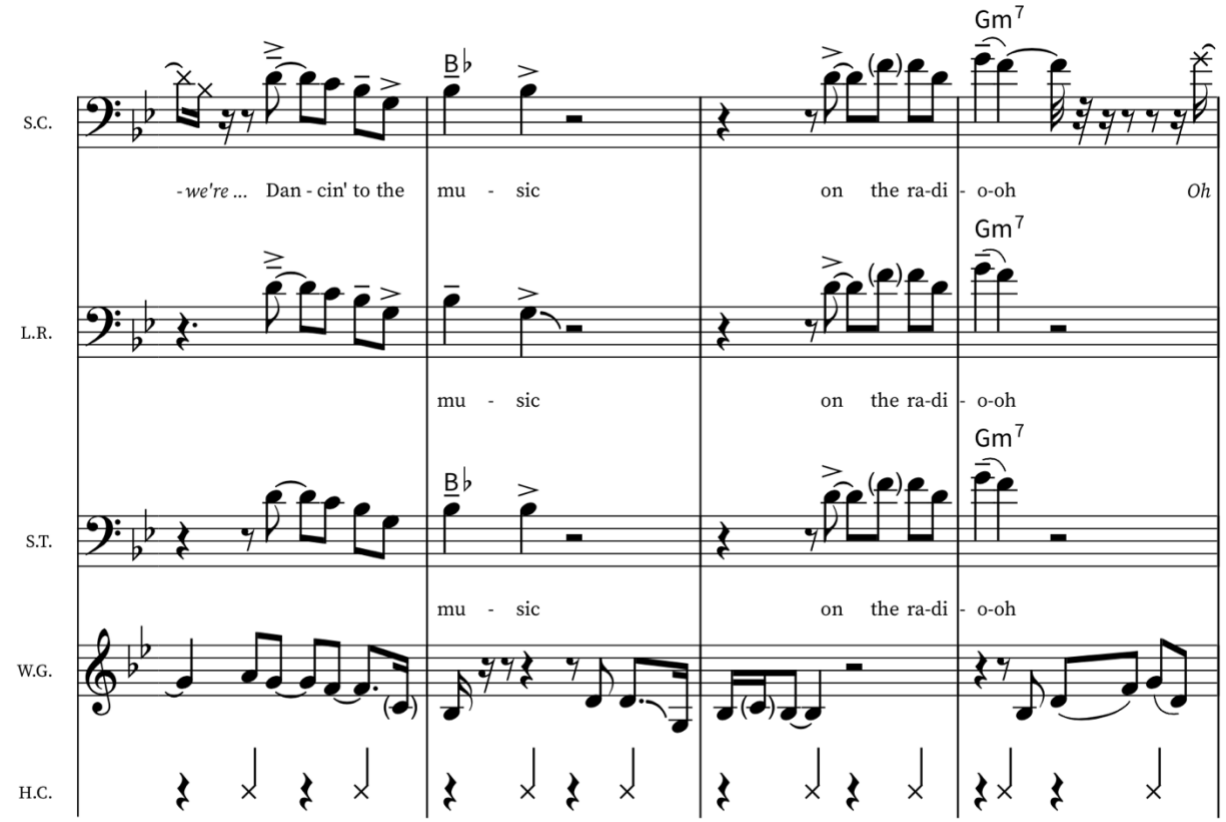
scale degrees, an ascending-descending gesture that further escalates in the song's extended vamp, as tenor saxophonist William Green interweaves riffs and motifs with Cooke, alongside Rawls, Alex and the Sims Twins, commenting on the evolution of the very music they are making: "having a party – ev'ry body's swingin' – dancing to the music – on the radio." Cooke and Rawls, as in the refrain, remain just out of sync, and Cooke reservedly ad-libs an occasional "yeah" and "oh yeah" as Rawls inflects each lyric and strain (Figure 3).

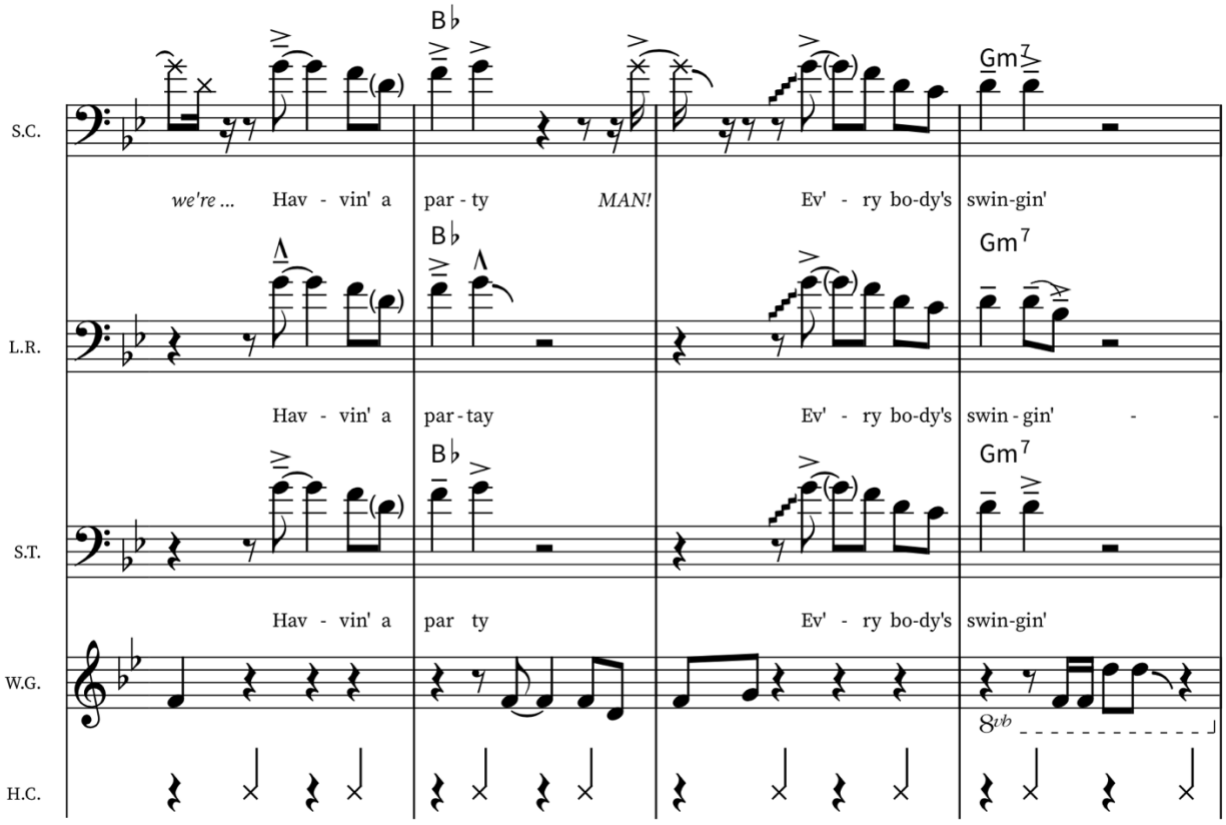
Such moments, Osvaldo Oyola would argue, are best understood as "calls to liveness." Even during studio production this practice simulates a participatory aesthetic, a "spontaneous sociality" that signals that "we, as listeners, are being allowed to partake in the capturing of what seems like one unique, and continuous, moment." [246] Sympathetic white observers like Peter Guralnick still hear this call from afar, fantasizing that the interactions among the recording's participants must have reflected "all the uncalculated fervor that defines a group of people who have lived through good time and bad times together and cherish the good times despite the near-certain knowledge that are not going to last. Except that this was calculated, and calibrated, down to the last rough harmony."[247] Was "Having a Party's" collaborative interactions and fervor curated? Certainly. Yet, the artifice of in-studio recording techniques does not diminish the shared affection displayed by Cooke and other participants, an affection spanning space and time. As we'll see, the sociality and aural solidarity among the record's early 1960s audiences were themselves emblematic of lived experience, in addition to imagined relationship(s) with this recording and its underlying components.

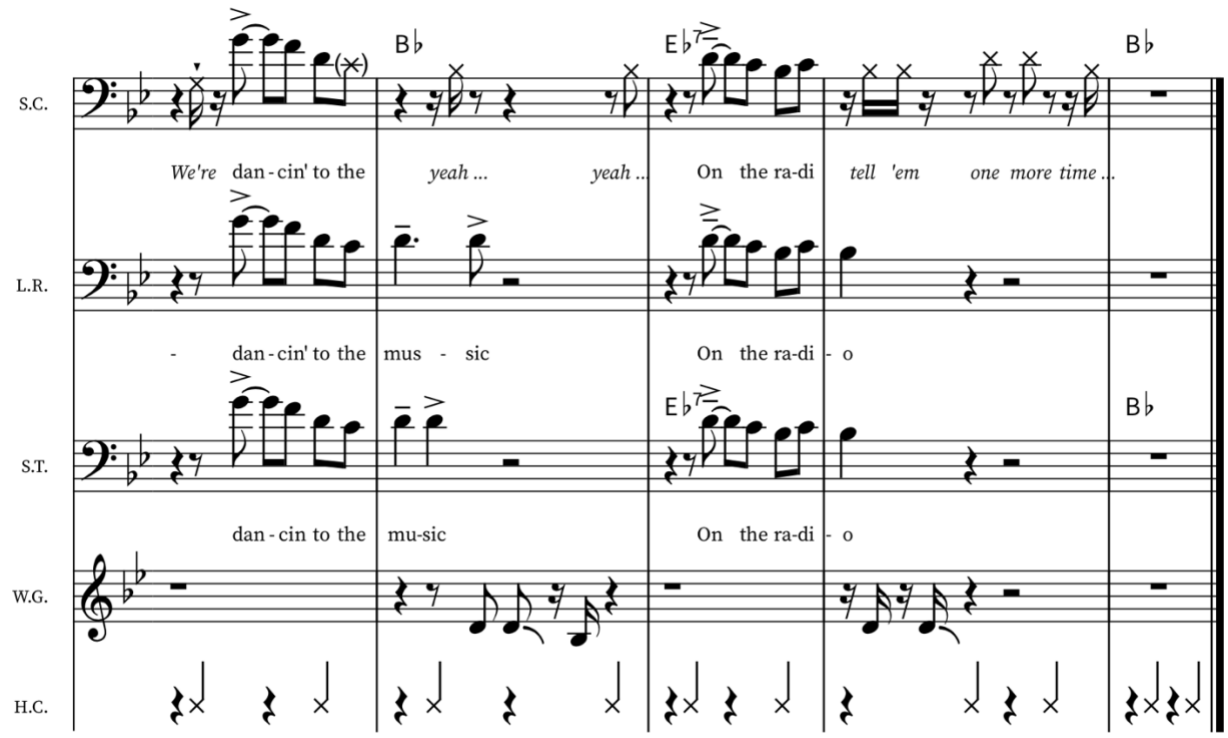
[246] Osvaldo Oyola. "Calling out (Anti)Liveness: Recording and the Question of Presence." *Sounding Out.* Last modified September 9th, 2013, https://soundstudiesblog.com/2013/09/09/liveness-and-recorded-music/
[247] Guralnick, *Dream Boogie: The Triumph of Sam Cooke*, 326. It should not go without saying that Guralnick's posture of unfettered access to Black subjectivity here is an authorial invention; he had no way of knowing what was actually going through the minds of the musical professionals in that studio, least of all Sam Cooke, who was not available to reminisce.

Figure 3.3: "Having a Party" – Studio '62 – Vamp




S.C.
L.R.
S.T.
W.G.
H.C.
Gm7
B♭
-we're ... Dan - cin' to the mu - sic on the ra-di - o-oh Oh
mu - sic on the ra-di - o-oh
mu - sic on the ra-di - o-oh


S.C.
L.R.
S.T.
W.G.
H.C.
B♭
Gm7
we're ... Hav - vin' a par - ty MAN! Ev' - ry bo-dy's swin-gin'
Hav - vin' a par - tay Ev' - ry bo-dy's swin - gin' - -
Hav - vin' a par ty Ev' - ry bo-dy's swin-gin'
8vb



RCA Victor released "Having a Party" as a b-side two weeks later. The single was a top 20 hit by the summer of '62, peaking at #17 and #4 on Billboard's Hot 100 and Hot R&B charts. For mainstream pop listeners, the single, alongside "Bring it on Home to Me," marked a subtle and novel revision of Cooke's album-oriented sound. Black audiences, however, were quite familiar with this aspect of his music. As Solomon Burke notes, "pop audiences heard that yodel … like it was a shiny new thing. But if you knew Sam from gospel, it was him saying, 'Hey, it's me.'"[248] Cooke soon returned to the road. The tour, billed as the Twisting the Night Away Revue, featured longtime guitarist and drummer Cliff White and June Gardner, backed by the Upsetters, taking time off from touring with Little Richard. They all played one-nighters throughout the south, including Atlanta, Florida, Texas, Louisiana, Washington D.C., and Baltimore. "Having a Party" soon took its place as the show finale. Guralnick reports that "the other acts came out

[248] Guralnick, *Dream Boogie: The Triumph of Sam Cooke*, 407 – 408.

onstage, just like at a gospel program, and band and performers and audience alike all joined in." The tour ended with Cooke's star on the rise. With the financial launch of SAR Records and three additional pop hits on his hands, Cooke was well on his way to establishing himself as a person of undeniable influence within both mainstream white culture and the Black public sphere.[249]

Part II

The gospel-pop admixture that Burke heard in Cooke's record of "Having a Party" was part of an early sixties recalibration of genres within Black vernacular music. In a December 1961 Ebony magazine article entitled "Soul to Soul," journalist Lerone Bennet described the emerging genre as an "extraordinary movement in contemporary jazz." Artists like Julian "Cannonball" Adderley, Hank Mobley, Bobby Timmons, and Ray Charles were harbingers of a new mode of music making that featured a "hard swinging, gospel flavored blues feeling." Soul, Bennett continues, "… *is not even a music*. It is the feeling with which an artist invests his creation. And, above all, it is of the musical spirit rather than the letter." It is "a certain way feeling, a certain way of expressing oneself, a certain way of being."[250] RCA's 1961 artist bio for Cooke evokes a similar sentiment. "Cooke's musical voicing abounds with deep spiritual feeling – or 'soul' as it is labeled in the vernacular. With him, it's a natural way to sing."[251] In this context, soul is recognized as a component of already established genres like jazz and later R & B, in addition to styles of

[249] Guralnick, *Dream Boogie: The Triumph of Sam Cooke*, 333.
[250] Lerone Bennett, "The Soul of Soul," *Ebony Magazine*, December 1961, 114.
[251] Sam Cooke artist bio (1961), Box 3, Folder 21, Michael Ochs Collection, Rock and Roll Hall of Fame Library and Archives.

expression; it points the way Cooke, for example, would continue to reconfigure his sound and style in the wake of "Having a Party's" success.[252]

In October 1962, Cooke embarked on a three-week tour of England. The bill, organized by British promoter Don Arden, featured Little Richard and the Upsetters. Night after night, audiences eager to be electrified by the Macon Georgia born "architect of rock and roll," packed movie theaters throughout the UK. Cooke, despite – or rather, amidst Richard's bombast – left an impression as well. As J.W. Alexander recalls, the tour was the first time that Cooke really flexed his gospel power to electrify a Black audience in a secular pop setting. "You see, just before we went over there, I went to see him in New York, and there was something about the show that I thought lacked something. Sam was just standing around a little too much."

> I kept after him to keep moving, create some excitement. And one thing that helped him to see how it worked was Little Richard … he could see what was happening, how no matter how Sam killed the house, Richard would always come back with that energized approach.[253]

Similarly, rocker and fellow tour mate Jett Harris observes that, "most of the audience were waiting for Little Richard, but Sam just captured them … He really just hypnotized – with his hands, his voice, I can't stop using that word, he *hypnotized* the audience."[254] Indeed, Cooke was surprised and touched by the response, noting in a conversation with *Melody Maker* that he had "never come across audiences like the British ones. They give you so much rapt attention."[255] Cooke returned to Los Angeles once the tour ended. Alongside Alexander and composer Rene Hall, he prepared for an upcoming five day run at the Apollo. Alexander continued encouraging Cooke to accent his

[252] David Brackett, "The Dictionary of Soul," in *Categorizing Sound: Genre and Twentieth-Century Popular Music,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016).
[253] Guralnick, *Sweet Soul Music: Rhythm and Blues and the Southern Dream of Freedom,* (New York: Black Bay Books, 2012), 43.
[254] Guralnick, *Dream Boogie: The Triumph of Sam Cooke*, 342.
[255] Ibid., 344.

gospel background in his new material and live show: "We started reworking his act [with[that gospel approach and then we came back to California and had Rene' write it into the show."[256] Cooke, alongside the Upsetters, opened at the Apollo on November 2, 1962. His high-energy set was a far cry from previous iterations highlightinh a relaxed Cooke crooning an array of crowd favorites and standards. This time, Alexander recalled, "he really turned the Apollo out."[257]

Cooke's turn towards more fervent presentations of his songbook in Europe and at the Apollo is now understood as the template for his live performance at the Harlem Square Club.[258] The core of his new act was a medley of previous hits, each performed outside of their familiar setting, and in some cases, completely reinvented. Cooke's performance, as Guralnick puts it, "was accentuated now by a return to the riveting intensity of the gospel approach that had led Lloyd Price to muse on how 'he just stood there flat-footed and rocked them. He didn't have to do nothing but sing'."[259] Audiences and the press responded the new act enthusiastically. Variety magazine, for example, noted Cooke's "rapport with the femmes," specifically when "he belts 'Bring it to Me," tossing out his tie for a bit of localized femme fisticuffs … and the like."[260] Hugo and Luigi were blown away by the Apollo show as well. Plans were set in motion to record this new sound.

New York arranger Horace Ott was tasked with writing the orchestrations. Capturing Cooke's new sound in the studio required a group of instrumentalists who possessed both the willingness and the versatility to deliver whatever Cooke envisioned. The Upsetters, though a brilliant show band, were not going to cut it. Cooke instead approached twenty-eight-year-old

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[256] _____, *Dream Boogie: The Triumph of Sam Cooke,* 344.
[257] Ibid., 346.
[258] As Guranick observes, "The reason I have used this with some confidence as my model is because J.W. Alexander was emphatic that this was the show Sam introduced at the Apollo." Moreover, "a brief reference in the Philadelphia Tribune, December 8, 1962, tends to bear out just how notable a departure the show was for Sam. Guralnick, *Dream Boogie: The Triumph of Sam Cooke,* fn. 431, 538.
[259] Ibid., 346.
[260] Ibid., 348.

Texas-born tenor saxophonist Curtis "King Curtis" Ousley. Curtis led the Kingpins, one of New York City's top session bands. In early 1962, they released "Soul Twist," a Hot 100 hit single that Cooke actually calls out within "Having a Party" (" – play that song called 'Soul Twist' – "). Curtis was intrigued by Cooke's invitation, but a return to the road would have disrupted the lucrative studio trade he had on tap.

Returning to the studio in December, Cooke remained persistent. A weekend session yielded an array of standards and traditional romantic melodies that RCA would release the following year as an LP entitled *Mr. Soul*.[261] Later that month, he returned to New York. While there, he persuaded Curtis to join him on his upcoming tour the following month. Within a week, Cooke and his newly assembled band appeared at one of Miami's premier nightspots, the Harlem Square Club. The venue, located within an enclaved known locally as Overtown, was a necessary stop on the chitlin circuit, and somehow the idea arose to record a live album there, a brainstorm no one now living can explain. J.W. Alexander later told Guralnick that

> it might have been the effect of the cousins [Hugo & Luigi] seeing Sam at the Apollo in November, but Luigi had no such specific recollection and thought the idea probably came from Sam … It may … have been that Sam heard from the Womack brothers how James Brown had recorded his own show at the Apollo and it struck a competitive not. Or it may simply have been Sam's pride in his new act.[262]

In addition to Curtis and longtime bandleader Clifton White, Cooke's new act also featured an impressive assembly of standout sidemen, including baritone saxophonist Tate Houston, pianist Georgia Stubbs, guitarist Cornell Dupree, bassist Jimmy Lewis, and Albert "June" Gardner on drums. RCA tapped Bob Simpson and Tony Salvatore, the engineers who

[261] As a cultural product, soul was relatively new amidst public discourse. As such, the album's title sought to evoke the soul's presumed attitude rather than *soul music's* presumed melodic, harmonic and rhythmic conventions.
[262] Guralnick, *Dream Boogie: The Triumph of Sam Cooke*, 362.

recorded Belafonte's *Live at Carnegie Hall* album, to capture Cooke's January 12th performance. The duo set up their equipment in the upstairs balcony hours leading up to the first show of the evening at 10:00 P.M. The audience greeted Cooke with a degree of enthusiasm that neither Simpson nor Salvatore were prepared for. "There weren't any brawls or anything like that," Salvatore recalled. "But I'll tell you, it was like a scene to a movie, the whole building was rocking, and I remarked to Bob, I said, 'Oh Jesus, I hope this place doesn't fall down'."[263]

Audio Impression: "Havin' A Party" (live version), 1963

The 1963 live recording gives us an idea of the energy level at Cooke's 1:00 A.M. show:, as King Curtis works the audience: "Right now, ladies and gentlemen, we'd like to get ready to introduce the star of our show, the young man you've been waiting for, Mister Soul. So what d'you say, let's all get together and welcome him to the stand with a great big hand – how about it for Sam Cooke … how 'bout it, how 'bout it?"[264] Cooke greets his audience. "Before we do anything, we'd like to say, 'How y'all doing out there -- is everybody doing alright? How're you doing out there?!'" Unsatisfied with his reception, he theatrically decides to "ask you one more time, how're you doing out there, alright?!" – and bated breath gives way to a collective roar from the audience. "Yeah that's what we want … tonight we want [that] you don't fight it, we're gonna *feel* it tonight, you understand. Don't *fight* it, we're gonna *feel* it." The band, not missing a beat, immediately cues up a driving rendition of "(Don't Fight It) Feel it," a story song released the previous year. Cooke then turns to two of his biggest hits, "Chain

[263] Ibid., 270.
[264] Sam Cooke, *Sam Cooke Live at the Harlem Square Club* (RCA 5181).

Gang" and "Cupid." Enthusiasm throughout the room continues to simmer as he introduces a medley of "It's Alright" and "I Love You for Sentimental Reasons."

Listening to the recording, it's clear that Simpson and Salvatore struggled to find a balance that would capture the evening's camaraderie. Our sense of room feel and audience feedback is nowhere near as precise as what you get from, say, *Belafonte at Carnegie Hall.* Still, they tried, with an EQ adjustment here, and a shift in microphone placement there. Two more songs from his repertoire follow, including "Twisting the Night Away" and "Somebody Have Mercy." Blissful applause erupt as Cooke leads the room in a rapturous sing along of "Bring it on Home to Me." The feelings rise as "Nothing Can Change This Love" gives way to an equally joyous performance of "Having a Party."

* * * *

Following this weekend in Miami, milestones in Cooke's career ran in tandem with profound shifts in Black public and political life. In February 1963, he released *Mr. Soul*, a record described in the *New Record Mirror* as "Cooke's most soulful performance of good standards [that] should further advance his LP sales."[265] Later that spring, he secured the services of Allen Klein, a thirty-one-year-old accountant with a self-proclaimed knack for finding artists' money among undeclared royalties. Klein would soon play a pivotal role in re-negotiating Cooke's contract with RCA Victor, securing a new royalty rate, additional money upfront, and most importantly, control over Cooke's music. Additional ventures followed, including the establishment of storefront rehearsal and audition centers inside the segregated neighborhoods that

[265] *New Record Mirror*, no. 115, p. 10.

still hemmed in the bulk of Los Angeles's Black community. (The Watts riots, the moment in which the mainstream public sphere could no longer ignore the increasingly brutal ghettoization of Black Angelenos, were still two years in the future.) Conceived of originally by pianist and arranger Harold Battiste, these "soul stations" were in tended to provide the city's disaffected youth and SAR Records artists a space to workshop new material. The project, Battiste observes, evinced Cooke's desire "to be more than just a popular singer." His boss, he continued, "wanted to be involved in social things."[266] Later that August Cooke released *Night Beat,* an ambitious tribute to rhythm and blues icon Charles Brown. Where prior projects featured a random array of singles, this blues-oriented album presented Cooke's first completely conceptualized studio work. In January 1964, he debuted the first album under his new contract, *Ain't That Good News,* returning to the studio a few weeks later to record the Dylan-inspired epic "A Change is Gonna Come." This single, unlike prior records, would, when released after his death, unabashedly declare a stake in the civil rights movement. Additional opportunities emerged later that summer in the form of a second performance at the Copa. The two-week residency, unlike his prior appearance some six years earlier, found Cooke confident and in his own element. Klein persuaded RCA to document the show's last two nights. Al Schmitt, Cooke's West Coast engineer, was flown in to record. Schmitt was able to get a better sound out of this familiar room than Simpson and Salvatore had at the Harlem Square. That album, recorded eighteen months earlier, was still in limbo. Klein felt the Miami performance presented an image and sound that would not expand his artist's appeal.[267] The Copa set was designed to embody what white audiences would recognize as "sophistication" and *savoir faire*, what Guralnick describes as "supper club soul."[268]

[266] Guralnick, *Dream Boogie,* 432.
[267] Ibid., 465.
[268] Guralnick, *Sweet Soul Music,* 44.

The house was full each night; Klein and RCA made sure that it would be diverse as well. For example, a block of tickets was reserved for Roy Crain, guaranteeing Black representation alongside the establishment's traditional audience of rich Manhattanites. Throughout the two-week run Cooke toyed with his show's content and form. For the final two evenings, he settled on an array of middle-of-the-road pop jazz standards: "Bill Bailey," "Frankie and Johnny," "Try a Little Tenderness," "When I Fall in Love," and "Tennessee Waltz." This choice, to outside eyes, read as a race-neutral sidestep of the era's affairs and concerns. Alongside Klein's decision to not release Cooke's performance in Miami, Cooke's repertoire choices seem to show him advancing along the "modern Morton Downey" line first conceptualized by Blackwell. The evenings' arrangements and vocalizing, after all, were in line with the relatively conservative sensibilities of his upper-class audience. No nonsense club manager Jules Podel – nobody's idea of a racial liberal – was impressed as well. Cooke was not only presented with a pair of the Copa's renowned cufflinks, but also an invitation to play the night spot for the next two years. Yet, for popular music scholar Jack Hamilton, Cooke's take on Bob Dylan's "Blowing in the Wind," suggests that he had not given up on Harry Belafonte's roadmap for intermixing mainstream acclaim with Black political advancement.

In his book, *Just Around Midnight: Rock and Roll and the Racial Imagination,* Hamilton argues that including "Blowing in the Wind" is "a clear political gesture from Cooke, who by the time of the Copa recording had grown increasingly engaged with the movement."[269] At the time, Dylan was a widely known cultural figure, associated most strongly with antiwar and civil rights protests. His music was thus positioned outside the values consensus of mainstream America. His

[269] Jack Hamilton, Just Around Midnight: Rock and Roll and the Racial Imagination, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 50.

most infamous public moments evinced this, the most notable his banishment from the *Ed Sullivan Show* in 1963 for including the caustic "Talking John Birch Society" in his set. Though Cooke was Black and Dylan white, the former enjoyed a certain tolerance from establishment audience that the latter, ironically, perhaps, did not.

Cooke's performance at the Copa illustrates this claim. As Hamilton argues, "the decision to introduce Dylan's most politically pointed compositions into the Copa context is not one Cooke would have made casually."[270] Amidst the conservative sensibilities of his audience, the inclusion of Dylan's composition is best understood as a savvy and transgressive gesture that highlights further the socio-political concerns of "A Change is Gonna Come." The curatorial choices of Cooke's performance at the Copa – and more broadly, his truncated career – suggests what Hamilton identifies as an "ongoing aesthetic experimentalism."[271] Indeed, such choices are not at odds with Cooke's goal, for example, to craft *his* image in Black public life. As Hamilton and Burford have observed, narratives of Cooke's music have been hamstrung by rockist prejudices about authenticity. Some of Cooke's most distinctive songs and performances – "You Send Me," his final appearance at the Copa – are mired in outdated modernist reception narratives of "uncompromising art" *vs.* "pop kitch." Posthumously, his appearance at the Harlem Square Club, however, has been held up, *deus ex machina,* as a lost and thus redeeming portrait of "the real" Cooke. The final portion of this chapter interrogates the relation between this rediscovered portrait and more clear-eyed post-soul narratives, tracing them through the critical discourse surrounding the discovery and 1984 release of Cooke's 1963 performance at a moment of rediscovery for the artist himself as a Black icon of soul.

[270] Ibid., 50.
[271] Ibid., 36.

Part III

> It was part of Sam's identity crisis as a black American that he wanted to be all things to all his fans: to record string-driven MOR atrocities, to appear on gospel programs, to nurture a roster of R&B/soul singers. He wanted the Copa and he wanted the Harlem Square Club. But what would he have done if he'd lived? Recorded in Memphis? Signed to Tamla Motown? Played at Monterey alongside his disciple Otis Redding? Or missed the boat completely?[272]

In 1986, the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame Foundation announced that Sam Cooke would be included in its inaugural class of inductees. Fans and aficionados greeted the decision with skepticism and confusion. "So what's Cooke doing in the Hall of Fame?" inquired Los Angeles Times critic and music editor Robert Hilburn. Of the Foundation's ten inaugural inductees, Cooke was arguably the least known among contemporary listeners. "Even those who listened to Cooke's string of pop hits in the late '50s and early '60s were no doubt puzzled to see the singer elevated … to the level of such consensus rock giants as Elvis Presley, Chuck Berry and James Brown."[273] Cooke's life and music, Hilburn continues, were a "screen writer's dream." His voice was an unimpeachable vehicle for twenty-nine Top 40 singles, more than Little Richard, Buddy Holly, and Jerry Lee Lewis combined. Yet, these "hokey arrangements" were "tame by rock standards." Why then was Cooke in the Hall of Fame? Hilburn inquired, "And, what's all this talk about him being 'the father of soul music?'"[274] The question was not entirely rhetorical.

Cooke's title can be traced to the months circumscribing his performance at the Harlem Square Club. In February 1963, RCA Victor unveiled a novel campaign for their rising star. Cooke was promoted as *Mr. Soul* alongside the release of his latest album of the same name. Recall that

[272] Barney Hoskyns, "The Soul Stirrer: Sam Cooke," 1995, accessed 11-11-24 at https://teachrock.org/article/the-soul-stirrer-sam-cooke/.
[273] Robert Hilburn, "Sam Cooke: Our Father of Soul," *Los Angeles Times,* (Los Angeles, CA), Feb. 16, 1986. The other 1986 inductees were Buddy Holly, Fats Domino, Jerry Lee Lewis, Ray Charles, and the Everly Brothers.
[274] Ibid.

soul, during this period, did not designate a musical genre, but an expressive mode or component of jazz and R&B. As I noted above, Cooke began workshopping his new sound during his fall 1963 performances in the UK and at Harlem's Apollo Theater. The recording sessions that produced *Mr. Soul* later that December were intended to capture and document this new sound. The following January, Cooke's performance at the Harlem Square Club witnessed the first *documented* usage of his "Mr. Soul" pseudonym ("Right now, ladies and gentlemen, we'd like to get ready to introduce the star of our show, the young man you've been waiting for, 'Mister Soul'!"). And *Mr. Soul's* marketing push the following February resonated with critics. The *New Record Mirror,* for example, announced "swinging Sam Cooke in a most soulful performance of good standards. I see Sam has nipped back into the charts again, as he does very regularly. This should further advance his LP sales."[275] By itself, the *Mr. Soul* album and its corresponding campaign can be understood as presaging the revised narratives about soul that make Hilburn's somewhat jaundiced questions about Cooke unthinkable.

The years immediately following Cooke's death in 1964 saw "soul music" rise in popularity among fans of contemporary Black music. At the same time, the attitudes underlying Black social and political life experienced their own metamorphosis. As popular music historian David Bracket observes, "from the language of the early civil rights movement, with its emphasis on integration, acceptance, and assimilation, came a new rhetoric that grew in importance" following the death of Black figures like Cooke and el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz (Malcolm X). In the aftermath of the civil rights movement and the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965, slogans like "black power" and "black is beautiful" circulated within public discourse. "Integration was no longer necessarily seen as the only goal of the civil rights movement," Brackett continues. "Rather,

[275] *New Record Mirror,* May 25th 1963, 10.

pride in black cultural difference and the desire for recognition of the achievements signified by this cultural difference ascended in importance."[276] Black artists, reading these socio-political shifts, increasingly identified their music with the word "soul." In 1965, Otis Redding released two LPs entitled *The Great Otis Redding Sings Soul Ballads* and *Otis Blue/Otis Redding Sings Soul.* In 1966, he debuted *The Soul Album* and *Complete & Unbelievable: The Otis Redding Dictionary of Soul.* The following year, Arthur Conley released the single "Sweet Soul Music" while Aretha Franklin was crowned the "Queen of Soul." Black author Claude Brown, whose gritty 1965 memoir, *Manchild in the Promised Land,* epitomized literary soul, later highlighted the term's broad connotation in Black life for *Esquire* magazine's April 1968 issue. "The language of soul – or, as it might be called, 'spoken soul' or 'colored English' is simply an honest portrayal of black America."[277] In August 1969, *Billboard* magazine officially adopted "Soul" as its designation for Black popular music.[278] This linguistic shift illustrates soul's change from a quality of musical expression and component of Black music making to *the* de facto label for all Black contemporary music, and thus for contemporary Blackness itself.[279] Cooke and his music were increasingly celebrated amidst this revolution of consciousness.

As soul rose in popularity, the absent Cooke was often cited by artists, aficionados and audiences as the benchmark for their shifting tastes in aesthetic and cultural production. In 1965, for example, the Supremes released a tribute album, *We Remember Sam Cooke.* The following year, Maryland's WUST shifted their format from "hard r&b" to "soft soul." As *Billboard* magazine reported, "An experiment at programming the softer r&b sounds in singles mixed with album artist like Sam Cooke, Ella Fitzgerald, Lou Rawls, Frank Sinatra, Count Basie, Tony

[276] David Brackett, "The Dictionary of Soul," in *Categorizing Sound: Genre and Twentieth-Century Popular Music,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016), 270.
[277] Claude Brown "The Language of Soul," *Esquire Magazine,* April 1968, 38.
[278] "Editorial: R&B Now Soul," *Billboard,* August 23, 1969, 3.
[279] Ibid., 270.

Bennett, Nancy Wilson and Percy Faith, received good response and the station began aiming its programming about two weeks ago primarily toward an adult Negro audience."[280] (It is worth noting how "soul" in this context is defined as a "softer" – i.e., more capable of middle-class mainstream success – music than the previous generation's rhythm & blues, still associated with jukeboxes, teenagers, and the working class. Note also how soul reconnects with "smooth" jazz, in the process of becoming a component of the adult-oriented "Quiet Storm" format of Black radio in the 1980s.)

In a December 1967 article, entitled "Natural Hair: New Symbol of Race Pride," *Ebony* magazine noted how Sam Cooke's "natural" style had enabled his friend J.W. Alexander's to liberate himself from the tyranny of processed hair. Natural hair marked an aesthetic and stylistic shift towards the era's predominant "black is beautiful" ethos.[281] Both soul music's commodification *and* it's impact on Black expressive culture continued to crescendo in the following years. In 1968, RCA released a compilation of Cooke's Keen Records catalogue, post-war covers, and standards entitled *The Man Who Invented Soul.* In Black literary circles, Cooke was increasingly valorized as well. In the *Negro Digest*'s January 1968 issue, playwright Lawrence P. Neal included Cooke in a list of soul artists who modeled "what Black literature should be."[282]

The realignment of cultural and communal affinities throughout this period helped shift Cooke's reception among Black audiences. As Buford notes, "through a peculiarly neat intersection of progressive political energies, alert corporate marketing, and discursively nimble music-historical revision, a performer whom the black press just years earlier had identified as a

[280] "WUST Gaining a Soft Soul Format," *Billboard*, December 17 1966, 26.
[281] David Llorens, "Natural Hair: New Symbol of Race Pride," *Ebony Magazine*, December 1967, 139. See also Robin D.G. Kelley, "Nap Time: Historicizing the Afro," *Fashion Theory*, 1 no. 4 1997: 339 – 351.
[282] Lawrence P. Neal, *Negro Digest*, January 1968, 81

'pop crooner' was reinterpreted as a founding father of soul."[283] Yet, the question remains: what role would Cooke's 1963 Harlem Square Club performance have played in this revisionism? If it had been released as originally intended, this live album would certainly have strengthened the general narrative of Cooke as a generative figure for Black soul. But the LP's rediscovery during the mid-1980s would provide a dramatic plot twist in that narrative, furthering Cooke's discursive transformation into one of the predominant figures in the history of soul.

"Something nobody had really heard before" – In the spring of 1984, RCA Records' newly minted Vice President of Artists & Repertoire, Greg Geller, found himself faced with a unique challenge. The once powerhouse label had fallen to second-tier status. Columbia Records was a valued assets for CBS – but RCA, then a major military and government contractor, viewed their involvement in the record business as, at best, a distraction, and, at worst, an embarrassment: "RCA's corporate executives gave the impression that they were less concerned with the company's profit picture than they were with making sure that the label did not sign anyone too weird and raise eyebrows in Washington." As Fred Goodman, biographer of Allen Klein summarized it, the youngish Geller "was no corporate hack; he was in it for the music and wanted to change the label's culture and reputation."[284] Taking on RCA "old fashioned" reputation directly, Geller started searching for overlooked material in the label's massive back collection of unreleased recordings. Before joining RCA, the young A&R man had heard a rumor from fellow record executive, Joe McEwen, that gathering dust among RCA's trove of shelved projects was an unreleased live record by Sam Cooke, recorded

[283] Buford, "Sam Cooke as Pop Album Artist," 165.
[284] Fred Goodman, *Allen Klein: The Man Who Bailed Out The Beatles, Made the Stones, and Transformed Rock & Roll*, (Boston: Mariner Books, 2016), 155.

just before he was killed. "When I joined the company and started looking for what we had by Sam Cooke," Geller recalled, "I was presented a list that included the entry 'Sam Cooke on location' with no further explanation. When I ordered up the tape, we discovered something no one had really heard before."[285]

Geller's discovery exposed a unique conceptual gap produced by the album's twenty-year absence. As we've seen, Cooke and his music underwent a whole series of discursive transformations in the years following his death. For pop audiences, these revised narratives were generated by the careful curation of his back catalog, largely by Allen Klein, who bought Cooke's own stake in his music from his widow, Barbara to cement his total control of the artist's legacy. Geller, in other words, represents a fan base whose appreciation of Cooke emerges from what Klein let them hear, limiting their knowledge of the artist's expressive depth. Geller recalled that "my first impression of Sam Cooke was through 'You Send Me,' and it just sounded like one of the most romantic things this 10-year-old had ever heard."[286] The newly found material was a revelatory event for Geller. "All of a sudden you are hearing an artist you felt you were familiar with and you're hearing him in a whole different light and it was amazing." Yet, it can be argued that Black audiences would not have been *as* surprised by what he heard as Geller was**.** We know that Cooke spent the time between his first failed appearance at the Copa in 1958 and his Harlem Square performance three years later continuously touring Black venues. The hit singles released during this period – "Wonderful World," "Cupid," "Twisting the Night Away," etc." – catered to crossover listeners like Geller. Though he would not totally revamp his stage show until the last part of his Chitlin Circuit

[285] Fred Goodman, "Sam Cooke Getting Big Push," *Billboard*, [25 May 1985], 62.
[286] Robert Hilburn, "Sam Cooke: Our Father of Soul," Los Angeles Times, (Los Angeles, CA), Feb. 16, 1986.

era, Black audiences were always still privy to a more comprehensive experience of Cooke's music than whites. "I don't think he was as appreciated in the white community that knew him only by the pop records as he was in the black music world where he also was known for his gospel music and for his live shows," Geller observed. "In my case, I had never been exposed to that (intense, soulful) side of Sam Cooke until I heard the 'Harlem Square' album."[287]

Liveness, work, and spontaneity – The newly found recording, entitled *Live at the Harlem Square Club, 1963*, was released on LP, cassette, and CD in June 1985. RCA's press release set the tone: "This album will enhance Sam Cooke's reputation as a founding father of soul. It presents him in a setting in which he has never before been heard on record, one a world apart from his only previously released live album, *Sam Cooke Live at the Copa.*"[288] The critical and consumer response was positive; *Live at the Harlem Square Club* landed just out of the top ten (#11) in the *Village Voice*'s annual overview of critical opinion, the taste making "Pazz and Jop" poll. Don Waller, reviewing for the *Los Angeles Times*, declared that the album represented Cooke "at his most soulful." Rising to the rhetorical occasion, Waller invents for himself a somewhat melodramatic civil rights scenario where white oppression is faced down by Cooke's gospel-tinged soul: "Two minutes later, [Cooke] is down on his knees, his casual, open-collared shirt soaked in sweat, working the crowd over with a white-hot, this-church-is-on-fire intro to 'Bring it on Home to Me' that's as serious as the crosses burning in Cooke's native Alabama night."[289] Both these texts leverage a sentimental notion of "authenticity" to bolster Cooke's patriarchal bona fides

[287] Ibid.
[288] Hamilton, *Just Around Midnight: Rock and Roll and the Racial Imagination*, 48.
[289] Don Waller, "Sam Cooke: Live at the Harlem Square Club, 1963," *Los Angeles Times*, June 1985. As we'll see, the elegant patrons at Overton's Harlem Square club would have been horrified to find themselves lumped in with downtrodden rural folk from Alabama and Mississippi.

within the soul tradition.[290] This portrait, however, does not match either Cooke's or soul's rise in prominence among Black audiences in the years following his death. (Remember, in 1966, a Black radio station was bracketing Cooke's "soft soul" music with Count Basie, Percy Faith, and Ella Fitzgerald!) In their attempt to sell Cooke's story, publicists and critics alike advance a reductive, stereotypical description of the quite unique and specific sonic events that animate this "live" album.

Paul Sanden's theory of liveness is useful here. Traditionally, the concept of "the live" has been deployed to maintain a space free from mediatized forms like studio films and record albums.[291] This ontological difference, Sanden argues, is insufficient when applied to popular music. "The perception of liveness," he writes, "depends not necessarily on the total eschewal of electronic mediation but on the persistent perception of *characteristics* of music's live performance within the context of – and often with the help of – various levels of such mediation."[292] Liveness, therefore, can be best discerned as "a dynamic network of relationships rather than as absolute values."[293] Sanden organizes this network into several categories, most notably *fidelity* and *spontaneity*.

The liveness of *fidelity*, Sanden observes, rests on a terse and simple observation: "the further a recording or performance deviates from 'true' acoustic performance sounds, the less live it is."[294] In this context, an acoustic performance is said to be authentic, real, and live because it held to have been broadly untouched by what Sanden calls "technological intervention." But

[290] Hamilton, *Just Around Midnight: Rock and Roll and the Racial Imagination*, 49.
[291] See Phillip Auslander, who locates this distinction in the radio broadcasts of the mid-1930s. Similarly, Sarah Thomas identifies the 1950s as marking recorded music rise in prominence it's live analogue. Phillip Auslander, *Liveness: Performance in a Mediatized Culture* (London: Routledge Press, 1999), Sarah Thornton, *Club Culture: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital* (London: Routledge Press, 1995).
[292] Paul Sanden, *Liveness in Modern Music: Musicians, Technology, and the Perception of Performance*, (New York: Routledge Press, 2013),
[293] Ibid., 12
[294] Ibid., 35.

similar claims to authenticity can emerge from mediated performances or even studio recordings. Studio recordings that demonstrate a minimal degree of technological "interference" are valued over – or rather, considered more *live* than – performances where mediatization is audible or openly acknowledged (studio effects like multiple re-takes, overdubbing, artificial reverberation, stereo panning, filtering, etc.).[295] Among purists and audiophiles, these techniques, integral to the art of phonography, are perceived as obscuring – even limiting – an artist's expressive essence. As Sanden argues, "listeners expect that what they hear through their home speakers, or those on stage, will faithfully represent the abilities of the musician(s) within the accepted conventions of that particular musical tradition."[296] Within this context, the affection among audiences for live albums reflects a shared, if not at times inflexible, performance ethic. Waller's imaginary scenario ("down on his knees … working the crowd with a white-hot, this-church-is-on-fire intro") is illustrative. Fidelity and liveness in the *Harlem Square Club* LP depends on what Emily Lordi would theorize as Cooke's "embodied labor." For the listener, the spectacle of *work* – of being "cracked open" and "sweat-laden" -- yields expression, style, and "soul."[297]

Conversely, the liveness of *spontaneity* is not about hard work, but quick thinking; it underscores the perceived temporal uniqueness of a given performance, the idea that participants (musicians and audiences) are necessarily unaware of what will transpire as they experience and respond to a given transformation of song's formal conventions (melody, harmony, and rhythm) during a series of unpredictable moments in time. Under these conditions, there is increased engagement among participants as they realize "that a performer's skill level does indeed measure up to the challenge posed by a particular composition, or to a level of improvisation expected by

[295] Ibid., 35.
[296] Ibid., 36.
[297] Emily, Lordi, "Souls Intact: The Soul performances of Audre Lorde, Aretha Franklin, and Nina Simone," *Women and Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* 26, no. 1 (2016) : 65

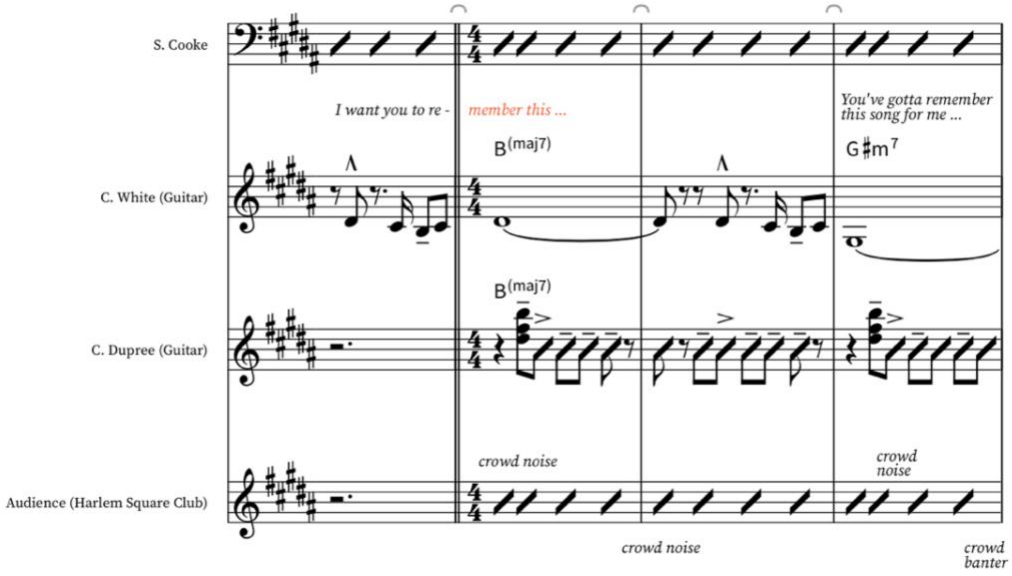
a demanding fan base."[298] Spontaneity, understood in this way, indexes excitement among listeners as they experience, to take a typical example, the unexpected revision of a song's formal components within a unique setting. Along with fidelity, spontaneity underscores the emergence of liveness "from particular social environments and historical moments for particular ideological purposes." [299] Live(ness), in part, underscores the in-person communicative interplay among Cooke and his Harlem Square Club audience; an inter-mutual process that Paul Gilroy describes as "a relationship of identity ... enacted in such a way that the performer dissolves into the crowd. Together, they collaborate in a creative process governed by formal and informal, democratic rules."[300] Let us consider, for example, Cooke's live rendition of "Havin' A Party."

Analysis 2: "Havin' A Party" (live version, verse and chorus), 1963

The performance is in B natural, a half step higher than its studio counterpart. Applause lingers in the wake of "Nothing Can Change this Love" as guitarist Cliff White immediately plays the familiar major-minor change (Bmaj - G$^{\#}$m). Cooke returns to the microphone as rhythm guitarist Cornel Dupree strums a swung-eighth note pattern. "I want y'all to remember this," he demands playfully. "You've got to remember this!" It is nearly one thirty in the morning. Exhaustion among all those gathered together in this Overtown haunt has gladly given itself over to continued celebration; a welcomed consequence of what has, thus far, been a showstopping evening.

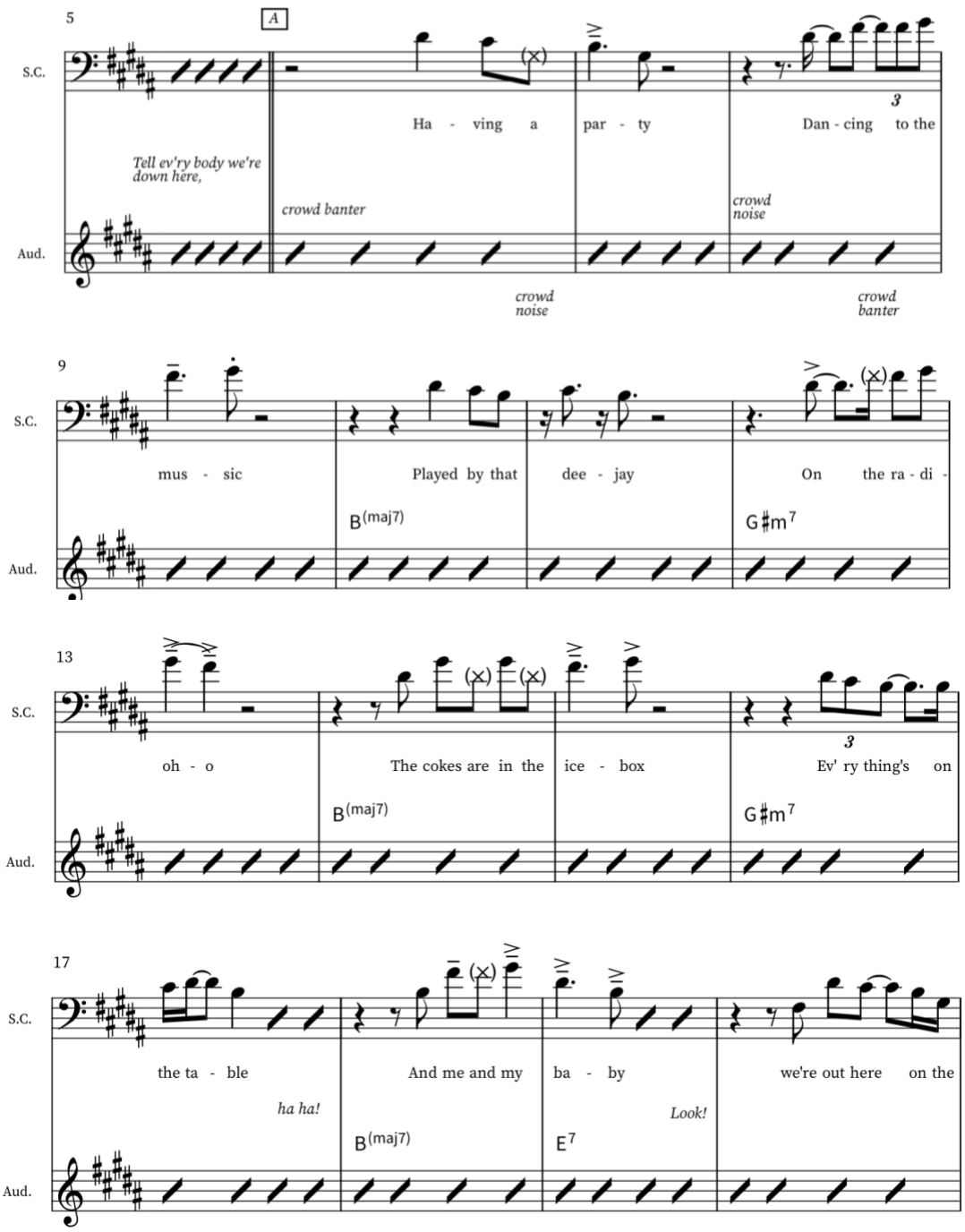
[298] Ibid., 37.
[299] Ibid., 32.
[300] Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, 200.

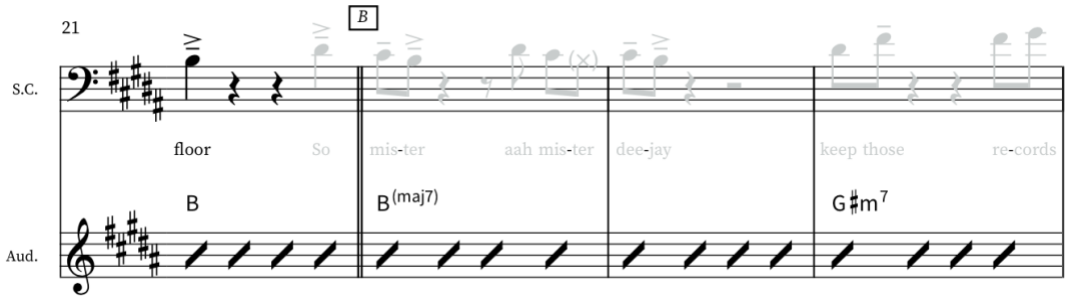
Figure 3.4: Harlem Square Club - "Having a Party" – Introduction



Cooke's voice is slightly strained, yet he isn't tired. Nor is his audience. "Tell everybody we're out here," he continues, "having a party – dancing to the music – played by the deejay – on the radio — the Cokes are in the ice box – ev'ry thing's on the table – and me and my baby – we're out here on the floor." The melody, on its face, adheres to the framework heard on the original 45rpm single. Stanzas of texrt are organized as two-bar descent-ascent sequence alongside tonic-submediant sequences. Aside from a handful of syncopated ad-libs (mm. 8, 11, 20 and 21), Cooke's phrasing is measured and relaxed. The band is cooking – *really* cooking. Tenor saxophonist King Curtis, together with White and Dupree, interweaves synoptic motifs into Cooke's interpretation of the melody.

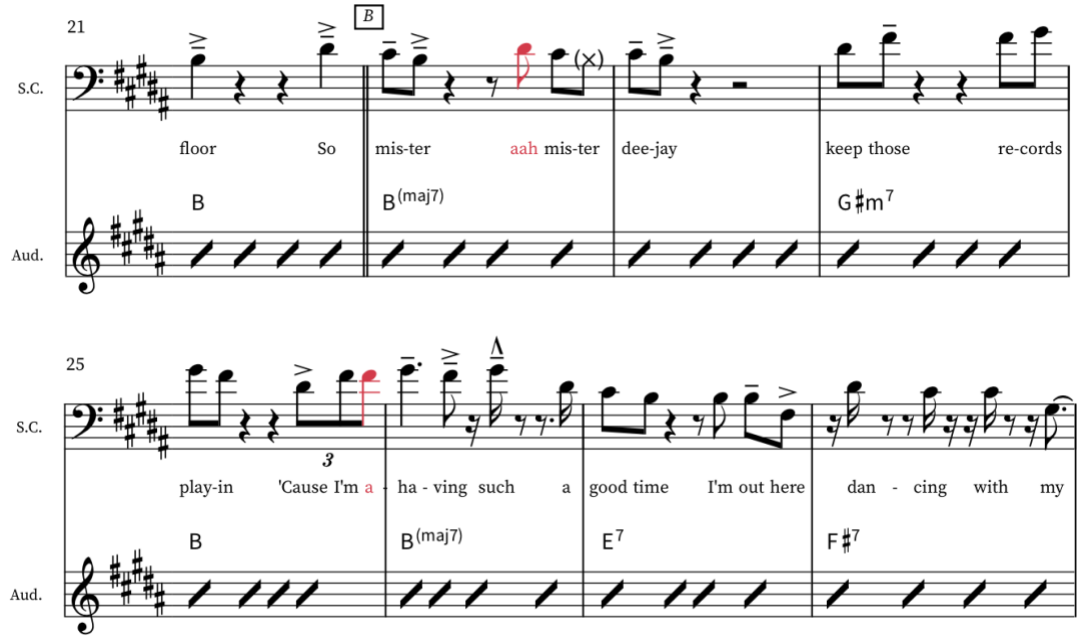
Figure 3.5: Harlem Square Club - "Having a Party" – 1st Verse





These expressive choices are reflected in several extemporaneous events, most notably accretive syncopation, with Cooke displacing a number of lyrics and syllables (mm. 6 – 13 and 16 – 21). Taken alongside the performance's predominant shuffle feel, the effect is to lay back on the beat. Cooke continues this rhythmic modification throughout the refrain, singing "so mister, *aah*-mister dee-jay – keep those records playing – cause I'm *a*'having such a good time – I'm out here dancing with my baby." As Figures 6 and 6.1 illustrate, Cooke's introduces vocables in mm. 22 and 25. Both vowels ("aah" and "a") leverage the force of anacrusis in support of the performance's ever-growing escalation.

Figure 3.6a: Harlem Square Club - "Having a Party" – 1st Refrain



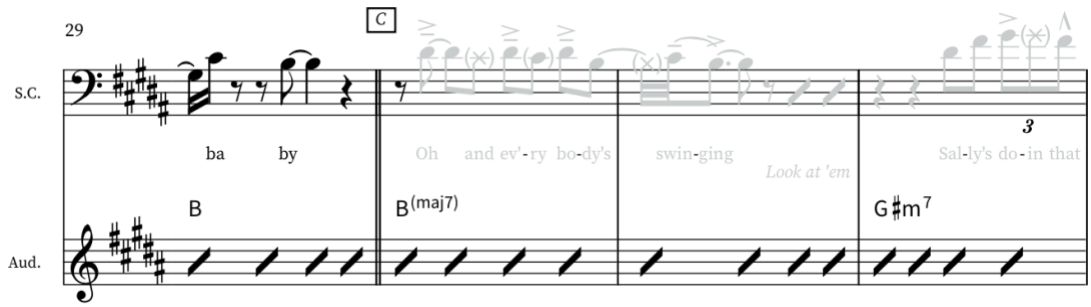


Figure 3.6b: Harlem Square Club - "Having a Party" – 1st Refrain

Vocables

mm. 22 - 25 "So mister, ***aah***'mister dee-jay – Keep those records playing."

mm. 25 - 29 "'Cause I'm ***a***'having, such a good time – I'm out here dancing with my baby."

Cooke proceeds whimsically to the second verse, observing "Oh and ev'rybody's swinging – Sally's doin' that twist now – Oh, and if you take requests now – " Lighthearted bliss graduates to exhilaration as he shouts suddenly, "I'VE GOTTA FEW FOR YOU!"

As Figures 7.1 and 7.2 illustrate, certain lyrics and syllables are increasingly displaced, accented, or drawn-out in this performance. Cookes stresses *oh* and *swingin''s* final syllable, on the weak halves of beat one in measures thirty and thirty-one, in addition to bars thirty-four and thirty-five. Unlike the first verse, the beginning of each melodic phrase is shifted to the upbeat. Cooke thus seems to be "lay backing on the groove," an effect that emerges from the syncopated deviations in the melody's contour and the rhythmic emphasis on beats two and four. These

expressive choices, registered in Figures 8 and 8.1, are supplemented further by Cooke's spontaneous interactions with his audience. The live performance of "Having a Party" undoubtedly portrays a participative aesthetic that cannot be heard in its studio analog. Nor can it be found in his live album recorded at the Copacabana.

Figure 3.7a: Harlem Square Club - "Having a Party" – 2nd Verse

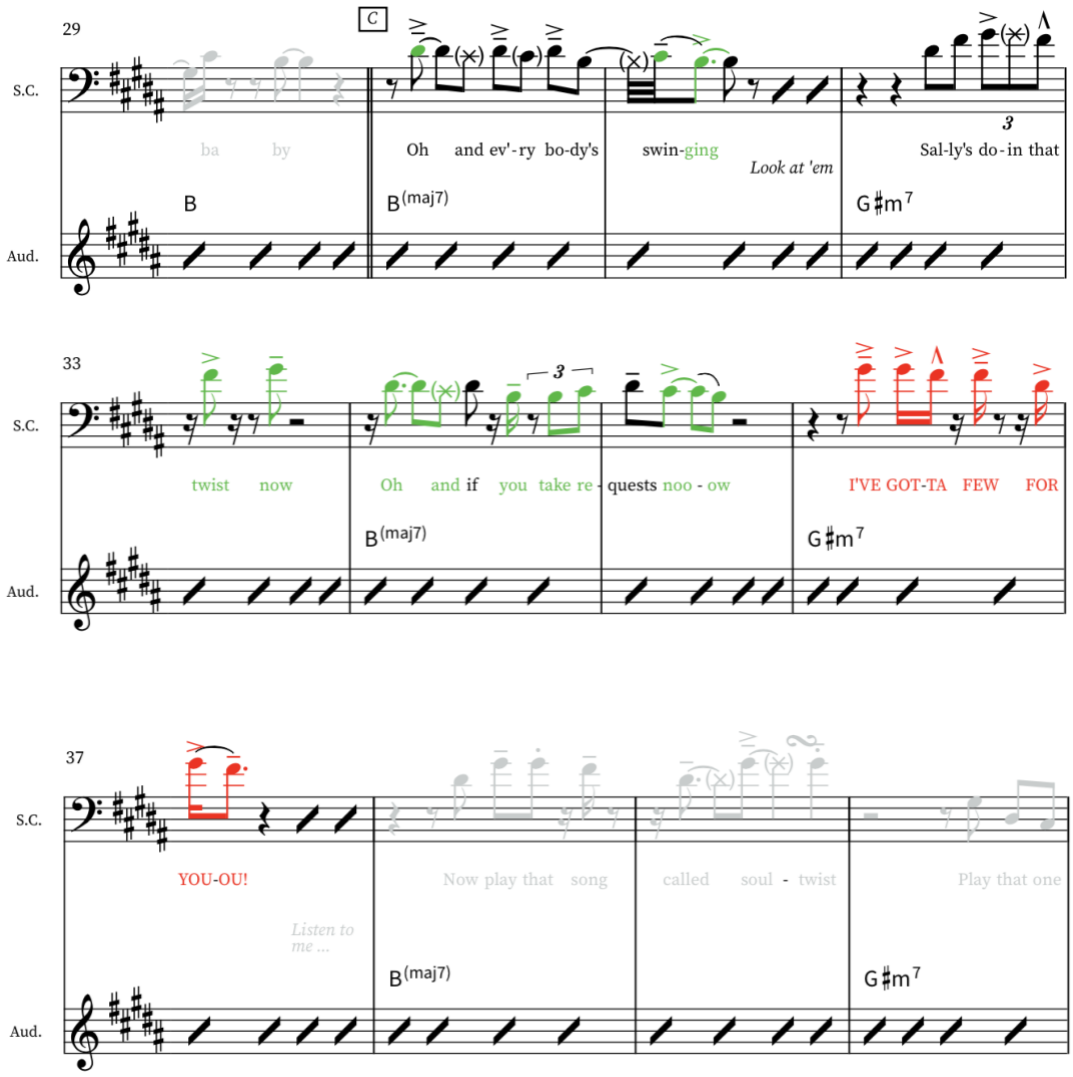
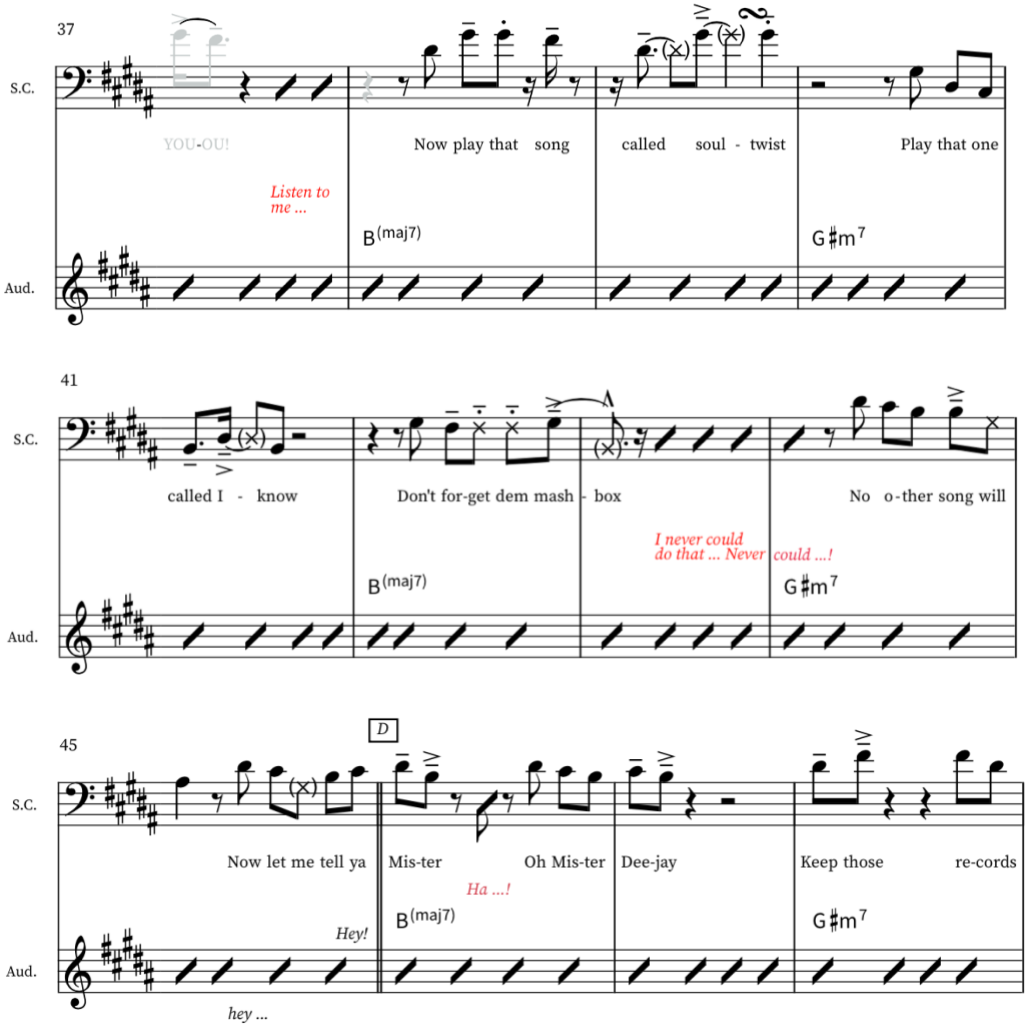


Figure 3.7b: Harlem Square Club - "Having a Party" – 2nd Verse

Lyrical and Syllabic Displacement + Shift in Timbre

mm. 30 – 33	"**Oh and** ev'**ry** bo**dy's swingin' …** *Look at 'em* – Sally's doin that **twist now** …"
mm. 34 - 37	"**Oh and** if **you take** re**quests no-ow** – **I'VE GOT A FEW FOR YOU!"**

Figure 3.8a: Harlem Square Club - "Having a Party" – 2nd Verse



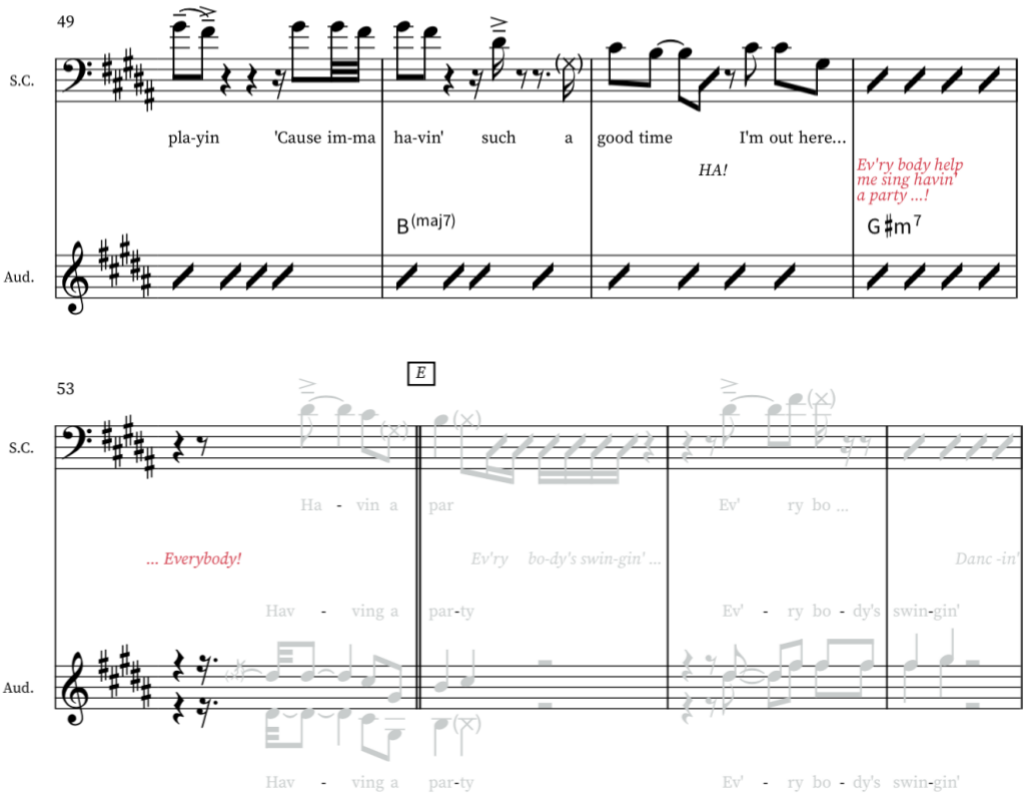


Figure 3.8b: Harlem Square Club - "Having a Party" – 2nd Refrain

Interjections and Interactions with Audience	
mm. 37 - 45	"***Listen to me*** ... Now play that song called soul twist – Play that one called I know – Don't forget dem mashbox … ***I never could do that … Never Could!*** – No other song will do."
mm. 45 - 52	"Now let me tell ya Mister … ***Ha!*** ... Oh Mister deejay – Keep those records playin' – 'Cause imma havin' such a good time … ***Ha!*** … I'm out here … ***Ev'body help me sing havin' a party …!***

* * * *

Post-soul nostalgia – An interesting discursive project can be discerned by adding up Geller, Waller, and RCA's descriptions of Cooke's Harlem Square Club performance. Taken together, their responses exemplify what Hamilton has identified as a "dilution/purity dialectic." In this context, Cooke's music is organized as three phases: gospel (purity), crossing over (dilution), and finally, a triumphant return to his gospel/downhome sound (dialectical resolution). [301] The reception of *Live at the Harlem Square Club 1963* revises Cooke's career narrative in accordance with the predominant tastes and values of the eighties. Waller, for example, highlights the gospel tradition that Cooke cultivated during his tenure with the Soul Stirrers, implying that overemphasis on his secular pop catalogue during the intervening years had obscured this tradition. Catering to the tastes of mainstream mid-twentieth century audiences, it would seem, precluded the spontaneous expressivity that Waller associates with Cooke's gospel foundation, an imagined past that, for Waller, is evidence of "Cooke at his most soulful." Any critique of this ideological formation must begin by exploring its underlying sentiment, nostalgia.

Back to the future: (white) pop nostalgia in the 1980s – Nostalgia "longs for longing," which Boel Westin identifies as the "desire to look back or return to something experience or imagined as essential."[302] The term's etymological roots lie in two post-classical Latin words: *nostos* (return to the native land) and *algos* (pain). Johanne Hofer, a seventeenth century Swiss medical student, is credited with the term's introduction. In 1688, Hofer found himself working

[301] Ibid., 32.
[302] Boel Westin, "Nostalgia," Keywords in Children Literature, (New York: New York University Press, 2021), 136

alongside Swiss military personnel serving in the Netherlands. A unique malady soon emerged among his patients. Symptoms included "constant thinking of home, sadness, anxiety, irregular heartbeat, insomnia, loss of thirst, disordered eating, physical weakness, and fever."[303] According to Hofer's diagnosis, nostalgia was simply a "disorder of the imagination" that resulted from "continuous vibrations of animal spirits through those fibers of the middle brain in which impressed traces of ideas of the Fatherland still cling."[304]

The twentieth century witnessed nostalgia's shift from "loss of a home long gone" to "longing for a time long past."[305] This shift, broadly conceived, marked nostalgia's turn away from pathology to the production of positive sentiment. Absence, Susan Stewart observes, "is the very generating mechanism of desire." Accordingly, "the realization of re-union imaged by the nostalgic is a narrative utopia that works only virtue of its partiality, its lack of fixity and closure." Nostalgia, therefore, is the "desire for desire."[306] Understood this way, weaponized nostalgia proved to be an effective way to conceptualize the rise of "retro-culture" in the early to mid-eighties.

In 1986, for example, *Esquire Magazine* featured a cover story by Tom Shales entitled "The Re-Decade." The article riffs off of Tom Wolfe's "The 'Me' Decade," a 1976 essay that criticized a rising generation which eschewed "communitarian values in favor of an emphasis on the individual." The baby boomers, Wolfe proclaimed, "influenced by economic expansion, the

[303] Clay Routledge, *Nostalgia: A Psychological Resource*, (New York: Routledge Press, 2016), 4 – 5.
[304] Ibid., 4-5.
[305] Badia Ahad-Legardy, *Afro-Nostalgia: Feeling Good in Contemporary Black Culture*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2021), 17.
[306] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 23. Similarly, Svetlana Boym theorizes nostalgia as a "romance with one's own fantasy." It's "fundamental ambivalence," she continues, is about the repetition of the unrepeatable, materialization of the immaterial." Thus "nostalgia charts pace on time and time on space and hinders the distinction between subject and object; it is Janus-faced, like a double-edged sword." An analysis of this phenomenon's role in cultural production, therefore, emerges from "a dual archeology of memory and of place, and a dual history of illusions and of actual practices." Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Perseus Books, 2001), 8 - 36.

rise of self-help discourses, the rapid growth of suburbs, the cultural politics of the New Left, and LSA," had become "increasingly self-enamored."[307] Shales pointed out the next step: ten years later, Americans had "elaborated on this cultural navel gazing by looking backward as a way of turning inward." The introduction of new media and communications technology in the 1980s altered Americans relationship with the past: "Never before have people, or a people, had nearly unlimited access to what has going on before, been able to call it up and play it back and relive it again and again."[308] Following Wolfe and Shales, Michael Dwyer observes that this cultural trend produced a " 're-generation' of Americans that utilized an ever-expanding archive of media texts, cultural practices of replay, recycle, and reinvention to remake themselves as individuals and reimagine the nation itself." Thus the mass culture of the 1980s was "uniquely positioned ... to recast nostalgia from a personal to popular experience."[309] This "pop nostalgia," Dwyer argues, should not be understood as diminishing or denying history. Rather, it is a "fundamentally *productive* affective engagement that produces new historical meanings for the past as a way of reckoning with the historical present."[310] Pop nostalgic texts produced a mythologized account of the Fifties which Dwyer calls *double-fixing:* episodes outside of mainstream life are "fixed" and "made to more closely represent a vision of a bygone period that embodies particular values perceived to be absent or under threat in the present."[311] Historical events that do not adhere to this fixed image of the past are revised as accidental or minimized as humorous.[312]

[307] Tom Wolfe, "The 'Me' Decade," *New York Magazine,* 1976 https://nymag.com/article/tom-wolfe-me-decade-third-great-awakening.html.
[308] Tom Shales, "The Re-Decade," *Esquire Magazine,* 1986, 67 – 70.
[309] Michael D. Dwyer, *Back to the Fifties: Nostalgia, Hollywood Film, and Popular Music of the Seventies and Eighties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 7.
[310] Ibid., 22.
[311] Dwyer, *Back to the Fifties: Nostalgia, Hollywood Film, and Popular Music of the Seventies and Eighties,* 22.
[312] Ibid., 22.

Dwyer applies his framework to one of the foundational texts of 1980s pop nostalgia, *Back to the Future* (1985). The film follows Marty McFly, a teenager from Hilldale, California. Like other mid-eighties suburban enclaves, the community is dealing with the effects of 1970s deindustrialization. Marty's mother Lorraine is a depressed alcoholic. George, his underachieving father, works a routine job. Disenchantment, it seems, has replaced the dreams and ambitions of their youth. Then an experiment gone awry strands Marty thirty years in the past, where he encounters teenage versions of his parents living in a pastel-colored dream of the 1950s where Hillsdale is pulsating with energy and looking forward to the future.

Dwyer highlights a scene in the film's second act where Marty (who has a garage band in the films 1980s present) fills in for the prom band's injured (Black) guitarist, eventually leading the band in a performance of one of rock and roll's foundational compositions, 1957's "Johnny B. Goode." Enthralled and inspired, the bandleader immediately calls his cousin Chuck, exclaiming "you know that new sound you been looking for? Well listen to this!" This is double-fixing at its queasiest: through the metaphoric power of technology (time travel standing in for the CD and the VCR) the invention of rock and roll by Black pioneers like Chuck Berry is re-credited to an average white suburban teen.[313] The film invites a generation of nostalgic boomers to step away from their present selves, however briefly, and superimpose the unrealized inventiveness of their youth onto Marty.[314]

This process of re-invention drove the emergence of "Oldies," a radio format that rose to prominence during the late seventies. With fifties rock and roll at its core, the category also included novelty songs, doo-wop *and* some genuine soul music crossing over the color line. The format's rise to prominence can be charted alongside the defanging of these once racially marked

[313] Ibid., 40.
[314] Ibid., 80.

genres, "the evolution of rock and roll from 'race music' to [a] safe alternative [to] new wave, punk, disco, and hip hop for bourgeois men."[315] A key text in this regard is the 1983 film *The Big Chill,* set in the present during a gathering of old college friends which does not feature a single African-American character, and yet somehow scored almost entirely with 1960s Motown hits. The resulting soundtrack album, released simultaneously with the film, broke new ground for the entertainment industry.[316] Entertainment conglomerates recognized an opportunity to leverage their stakes in music, publishing, broadcasting, and merchandising, and motion pictures were transformed into lucrative multi-platform properties.

The Big Chill soundscape reflected nostalgia's growing influence in eighties pop culture. Returning to the most upbeat moments of Motown crossover provided aging rock audiences with means to reject contemporary culture's social changes and relive better times through the voices of Black musicians. On one hand, the huge success of *The Big Chill* soundtrack album, following the triumph earlier in the year of the anniversary TV special *Motown 25,* showed the possibility of running the same pop nostalgia play on Sam Cooke's *Live at the Harlem Room 1963*.

Within the Black public sphere, the success of the album came as something of a surprise. The *Atlanta Daily World,* for example, highlighted the album for inspiring "a tremendous new interest in the life and recording of Sam Cooke, fueled by ecstatic reviews and LP sales that were way beyond original forecasts."[317] On the other hand, for the labels, the inevitable success of this album rested on supplying an insatiable oldies market with additional fodder for its aging white audience's most nostalgic impulses. As our survey of (white) critical reactions to the album

[315] Ibid., 16.
[316] It must noted that the success of the mid-century based soundtrack of George Lucus's 1973 film, *American Graffiti,* was a precursor to the *Big Chill's* reception among audiences.
[317] "Cookin' …. RCA to Revive Sam's Music By Cooking a Douple LP Set 'The Man and His Music," *Atlanta Daily World,* September 5th, 1985.

demonstrates, this desire to go "back to Cooke's future" resulted in an incomplete, diminished iteration of Cooke, his music, and the soul tradition.

Black to the future? Blackness, nostalgia, and trauma – And what of the Black audiences during this era; what was *their* experience with Sam Cooke and sixties soul? Badia Ahud-Legardy has proposed an alternative framework for thinking nostalgia's relation with this episode in Black popular culture. Trauma, Ahud-Legardy observes, is an inescapable framework for elaborating the structure of Black memory. This is due, in part, to "centuries of racial violence, from which no period can be culled to inspire good feelings in the present." Something like Dwyer's pop nostalgia has thus never been available to Black Americans. To decouple Blackness and memory from "histories of violence" and "traumatic resonances of the past," Ahad-Legardy defines *afro-nostalgia,* an explanatory frame for conceptualizing the myriad ways that African-descended communities "complicate the traumatic as a singular black historical through line" by discerning and devising romantic recollections of the past."[318] Amidst "contemporary black imagination," this process acts as a "psychic and emotional vessel," giving rise to what Raymond Williams might classify as a *structure of feeling.* Following Williams, Ahud-Legardy reads black nostalgia through two opposing concepts: the *archaic* and the *residual*. The *archaic* names "that which is wholly recognized as an element of the past, to be observed, to be examined, or even on occasion to be consciously 'revived'." On the other hand, the *residual* is "effectively formed in the past, but it is still active in the cultural process, not only and often not as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present."[319] The essential duality of afro-nostalgia refuses the sentimental

[318] Badia Ahad-Legardy, *Afro-Nostalgia: Feeling Good in Contemporary Black Culture,* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2021), 8.
[319] Ibid., 10.

"fixing" process that pop nostalgia imposes on the past; previous eras are rendered active and relevant in analysis of present events. Black nostalgia, therefore, mobilizes nostalgia amidst cultural production in order to enact historical pleasure and joy.[320]

Ahud-Legardy notes that some critics have attacked nostalgia in Black life, assigning it to the memorial domain of a "black elite whose economic advantages undermine racial solidarity." This problematic dominates Houston A. Baker Jr.'s analysis of public memory. For Baker, nostalgia is simply a "purposive construction of a past filled with golden virtues, golden men and sterling events," the consequence of "black conservative modernity." As such, it is of little use to Black life, providing nothing more than "an exclusively middle-class beautification of history designed to erase the revolution, pray blessings upon the heads of white people and give a rousing cheer for free enterprise individualism."[321] Highlighting nostalgia's regressive impulses, Baker binds the concept to a mythmaking enterprise in delusion, repression, and erasure. This battle over memory and nostalgia within the Black public sphere frames a careful analysis of a crucial historical and discursive category: the state of historical-cultural tension labeled by those who experienced it as being "post-soul."

Coined by Nelson George in 1992, the word *post-soul* begins as a neutral historical marker to describe the politics, experiences, and cultural products of Black Americans born after 1963. It refers to the "twisting, troubling, turmoil-filled, and often terrific years since the mid-seventies when black America moved into a new phase of its history."[322] Nostalgia, within this post-soul

[320] Ibid., 10.
[321] Houston A. Baker Jr., "Critical Memory and the Black Public Sphere," *The Black Public Sphere: A Public Culture Book,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 3.
[322] Nelson George, *Post Soul Nation: The Explosive, Contradictory, Triumphant, and Tragic 1980s as Experienced by African Americans (Previously Known as Blacks and Before that Negroes),* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004), 6.

space, often emerged as gendered, what Emily Lordi has dismissed as a "male-dominated neoliberal paradigm" characterized by " 'Say It Loud' machismo, heterosexism, and a narrow view of what counts as a black aesthetic."[323] Post soul models also defined the musical genre itself in essentialized terms; thus music critic Lynn Van Matre in a September 1985 article entitled, "Has Black Music … Lost its Soul?": Van Matre observes that as Black crossover artists like Michael Jackson achieved unprecedented mainstream success, some mourned a loss of essence. Van Matre quotes music industry veteran Charlie Fach – "it's sad, but I believe that black music has lost some of its soul in recent years" – and soul singer Mark Lockett, mourning the cultural environment that enabled the success of his uncle, Otis Redding:

> Back then, it seems like soul music had so much more definition, so much more meaning in the lyrics … Maybe the lyric thing will come back one of these days. But today, people don't appreciate the old soul music. It can't compete with what's going on today. The (soul singers) like the Isaac Hayes of the world can't catch on. They still feel the same way about their music, but the sound of soul has changed, so nobody will give them a listen.[324]

Lockett's despair underscores a category shift within the record industry. In 1982, Nelson George pushed *Billboard Magazine* to reclassify its "Soul" chart as, simply, "Black Music." The change, he argued, emphasized "the eclecticism of black music today."[325] It goes without saying that these statements bear a strong resemblance to the same magazine's justification for changing its "Rhythm & Blues" chart to "Soul" in 1969. In his study of musical genre definition, David Brackett observes "how the status of the signifier 'soul' had shifted over the ensuing years, from a categorical term that itself encompassed many diverse genres to a specific genre (with a specific musical sound …) that required another term that could in turn encompass it."[326] Brackett notes a

[323] Lordi, 13.
[324] Lynn Van Matre, "Has Black Music … Lost its Soul?," *The Chicago Tribune,* September 22nd, 1985.
[325] Ibid., 43., qtd. In Brackett, *Categorizing Sound: Genre and Twentieth-Century Popular Music*, 293.
[326] Bracket, *Categorizing Sound: Genre and Twentieth-Century Popular Music*, 294.

general historical tendency: "the present moment tends to seem heterogeneous, as the previous term of choice in turn comes to designate a kind of stylistic homogeneity."[327] Indeed, Locket's longing for an era where the "old soul music" was appreciated is a direct response to the cultural shift *Billboard* belatedly recognized. Certainly, the "dislocating effects of the Reagan revolution" invited Black folk to view the late 1960s and early 1970s as "an attractive oasis" – and why should musicians be exempt from this afro-nostalgia?[328] Yet, in giving in to it, Lockett also represses and romanticizes soul's protracted ascendancy from just one quality of Black music-making to *the* preeminent contemporary Black genre of the mid-sixties. The impulses underlying his claim, therefore, can be best understood as a desire to return to a romanticized era where a specific sound and aesthetic within soul – and more broadly, Black expressive culture – was appreciated by a mass audience.

The re-introduction of Cooke and his lost live album to a mid-eighties commercial-cultural market seems to be animated by this nostalgic desire to desire. Yet, Ahud-Legardy would argue that repression and romanticization are not the sole modalities by which to elaborate nostalgia's interplay with this post-soul event. Even if "the power of nostalgia is often read as purely emotional or sentimental at its most saccharine and twee," it is still possible that the "force of nostalgia has the potential to translate into more public and communal forms of cultural production and social engagement."[329] A complete reading of *Live at the Harlem Square, 1963,* therefore, must also go back to the future, time traveling to encounter in detail its original live audience, the Black residents of the Overtown neighborhood outside Miami, FL who showed up on a particular night

[327] Ibid., 294.
[328] Richard Iton, *In Search of the Black Fantastic: Politics and Popular Culture in the Post-Civil Rights Era,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 157.
[329] Ahud-Legardy, *Afro-Nostalgia: Feeling Good in Contemporary Black Culture,* 38.

in January 1963 to hear Sam Cooke sing, and to leave their own trace on the recording, and thus on Black history. Who were these people, and where did they come from?

Part IV

At the corner of Little Broadway and 10th St – Overtown, a once vibrant Black enclave, emerged in the immediate wake of Miami's formation. Prior to the late nineteenth century the Miami area was unofficially known as "Briscayne Bay Country." The early 1890s witnessed a movement among the region's fifty residents to establish the unincorporated countryside into a municipality. Julia Tuttle, the owner of the Bay's 640-acre citrus grove, rightly understood that such an endeavor rested on improving the area's underdeveloped transportation system. Tuttle, alongside fellow landowner William Brickey, initiated a campaign to extend the newly established East Florida Coast Railway further south. A project of Standard Oil founder Henry Flagler, the railway was a critical cog in updating Florida's transportation infrastructure, while also advancing the growth of the state's newly established tourism industry. Tuttle offered a significant share of her real estate holdings, a proposition that Flagler greeted with indifference. The events surrounding the Great Freeze of 1894–95, however, changed the railroad magnate's attitude. The Bay's citrus crops, unlike those in the state's north and central regions, were untouched. Flagler suddenly showed interest in Tuttle's proposal, and dispatched a labor force of Black men from northern Florida, Georgia, and parts of the Caribbean to extend his railroad southward.[330]

[330] N.D.B Connolly, "Colored, Caribbean, and Condemned: Miami's Overtown District and Cultural Expense of Progress, 1940 – 1970," *Caribbean Studies* 34, no. 1 (2006): 9.

Train service was established in the area on April 22nd, 1896. Under their final agreement, Tuttle supplied Flagler with land for a railroad station and cottages free of charge. Tuttle's remaining holdings were divided into alternating sections. An area along the west side, later dubbed "Colored Town," was set aside for Black laborers. Calls to formally establish the Bay as a city peaked the following summer. On July 28th, 368 voters — 162 of whom were the area's Black residents — supported Miami's incorporation charter. Paradoxically, these same men would immediately find themselves disenfranchised by the state's existing segregation laws.[331]

During the early twentieth century, the residents of "Colored Town" provided white business owners with a stable supply of Black labor, while also acting as a hub for "'processing the thousands of Caribbean migrants who worked in the tourist and agricultural pockets that dotted the landscape of central and southern Florida."[332] Indeed, such attitudes and statutes socio-spatial yielded distinct and disparate realities among greater-Miami residents. Among the city's white stakeholders, the segregation-era laws that governed Black life in "Colored Town" acted as a partition that protected white capital and privilege from an imagined "Negro 'invasion'." Jim Crow's constrictive presence, however, did not preclude "Central Negro District" residents from fostering and cultivating a vibrant enclave of social economic, religious and educational institutions.[333]

As historian Nathan Daniel Beau Connolly observes, "the absurd nature of segregation … prompted south Black Floridians to pursue ... quotidian victories." Such victories, he continues, "came in the form of everyday community building – going to school, getting married, or owning

[331] Nina Mjagkij, "Miami: Civic, Literary, and Mutual Aid Associations," *Organizing Black America: An Encyclopedia of African American Associations*, (New York: Routledge Press, 2001), 287 – 289.
[332] Connolly, *Colored, Caribbean, and Condemned: Miami's Overtown District and Cultural Expense of Progress*, 11
[333] "Miami: Civic, Literary, and Mutual Aid Associations," *Organizing Black America: An Encyclopedia of African American Associations*, 287.

a business in [their] neighborhood."[334] Mount Zion Baptist Church, Greater Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, and St. Agnes's Episcopal Church, for example, were among the first parishes to be built. In 1904, the Reverend S.W. Brown established a prosperous business, the Colored Town Bargain Store; the Reverend W.P. Picks edited and circulated the community's first newspaper, *Industrial Reporter;* and in 1913 newly arrived Georgia transplant Geder Walk opened one of the city's first major entertainment hubs, the Lyric Theater. As Jenkins-Field's observes, the theater — an example of the masonry vernacular style — was regarded as "one of the most beautiful buildings in the area. It included a stage and orchestra pit for theatre and later for movies, and it also provided meeting spaces in its comfortable, well-furnished interior."[335] By the end of the decade, the community was a thriving center of commerce and for South Florida's Black residents.

Growth continued throughout the1920s, most notably the opening of Dade County's first and only secondary high school for Black children, the Booker T. Washington Junior and Senior High School.[336] In addition to its educational role, the school also acted as a hub for social life and leisure. The courtyard was a favorite meeting place for community groups," writes Dorothy Jenkins Fields. "Matinees were held frequently in the auditorium and showcased poets, dancers, singers, and other performing artists," most notably Langston Hughes and singer Roland Hayes.[337] Institutional expansion continued during the 1930s as the Great Depression intensified lingering economic disparities among Colored Town's poor and

[334] N.D.B Connolly, *Colored, Caribbean, and Condemned: Miami's Overtown District and Cultural Expense of Progress*, *1940 – 1970* 34, no. 1 (2006): 7.
[335]Dorothy Jenkins-Fields, "Tracing Overtown's Vernacular Architecture," *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, 23 (1998): 322 – 333.
[336] According to Jenkins Fields, parents throughout the region (Dania in Broward County, Key West, etc.) "would ask relatives and friends in Colored Town to allow their children to board with them so that they could complete a high-school education." Jenkins-Fields, "Tracing Overtown's Vernacular Architecture," 327.
[337] Jenkins Fields, "Tracing Overtown's Vernacular Architecture," 328.

affluent communities. Samuel Johnson, one of south Florida's only Black physicians and radiologists, opened an X-ray clinic on 171 NW Eleventh Street. The "Streamline Modern" infirmary was a vital resource for Black residents who, due to Jim Crow's increasing grip within the area, were denied treatment at Miami's City Hospital.[338] In 1936, the Friendship Garden and Civic Club established the Paul Lawrence Dunbar Library. At the same time, "Good Bread Alley," an overcrowded tract of working-class families living in tiny, closely-packed rental homes, emerged as an byword for extreme poverty.[339] As one former resident recalled, each house was so close that "somebody could reach out of their window and shake hands with the other person [next door]."[340] The houses of "the Alley" were owned by middle to upper-middle class Black residents who, more often than not, lived on the same or adjoining blocks as their tenants. As Connolly observes, though "segregation's intent as an institution was to create a monolithic and inferior Negro mass," its "unforeseen consequences [resulted in an] ability to nurture an environment of social responsibility where … wealthy blacks built affordable homes for the less fortunate when the government officials would not."[341]

The 1940s and 50s saw major growth in Overtown's tourist industry. The community's dynamism, Conolly notes, "made it a well-known haunt for both black and whites who visited Miami simply looking for a good time."[342] Central to this prosperity was N.W. 2nd Avenue, a trip

[338] In later decades, Johnson recalled, "I decided to build a clinic that would be self-contained, comfortable, and affordable and welcome the people of Colored Town for treatment and anyone else who came to the door." Jenkins Fields "Tracing Overtown's Vernacular Architecture," 327.
[339] The nickname "Good Bread," Connolly writes, "served as a sexual reference, referring to prostitutes who would, through their night-labor, offer many male laborers a welcomed and intimate reprieve from the days demands." Connolly, "Colored, Caribbean, and Condemned," 17
[340] Ibid., 17.
[341] Ibid., 17. Similarly, historian Joe Trotter notes that among Black urban communities, such consequences have "often led to the active pursuit of better housing on the part of the black middle class and the concentration of the black poor in certain impoverished sections of the Colored enclave." Joe William Trotter Jr., "Blacks in the urban North: the Underclass Question in Historical Perspective," in *The "Underclass" Debate: Views From History,* ed. Michael B. Katz (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 55 – 84.
[342] Ibid., 25.

of hotels, restaurants and nightclubs affectionately known as "Little Broadway." Indeed, the entertainment hub's interracial clientele and success did not emerge from happenstance. As Connelle observes, "zoning laws on Miami Beach required that all taverns and nightclubs close at 1am; but, the City of Miami allowed Colored lounge owners like the Sawyers to purchase licenses that authorized their establishments to remain open until 5am."[343] This state of exception established Overtown as one of the Chitlin Circuit's premier musical locations. As historian Dorothy Jenkins-Fields observes, even the most successful Black entertainers who performed on Miami Beach could not stay there because of racial segregation laws. After their last performances, they headed back across the railroad tracks to Colored Town's hotels and night clubs, where they often held jam sessions for the local residents, sometimes until daybreak. Count Basie, Ella Fitzgerald, Cab Calloway, Josephine Baker, Billie Holiday, Sammy Davis Jr., the Ink Spots, Louis Satchmo Armstrong, Nat King Cole, B. B. King, and many others performed year-round."[344]

But Overtown's stellar reputation among Black entertainers can also be attributed to impresario Clyde Killens. Known as "Miami's Mr. Entertainment" or "the Glass," the Killens played a central role in curating entertainment among the community's nightspots, most notably the Harlem Square Club, an unimposing "big barn of a building" located at located on at the corner of N.W. 2nd Avenue and 10th St.[345] As Peter Guralnick notes, like many segregated clubs, the Harlem Square Club was a one-stop shop for Black entertainment needs: "there was a poolroom

[343] Ibid., 27.
[344] Dorothy Jenkins Fields, "Tracing Overtown's Vernacular Architecture," *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, 23, (1998): 332.
[345] In a June 30, 1990 profile, the *Miami Herald* notes that "Killens put Overtown on the national map as one of the hottest black entertainment pockets in the country during the 1950s and '60s. His domain included Overtown's hot spots: Harlem Square, the Island Club and Mary Elizabeth's Hotel Fiesta Club. Black performers would play at whites-only stages in Miami Beach, then drive across the bay to play Overtown. Often, they saved their funkiest sets for those late-night gigs with Clyde; the audiences were often anything but segregated, whites knowing that Overtown was where the real shows were happening." Sharon Andrew, " 'The Glass' Reflects Overtown's Glory: Clyde Killens Lit Hot '50s, '60s Scene in Entertainment," *The Miami Herald* (Miami, FL), Jun 30, 1990.

and long bar at the front of the building where you could buy setups, along with a kind of package store whose cashier sat impassively behind a steel grille. Upstairs, there was a balcony with table for the patrons, and a small office in which the recording engineers … set up their equipment."[346]

A precise demographic snapshot of the club's clientele in the early 1960s cannot easily be reconstructed. The demographic and historical evidence above, however, gives us a feeling for the diversity in the room that night, and suggests that the predominantly Black audience for Cooke's Harlem Square performances was multi-classed, self-aware, and ready (thanks to the club's liberal policies on buying and drinking alcohol after-hours) to have a real party with a visiting celebrity. As with the other "live" soul performance recordings we have analyzed in this study, the performance of "Having a Party" captured on *Live at the Harlem Square Club* is a notable example of sophisticated participants using their voices to shape the sonic and participative aesthetics that circumscribe the performance. Audience interaction during the verse and refrain, for example, emerges as an unorganized array of conversations and banter. The vamp, however, is reflects a participative framework reminiscent of a singalong. If a nostalgic reading of this performance identifies its power as a sentimental rediscovery of Cooke's individual soulfulness, then a restorative analysis of the vamp endeavors to locate the collective force of this musical recording in the actual people who collaboratively produced it.

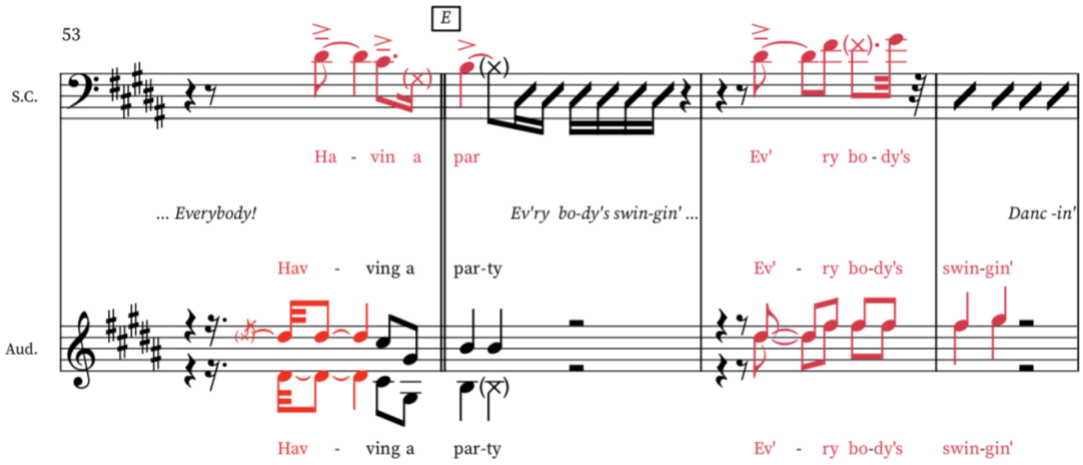
Analysis 3: "Havin' A Party" (live recording, vamp and outro), 1963

"Everyone help me sing 'Having A Party,' everybody," Cooke declares. His request modulates the performance's collaborative parameters. The ongoing colloquy among inactive spectators has

[346] Guralnick, *Dream Boogie: The Triumph of Sam Cooke*, 363.

been reorganized into a vocal ensemble. The audience, without missing a beat, obliges. *"Having a party;"* Cooke joins in, transitioning the sung portion of his performance into impromptu interjections. "*Everybody's swingin,*" he shouts. The newly minted choir responds in kind. In total, the vamp is comprised of five choruses, each eight bars long.[347] Cooke's contribution throughout this climatic episode is reminiscent of the expressive tropes highlighted throughout "Having a Party's" verse and chorus. The audience, on its part, for the most part, adheres closely to the melody's rhythmic contour. Both phrases are sung in unison. Cooke signifies on the timeline and the audience's iterative performance, delaying the articulation of certain lyrics and syllables. In m. 53, for instance, *"a"* is sung on last quarter of beat four. Similarly, he adds *"aah"* in m. 61 while also displacing "everybody's" second and fourth syllable in m. 63.

. Figure 3.9: Harlem Square Club - "Having a Party" Vamp – 1st Chorus



[347] A "chorus," in jazz settings, describes one complete performance of a composition's pre-determined harmonic structure.

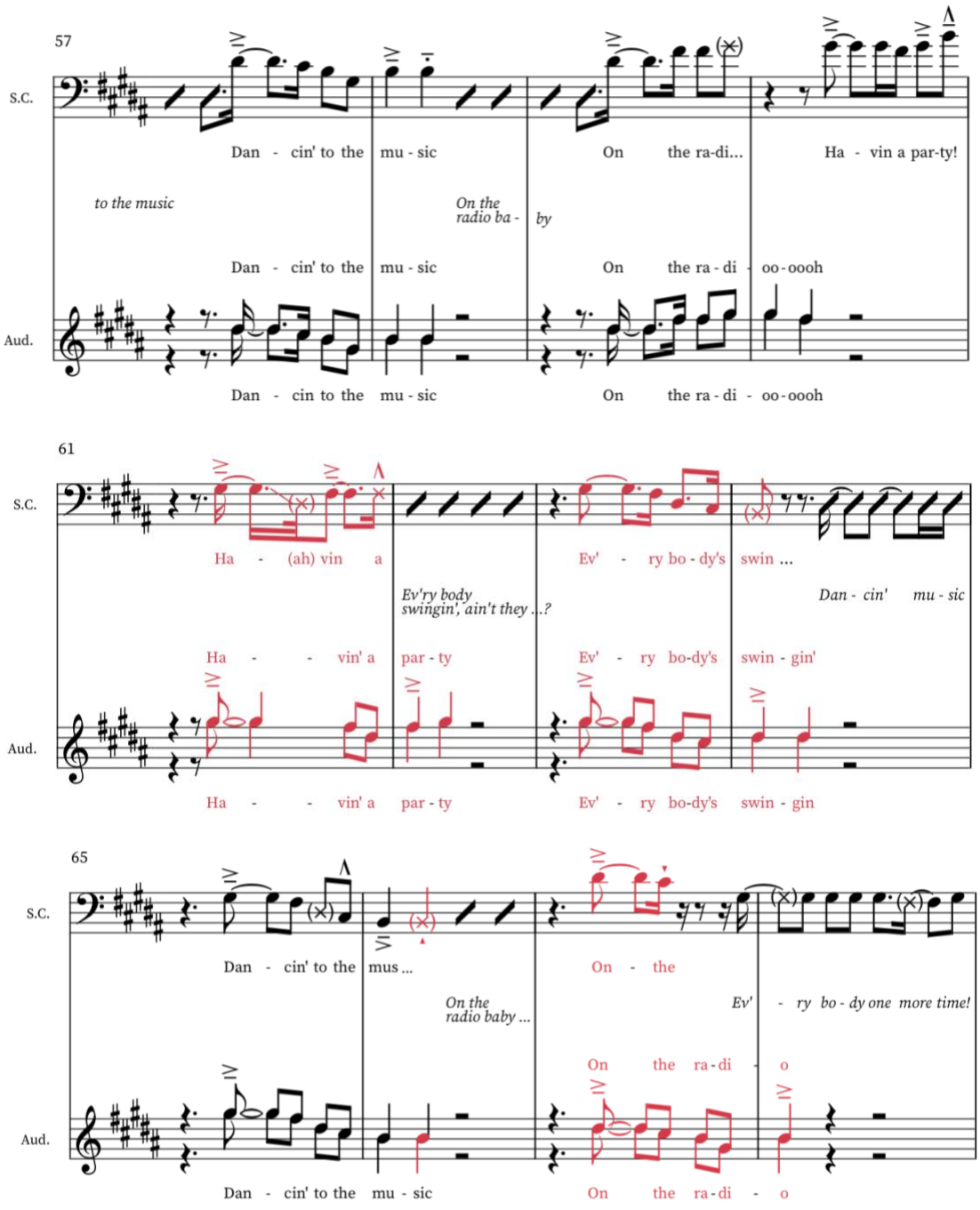
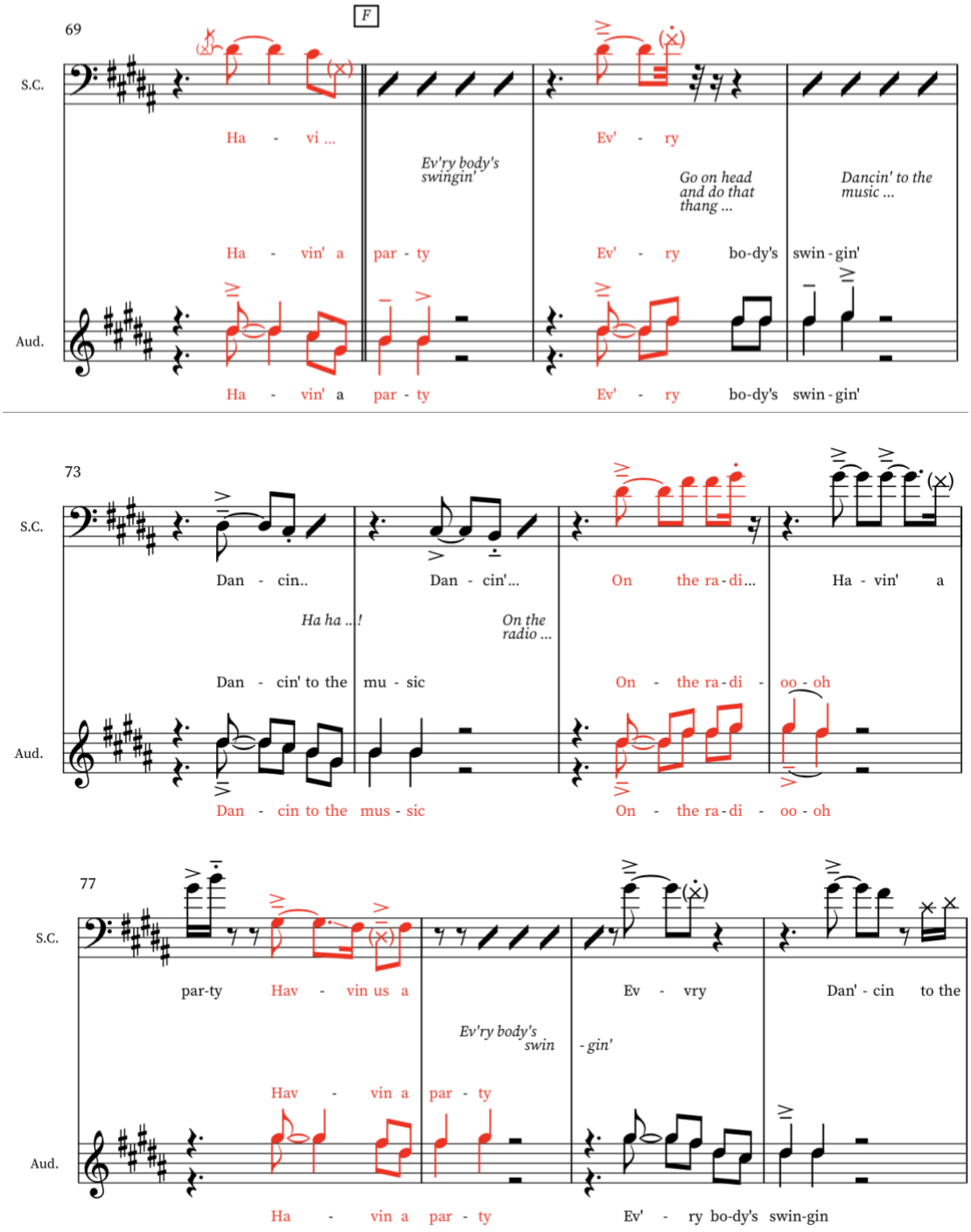

57
S.C.
Dan - cin' to the mu - sic
On the ra-di...
Ha - vin a par-ty!
to the music
On the radio ba -
by
Dan - cin' to the mu - sic
On the ra - di - oo - oooh
Aud.
Dan - cin to the mu - sic
On the ra - di - oo - oooh
61
S.C.
Ha - (ah) vin a
Ev' - ry bo - dy's swin ...
Ev'ry body swingin', ain't they ...?
Dan - cin' mu - sic
Ha - - vin' a par - ty
Ev' - ry bo-dy's swin - gin'
Aud.
Ha - - vin' a par - ty
Ev' - ry bo-dy's swin - gin
65
S.C.
Dan - cin' to the mus ...
On - the
On the radio baby ...
Ev' - ry bo - dy one more time!
On the ra - di - o
Aud.
Dan - cin' to the mu - sic
On the ra - di - o

Figure 3.10: Harlem Square Club - "Having a Party" Vamp – 2nd Chorus



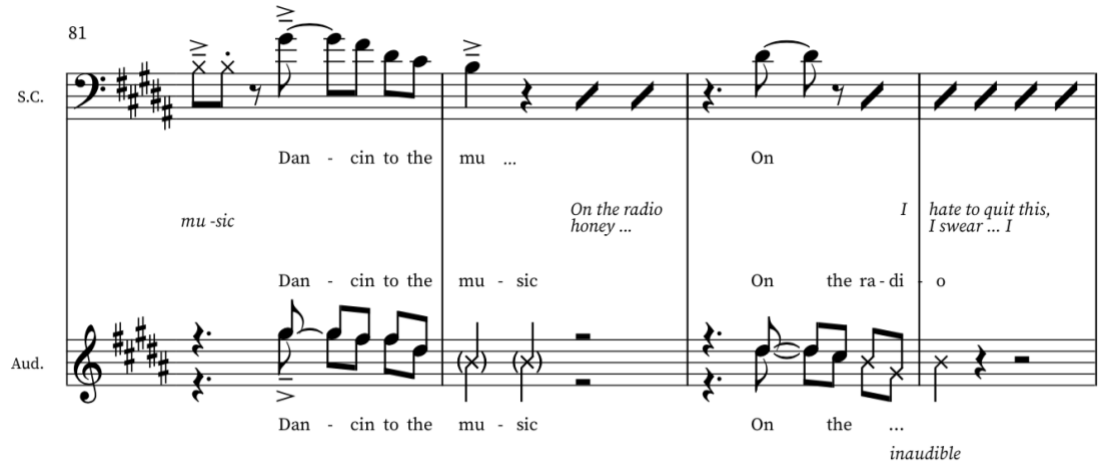
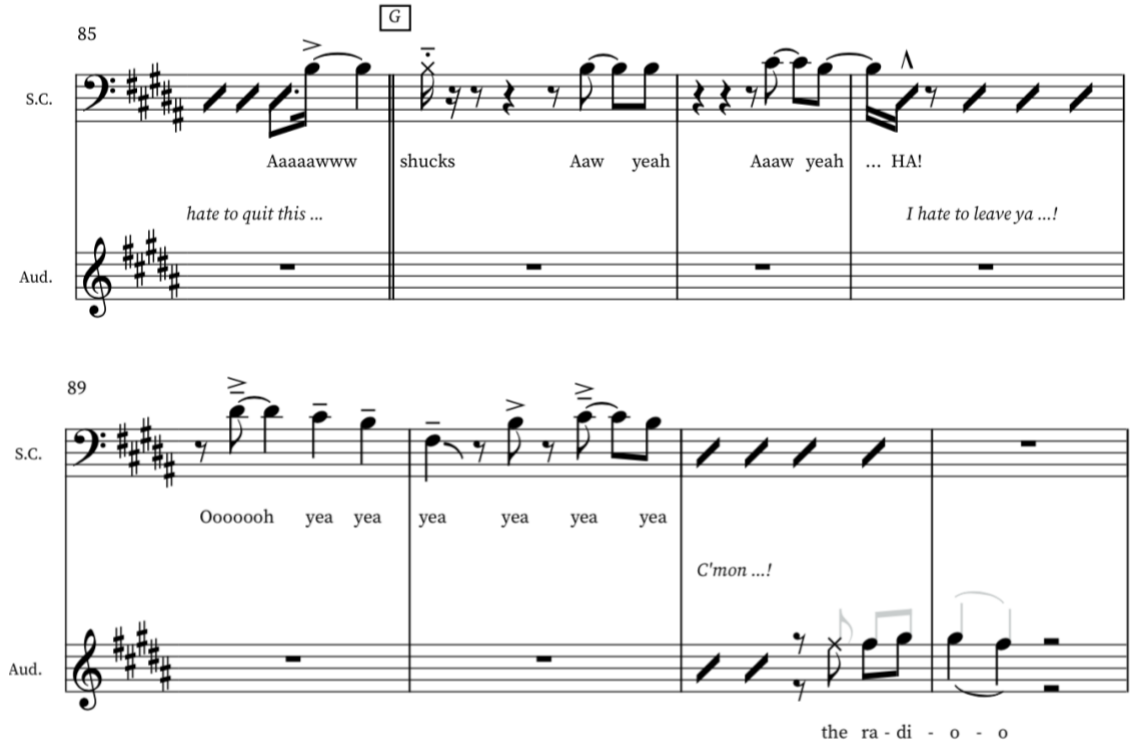


Figure 3.11: Harlem Square Club - "Having a Party" Vamp – 3rd Chorus



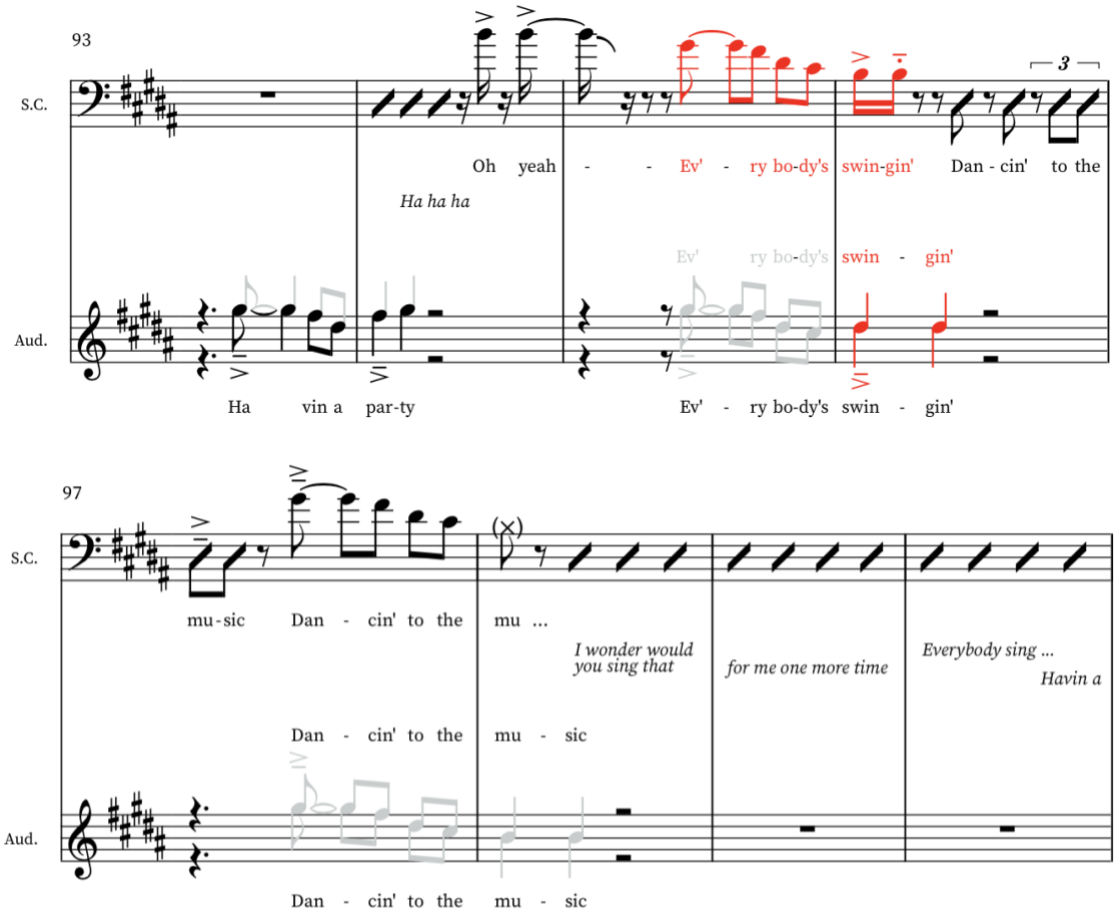
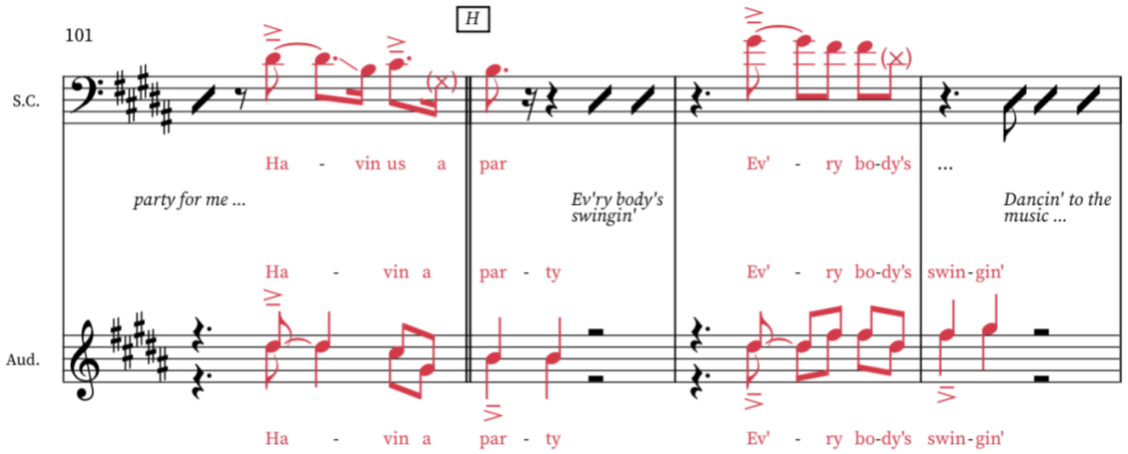
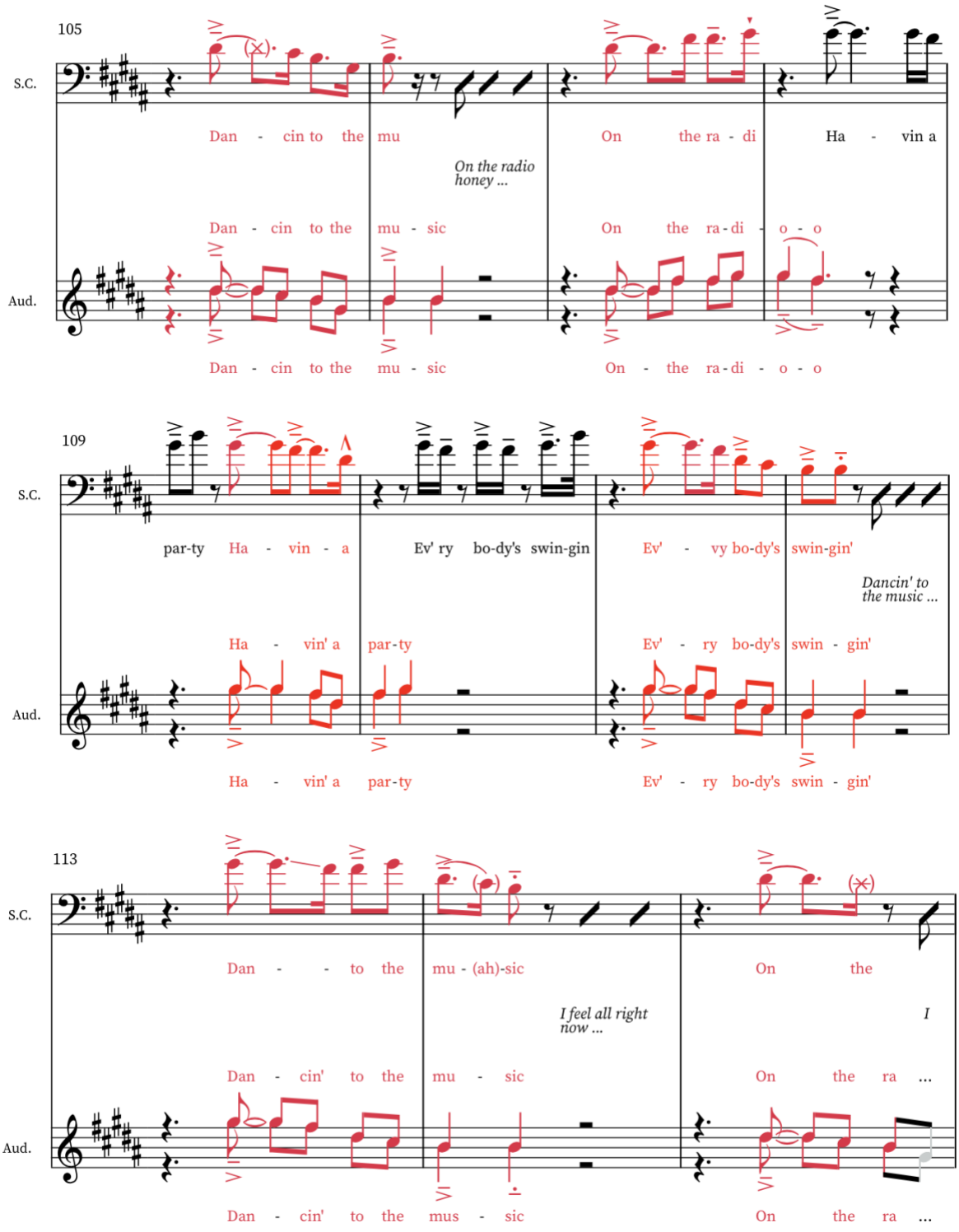


Figure 3.12: Harlem Square Club - "Having a Party" Vamp – 4th Chorus

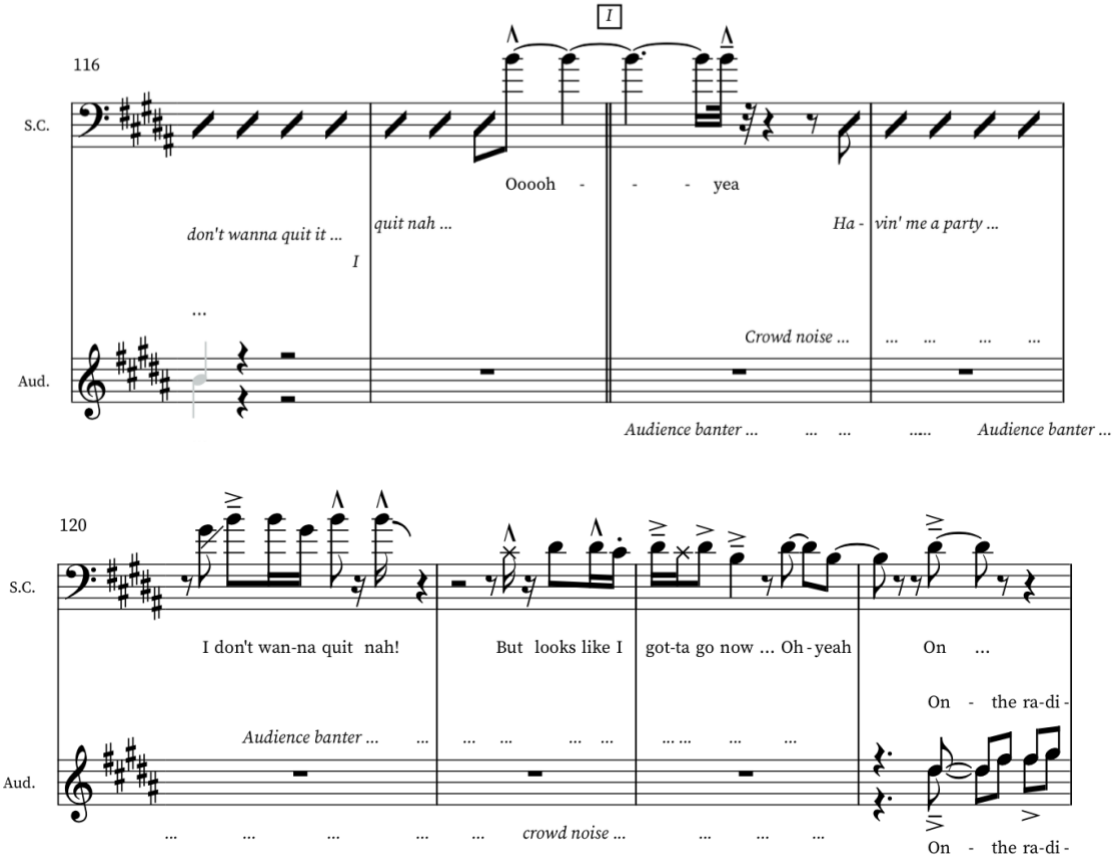


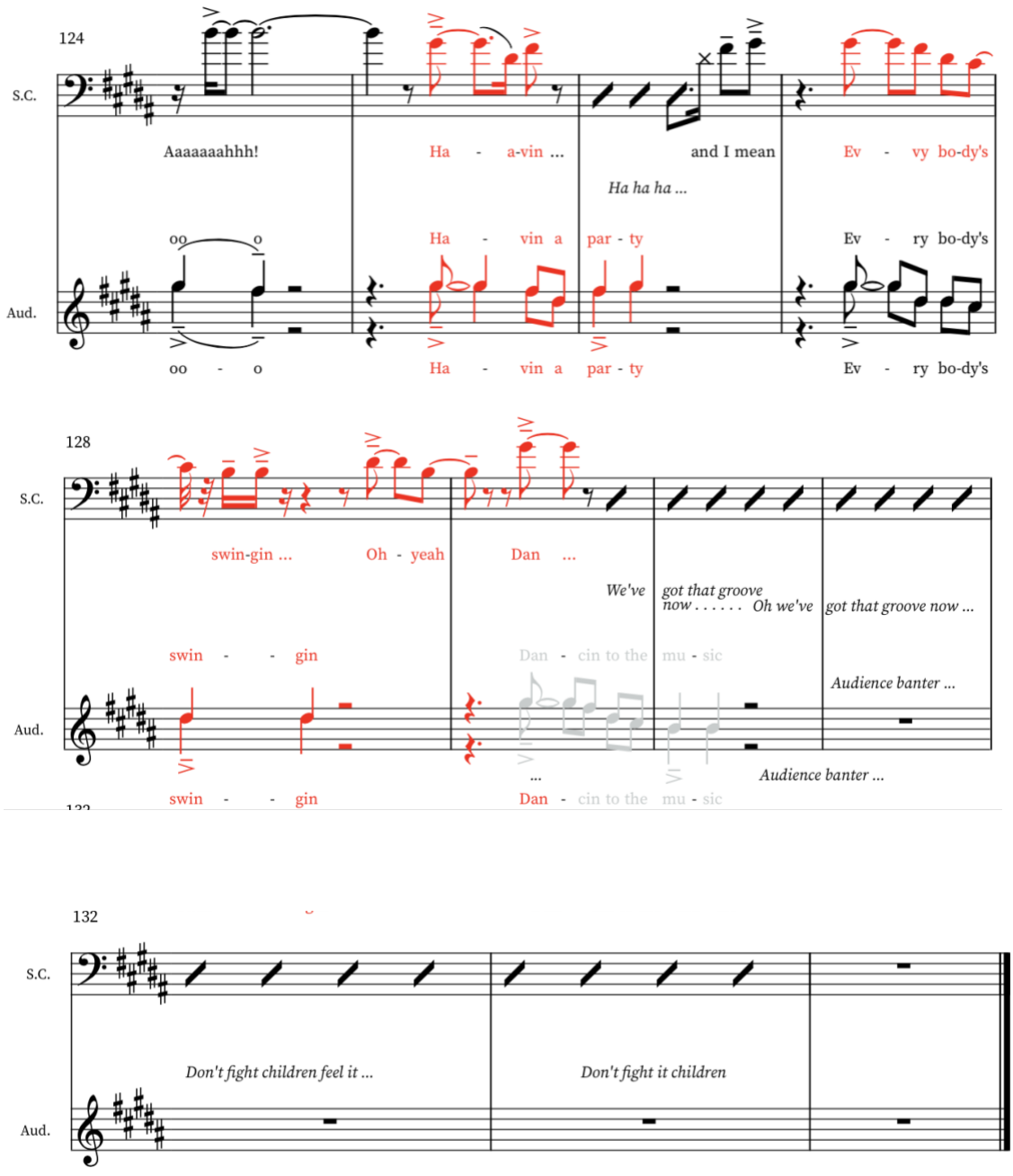


Cooke's spoken and chanted ad-libs are key to the vamp's interactive aesthetic. Affirmations like *"ev'ry body's swinging, ain't they," "on the radio, honey,"* and *"ev'ry body one more time,"*

are extemporaneously marshalled to liven up and at times, refocus interest among the audience. The fifth chorus, for example, finds Cooke contending with idle chatter among his audience. *"I don't' wanna quit it … quit nah,"* he exclaims before ascending to B^3. *"Oh yeah,"* he shouts. Conversations abide throughout the venue as he cries out, *"I don't want to quit nah -- But it looks like I've gotta go now, oh yeah."* Cooke's interactive gambit works: the audience rewards his eruptive pentatonic gesture by rejoining him for *"on the radio."* Cooke once again soars to B^3 and immediately returns to a collaborative exposition of the vamp's epilogue.

Figure 3.13: Harlem Square Club - "Having a Party" Vamp – 5th Chorus





* * * *

Requiem for Harlem Square – In the years after Cooke's 1963 visit to the Harlem Square Club, Overtown confronted the effects of urban renewal. The construction of three expressways –

Interstate 95 (the North-South Expressway), the Dolphin Expressway and Midtown Interchange – decimated the once thriving multicultural enclave. Between 1950 and 1970, Miami's metropolitan population expanded by nearly 36,000 residents. Overtown, by contrast, witnessed its population fall from 29,253 to 15,935 residents.[348] Some viewed these infrastructural projects as a public good. The overcrowded conditions that defined Good Bread Alley, for example, was to be replaced and renewed with a nebulous "something else" that never actually arrived. As Connolly notes, "though black neighborhoods hardly experienced the kind of disruption that Overtown residents knew during the highway's construction, the project had regional consequences as the 'bright lights' of black Miami dimmed and the 'calculus of highway engineering' exploited the under-classed, under-informed, and improperly-raced with a frightening precision."[349]

Living conditions reached an all-time low during the following decades. The early seventies, for example, found Miami's Black residents experiencing unemployment at twice the rate of whites, and the downward trend continued throughout the following years until Overtown and Liberty City, a community just northwest of its periphery, witnessed an urban rebellion in the summer of 1980.[350] Estimated damages varied between fifty and one hundred million dollars. An additional period of civil unrest, unofficially known as the "Overtown Riots," soon followed in winter of 1982. The three-day event, coupled with statewide and federal cutbacks in spending programs, plunged the community into a deeper economic recession. The Urban League of Miami, for example, issued a report that marked Overtown's unemployment rate at fifty percent. Median income was equal to the federal poverty threshold at $5,500.

[348] Connolly, "Colored, Caribbean, and Condemned," 38.
[349] Ibid., 38. See also Mark H. Rose, *Interstate: Express Highway Politics, 1939 – 1989,* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990).
[350] Manning Marable, "The Fire This Time: The Miami Rebellion, May, 1980," *The Black Scholar* 11 no. 6 "The Black Struggle: Miami and the Caribbean (July/August 1980) : 4.

Overtown's three-decade decline is illustrative of the shared sense of loss felt by a number of Black communities during the early years of the post-soul era. Indeed, the nostalgic impulse to repress this attrition in Black life is understandable. Yet, equally important is the drive to complicate what Ahud-Legardy would call "the traumatic as a singular black historical through line."[351] This is the goal of a restorative nostalgic framework; to reclaim Cooke's performance from the realm of allegory and reconnect it with the community theater of lived experience upon which it was staged.[352]

It is sobering to realize that by the time Sam Cooke's 1963 performance at the Harlem Square Club in the Overtown neighborhood of Miami was released in 1985, it was not only the singer who had died before his time. The club was, if not dead, then a shadow of itself, falling into bankruptcy and ruins in the shadow of the three major freeways rammed through the community within years of Cooke's passing. And the Black-owned and patronized business entertainment district that produced the vibrant audience we hear interacting with Cooke on the recording was totally dead, its patrons scattered to the winds, leaving behind an empty urban graveyard that remains, forty years later, stubbornly resistant to economic renewal.[353] What we hear on that recording is not just one man's soul career that might have been; it is the ghostly trace of an entire community, erased from history as surely as Cooke was shot by the Man. The fleeting moments on record where Sam Cooke comes together with this lost audience, singing together, keeping the

[351] Ahud-Legardy, *Afro-Nostalgia: Feeling Good in Contemporary Black Culture*, 7

[352] See Guthrie Ramsey Jr., *Race Music: Black Cultures from Bebop to Hip*-Hop (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 4.

[353] "Historic Overtown" is now a site for fantastic neoliberal schemes of gentrification, including a soccer stadium for David Beckham's team, even more expanded freeway access, and wan attempts at drawing cultural tourism built around the few remaining public structures from the neighborhood's prewar heyday. The ultimate irony: an elevated public transit link which will run directly across the corner of 10th St and N.W. 2nd Avenue without stopping, making plans for a new Harlem Square cultural center seem quixotic at best. For images of the re-imagined Harlem Square, whose brutalist concrete contours are based on the remains of the ruined structure that sat unoccupied there for decades (traumatic afro-nostalgia of the most stinging sort), see https://www.seopwcra.com/project/harlem-square.

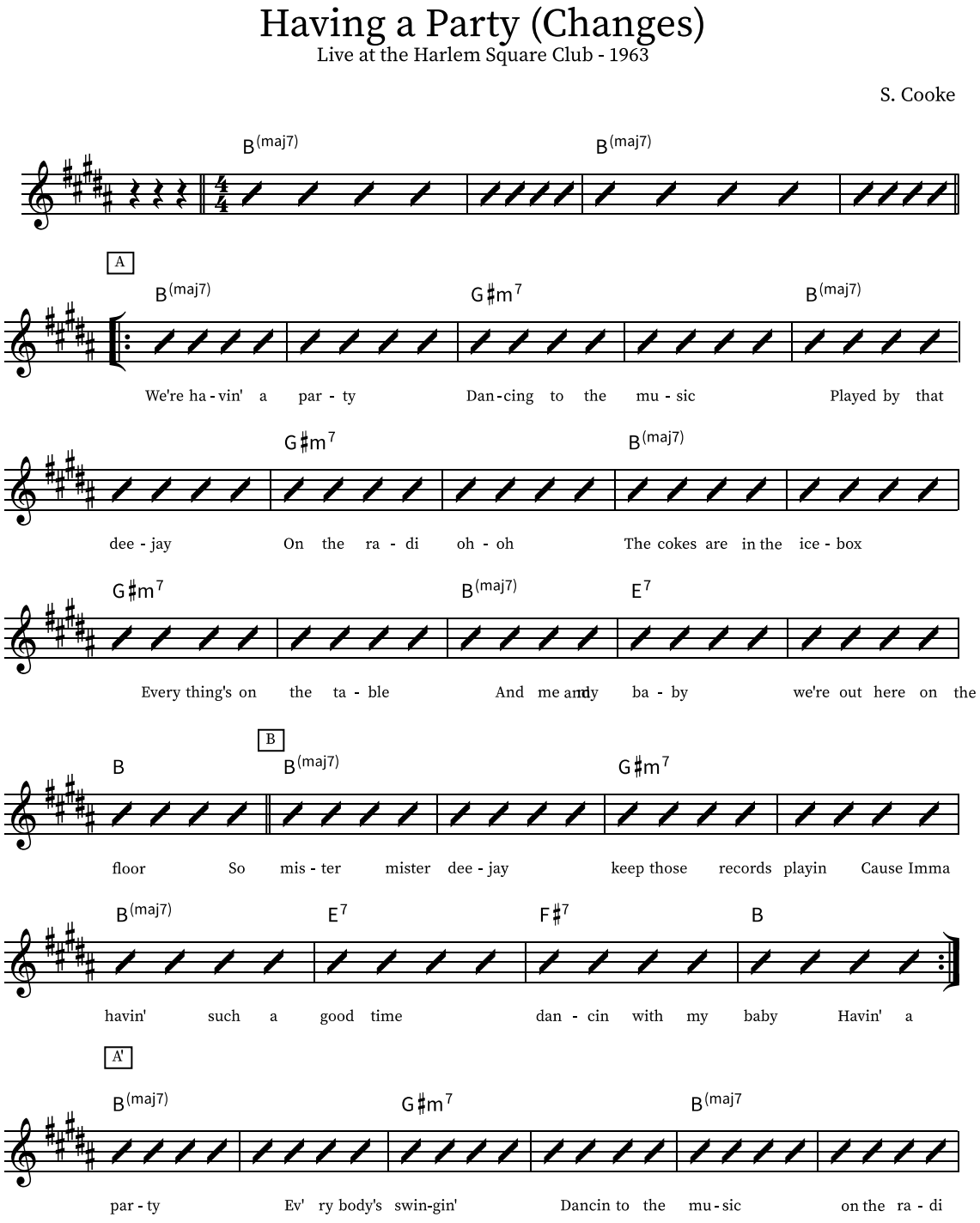
party going a little longer, should be the true object of nostalgia. The goal of a restorative nostalgic framework is to reclaim Cooke's performance from the realm of allegory and reconnect it with the community theater of lived experience upon which it was staged.[354]

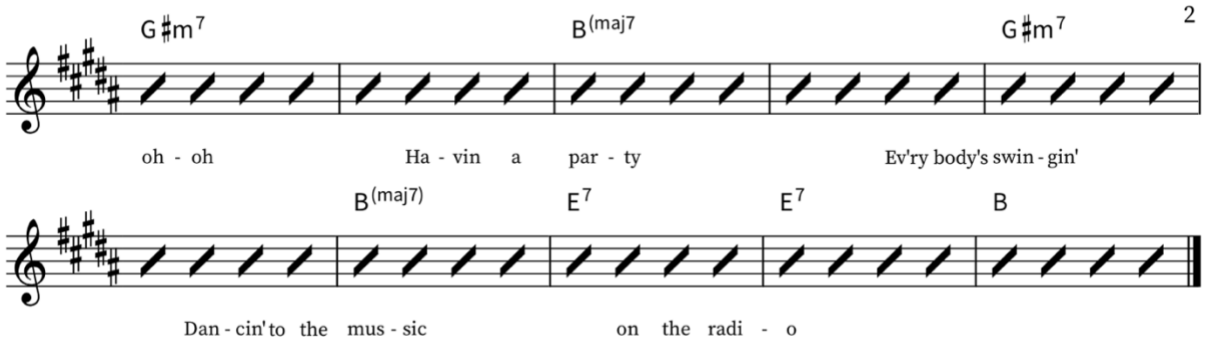
* * * *

I don't wanna quit, nah!
But looks like I gotta go now
Don't fight it, children, feel it
Don't fight it, children...

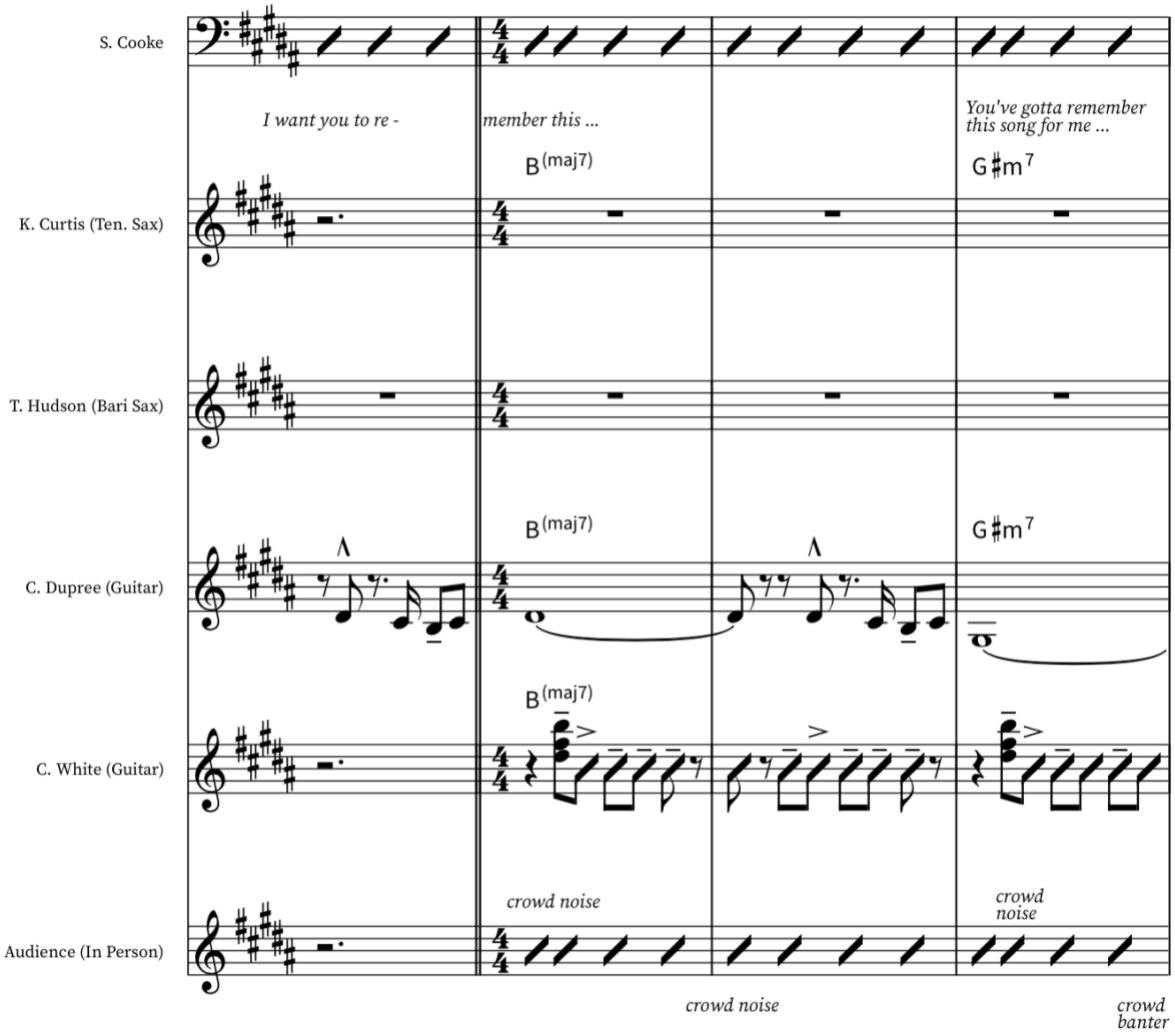
[354] See Ramsey Jr., *Race Music: Black Cultures from Bebop to Hip-Hop*, 4.

Appendix A:

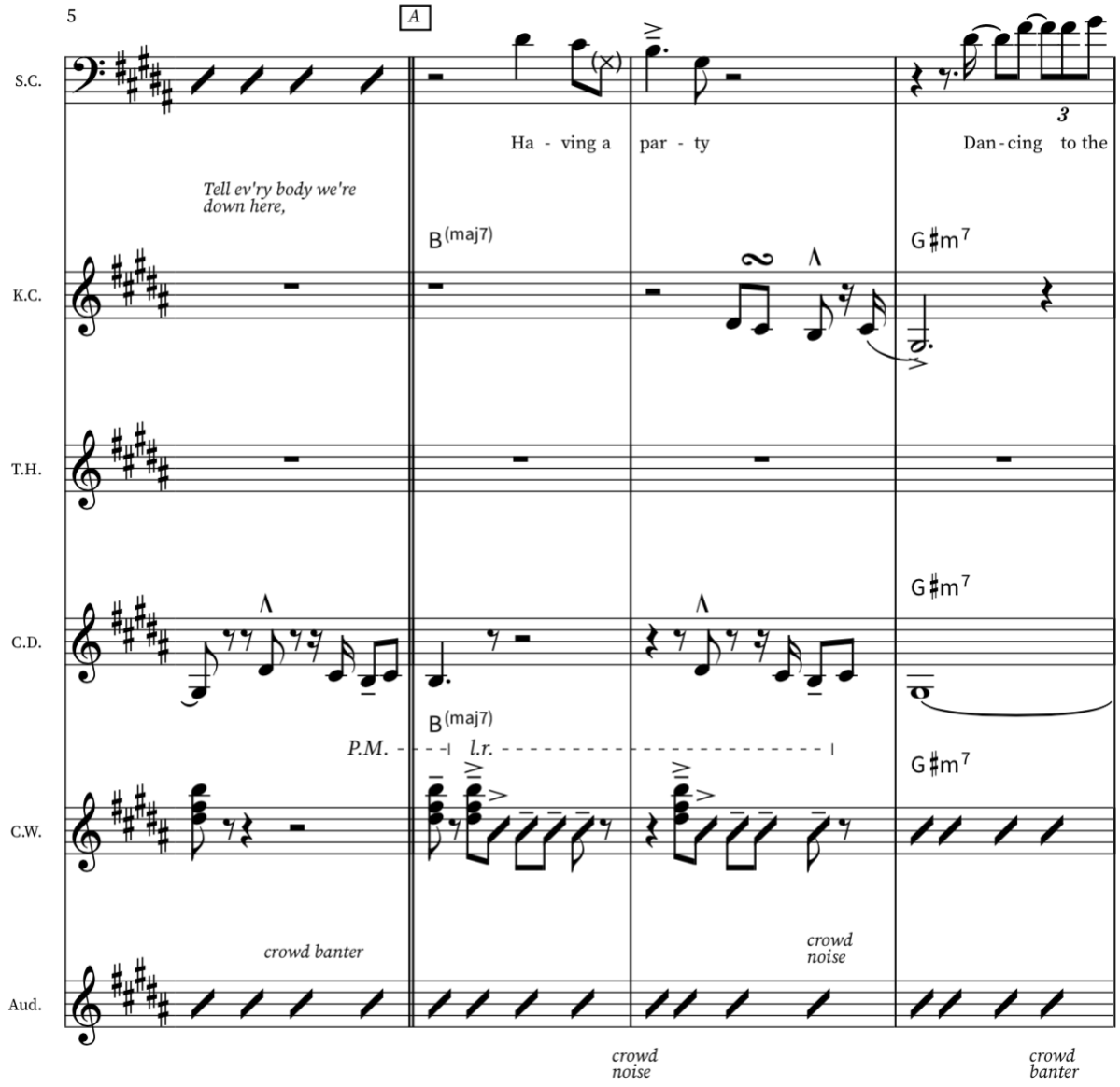

Having a Party (Changes)
Live at the Harlem Square Club - 1963
S. Cooke
B(maj7) B(maj7)
A
B(maj7) G♯m7 B(maj7)
We're ha - vin' a par - ty Dan - cing to the mu - sic Played by that
G♯m7 B(maj7)
dee - jay On the ra - di oh - oh The cokes are in the ice - box
G♯m7 B(maj7) E7
Every thing's on the ta - ble And me and my ba - by we're out here on the
B
B B(maj7) G♯m7
floor So mis - ter mister dee - jay keep those records playin Cause Imma
B(maj7) E7 F♯7 B
havin' such a good time dan - cin with my baby Havin' a
A'
B(maj7) G♯m7 B(maj7
par - ty Ev' ry body's swin-gin' Dancin to the mu - sic on the ra - di

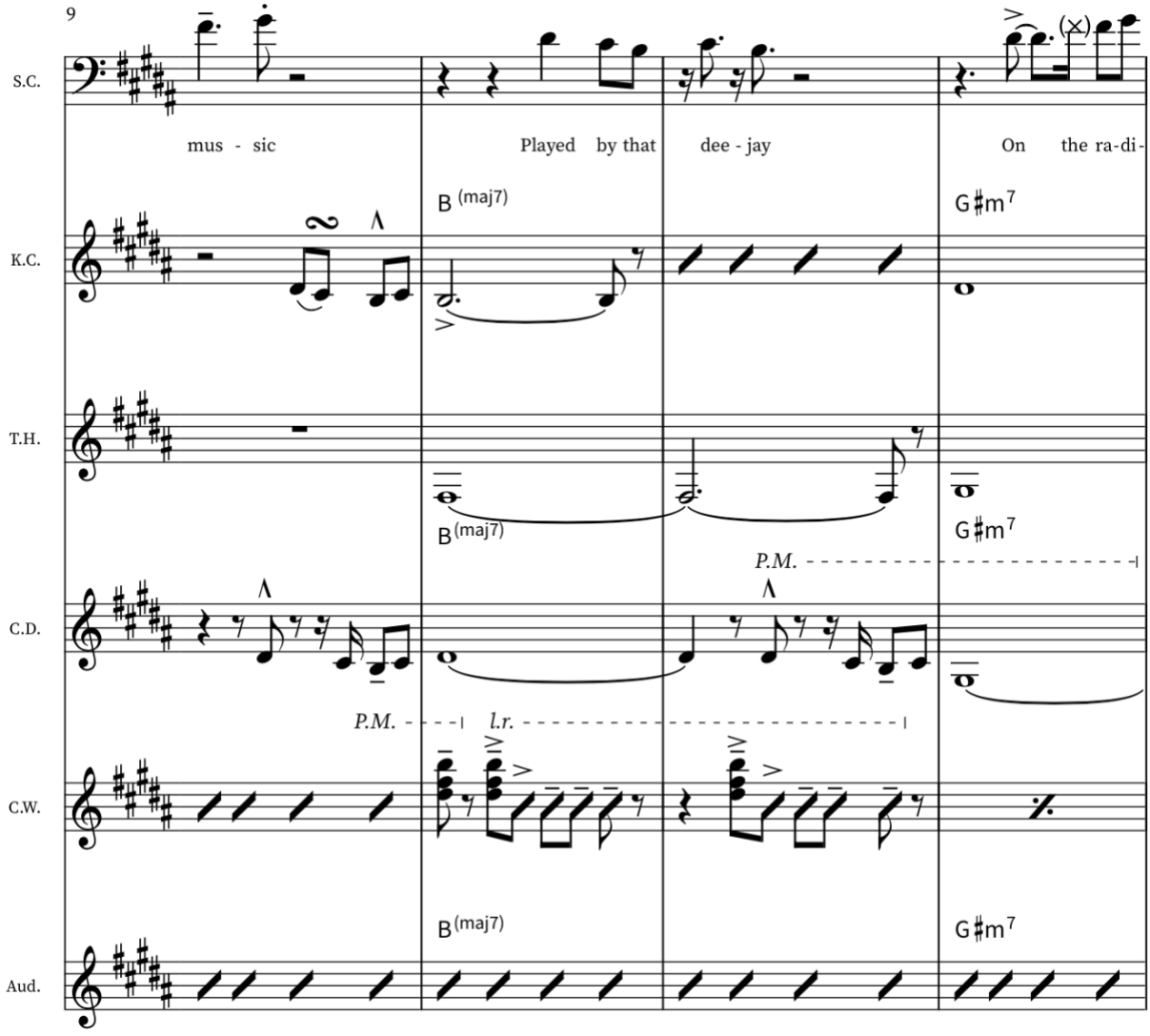

G♯m7
B(maj7
G♯m7
2
oh - oh
Ha - vin a
par - ty
Ev'ry body's swin - gin'
B(maj7)
E7
E7
B
Dan - cin' to the mus - sic
on the radi - o

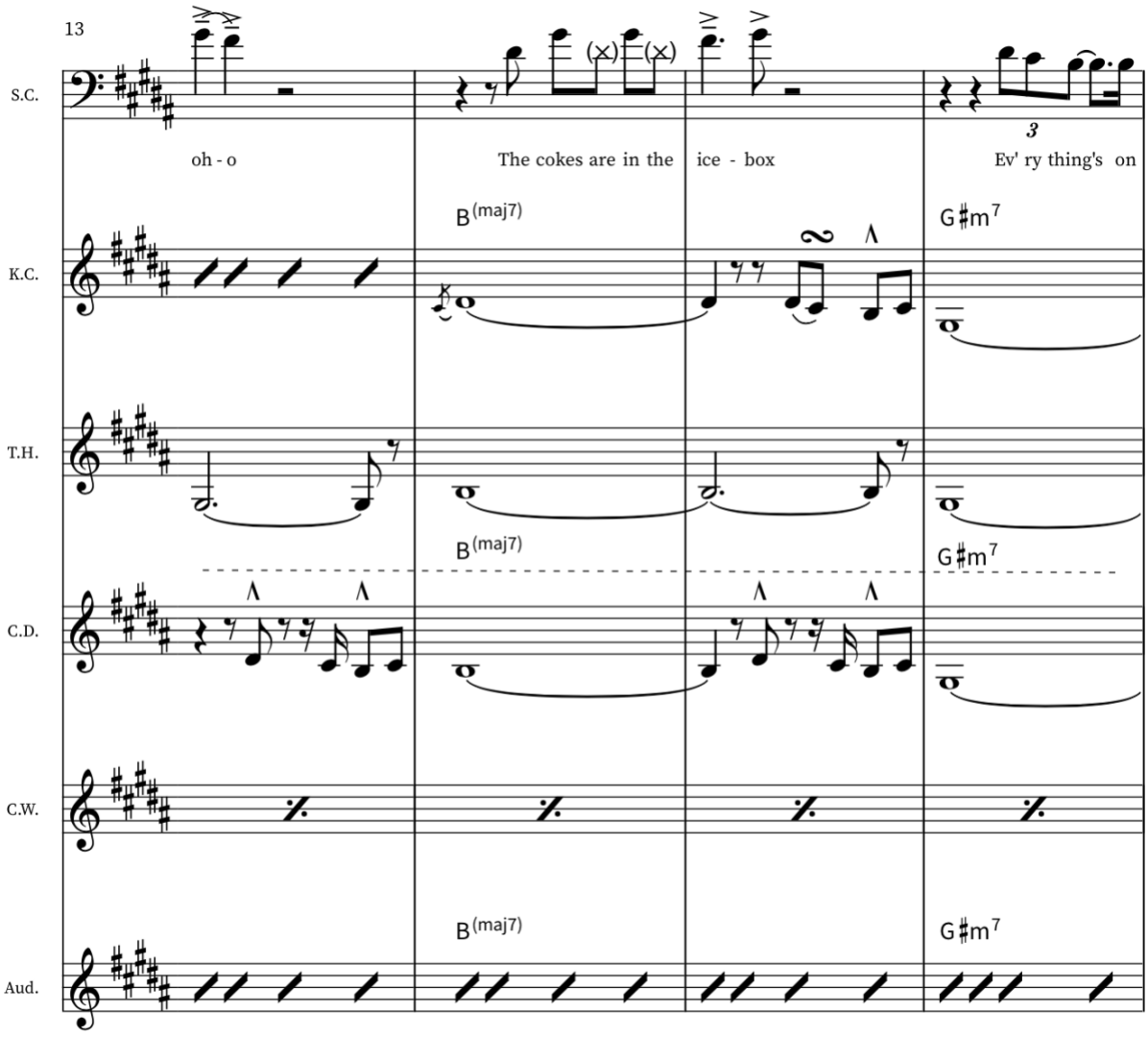
Appendix B: Harlem Square Club - “Having a Party” – Introduction

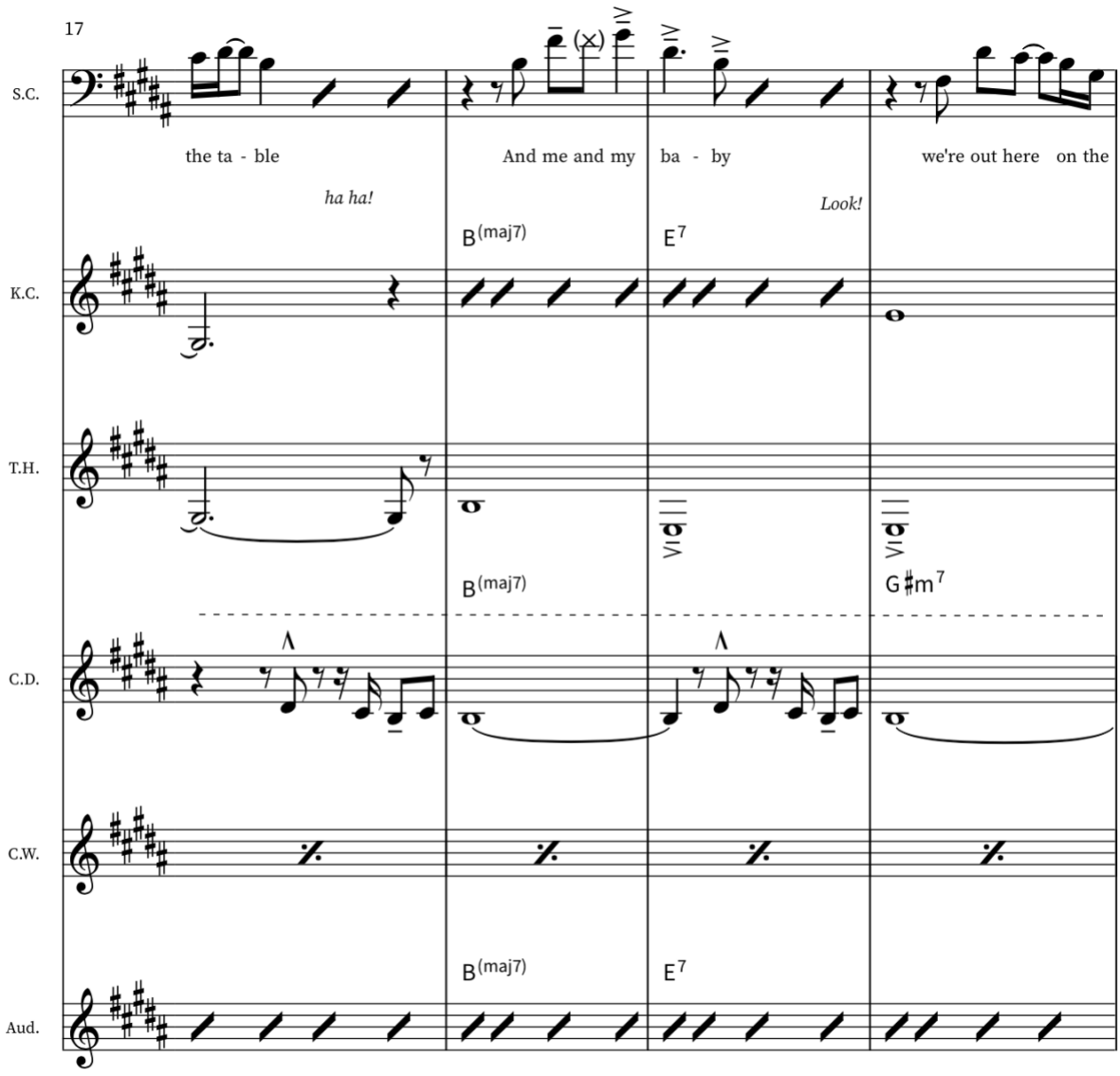


Harlem Square Club - "Having a Party" – 1st Verse

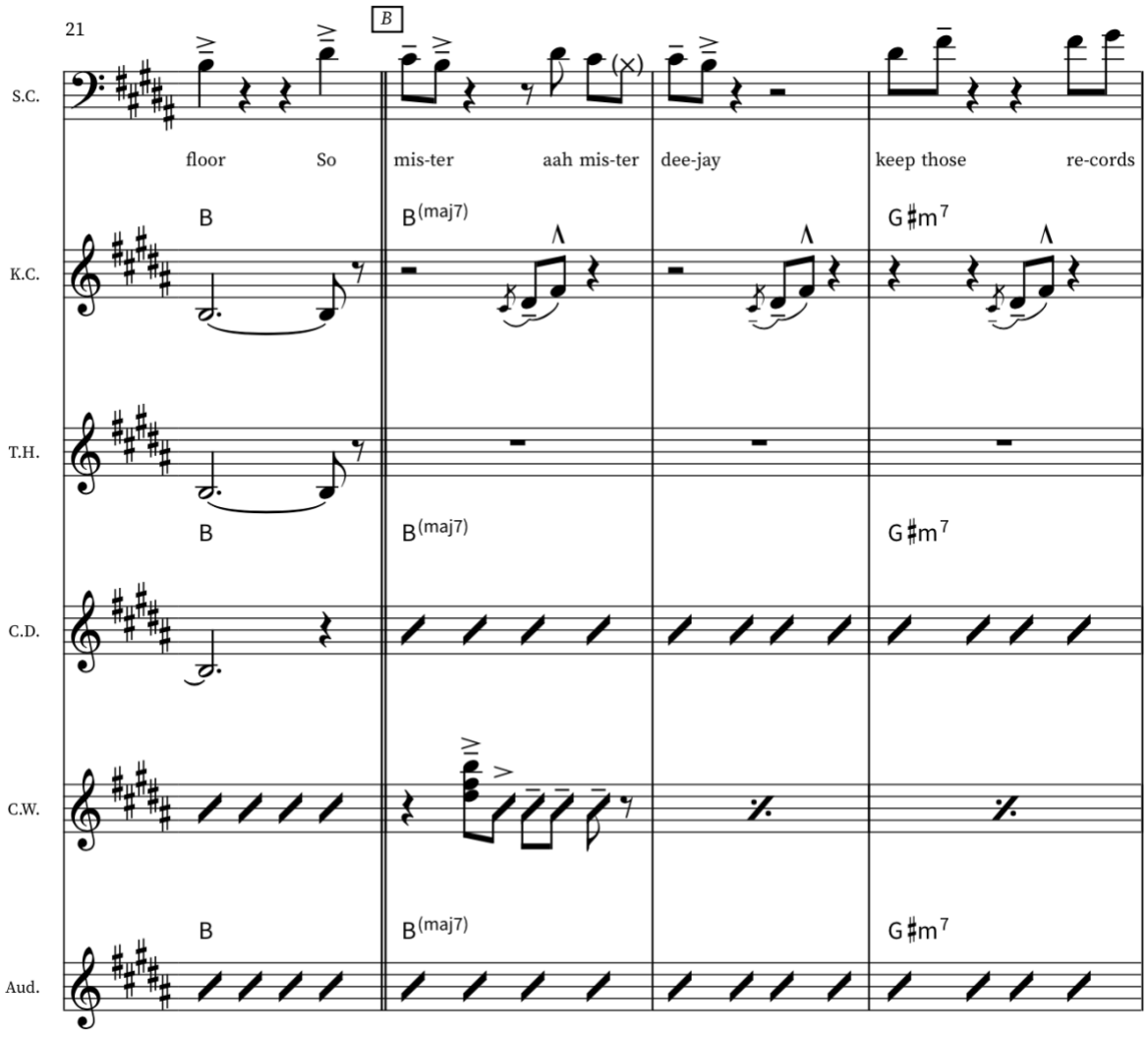


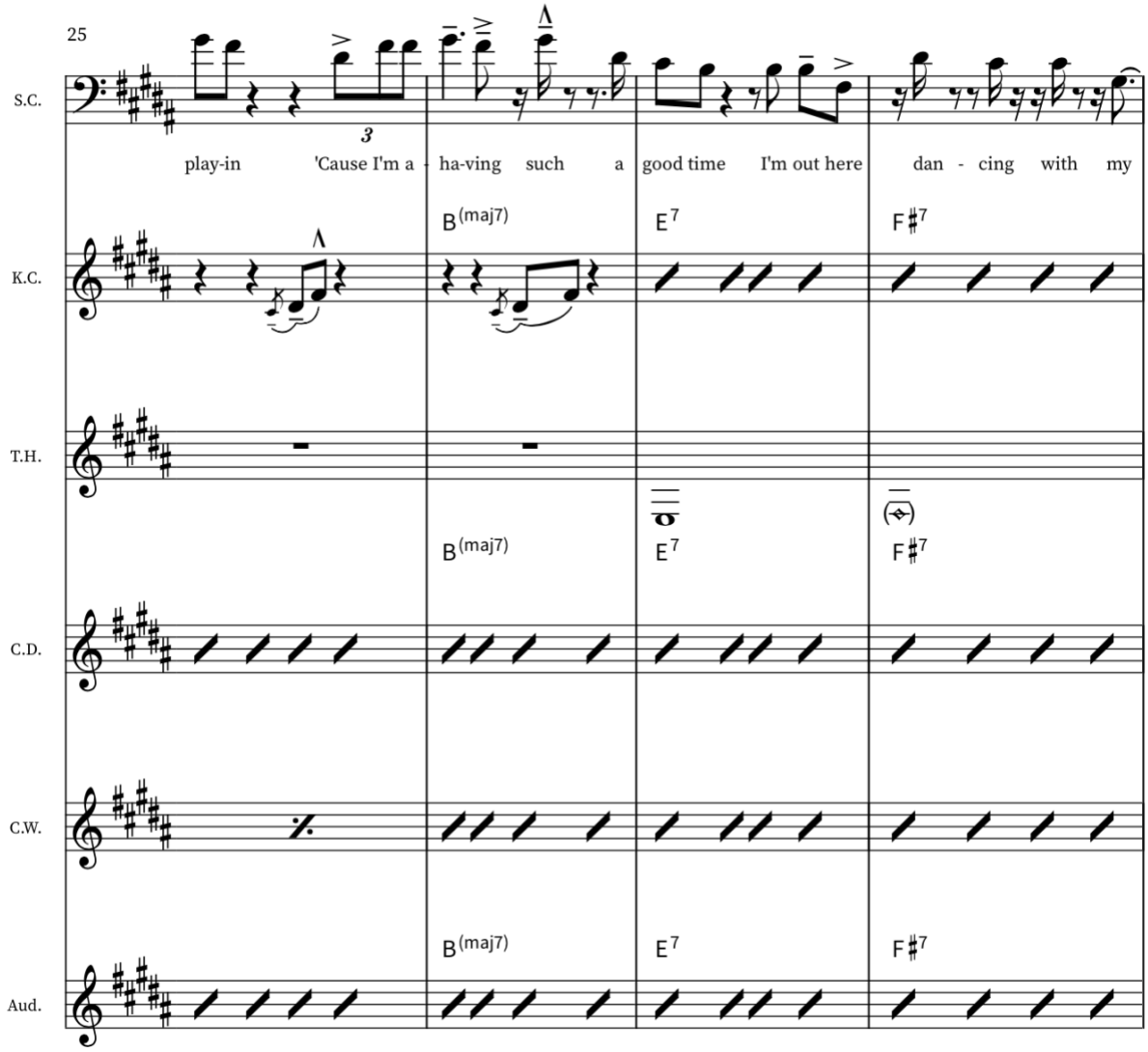

9
S.C.
mus - sic
Played by that dee - jay
On the ra-di-
K.C.
B (maj7)
G♯m7
T.H.
B (maj7)
G♯m7
P.M.
C.D.
P.M.
l.r.
C.W.
B (maj7)
G♯m7
Aud.


13
S.C.
K.C.
T.H.
C.D.
C.W.
Aud.
oh - o
The cokes are in the
ice - box
Ev' ry thing's on
B(maj7)
G♯m7
3

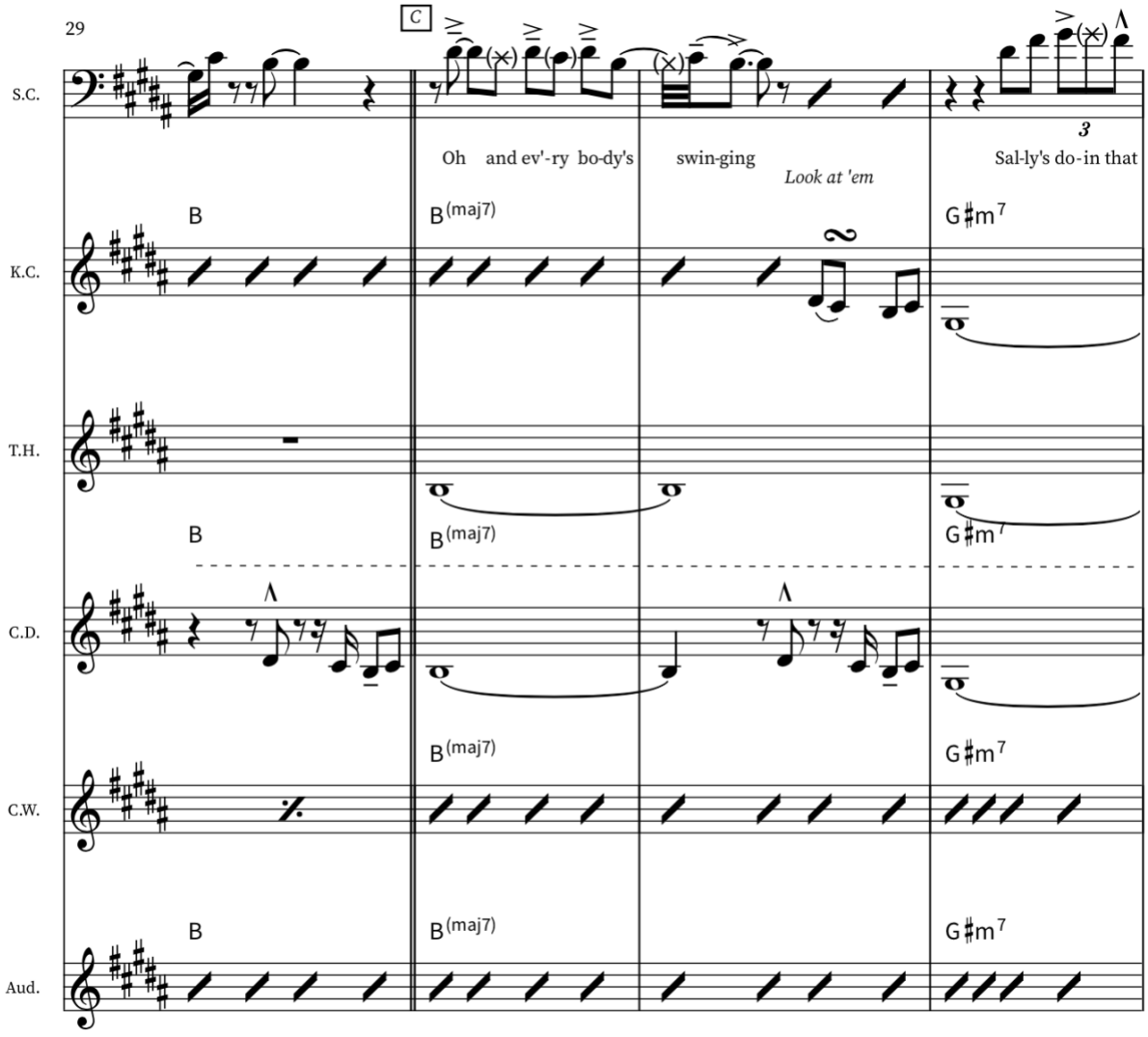

17
S.C.
the ta - ble
ha ha!
And me and my
ba - by
Look!
we're out here on the
K.C.
B(maj7)
E7
T.H.
B(maj7)
G♯m7
C.D.
C.W.
Aud.
B(maj7)
E7

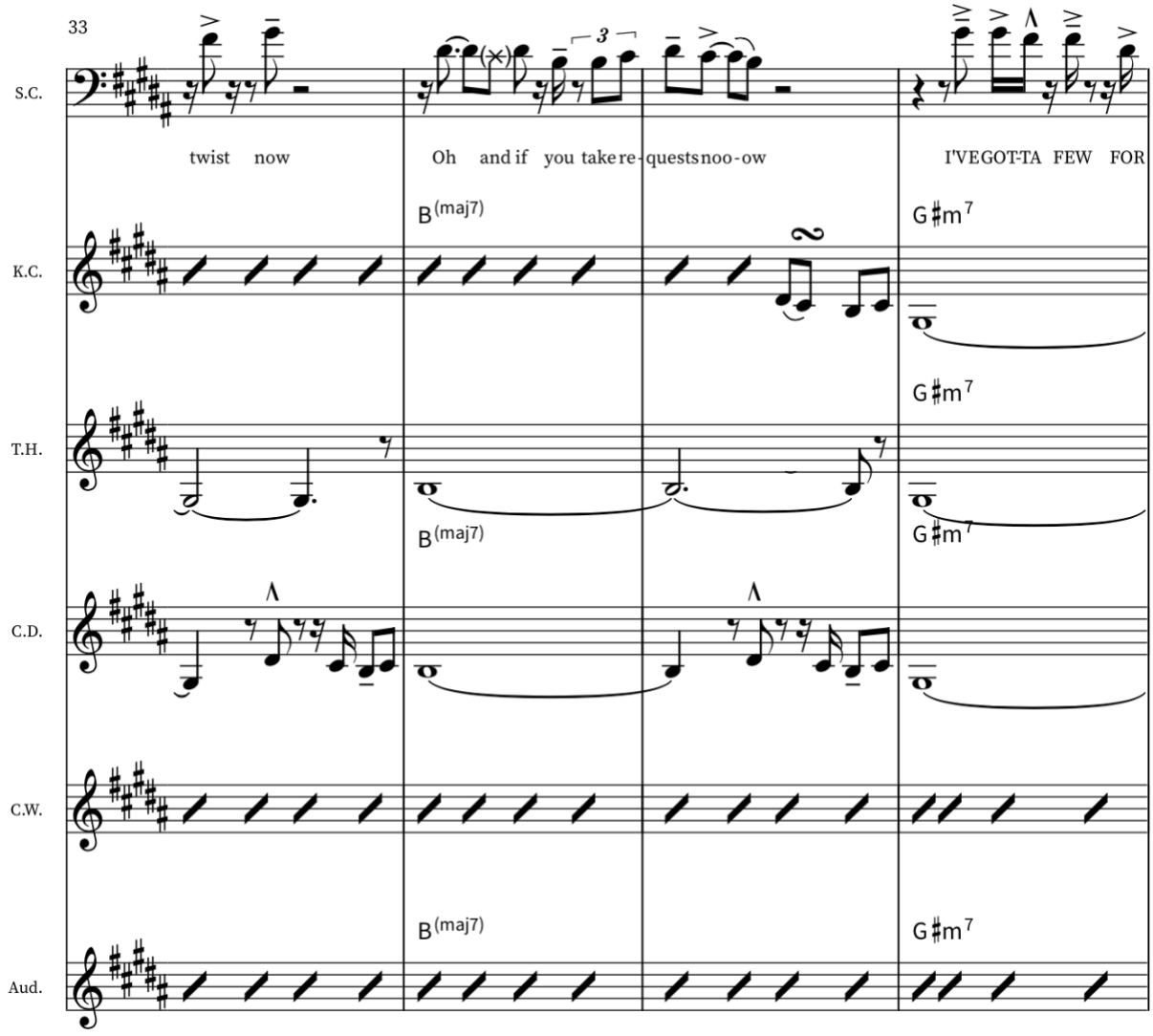
Harlem Square Club - "Having a Party" – 1st Refrain

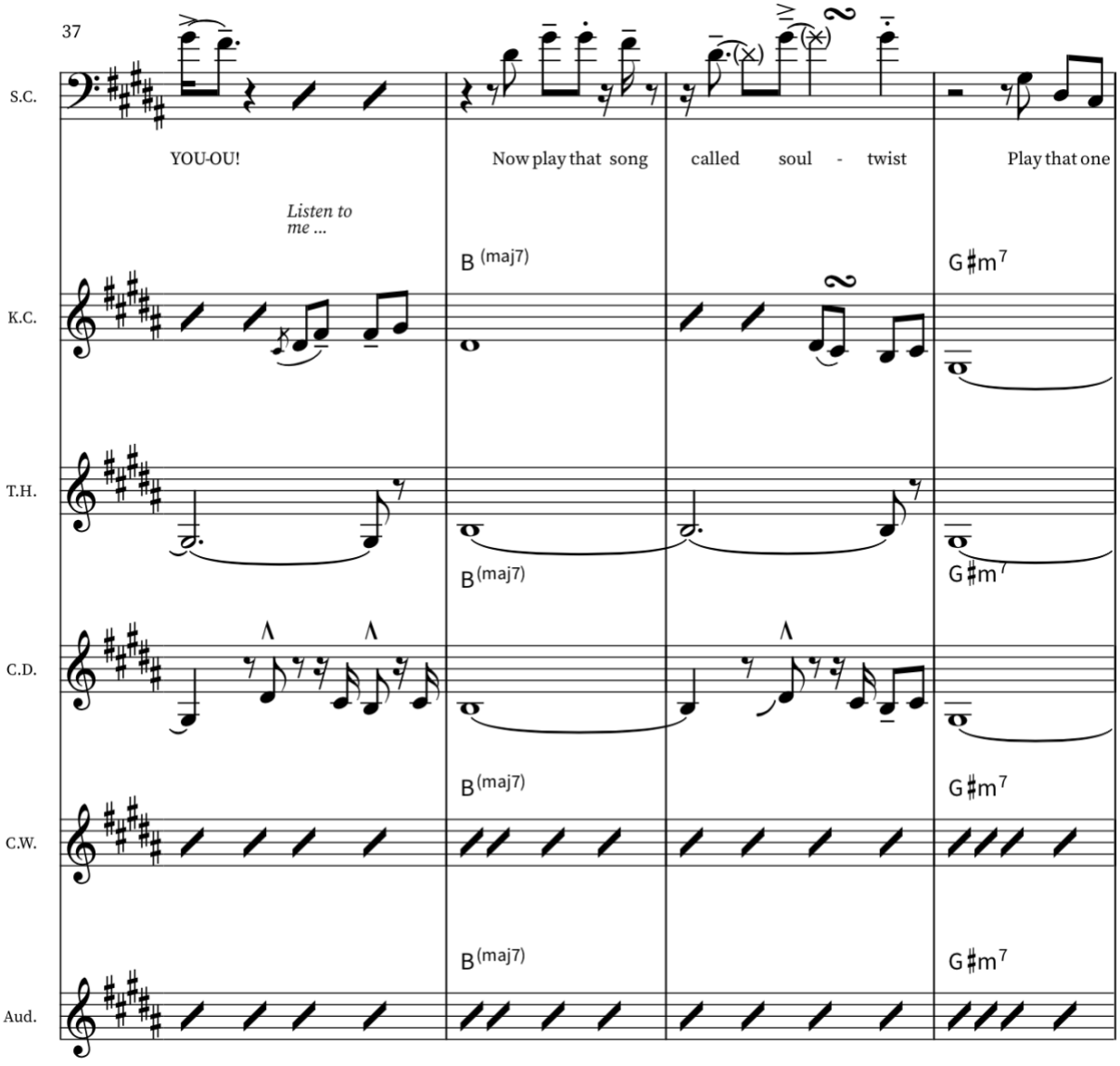


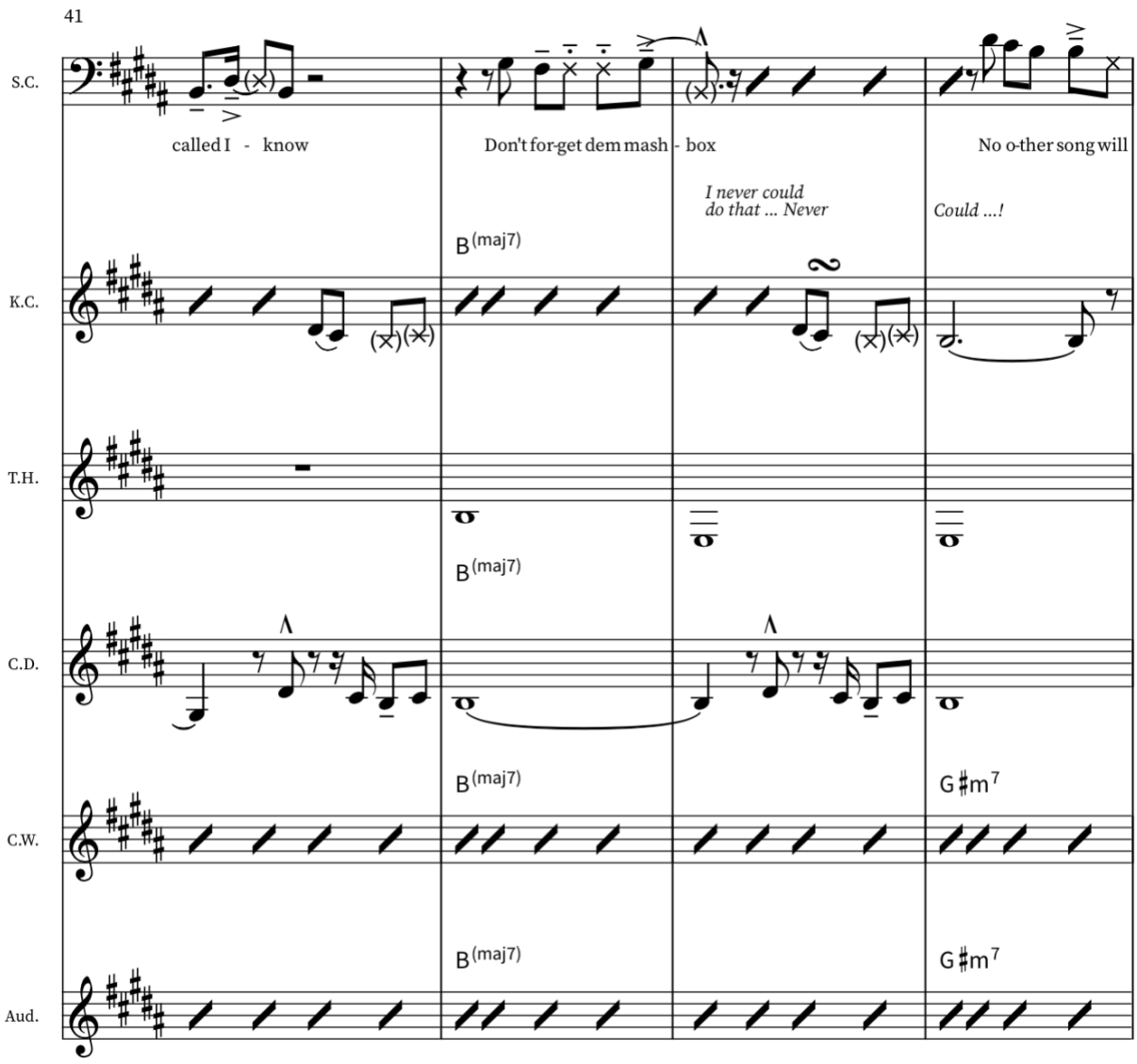

25
S.C.
play-in 'Cause I'm a - ha-ving such a good time I'm out here dan - cing with my
K.C.
T.H.
C.D.
C.W.
Aud.
B(maj7)
E7
F#7

Harlem Square Club - "Having a Party" – 2nd Verse

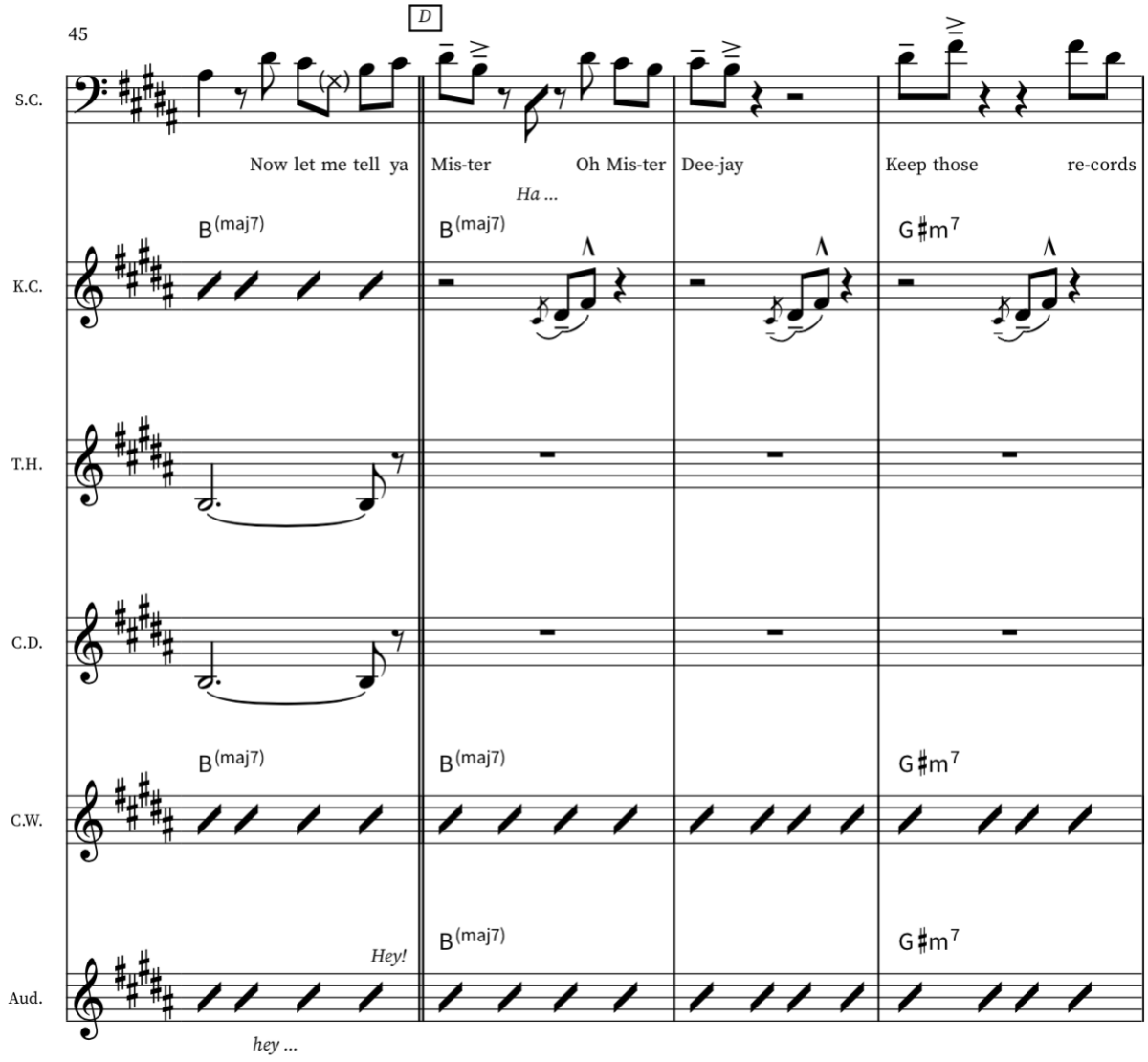


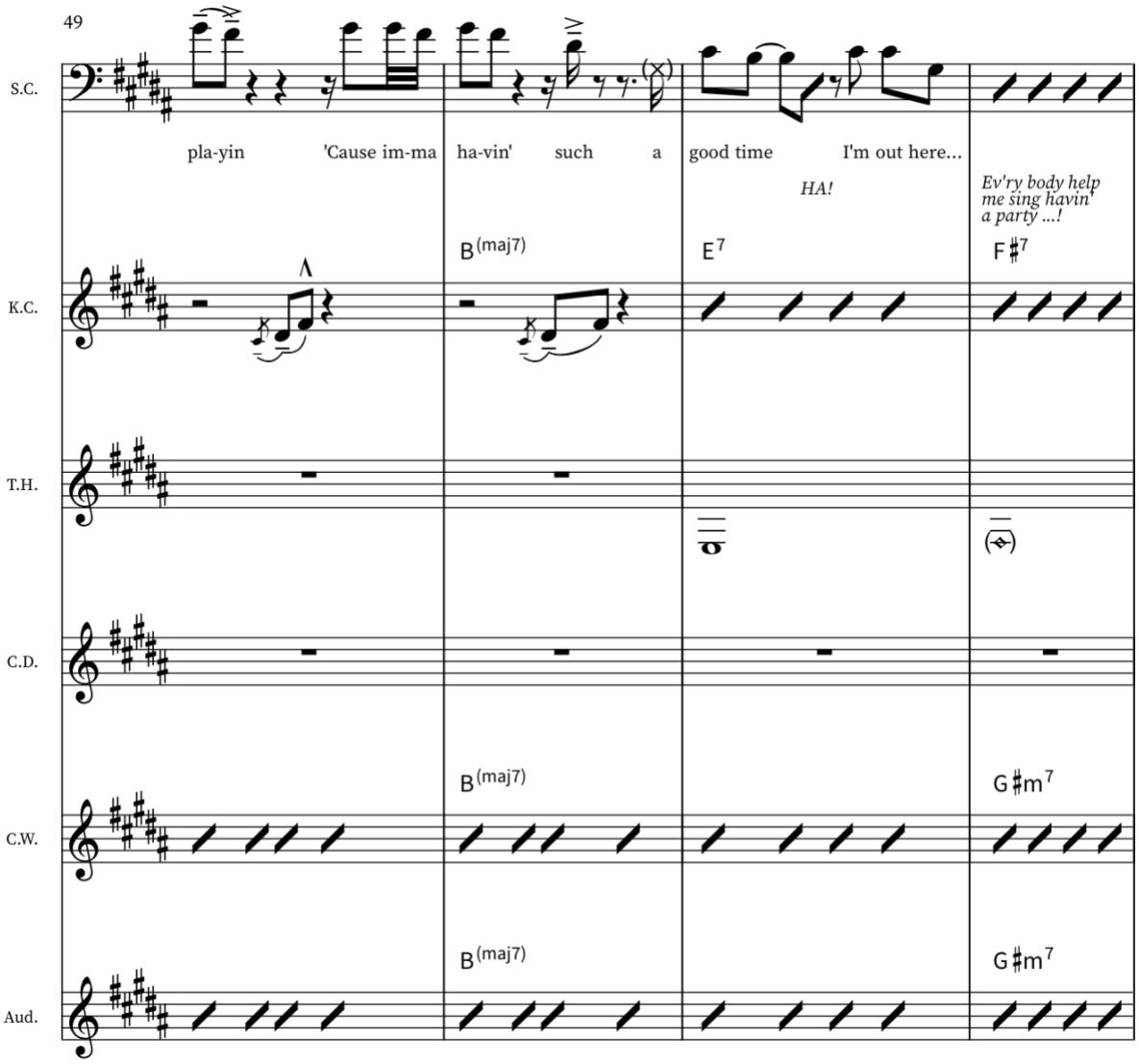

33
S.C.
twist now
Oh and if you take re-quests noo-ow
I'VE GOT-TA FEW FOR
K.C.
T.H.
C.D.
C.W.
Aud.
B(maj7)
G♯m7


37
S.C.
YOU-OU!
Now play that song
called soul - twist
Play that one
Listen to me ...
K.C.
T.H.
C.D.
C.W.
Aud.
B (maj7)
G♯m7


41
S.C.
called I - know
Don't for-get dem mash - box
No o-ther song will
I never could
do that ... Never
Could ...!
K.C.
T.H.
C.D.
C.W.
Aud.
B(maj7)
G♯m7

Harlem Square Club - "Having a Party" – 2nd Refrain




49
S.C.
pla-yin 'Cause im-ma ha-vin' such a good time I'm out here...
HA!
Ev'ry body help me sing havin' a party ...!
K.C.
B(maj7)
E7
F♯7
T.H.
C.D.
C.W.
B(maj7)
G♯m7
Aud.
B(maj7)
G♯m7

Conclusion

Altogether, Shouting the People has sought to outline the social, political, and interpersonal circumstances that shape participants' engagement with the music making process. What is it then to acknowledge the network of expressive invention and evaluation within distinct settings; to, for example, hear and enact an alternative presentation of a given composition? Let's finish this long journey with a contemporary example: singer and pianist PJ Morton's 2018 take on the Bee Gee's 1977 hit record, "How Deep is Your Love." The performance appears on *Gumbo Unplugged,* Morton's follow up to his 2017 Grammy nominated album, *Gumbo*. The impetus to revisit the record emerged from a desire to "bring the original album to life," so that audiences would truly experience and "feel everything that's on the record."[355] Like the qualifier "unplugged," this formulation insists upon spontaneity and expressive sincerity, the notion that Morton's "live" performance had a fidelity that would be lost if subjected to in-studio protocols (multiple takes of a given composition) or post-production revisions (reverb, delays, layering parts, etc).[356] That is to say, liveness – or rather, its perception – is imagined as a kind of aesthetic theater for staging inter-mutual affection among participants throughout the music making process.

Several of Morton's close friends and colleagues were invited to join him in this endeavor at mid-Manhattan's Power Station Studios in early 2018. Then up-and-coming singer Abigail Smith (YEBBA) was especially excited to participate. Months earlier, she had shared a stirring

[355] "PJ Morton and the Making of Gumbo Unplugged Part 1 of 2," YouTube, February 13th, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jfFCCfhCRQs.
[356] Paul Sanden, *Liveness in Modern Music: Musicians, Technology, and the Perception of Performance*, (New York: Routledge Press, 2013).

acapella rendition of "How Deep is Your Love" on social media.[357] The performance was immediately a viral hit among audiences, including Morton. "Well, I did it on Instagram; with all the wrong words," YEBBA coyly recalled shortly before their performance. "And um … I suppose he liked it and let me come sing it with him …"[358] Moments later, Morton reflects on his relation with the ballad. "So on this album, I did something that I've never did before. I uh … I did a cover song; and a lot of my heroes did cover songs." Harmonic embellishments and fills emerge from the piano as he describes the ways that he could "always hear the soul in this song. But I said, let me take it a step further and really put the soul all the way in it. *"Let's go! 2 … 3 … 4 …"*

It goes without saying that the performance is a marked departure from the disco-era classic. Morton, for example, substitutes the original's smooth rhythmic setting with a laid back straight-eighths groove. Yet this and other musical distinctions are cursory to what *soul* is doing throughout this arrangement. What is it to "hear" and "put the soul all the way" into a composition? What is Morton's claim to "soulfulness" meant to register *among his fellow musicians and audience?* As previous chapters have shown, style and musical expressivity are not reductive fixed attributes. The same holds true for the soul tradition. Like the performances analyzed throughout this project, the interplay between this tradition and Morton's performance emerges from a dense array of memory, lived experiences and interpersonal relationships. As suggested above, the recording's seemingly "unplugged" setting represents a desire to stage liveness by placing interaction among in-studio participants (musicians and audience). Yet, as "Shouting the People" has sought to unpack, live(ness) within this remarkable performance insists on the critical interplay

[357] YEBBA Why y'all lookin like that Mufaro and Rick Express ... We love how u did this cover PJ Morton *Facebook* video, October 17th, 2017 https://www.facebook.com/YebbaSmith/videos/how-deep-is-your-love/691756081033552/

[358] "PJ Morton – Gumbo Unplugged (Live)," YouTube.com, March 9th, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RGfHMcWdK7Y&t=982s.

among future participants as they ongoingly test, align, and retest "How Deep is Your Love's" 2018 claim to soulfulness with the dynamism of their world.

This study has sought to use 1960s soul to construct a framework that could be brought to bear on contemporary excursions in "live soul" like *Gumbo Unplugged.* Chapter 1 sought to complicate the idealized notions of gender and Blackness that are discursively encoded and mediated throughout the Black Public Sphere. The screams heard throughout Brown's "Amateur Night" performance, for example, are narrativized in service of reifying a relation between soul music and Black manhood. As such, Brown – the "soul brotha" number one and self-defined "hardest working man in show business" – is cast as an arbiter for this sonic event. Brown similarly leverages this event's role in his performance; specifically noting in his memoir his turn to the Black preaching tradition as a response to the wayward "screams" of an unnamed "older woman." Both readings, however, ignore "Lost Someone's" shared participatory matrix. Indeed, the song's seemingly impromptu revision from ballad to sermon was itself the product of all participants collaborating with another throughout the performance. Of course, there are moments where Brown is clearly shepherding his audience's affections. Yet, there are other moments where these affections are themselves collaboratively invoked and mediated. Understanding these shared interactions are a critical step in disrupting the idealized notions gender amidst soul, and perhaps more broadly, the Black vernacular music tradition.

These claims are advanced in Chapter 2's analysis of melody, harmony, and groove's role in consolidating togetherness among musical participants. If dialogic impulses animate interactivity in music, then live(ness) provides an explanatory frame for understanding the ways that musicians and audiences communicate with one another during a given performance. Arguably, the relation between Aretha and the Reverend James Cleveland was far more than "musical shorthand." Their relationship, as evinced during their rendition of "Precious Memories,"

emerges from nascent moments shared together in Detroit as they crafted unique relationships with the gospel tradition. This expressive process is demonstrated in their "Precious Lord Take My Hand - You've Got a Friend" medley as well. The extraordinary elaboration of a rising riff among Aretha, the Southern California Community Choir and other instrumentalists (bassist Chuck Rainey and percussionist Bernard Purdie) during the song's extended vamp demonstrates the infratextual and intertextual ways that musical syntax – through careful arrangement and musical listening in the moment – is fosters inter-mutuality throughout the arrangement.

Straddling two distinct eras in Black cultural production, Chapter 3 endeavored to interrogate the meaning-making parameters taken up by mid-to-late twentieth-century audiences as they engaged with Sam Cooke's "lost" live rendition of "Having a Party." In the years following his death, Cooke, once understood mainly through his 1950s crossover pop hits, came to be identified in the press as the so-called "father of soul." This revision coincided with a turn towards aligning the musical genre with the era's emergent "Black Power" and "Black is Beautiful" ethos. Exploring this discursive change through reception history reveals the complex ways that Cooke navigated his relation to Blackness throughout this period. Additional analysis also revealed the relation between nostalgia and the world-making strategies deployed among post-soul audiences. At its core, the chapter presents a deep dive into the history and context of that 1963 live version of "Having a Party," recorded in the historically black Overtown neighborhood of Miami, bringing into focus an entire lost world of Black venues, Black performance, and Black life.

Ultimately it is possible to deploy live(ness) as a framework for exploring *any* given soul performance's interplay of experience, cultural production, and social-political life. In the aggregate, "Shouting the People" has endeavored to highlight the unique quality of this expressive mix as song is, time and again, undone into social text. I will bookend this project by returning to its introductory query: "What is soul doing?" To ask "what is" is to activate live(ness)'s critical

impulse. To ask “what is" is to linger with the communicatively mediated components that animate musical performance (in-studio and live). To ask “what is” is to engage with the ongoing discursive transformation of that performance. “And what is,” Ashon Crawley writes, “is about being, about existence, about ontology. But if infinite alternatives exist, if otherwise possibility is a resource that is never exhausted, what is, what exists, is but one of many.”[359] If *what is* an alternative to gendered singularity in music, then live(ness) elaborates the necessity for exploring the unbounded and collaborative possibilities that circumscribe the performances outlined within “Shouting the People” and perhaps more broadly, Black cultural production.

[359] Ashon T. Crawley. *Blackpentecostal Breath: The Aesthetics of Possibility.* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017).

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