GI Jazz: African Americans as Artists and Occupiers in Post-World War II Germany

By

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Abstract

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'GI JAZZ: African Americans as Artists and Occupiers in Post-World War II Germany,' examines the lives of African American Jazz musicians living in and around German military bases after 1945 until 1970. Despite Truman's Executive Order desegregating the armed forces, the military continued to have problematic pockets of discrimination. Off base, social segregation was also persistent and its effect on the lives of these GIs is examined. The proliferation of military bases in Germany after World War II and the longevity of these occupied presences in the wake of the Cold War resulted in a proliferation of service clubs designed to entertain African American GIs. German Jazz clubs and bars sprang up around military bases that provided off-base havens for Black GIs because despite the military being desegregated officially, socially the races often were segregated. These clubs and the relatively freer conditions in Germany for African Americans compared to segregation in the United States led many African Americans to settle as expatriates, furthering our understanding of the African diaspora through the transnational history of African Americans in the United States and Europe. The political-cultural impact of Jazz GIs as artists is examined utilizing new archival documents and artifacts.

This work also examines both the soft and hard power Jazz GIs had, interracial relationships between Black GIs and Fräuleins, and offers a glimpse into African American women's reaction to male Black GIs' new freedom to engage in interracial relationships with less fear of reprisal. Given that the United States was still segregated, the dichotomy of African Americans' status as military occupiers of a vanquished country, or a privileged minority, while still being an oppressed minority in the United States is explored.

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Acknowledgements

This dissertation is inspired by my great-uncle Reggie Jackson, who was a Tuskegee airman, photographer, Jazz musician, and for many years after World War II an expatriate. My goal has been to put into writing the oral stories that I had been told by him and by so many other Jazz musicians during our gigs together. I want to thank all the Jazz musicians who were willing to go on record and help me bring this project to fruition. Houston Person, thank you for enduring my many phone calls over the years. Thank you, Lanny Morgan, David Amram and Papa Don Menza, for sharing so much of your lives and documents with me, even though you did not know me when I first called you. Special thanks to the recently departed Eugen Hahn, the former impresario of the famous Frankfurt JazzKeller.

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Introduction

This dissertation came from two major forces. First, I have been a professional Jazz musician for over 30 years and have owned a Jazz club. I have lived and still live the subculture of Jazz. It became apparent to me that what musicians say about Jazz and what we say to each other in the Green rooms and dressing rooms of our concerts is notably absent in the historical narrative. For example, for many years I had heard musicians mention the Seventh Army Band, an all-star band that boasted a number of titans of Jazz. However, there was no scholarship or press coverage of it. Second, I lived as an expatriate for about two years in Switzerland and Germany and was surprised to find so many top-class African American Jazz musicians living there with whom I could make music. After many discussions during our breaks, I discovered that several of them had come to live there because of the military. I knew about Paris Noir and France's love for Jazz, but I had no idea that there was a German circuit of Jazz clubs, much less one that was created by the United States military. I resolved to research Jazz history and to attend graduate school.

Jazz is one of the most mercurial musical genres. As soon as you attempt to grasp it in your hand to dissect it or examine its parts to see what it is made of, it slips from your grasp. It divides itself into a million pieces under pressure, but if you push lightly, the individual parts will readily rejoin. The reasons for this mercurial quality lie in part because Jazz is a politically loaded term. Jazz was touted as America's Greatest Art Form and marketed to the world as a shining example of pluralism in the United States. Jazz has often been linked to Democracy and Freedom. For example, the U.S. State Department's "Jazz Ambassadors" tours during the Cold War that linked Jazz to Democracy and Freedom were an international diplomatic exercise in soft power; in other words, these tours officially promoted the attractiveness of our country and its influence on other countries.[1] "Soft power" is a term coined by Robert Nye. It refers to the ability of a nation to get what it wants through the allure of its culture as well as its political ideals and policies as opposed to coercion, payments and sheer military power.[2] Soft power is a carrot. Hard power is a stick. Jazz is a type of soft power. Jazz is supposedly a melting pot; a shining example of pluralism; a musical forum in which every culture has the opportunity to add its own folk vernacular. Jazz is an exercise in individualism. Jazz is multicultural. Jazz is African-American. Jazz has no color.

The result of this political baggage is that at times it is difficult today to discern what is Jazz. Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper noted in "Beyond 'Identity'":

> "Soft" constructivism allows putative "identities" to proliferate. But as they proliferate, the term loses its analytical purchase. If identity is everywhere, it is nowhere. If it is fluid, how can we understand the ways in which self-understandings may harden, congeal, and crystallize? If it is

[1] Penny M. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Harvard University Press, 2006); Lisa E. Davenport, *Jazz Diplomacy: Promoting America in the Cold War Era* (Univ. Press of Mississippi, 2009).

[2] Joseph S. Nye Jr, *Soft Power: The Means To Success In World Politics* (PublicAffairs, 2009).

> constructed, how can we understand the sometimes coercive force of external identifications?[3]

Examining the oral histories of musicians who self-identify as Jazz musicians is one of the effective ways to analyze Jazz academically, yet it is the method least used. We analyze their music quite thoroughly, but their voices are often submerged in favor of the voices of those who consumed Jazz, record labels, newspaper and magazine critics. These musicians tell us their stories in a way that makes it clear that Jazz is a practice and part of their identity, but it is not the only genre that they play. Jazz is superb musicianship that can create Motown, as in the case of the Jazz musicians called the Funk Brothers, as easily as it creates Soul, in the case of Jazz vocalist Billy Paul who helped create the popular Gamble and Huff Philly sound.[4] This study brings these Jazz musicians voices to the front and makes them the focus of the narrative. Writing a dissertation during the coronavirus epidemic while libraries and archives were closed was challenging. Fortunately, it also had a positive effect, because I was able to obtain more detailed oral histories from musicians. Most were not working and at home, which gave them more time to devote to doing things such as finding a copy of an unreleased military Jazz concert from 1956 and sending it to me.

Professor Richard Candida Smith taught me that the quality of oral history was largely dependent on the questions the interviewer asked. When I called musicians to ask for interviews it was indeed my questions that excited them and allowed me access to their primary sources. That question was, "Would you please tell me about your time in the Seventh Army Band?" Every interviewee expressed incredulity that anyone knew about that time other than those who were there. Everyone was excited to tell their story, a story that no one had asked about before or shown much interest in. I hope that the new primary sources in this dissertation will aid scholars in their future research. Jazz is not just music. It is also the condition of the people who play it and their subculture. Jazz is also a business and transnational economy. The social history of Jazz, the business history of Jazz, gender in Jazz, Black sexual politics in Jazz, the cultural history of Jazz, the labor history of Jazz, these are all narratives that need to be written. Although my background as a professional Jazz vocalist who had lived in Germany helped guide me in asking the right questions, these research paradigms do not necessarily require musical training. They do require listening carefully to what Jazz musicians have to say about not just their music, but also their profession. This means not only letting the *subaltern speak*, but also paying careful attention to the Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, or the community and society, of Jazz.

Racism in the United States is the constant force in GI JAZZ, which pushes GIs toward greater freedoms abroad in Germany. This is especially ironic considering the United States was supposed to be the standard bearer of freedom and Germany was in need of de-Nazification. Chapter One: Origins Historiography traces the scholarship on interactions between African Americans and Germans. Of special interest is the work of Afro-

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[3] Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity,'" *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (February 1, 2000): 1–47.

[4] Paul Justman, *Standing in the Shadows of Motown*, Documentary, Music (Artisan Entertainment, Rimshot, Elliott Scott Productions, 2002).

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Germanists who have largely focused on interracial relationships and the impact of Jazz on Germans. The differences in the way Germans have treated Afro-German people compared to African Americans is important.

Chapter Two: The German Chitlin Circuit documents the military service clubs in Germany that were erected for African American GIs after World War II. The Black Special Services clubs were run by African American Women who hired musicians who, in turn, played music that appealed to Black Americans, which in the late 1940s was Jazz. Even after the end of formal segregation, Black musical acts were in demand at the service club, pulling entertainers from the United States and military to perform. Because there were so many clubs, there were enough engagements to create a circuit. The circuit was not extremely lucrative or lush, hence I call it a "German Chitlin Circuit." A "Chitlin" circuit is a series of working-class engagements that employed many Black entertainers. Although the German circuit was not very glamorous, it nonetheless was preferable to racism in the United States and led some musicians to become expatriates.[5]

Chapter Three: Playing for Uncle Sam examines Jazz musicians serving in the military and how attitudes changed from during World War II to the post-war period. During the war, serving in the military interrupted many musicians' careers. After the war, the military seems to have added value and longevity to many musicians. This chapter looks very closely at military musicians who served in The Seventh Army Band in the 1950s and details the effects that the military had on these musicians. The Seventh Army Band in Heidelberg was the best band in in the army and happened to have musicians who would later become titans in the Jazz world, such as Cedar Walton, Eddie Harris, Lanny Morgan, Billy Paul, Lex Humphries, Don Menza and Houston Person.

Chapter Four: Jammin' the Blues in the Key of Democracy looks at the off-base jam sessions that the Seventh Army Band famously participated in in clubs such as the Cave in Heidelberg, arguing that these jam sessions, despite not being officially state organized, did give the United States soft power.

Chapter Five: Occupiers argues that the Jazz GIs also had hard power in the form of economic inducements and simply by being part of the military force of an occupying country in recently vanquished Germany. This is not to negate the soft power that Jazz GIs had, rather to add another dimension to their experiences in Germany.

Chapter Six: All the Good Black Men examines African American women's reactions to the much publicized interracial relationships between Black GIs and German Fräuleins. Although Black male GIs' ability to fraternize with White women without fear of reprisal was a greater freedom, many African American women viewed the interracial relationships unfavorably.

The Appendix contains a discography/sessionography for the main Jazz GIs examined. It also contains a copy of a 1956 military Jazz Concert in Leiderhalle, Germany.

[5] Chitlins are pig intestines, offal that was often given to slaves and so denotes a second class status, while at the same time a certain amount of ethnic pride.

Chapter One: Origins Historiography

There is much scholarship on the German reinvention of Jazz and race, and the German reception of Jazz and African Americans, but much less that focuses on the African Americans in Germany.[6] The new field of Afro-German Studies focuses on the identity of German people with African ancestry and the racism directed at them.[7] *Afro-German* is a relatively new term; these people have often been derisively referred to as *Mischling* (mixed) and *Besatzungskinder* (Children of Occupation). This work will touch upon Afro-Germans, since many have an African American parent. The main focus, however, will be on the African American Jazz musicians in the military and how these military bases in Germany helped create a Jazz scene.

The subject of an African people, born in the United States, living in Europe showcases how the African Diaspora is part of Global History, which Jacqueline Brown calls an "exhaustive category."[8] The impact these groups had on each other is a subset of forces often called *Cultural Globalization* or *Americanization.* The former term means the process of international socio-cultural integration; the latter term suggests that the cultural influence of the United States is pervasively imposed in one direction.[9] Reinhold Wagnleitner uses the term "Coca-colonization" to help explain forces in post-World War II Austria that were sometimes economic by-products of corporate globalization and other times deliberate planning by the United States.[10]

While Globalization and Americanization and Coca-colonization are excellent terms, this work employs a term used by Tyler Stovall, "African-Americanization," to describe the cultural impact African Americans had globally, including in Germany[11] The term also

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[6] For new scholarship has come out that focuses on the African-American experience, see Maria Höhn and Martin Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom: The Civil Rights Struggle, African American GIs, and Germany* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

[7] Patricia Mazon, *Not So Plain as Black and White: Afro-German Culture and History, 1890-2000* (University of Rochester Press, 2009); Leroy Hopkins, *Who Is a German?: Historical and Modern Perspectives on Africans in Germany* (American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, the Johns Hopkins University, 1999).

[8] Jacqueline Nassy Brown, "Black Europe and the African Diaspora: A Discourse on Location," in *Black Europe and the African Diaspora*, ed. Darlene Clark Hine, Trica Danielle Keaton, and Stephen Small, 1st Edition (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 201.

[9] A Hopkins, *Globalization in World History* (New York: Norton, 2002); Jürgen Osterhammel and Niels P. Petersson, *Globalization: A Short History* (Princeton University Press, 2005), 5–7; Robert W. Rydell and Rob Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869-1922* (University of Chicago Press, 2005); Reinhold Wagnleitner, *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War: The Cultural Mission of the United States in Austria after the Second World War* (University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

[10] Wagnleitner, *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War*.

[11] Darlene Clark Hine et al., eds., "No Green Pastures: The African Americanization of France," in *Black Europe and the African Diaspora*, 1st Edition (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 180.

implies an unequal influence, and certainly U.S. scholars in African Diaspora Studies have been accused of hegemony and "structural privilege."[12] African-Americanization encompasses not only the spread of African-American music such as Jazz, Blues, R&B and Hip-Hop. It also encompasses the spread of Black cultural politics[13]

The historiography of African American and German encounters begins during what A. G. Hopkins would call the period of "Proto-Globalization," from roughly 1600-1800[14] Although the German principalities had minimal direct involvement in the trans-Atlantic slave trade and no geographical Atlantic shore, Tina Campt argues that the idea of *Der Black Atlantic*, or using Germany as a lens to view the African diaspora as a German version of Paul Gilroy's *Black Atlantic* is a valid lens to view Black Diasporic-German encounters.[15] This is not to say that there were no African/German encounters prior to the trans-Atlantic slave trade. "Dark-skinned Ethiopians" guarded the treasure of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen in 1231.[16] German aristocracy had African slaves, and both Africans and African Americans were displayed in German and Swiss-German circuses and zoos. Martin Klimke published a new collection of articles on Black and German points of contact from 1240-1914 which illustrates the long history of Black people and Germans prior to World War I. However, as Sander Gilman noted in *Blackness without Blacks,* ideas about Blackness transferred from England into the Continent and figured prominently in the German imagination.[17] African American [18] ex-slaves accompanied Hessian troops back to Germany

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[12] Darlene Clark Hine, Trica Danielle Keaton, and Stephen Small, *Black Europe and the African Diaspora* (University of Illinois Press, 2009), xviii.

[13] It is interesting to note that even when the parent of an Afro-German is African, the Afro-German is more likely to identity with African-American culture than African culture. A great example of this phenomenon can be found in Hans Massaquoi.

[14] Jeffrey H. Jackson, *Making Jazz French: Music and Modern Life in Interwar Paris* (Duke University Press Books, 2003); Tyler Stovall, *Paris Noir: African Americans in the City of Light*, 1St Edition (Houghton Mifflin, 1996).

[15] Tina Campt and Haus der Kulturen der Welt, *Der Black Atlantic* (Haus der Kulturen der Welt, 2004); Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness*, Reissue edition (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995); Tina Marie Campt, *Other Germans: Black Germans and the Politics of Race, Gender, and Memory in the Third Reich* (University of Michigan Press, 2005).

[16] Hans W. Debrunner, *Presence and Prestige, Africans in Europe: A History of Africans in Europe before 1918*, Communications from the Basel Africa Bibliography; v. 22 (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 1979), 19.

[17] Sander L. Gilman, *On Blackness Without Blacks: Essays on the Image of the Black in Germany* (G.K. Hall, 1982).

[18] Depending on whether one is a proponent of Atlantic Creolization or not, my use of the term African-American for the Revolutionary War era might be considered anachronistic by some. I maintain if there is such thing as a white "American" or a West Indian as opposed to a Brit in this time period than the term African American is equally valid by the same reasoning and the Middle Passage served as racially transformative space. For more on the historical debate over African slaves versus Creolization read, James H. Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship,*

after the American Revolutionary War. Slaves who fought on the side of British were given their freedom and when the British lost, many of the Black troops were sent to Nova Scotia, England and Germany.[19] Maria Diedrich noted in *From Black to Schwarz* that these African Americans became well known in Germany and were sought after for their skill in music, especially drumming.[20] In 1875 the Fisk Jubilee Singers toured Europe, including Germany and Switzerland, as did some Black minstrel performers.[21] W.E.B. Dubois spent time in Germany (1892-1894) studying in Berlin, which had a concentrated visible Black community.[22] Composer and conductor Will Marion Cook lived in Berlin and his nephew actor Louis Winston also lived in Germany. Lusane notes that in 1896, more than one hundred Black performers visited the country. However, the real German introduction to African American Jazz came on the heels of World War I.

Tyler Stovall and Jeffrey James describe a France that was grateful for both the assistance African American soldiers gave during the Great War and welcoming of the music they brought with them.[23] James argues that Jazz was embraced so much that it was made French, hence the title of his book *Making Jazz French*. In comparison, Jazz was brought to Germany by an "unjust peace." The *kriegsschuldfrage*, or war guilt question, about whether or not the Versailles Peace Treaty was reasonable, is the subject of much historical debate.[24] What is important is that the Germans thought it was not reasonable. So, the Weimar Republic born in defeat ushered in an era of "imposed" Modernity**,** Negrophilia, an obsession with negro culture and *Americanmus,* interest in American culture, which came to be vilified later during the Nazi regime.

The scholarship on Jazz and African American and German encounters during the Weimar period is substantial. Scholars of note include Leroy Hopkins, Michael Kater (also a

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and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441-1770, 1 edition (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003); James Oakes, "Slaves without Contexts," *Journal of the Early Republic* 19, no. 1 (April 1, 1999): 103–9, https://doi.org/10.2307/3124924; Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History*, Reprint edition (Penguin Books, 2007).

[19] Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Philip Sheldon Foner, *Blacks in the American Revolution* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Pub Group, 1976).

[20] Maria Diedrich and Jürgen Heinrichs, *From Black to Schwarz: Cultural Crossovers Between African America and Germany* (LIT Verlag Münster, 2010).

[21] Rainer E. Lotz, *Black People: Entertainers of African Descent in Europe and Germany* (Bigit Lotz, 1997), 300f; Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History* (W. W. Norton & Company, 1997), 229, 232.

[22] Clarence Lusane, *Hitler's Black Victims: The Historical Experiences of Afro-Germans, European Blacks, Africans, and African Americans in the Nazi Era* (Psychology Press, 2002), 65.

[23] Jeffrey H. Jackson, *Making Jazz French: Music and Modern Life in Interwar Paris* (Duke University Press, 2003); Tyler Stovall, *Paris Noir: African Americans in the City of Light*, 1St Edition (Houghton Mifflin, 1996).

[24] Sally Marks, "Mistakes and Myths: The Allies, Germany, and the Versailles Treaty, 1918–1921," *The Journal of Modern History* 85, no. 3 (September 1, 2013): 632–59, https://doi.org/10.1086/670825.

fine Jazz musician in his own right), Theodor Adorno, Frank Tirro, Jonathan Wipplinger, Susan Cook, Bryan Randolph Gilliam and Bradford Robinson.[25] There are also several books that touch on the times that African American Jazz musicians Josephine Baker, Mabel Mercer, Sidney Bechet, Eric Dolphy and Ada 'Bricktop' spent in Germany.[26] They toured there frequently, and saxophonist Eric Dolphy spent his last days in Germany before dying in West Berlin in 1964.[27]

The Weimar fascination with Jazz has as much to do with Black bodies as it does the music. In many ways, the fascination with Primitivism, idealization of primitive culture, in Germany echoes Negrophilia, obsession with Black culture, in France.[28] There are several crossovers between the Harlem Renaissance and Germany. A.B. Schwarz in the "Neger-Renaissance" shows the strong ties between Harlem Renaissance writers and Germans. Schwarz noted that so many African American writers, including Harlem Renaissance godfather Alain Locke, had same-sex lovers in Germany, that the "term 'German' functioned as a homosexual code for certain Black gay men such as Harlem Renaissance writers

[25] Leroy Hopkins, "Louis Douglas and the Weimar Reception of Harlemania," in *Germans and African Americans*, ed. Larry A. Greene and Anke Ortlepp (University Press of Mississippi, 2010), 50–67, http://mississippi.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.14325/mississippi/9781604737844.001.0001/upso-9781604737844-chapter-4; Michael H. Kater, "The Jazz Experience in Weimar Germany," *German History* 6, no. 2 (April 1, 1988): 145–58, doi:10.1093/gh/6.2.145; J. Bradford Robinson, "The Jazz Essays of Theodor Adorno: Some Thoughts on Jazz Reception in Weimar Germany," *Popular Music* 13, no. 1 (January 1, 1994): 1–25; Susan C. Cook, *Opera for a New Republic: The Zeitopern of Krenek, Weill, and Hindemith* (University of Rochester Press, 2010); J. Bradford Robinson, "Jazz Reception in Weimar Germany: In Search of a Shimmy Figure," in *Music And Performance during the Weimar Republic*, ed. Bryan Randolph Gilliam, n.d.; Jonathon Wipplinger, "Bridging the Great Divides: Cultural Difference and Transnationalism at Frankfurt's Jazzklasse," in *From Black to Schwarz: Cultural Crossovers Between African America and Germany*, ed. Maria Diedrich and Jürgen Heinrichs (LIT Verlag Münster, 2011); Bryan Randolph Gilliam, *Music and Performance during the Weimar Republic* (Cambridge University Press, 1994); Michael J. Budds, *Jazz and the Germans: Essays on the Influence of "Hot" American Idioms on 20th Century German Music* (Pendragon Pr, 2002); Frank Tirro, "Jazz Leaves Home:The Dissemination of 'Hot' Music to Central Europe," in *Jazz and the Germans*, ed. Michael J. Budds (Pendragon Press, 2002).

[26] Bennetta Jules Rosette, Tyler Stovall, and Olivia Lahs-Gonzales, *Josephine Baker: Image and Icon* (Reedy Press, 2006); James Haskins, *Mabel Mercer: A Life* (Atheneum, 1987); John Chilton, *Sidney Bechet: The Wizard of Jazz* (Da Capo Press, 1996); Bricktop, *Bricktop* (Welcome Rain Publishers, 1999); Lusane, *Hitler's Black Victims*, 198.

[27] Vladimir Simosko and Barry Tepperman, *Eric Dolphy: A Musical Biography And Discography*, Revised (Da Capo Press, 1996).

[28] Petrine Archer-Straw, *Negrophilia: Avant-Garde Paris and Black Culture in the 1920s* (Thames & Hudson, 2000); Hopkins, "Louis Douglas and the Weimar Reception of Harlemania."

Langston Hughes and Claude McKay.[29] Alain Locke found Germany to be more liberating racially as well as sexually.

Also of note during this period are the experiences of Afro-Germans who were not of African-American descent. The French occupation of the Rhineland brought many Africans into Germany. Called the "Black Horror" or *Die Schwarze Schmach,* German occupation by "Black soldiers" intensified the German feeling of diplomatic injustice regarding the Versailles Treaty.[30] The African soldiers who occupied the Rhine at times fathered children with German women. The progeny of African soldiers and German women were called *Rheinlandbastards,* classified as "Black" and later sterilized during the Nazi regime in order to protect the purity of the German race. In Tina Campt's study of an Afro-German man named Hans Hauck who was born in 1920, it is interesting to note that his Algerian father was not from "Black Africa" or sub-Saharan African and to many physiognomically he did not look "Black" or to use an African-American expression, he did not necessarily pass the "eyeball test,"[31] nonetheless he was racialized as Black.[32]

During the Nazi regime, African American performers were banned from touring. Marian Anderson, an African American Opera star, had a successful 1931 tour, however, was forced to cancel her 1935 tour, as was Duke Ellington and many others. As in France, African Americans in Germany were treated differently than Afro-Germans and Africans.[33] African American soldiers were often killed rather than put in camps.[34] In comparison, many Afro-Germans were in Hitler Youth Groups and served in the German army. Lusane and Campt maintain that the small, isolated numbers of Afro-Germans made it unnecessary for the Nazis to deal with a separate policy, especially since as Afro-Germans they lacked the "collective consciousness" of African Americans.[35] The Nuremberg laws however,

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[29] A. B. Christa Schwarz, "New Negro Renaissance - 'Neger-Renaissance,'" in *From Black to Schwarz: Cultural Crossovers Between African America and Germany*, ed. Maria Diedrich and Jürgen Heinrichs (LIT Verlag Münster, 2011), 50.

[30] Gisela Lebzelter, "Die 'Schwarze Schmach'. Vorurteile, Propaganda,Mythos," *Geschichte Und Gesellschaft* 11, no. 1 (January 1, 1985): 37–58; Sally Marks, "Black Watch on the Rhine: A Study in Propaganda, Prejudice and Prurience," *European History Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (July 1, 1983): 297–334, https://doi.org/10.1177/026569148301300302; Keith L. Nelson, "The 'Black Horror on the Rhine': Race as a Factor in Post-World War I Diplomacy," *The Journal of Modern History* 42, no. 4 (December 1, 1970): 606–27; Robert C. Reinders, "Racialism on the Left E.D. Morel and the 'Black Horror on the Rhine,'" *International Review of Social History* 13, no. 01 (1968): 1–28, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020859000000419.

[31] Ishmael Reed, *Reckless Eyeballing*, 1st Dalkey Archive ed edition (Normal, Ill.: Dalkey Archive Press, 2000).

[32] Tina Campt, "Pictures of 'US'? Blackness, Diaspora and the Afro-German Subject," in *From Black to Schwarz: Cultural Crossovers Between African America and Germany*, ed. Maria Diedrich and Jürgen Heinrichs (LIT Verlag Münster, 2011).

[33] Hine et al., "No Green Pastures: The African Americanization of France," 185; Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (Grove Press, 1994).

[34] Lusane, *Hitler's Black Victims*, 155, 176.

[35] Lusane, 7.

greatly affected African and African Germans who were suddenly landless as a result of these laws.[36]

Of note during the Hitler regime was the 1936 Olympics held in Berlin in which African American Jesse Owens dominated several track and field competitions winning four gold medals.[37] At the time Owens' triumphs seemed to disprove Hitler's insistence of Aryan superiority. Later scholarship by Historian Mark Dyreson questions the triumph as perhaps reinforcing scientific racism.[38] Nazi war minister Albert Speer reported that Hitler shrugged off Owens' wins with the explanation that "their physiques were stronger than those of civilized whites."[39] This explanation underscored ideas of Black primitivism. Sadly, Owens' life when he returned to the United States was a return to Jim Crow and poverty. He was neither congratulated by Hitler nor by President Franklin D. Roosevelt.[40]

The Nazi policy on Jazz was highly inconsistent. On a national level Nazi propagandist Joseph Goebbels' campaign against Jazz made it clear that it was "Jewish-nigger" jungle music unfit for German consumption. However, German public often came in droves to anti-Jazz films in the vein of "Reefer Madness"[41] in order to see Jazz footage. Civilians also hid and hoarded Jazz albums. Swing dancers such the *SwingHeinis,* Swing Kids, protested the ban on Jazz music and Jazz dancing.[42] In concentration camps, individuals who were useful artists were more likely to not be killed. Indeed several concentration camps had

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[36] Lusane, *Hitler's Black Victims*; Lusane, appendix.

[37] William Joseph Baker, *Jesse Owens: An American Life* (University of Illinois Press, 2006).

[38] Mark Dyreson, "American Ideas about Race and Olympic Races from the 1890s to the 1950s: Shattering Myths or Reinforcing Scientific Racism?," *Journal of Sport History* 28, no. 2 (2001): 173–215.

[39] Albert Speer, *Inside the Third Reich* (Simon and Schuster, 1997), 73.

[40] Edgar Roster, "Hitler Praised Above Roosevelt By Jesse Owens at G.O.P. Rally: Olympic Champion Stampedes Audience In Denunciation F. D. R. Lynching Indiference Lynching Is Theme Of Rousing Meeting At Which, Civic, Political Leaders Join In Attack RESENT F. D. R. EVASION," *Philadelphia Tribune (1912-2001)*, October 29, 1936; "Text of Jesse Owens's Address: Not Old Enough to Tell People How to Vote; Roosevelt Didn't Congratulate Him; Talked Horses with Landon; Thinks We Should Learn Words of 'Star Spangled Banner'; Mrs. Owens Opens His Mail Now.," *Afro-American (1893-1988)*, October 10, 1936.

[41] Reefer Madness was a 1836 film that discouraged the use of marijuana by showing extreme tragic outcomes from its use. It is also a general term used to describe the propaganda that FBI head Henry Anslinger promoted which said that marijuana caused White women to have sex with Black men among other false claims.

[42] Michael H. Kater, *Different Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany* (Oxford University Press, 2003); Michael H. Kater, *Hitler Youth*, New Ed edition (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006); Thomas Carter, *Swing Kids*, Drama, Music, 1993.

Jazz bands, such as the *Ghetto Swingers* in Theresienstadt, who performed for the officers.[43] Some, such as pianist Martin Roman and guitarist Coco Schumann, survived but the remaining members later died in Auschwitz. Jazz was simultaneously derided as debased

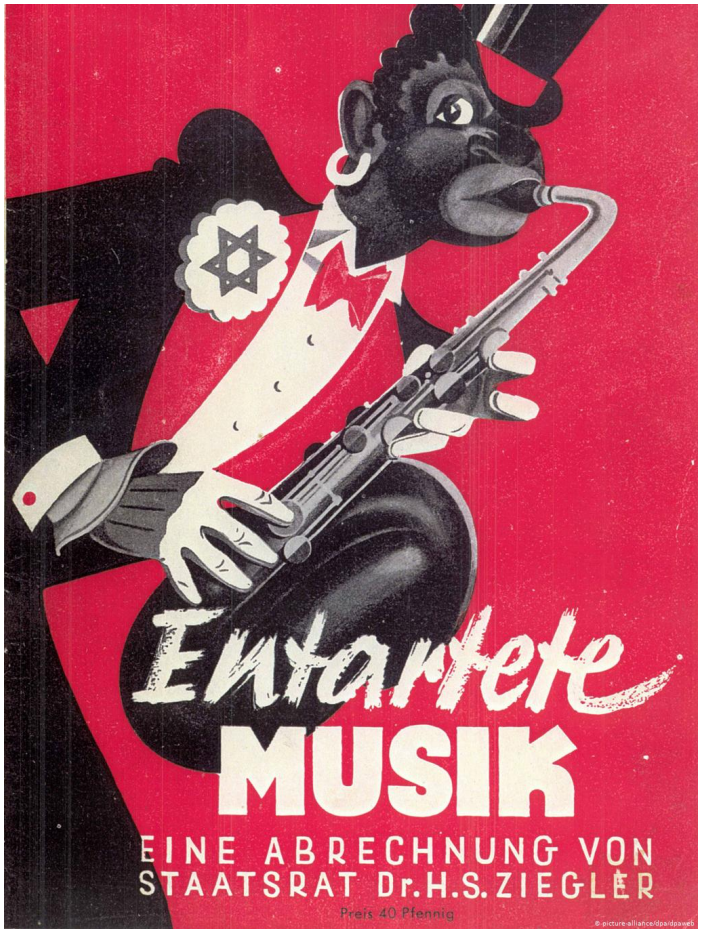

Figure 1: Degenerated Music, A Reckoning by State Councilman Dr. H. S. Ziegler

Jewish Negroid Music as seen in Figure 1, but at the same time it was enjoyed enough that Nazi military officials wanted Jazz concerts.

Valaida Snow, a first-rate and famous African American Jazz trumpeter whose skill was on par with Louis Armstrong, was also held in a concentration camp.[44] When she was freed, she was never the same and died soon after. Clarence Lusane. Rafael Scheck, and others also cite the importance of John Williams' 1999 book *Clifford's Blues* as raising popular awareness of the existence of African Americans in German camps. *Clifford's Blues*

[43] Mike Zwerin, *Swing Under the Nazis: Jazz as a Metaphor for Freedom* (Cooper Square Press, 2000); Hans Hielscher, "The Ghetto-Swinger," *Der Spiegel*, December 30, 1996, http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/kulturspiegel/d-8654972.html.
[44] Lusane, *Hitler's Black Victims*; Linda Dahl, *Stormy Weather: The Music and Lives of a Century of Jazzwomen* (Hal Leonard Corporation, 1992).

is an historical fiction book that describes the experiences of a gay African American pianist held in Dachau for twelve years.[45]

In 2002 Clarence Lusane lamented that far too little has been done on Jazz in Nazi Germany. Fortunately, more scholarship has appeared since he wrote those words. Michael Kater's book, *Different Drummers*, is an excellent resource for Jazz musicologists and historians interested in this topic.[46] Kater details the German Jazz bands during the Nazi Regime. He argues that these bands were forms of protest. Older publications include writings by journalists and musicians including Kellersmann's *Jazz in Deutschland* and Zwerin's *Jazz under the Nazis*.[47] There are several existing witness testimonies that could be mined by historians more thoroughly, including a three-part series called "Jazz in a Nazi Concentration Camp," published in *Down Beat* magazine during the 1960s.[48] Another excellent first-person account is include Hans Massaquoi's autobiography, *Destined to Witness: Growing up Black in Nazi Germany*.[49] Lusane's book contains biographical vignettes of several of Hitler's Black victims which personalizes the subject to great degree.

POST-WORLD WAR II OCCUPATION: African Americans & Germans

The post-World-War II period has much scholarship of interest since this is also the beginning of the Cold War period. The post-war occupation of Germany to guard against the resurgence of Nazi-fascism quickly became military fortification against Soviet-communism. The war against the Soviet Union made culture a political front in the Cold War. In Germany, Jazz went from being degenerate Negroid music to an act of democracy and freedom. How "Culture"[50] was used politically is made amply clear in Penny Von Eschen's book, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, which details how the State Department used Jazz musicians in the fight against communism.[51] For example, a Jazz concert with Louis

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[45] John A. Williams, *Clifford's Blues*, 1st ed. (Coffee House Press, 1999).
[46] Kater, *Different Drummers*, 2003.
[47] Christian Kellersmann, *Jazz in Deutschland von 1933-1945* (Der Jazzfreund, 1990); *La Tristesse de Saint Louis: Jazz under the Nazis* (New York: Beech Tree Books, n.d.); Zwerin, *Swing Under the Nazis*.
[48] Miroslav Hejtmar, "Rhythmus hinter Drähten [Rhythm behind Barbed Wire]," in *Heinrich Himmler und die Liebe zum Swing. Erinnerungen und Dokumente.*, ed. Franz Ritter (Leipzig: Reclam, Leipzig, 1994); Szymon Laks, *Music of Another World*, trans. Chester A. Kisiel, 1st edition (Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press, 2000); Franz Ritter, *Heinrich Himmler und die Liebe zum Swing. Erinnerungen und Dokumente.* (Leipzig: Reclam, Leipzig, 1994); Klaus Scheurenberg, *Ich will leben: Ein autobiographischer Bericht*, 1. Aufl edition (Berlin: Oberbaumverlag, 1982); Coco Schumann, *The Ghetto Swinger: A Berlin Jazz-Legend Remembers* (DoppelHouse Press, 2016); Eric Vogel, "Jazz in Nazi Concentration Camp," *Down Beat*, no. 28–9 (1961).
[49] Rita Chin et al., *After the Nazi Racial State: Difference and Democracy in Germany and Europe* (University of Michigan Press, 2009); Hans J Massaquoi, *Destined to Witness: Growing up Black in Nazi Germany* (New York: Perrennial, 2001).
[50] I have used capitalization to indicate Culture meaning Art rather than simply a way of living.
[51] Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*.

Armstrong was scheduled in the Congo in order to persuade the country to eschew communism. This was a United States organized pattern in Third World countries.

Wagnleitner also emphasizes the careful planning involved in the Americanization of Austria.[52] Americanization modernization was often a concerted effort for the liberal economic benefit of American businesses.[53] Tomlinson addresses Americanization as *Cultural Imperialism*, questioning the profits for American businesses.[54] Victoria DeGrazia's *Irresistible Empire* shows how provocative American culture was emphasizing that Europeans did pick and choose which aspects to adopt.[55] While some scholars have argued that American cultural imperialism destroys local cultural diversity, especially in terms of music, it can be argued that especially in the case of Europeans that they also changed American culture, especially in regards to Jazz.[56]

Ute Poiger's book *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels* was groundbreaking for incorporating the history of West Germany's Federal Democratic Republic (FDR) and East Germany's German Democratic Republic (GDR or DDR) in the debate on American culture in Cold War Germany. Jazz was banned in East Germany, but a distinction was made between "Black" Jazz, which was acceptable, and Swing[57] and Bebop[58] which were part of cultural imperialism.[59] Although this distinction is nonsense since Jazz is African-American music, there was a misguided belief that some forms of Jazz were more authentic. Disenfranchised Black people apparently had more soft power. The FDJ (*Freie Deutsche Jugend* or Free German Youth) Central Council's manifesto, *An Euch Alle,* stated "Jazz is not the invention of war mongers, but an old folk music of oppressed Negroes."[60] The acceptability of "Negro" art as an acceptable folk culture and as an art form rooted in protest against American mores made it suitable on several levels for communist

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[52] Wagnleitner, *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War*.
[53] Nils Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America* (Baltimore; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).
[54] John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction* (A&C Black, 1991).
[55] Victoria De Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe* (Harvard University Press, 2005).
[56] Rob Kroes, *If You've Seen One, You've Seen the Mall: EUROPEANS AND AMERICAN MASS CULTURE*, F First Printing edition (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996); Richard Pells, *Not Like Us: How Europeans Have Loved, Hated, And Transformed American Culture Since World War II*, Reprint edition (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1998); Stuart Nicholson, *Is Jazz Dead?: (Or Has It Moved to a New Address)* (Routledge, 2005).
[57] Swing is a form of Jazz that was prevalent when Jazz was most popular. One of its distinguishing features is that it is danceable. The Count Basie Band would be a prime example of Swing.
[58] Bebop is a type of Jazz that came immediately after Swing. One of its distinguishing features is that it is faster than Swing. It also makes use of more complex extended harmonies. Saxophonist Charlie "Yardbird" Parker would be a prime example of Bebop.
[59] Uta G. Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany* (University of California Press, 2000), 155.
[60] Poiger, 159.

Germany.[61] Victor Grossman's first person account of life in GDR for him and several other African Americans illustrates that despite communist rhetoric which touted the equality of races, the lives of African Americans in East Germany were more difficult because of race, even ending in suicide.[62]

What is clear is that even though contact with American culture "reconstructed German-ness" and "recast" German ideas of Race, the word "Negro" still designated the primitive or degenerative and it was possible to have Negrophilia and Anti-Semitism at the same time.[63] Particularly in and around military bases in West Germany, German occupation by a Jim Crow Army only served to reinforce Nazi racial ideology. "Democracy implies equality, but when it is superimposed on an unequal society, some people count for more than others," says Ann Phillips.[64] Truman's Executive Order in 1948 desegregated the armed forces, but patterns of segregation persisted which confirmed that the United States was not as free as they would like the world to believe. For a more detailed account on formal desegregation of the and persistent patterns of informal racism see Chapter 3.

After World War II, African Americans increasingly used Anti-Hitler rhetoric as a justification for Civil Rights. Following every American War from the Revolutionary War to World War I came an increased push for Black Freedom. -Especially after World War I and the ebullient reception of the French, veterans demanded what was rightfully theirs and it became increasingly difficult to "keep 'em down on the farm!"[65] What made the post-World War II period unique was not democracy and freedom, this rhetoric had been used before, but rather the immediate engagement in the Global Cold War. Books that cover the international stakes involved in the context of the rapidly expanding Civil Rights movement include Dudziak's *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*, Borestelmann's *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global*

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[61] Astrid Haas, "A Raisin in the East," in *Germans and African Americans*, ed. Larry A. Greene and Anke Ortlepp (University Press of Mississippi, 2010), 166–84, http://mississippi.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.14325/mississippi/9781604737844.001.0001/upso-9781604737844-chapter-10; Ulrich Adelt, *Black, White and Blue: Racial Politics of Blues Music in the 1960s* (ProQuest, 2007).

[62] Victor Grossman, "African Americans in the German Democratic Republic," in *Germans and African Americans: Two Centuries of Exchange*, ed. Larry A. Greene and Anke Ortlepp (Univ. Press of Mississippi, 2011).

[63] Sabine Broeck, "The Erotics of African American Endurance, Or: On the Right Side of History?," in *Germans and African Americans*, ed. Larry A. Greene and Anke Ortlepp (University Press of Mississippi, 2010), 129, http://mississippi.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.14325/mississippi/9781604737844.001.0001/upso-9781604737844-chapter-8; Timothy L. Schroer, *Recasting Race after World War II: Germans and African Americans in American-Occupied Germany* (University Press of Colorado, 2007), 1; Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels*, 30.

[64] Anne Phillips, *Democracy and Difference* (Penn State Press, 1993), 91.

[65] Joe Young and Sam Lewis, "How Ya Gonna Keep 'Em Down On the Farm After They've Seen Par-ee?" (1919), The use of the term "boys" gives this song distinct racial overtones.

Arena and Plummer's *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935-1960*.[66] Kevin Gaines' and Pingchao Zhu's article *America on the World Stage* address pedagogy, making it very clear that the Civil Rights Movement has always had both a global and Cold War perspective.[67] Thomas Jackson's *From Civil Rights to Human Rights* demonstrates that Martin Luther King's thought functioned universally, finding inspiration in and pulling strands from diverse sources, including Gandhi and anti-imperialist thought and practice.[68]

There is a tendency to emphasize the freedom Black GIs felt in Germany. Maria Höhn and Martin Klimke assert in their new book, *A Breath of Freedom,* that the freedom experienced in Germany was "essential" and "central" to the Civil Rights movement in the United States as returning GIs sought to retain these freedoms back in the United States. The hypocrisy of American democracy in light of the discovery of the Holocaust certainly fueled African-American protest and aided in the desegregation of the military.

At times, this narrative overemphasizes the German freedom influence and is directly in opposition to oral histories and narratives by the Afro-German children of these GIs. For example, Ika Hegel-Marshall's autobiography, *Invisible Woman,* is filled with accounts of racism and loneliness.[69] Similar to how France treated Algerians differently than African Americans, Germans treated African Americans differently than their "own" Blacks: Afro-Germans. Depending on whether the African American was from the country or the city, the South or the North, the ability to eat in a restaurant or patronize an interracial restaurant might have been a "breath of freedom," in the words of former Secretary of State General Colin Powell.[70] But for many New York-based Jazz musicians who were already engaged in interracial relationships, military service could mean a severe curtailing of freedom.

Control over sex and intermarriage is an essential component of racism and much has been made of the ability of African American soldiers to have relationships with German women. These relationships sometimes caused German and white American friction backlash, most often because interracial relationships violated American segregation.[71]

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[66] Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*, With a New preface by the author edition (Princeton, N.J.; Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2011); Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935-1960* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 1996); Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003).

[67] Gary W. Reichard, Ted Dickson, and Organization of American Historians, *America on the World Stage: A Global Approach to U.S. History* (University of Illinois Press, 2008).

[68] Thomas F. Jackson, *From Civil Rights to Human Rights: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Struggle for Economic Justice* (Philadelphia, Pa: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

[69] Ika Hugel-Marshall, *Invisible Woman: Growing Up Black in Germany* (Continuum International Publishing Group, 2001); Catherine Oguntoye, May Opitz, and Dagmar Schultz, *Show your true colors.* (Berlin: Orlanda woman Verlag GmbH, 1995).

[70] Colin Powell, *My American Journey*, 1 edition (New York: Ballantine Books, 2003), 53; Dag Freyer, *Breath of Freedom*, Documentary, 2014.

[71] Maria H. Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins: German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany* (University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 14.

Chapter One: Origins Historiography

The freedom of Black males to fraternize with white females without addressing the situation of Black females or the ability of Black males to support their families glosses over the deep-seated racism of the situation and the patriarchic nature of the type of freedom Black men desired. Maria Höhn covers the relationships between Americans and Germans in her home region of Rhineland-Palatinate during the 1950s in *GIs and Fräuleins* and her article, "Love Across the Color Line" focuses on interracial relationships specifically.[72] The freedom of African American soldiers and German women to date interracially without fear of lynching is seen as an advance in Civil rights by Black Magazines such as *Ebony* and *Jet*, of which incidentally Massaquoi was the editor.

Höhn, however, only acknowledges in her footnotes that African American women did not see interracial relationships between African American soldiers and German women as an advance against racism.[73] Letters written by African American women to the editors of Black magazines indicate that the advances that Black men were making were at Black women's expense.[74] Economic considerations, especially pay and the portion of GI pay which went back to the United States to support African American women and children is an area that could use more scholarly attention. African American German sexual relations are often seen through the lens of race and the viewpoints of German women and men are given more credence. A historical analysis focusing on gender and race with particular attention to the viewpoints and experiences of African American women is needed.

There were a variety of factors pushing and pulling African American GIs and German Women together, including a lack of available German men, a lack of available African American women, and the role of African American men as occupiers. Being occupiers gave them power, money and privilege that they would not have ordinarily had over German women and the local police.[75] For those African Americans who were artists, their music and celebrity also served as another pulling factor. The German women who did cross racial lines experienced a drop in class, which reaffirms that Germany was not free of racism. Derisively called "Veronikas," German women who fraternized with Blacks were considered prostitutes. In the area of bi-raciality, it seems that children born of White mothers are more often perceived as bi-racial while Black mothers are only capable of bearing Black children.[76] Ann Stoler's work on race and Colonialism and Imperialism, although not centered in Germany, does provide salient gender and race theoretical inquiry

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[72] Höhn, *GIs and Frèauleins[*; Thomas W. Maulucci and Detlef Junker, *GIs in Germany* (Cambridge University Press, 2013); Maria Höhn, "Love across the Color Line: Limits of Democracy," in *Germans and African Americans: Two Centuries of Exchange*, ed. Larry A. Greene (Univ. Press of Mississippi, 2010), 105–25.

[73] Maria Höhn, "Love across the Color Line: Limits of Democracy," 122.

[74] Renee Christine Romano, *Race Mixing: Black-White Marriage in Postwar America* (Harvard University Press, 2003); Larry A. Greene, *Germans and African Americans: Two Centuries of Exchange* (Univ. Press of Mississippi, 2010), 122; Pamela Allen, "Are White Women Stealing Our Men?," *Negro Digest*, April 1951.

[75] Schroer, *Recasting Race after World War II*, 120.

[76] bell hooks and The South End Press Collective, *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism* (South End Press, 2007).

that is pertinent to African American German sexual encounters.[77] The right of the male soldier to have sexual relations with the women of a country that had been conquered or colonized is in Stoler's argument an inseparable part of occupation and colonization.

As mentioned earlier, the association with Jazz for Germans is most often defined by race. Even when early Jazz, Blues or Gospel is venerated, it is often done so along racist assumptions, such as the Negro is more passionate or pious than whites. Although centered in Japan, E. Taylor Atkins' *Blue Nippon* provides valuable insight into issues of authenticity in Jazz, race and modernization.[78] Many Japanese believed that Jazz played by African Americans was more authentic and their occupation resulted in rapid modernization to ensure that Japan did not fall to communism.

The book *Jazz and the Germans* is conspicuously missing from the bibliographies of most of the books authored by academic historians. Relevant musicological and ethno-musicological works are needed to enhance understanding of how Germans saw culture and Jazz culture in particular. For example, the notion of German superiority is derived not simply from Aryan ideas but also stems from Germans having been the arbiters of *Hochkultur*, high Culture, especially in terms of science and classical music in Europe for several centuries. Germans have dominated the Classical music scene and America's claims of Jazz as High Art must be viewed against the backdrop of the German hegemony in music as Art.[79] Other discourse conspicuously missing from the historiography on African American and German encounters is a thorough analysis of how race was constructed in Germany prior to the Nazis. *Mein Kampf* seems to get the lion's share of scholarly attention.[80] Brubaker is a leading scholar in identity theory and his book *Citizenship and Nationhood* illustrates how the German idea of Nationality is rooted in a German-speaking Teutonic race prior to and during unification.[81]

The German Historical Institute in Washington D.C. (GHI) has been instrumental in supporting many of the scholars mentioned here. For example, Martin Klimke, who wrote "The African American Civil Rights Struggle and Germany, 1945-1989," is a research scholar there.[82] The GHI's stated mission is to give voices to the over 2 million African Americans living in Germany after World War II and to expand the story of Civil Rights outside of the boundaries of the US. The first Black German Heritage and Research Association conference was held in 2011 at the GHI. This suggests a shift in the field away from the Cold War narrative to focus more on transnational encounters and cultural exchange rather than Americanization. However, as Griff Rollefson notes in Berlin, Hip-

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[77] Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (University of California Press, 2002); Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Duke University Press, 1995).

[78] E. Taylor Atkins, *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan* (Duke University Press, 2001).

[79] Budds, *Jazz and the Germans*.

[80] Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Bottom of the Hill, 2010).

[81] Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998).

[82] Martin Klimke, "The African American Civil Rights Struggle and Germany, 1945-1989," *German Historical Institute Bulletin* 43 (Fall 2008): 91–106.

Chapter One: Origins Historiography

Hop is a major force of African-Americanization in Berlin and many Afro-German and Turkish Germans identify themselves as Black, *Der Neger* or *Das Niggaz* and that Blackness is predicated on African-American music and Black cultural politics.[83]

[83] J. Griffith Rollefson, *Musical (African) Americanization in the New Europe: Hip Hop, Race, and the Cultural Politics of Postcoloniality in Contemporary Paris, Berlin, and London* (University of Wisconsin--Madison, 2009).

Chapter Two: The German Chitlin Circuit

Tyler Stovall has chronicled in detail *Paris Noir*, the burgeoning community of African Americans who relocated to France after WWI. Black GIs who decided to stay "over there" after the war made up the core of the community. Besides these GIs, some of those most famous African American expatriates were artists. One of the distinguishing features of the" Harlem in Montmartre," the name for the interwar period in which expatriate Black artists proliferated in Paris, was the Jazz clubs.[84] Pushed by dismal civil rights conditions in the United States, and pulled by a Franco-Negrophilia that exalted Jazz played, danced or sung by Black musicians, a Jazz performer could find steady club work in France that paid three times what they received in the United States. In some cases a fortune could be made by opening a Jazz club, or bringing over cases of American Black Jazz albums in their luggage, like vocalists Josephine Baker and Ada Bricktop did.[85] Stovall and others describe a vibrant Jazz scene of dancing, alcohol, chicken shacks, prostitutes, drugs and scores of French people who flocked to the American Black clubs.

After World War II there was also an influx of African Americans into Germany, many of whom were GIs. Precisely because France was a country "liberated" by the Allies as opposed to Germany, which was "occupied" by the Allied military forces, the tenor of the German scene was not as colorful and decidedly more regimented. It also was more segregated. It seems contradictory that the United States sought to de-Nazify the Germans with a segregated military, but even after President Harry Truman issued Executive Order 9981 on July 26, 1948, desegregating the U.S. military, U.S. military centers abroad remained problematic areas of integration.

At the same time because the United States entered into a Cold War with the Soviet Union quickly after the tense Potsdam conference of 1945, widely regarded as the first step toward the Cold War, the American military centers in West Germany continued to expand. By 1949 with the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) pact the United States committed to having military forces on European soil for an indefinite time period. In 1950, Truman approved an increase in military forces in Europe, and the Seventh Army in Germany was reactivated.[86] From 1950 until the 1990s, roughly 250,000 US troops were billeted in West Germany.[87]

The combination of both de facto and de jure segregation and the longevity of the United States military presence in West Germany in the wake of the Cold War resulted in a proliferation of clubs designed to entertain American GIs, and in many cases the clubs specifically catered to Black GIs. There were many German Jazz clubs and Ami-bars

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[84] William A. Shack, *Harlem in Montmartre: A Paris Jazz Story Between the Great Wars*, 1st ed. (University of California Press, 2001).
[85] Stovall, *Paris Noir*; Archer-Straw, *Negrophilia*; Jackson, *Making Jazz French*.
[86] Donald A. Carter, *Forging the Shield: The U.S. Army in Europe, 1951-1962* (Government Printing Office, 2015).
[87] Tim Kane, "Global U.S. Troop Deployment, 1950-2003," The Heritage Foundation, accessed February 18, 2021, https://www.heritage.org/defense/report/global-us-troop-deployment-1950-2003.

(American bars) that sprang up around military bases that provided a haven for Black GIs. There also were several clubs on military bases. This chapter is devoted to bringing Jazz clubs on military bases that catered to Black GIs to light. Despite not having been explored in academia, the German Jazz circuit was major part of many a Jazz musician's life. France has been explored much more thoroughly, but Germany less so. This chapter will help to correct the lopsidedness in the narrative. As we will see there was a well-established circuit of clubs in post-World War II Germany. It was not as glamorous, paid less, and the gigs did not afford some of the freedoms that many Artists are used to having. Because of this, I refer to these clubs as a German Chitlin circuit.[88]

During the decade immediately after the war, Jazz was still popular music in the United States. Jazz along with Blues is a large component of popular African American music and it is impossible to have Jazz without Blues. Without delving too deeply into the history of African-American music it is fair to say that being a Jazz musician denotes a level of musicianship that lends itself to many an excellence in almost all African-American musical genres. Jazz musicians, particularly in the post-World War II period, were good musicians to hire if one wanted a variety of music since they were technically proficient. Clubs that catered to Black GIs played Jazz, Blues, and Rhythm & Blues (R&B) .These clubs operated under Special Services and produced dances, concerts, and choirs that featured Black American Music. These clubs attracted musicians[89] and helped to create a scene that was a German version of Harlem in Montmartre, or at least, a German chitlin' circuit.[90] A chitlin circuit is a name for small venues that hired Black talent in the United States. These venues often paid poorly, but well enough for a working-class musician to get by.[91]

In 1947, The Cleveland *Call and Post* was pleased to report that the "Negro GIs" finally had a club of their own.[92] The military may have made sure that the Special Services club for Black GIs was separate, but it seems to have not been substandard. The pale blue and white walls might have given the airy impression of the sky and clouds because it was described as spacious and light in direct contrast to the nearby somber bombed out

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[88] Chitlin's are pig intestine, offal that was often given to slaves and so denotes a second class status, while at the same time a certain amount of ethnic pride. A Chitlin circuit is a working class string of entertainment venues or gigs that altered to Black entertainers. These gigs were not glamorous but provided steady income and the ability to work the circuit regularly was no small accomplishment. For more see, Preston Lauterbach, *The Chitlin' Circuit: And the Road to Rock "n" Roll: And the Road to Rock "n" Roll* (W. W. Norton & Company, 2011); Preston Lauterbach, author of "The Chitlin' Circuit, and the Road to Rock "n"Roll", "The Origin (And Hot Stank) Of The 'Chitlin' Circuit'," NPR.org, accessed December 6, 2017, https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2014/02/16/275313723/the-origin-and-hot-stank-of-the-chitlin-circuit.

[89] "Many Ex-GIs Taking Jobs In Germany," *Chicago Defender*, March 30, 1946, 2.

[90] Preston Lauterbach, The Chitlin' Circuit: And the Road to Rock "n" Roll: And the Road to Rock "n" Roll (W. W. Norton & Company, 2011).

[91] Chitlin's are pig intestine, offal that was often given to slaves and so denotes a second class status, while at the same time a certain amount of ethnic pride.

[92] "Army Finds Special Club For Negro GI's In Bremen, Germany," *Cleveland Call and Post (1934-1962)*, March 22, 1947.

German town. Like the White GIs, the club had a soda fountain that was brand new and shiny. There the Black GIs could enjoy sundaes, malted milkshakes, hamburgers and other iconic American comfort food. There were several record players with popular records, juke boxes and listening rooms for Black GIs to enjoy. The record collection might not have appealed to some of the Black GIs because the newspaper claimed that if even an aspiring musician so much as played a single chord, the soldiers would rush to gather around the piano because the men preferred to "make their own kind of music." Approximately two thousand soldiers visited the club weekly.

One of the highlights of these Special Services Clubs were the Special Services Shows. Music played a large role in all of the Special Services clubs. The band would consist of GIs.[93] The Seventeenth Army Special Services Company stationed in Mosbach was one of the first all-Black bands that served as the house band for these shows. The Seventeenth Army Special Services band must have been popular because they travelled all over Europe. These musicians were trained to make their own instrument repairs. That did not mean that these shows were under-budgeted, though. These shows also had expert stage technicians, lighting, and even dedicated makeup personnel. As the house band, the Special Services band would back up headlining artists who would travel as a single, meaning without a band. Pianist Cedar Walton and vocalist Billy Paul mentioned backing up Gary Crosby, the son of the legendary Bing Crosby. The headliner did not have to be a GI. It could be a United Services Organizations (USO) performer. The USO was, a charitable institution that provided live entertainment to soldiers in order to boost their morale and offer comfort. Entertainers who volunteered for the USO would often be backed up by the Army bands as would popular entertainers booked and paid by the army. For example, Brook Benton, a very popular African American vocalist who enjoyed success in several genres, including crossover success with white or "pop" audiences, did a ten-concert tour of only military bases in 1965.[94] Almost two decades earlier, in 1948, Rex Stewart, a trumpeter who used to play with Duke Ellington, toured the American service clubs in Germany under the sponsorship of Special Services. Stewart was not a major headliner, so his concerts during this tour were not always full. *Billboard* magazine revealed that although Stewart's exact fee was not known, clubs booking Stewart's small combo would have to pay special Services $125 a night, which was five times what they would pay for the army orchestra. A symphony orchestra usually consists of anywhere from 80-100 members, so Stewart seems to have been paid relatively well. German combos would get $6 to $12 a night and a meal that was "precious" during the years immediately after the war, when calories for the common German family were scarce.

Another performer touring military bases was Christine Jorgensen, a White American transwoman who had served in the military when she was drafted as George Jorgensen during World War II. She went through a sex change operation in Denmark in 1955 and subsequently honed an act that was known for extravagant dress changes. The newspaper refers to her eighteen-day tour of military bases in the summer of 1965 as the "military

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[93] "Special Service Unit Begins Third Year Of Entertaining GI's In Europe," *Cleveland Call and Post (1934-1962)*, February 8, 1947.

[94] Conrad Clark, "Eyed by GIs Abroad: Brook Benton, Christine (George) Jorgensen," *Philadelphia Tribune (1912-2001)*, July 27, 1965.

circuit." This shows that by 1965 there was an established military circuit of engagements for entertainers, otherwise known as "gigs."

Sometimes playing Special Services clubs led to becoming an expatriate. Jazz pianist Art Simmons came to Germany in 1946 with a Special Service's Band. After Simmons was discharged, he went to Paris to study and remained.[95] Another Special Service's musician named Tommie Harris also became an expatriate and will be explored in depth later in this chapter.

The Seventeenth Army Special Services Soldier's Show and Company was based in Frankfurt. Providing music was a large part of their function, whether that was via radio or through live performance. A Swing Band comprised of personnel from this company toured widely throughout Allied military bases. A 1947 article testified that in addition to providing bands, soldier choruses and small musical groups, there was an entertainment crew which constructed sets, props, lighting and makeup, in addition to also being individual entertainers. They also had a six-page newspaper to promote their events for the soldiers stationed in Occupied Germany.[96]

One of the most popular shows at Special Services were the dances. There was a Swing Dance Band comprised of a few of the musicians in the Seventeenth Army Band that was popular for dances. Swing was not the only style they could play, though. Special Service Bands were adept at playing all styles and tempos from Boogie-Woogie, a driving style of Blues to Waltzes. The Jazz GIs whom I interviewed said they were allowed to bring a date to these dances and that the German public could come to these special occasions if invited by a GI. However, during the Allied occupation years, 1945-1949, many GIs were told by their military superiors not to fraternize with Germans, particularly German women. Nevertheless, this warning did not stop many of them.

Hostesses were assigned to the Service Clubs. These were neither Red Cross hostesses nor Salvation Army "Donut Dollies" who made and handed out donuts and coffee. It is important to note that these particular hostesses were not the type of Japanese hostesses who were there to socialize and dance with men. Some of these Special Services hostesses were indeed in charge of the club. In 1950 the Baltimore *Afro-American* did a small photo

[95] Ernest Dunbar, *The Black Expatriates:A Study of American Negroes in Exile;* (Indiana University: London, Gollancz, 1968), 115–16, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/inu.32000009648108.
[96] "17th SSC Is Talented Unit," *The Pittsburgh Courier (1911-1950), City Edition*, February 1, 1947.

feature on African American Special Services hostesses of Kitzingen, Germany.

From left to right, they are identified as Miss Muriel K. Fawcett from Jamaica, Long Island, Special Services club director; Mrs. Catherine Robinson from Baltimore, Maryland, librarian; Mrs. Alma Williamson from Sweckley, Pennsylvania, assistant club director; Miss Clara Corkum, Chicago, Illinois, recreational director; and Miss Frances Clayburn from Trenton, New Jersey, program director. These women are modestly dressed in below the knee skirt-suits with collared shirts under the jacket. Every one of them has perfectly coifed and straightened hair. It is likely that the married women were stationed at the same base as their husband and could dance with him or perhaps another married military family. What is clear is that African American hostesses had a fair amount of control and expertise.

In 1950, Miss Mathilda R. Rolland, an Ivy League-educated African American woman from Philadelphia, became the head of recreational programs at Kitzingen. Her previous experience included planning and executing Red Cross clubs in New Guinea, Japan and Guam. In 1948, the Red Cross closed its clubs in Germany and eighty-five of them were taken over by the Army Special Services.[97] It would appear that they also were able to use many of the former Red Cross hostesses as well.

In 1950, in Frankfurt, Germany, a group of African American hostesses organized a gala dance for the opening of the Rainbow Room Special Services club, which included overseeing the renovation and redesign needed to turn a Wehrmacht, Nazi Army barrack

[97] "Red Cross to Close Clubs in Germany," *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, August 20, 1947.

into a club. Music for the gala dance was provided by the Jazz Pirates, a band under the supervision of European Command Special Services. There were twenty African American hostesses at this club. There were also African American women in the Women Army Corps. In Kitzingen, there were 36 thirty-six enlisted women in 1950.

In Mannheim, in October 1945, a concert was given by a popular Swing Jazz dance band, the Sweethearts of Rhythm. The Sweethearts were an important all-female Jazz Big Band that rose to prominence in the United States during World War II when most of the male musicians were in the war. It was also an integrated band The Baltimore *Afro-American* said the GIs lined up for a mile to see them.[98] The International Sweethearts of Rhythm stopped in Mannheim because they were on a tour of Military Special Services clubs.

The experience of the International Sweethearts of Rhythm was not the typical experience for female musicians, especially women in the military. In 1950, Doris I. Allen, who had joined the Army auditioned for the Special Services Band after basic training along with four other Black women. Allen was a musician and she really wanted to be in the band. During the audition, the band suddenly stopped playing even though the conductor had not given the cut off signal to end the music. Allen and her other Black friends kept playing and then suddenly noticed that no one else was playing. She asked why everyone stopped playing because the signal to stop playing had not been given. The person who auditioned them said they stopped because, "We don't really allow Negras in the band."[99] Allen was then assigned as an Entertainment Specialist, but she wanted to be in the band. From Allen's history we can tell that there were female musicians in Special Services Bands, but despite Executive Order 9981 to desegregate the military, there were still overt acts of racist and sexist exclusion. She also later experienced discrimination in terms of promotions because she would not "go out" with her commanding officer.[100]

In most instances, highly educated women were used to run Special Services' rather than be instrumentalists in the Special Services Band. Major Clara Johnson joined the military in 1950 for greater opportunities, including travel. Johnson said in an oral history interview that she felt that the military took her because she had some college and did not need much developing. Her experience prior to the military was theatrical stage design. The military put her to work for Special Services very quickly. She became a float designer not only for military bases but also for Government floats in civilian events, such as the Rose Bowl. She was the Special Services' librarian and eventually ran a Service Club. Unlike Doris Allen, she did not report any racial incidents and became lifelong friends with the forty women she went through basic training with, although she was the only woman of color in the group. Johnson left Special Service's to attend Officer Candidate School in

[98] Melvin Patrick, "GI'S Line up Mile Long to Greet Sweethearts Rhythm," *The Baltimore Afro-American*, October 6, 1945.
[99] Doris I. Allen and Debora Cox, "Doris I. Allen Collection," Veterans History Project, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, accessed March 6, 2021, http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/vhp/story/loc.natlib.afc2001001.109035/.
[100] Allen and Cox.

1953.[101] Even though Johnson was not a Jazz musician, she, like Doris Allen, was part of the German Special Services circuit.

Jazz was not the only music sponsored by the military. They organized tours for several classical musicians. Most of these classical musicians were White, however renowned African American lyrical tenor Roland Hayes was booked for a military tour. Hayes sang in German, Italian, French and English, and was already popular in Europe. At Hayes' highly acclaimed Berlin 1924 concert, he waited patiently for twenty minutes while the crowd hissed at the sight of a Negro. He then sang a Lied[102] in German and the audience burst into explosive applause. The newspaper reviews were effusive.[103] A Vienna newspaper article, "Der Schwarze Tenor auf der Probe" (The Black Tenor Put to the Test) noted, "he has a musical intelligence that goes far above the average white person."[104]

Hayes was offered forty engagements for the next season after leaving Germany.[105] His fame in Germany probably played a part in him being booked by the Armed Forces. Despite the many difficulties that African American classical singers battled, Hayes was able to make several demands for his touring conditions. For his 1954 concert at the U.S. Army theater, he was able to demand that the tickets must be free. This enabled Germans to also attend his concert. Hayes remarked, "I am certain that singing is an important factor towards world peace."[106]

In 1963 the Chicago *Defender* bragged that "Negro Stars Never Want For Work." At the same time they noted that although Germany was integrated in theory, there was still segregation due to some Dixie-minded American servicemen. Many middle-class musicians could become professional expatriates by playing the military clubs for servicemen. The pay was better than that in the United States. Black musicians, especially those from the southern states, could take advantage of a life that was racially better in Germany.

One such person was Tommie Harris, a formidable Jazz and Blues singer and drummer who still tours and lives in Germany. During a concert program that we played together in Davos, Switzerland, he confided to me that he came to Germany as a GI in the Air Force. He joined the Air Force in 1959, serving in Korea first. Harris was born in Alabama and grew

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[101] Clara C. Johnson and Ruth Stewart, "Clara C. Johnson Collection," Veterans History Project, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, accessed March 6, 2021, http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/vhp/story/loc.natlib.afc2001001.42843/.

[102] Lieder are songs made by setting German poetry to music, usually from the Romantic period. Hayes sung "Du bist die Ruh" (You are repose) by composer Franz Schubert and poet Friedrich Rückert.

[103] Kira Thurman, "A History of Black Musicians in Germany and Austria, 1870-1961: Race Performance and Reception" (Dissertation, Rochester, NY, University of Rochester, 2013).

[104] "Der Schwartzer Tenor Auf Der Probe," *Neues Wiener Journal*, October 10, 1925.

[105] Warren Marr and Roland Hayes, "Roland Hayes," *The Black Perspective in Music* 2, no. 2 (1974): 186–90, https://doi.org/10.2307/1214235; "ROLAND HAYES TAKES BERLIN BY SURPRISE: Critics Unanimous in Praise of Tenor," *The Chicago Defender (National Edition) (1921-1967)*, June 28, 1924; "ENTERTAINERS ABROAD: Billy Eckstine-Roland Hayes," *Afro-American (1893-1988)*, August 14, 1954.

[106] "ENTERTAINERS ABROAD," A7.

up with segregation. After he was discharged, he came back home and refused to sit in the back of the bus, much to the chagrin of the police. Harris felt that he had served his country and deserved respect and refused to accept anything less. Shortly after, he returned to Germany to start a musical band that got its start touring the military clubs. Harris said when he went to Bitburg, he went to the Service Club and checked out an instrument which led to him meeting some other musicians. They formed a Band that was hired for the Officers' Club, then the Special Services Club started giving them weekly engagements. Soon they began touring other bases like Spangdahlem and Kaiserslautern and Frankfurt, which alone had seven Service clubs. Harris said, "We were there more than another city because they had the most Service clubs."[107]

At one point Harris met keyboardist Rod Temperton, who would later go on to write Michael Jackson's *Thriller,* and wanted him to join the band. The other members didn't want Temperton to join the band because he wasn't Black, but Harris insisted and threatened to "kick the ass of anyone who had a problem."[108] No one would fight Harris and so Temperton joined the band. Harris stayed in the military for twelve years before deciding to leave and try to make a full time career in music. He was in a band called 'Heat Wave' that included a fellow West Germany stationed former GI, Johnny Wilder. After Harris left the group, they had major success with the songs, "Boogie Nights" and "Always and Forever."[109] Harris became very successful on the Blues scene and remained in Germany. He has lived in Germany for over fifty years.[110]

In 1973, *Variety* magazine reported that devaluation of the dollar had decimated the GI club circuit in Germany. The clubs were forced to pay German staff higher wages and the overhead of touring, flights, transportation etc., was more expensive. As a result, many of the Special Services Clubs were opened fewer hours a week. *Variety* wrote that previously the Air Force had spent seven thousand dollars a year on shows and bands, and the Army had paid a little less. Now the Army and Air Force only spent four thousand dollars each on entertainment. This dampened the circuit for American performers who lived in the United States and needed more money to cover their intercontinental flights, but it increased the prospects for American musicians living in Germany because the American military clubs including the Special Services club, officer's club and non-commissioned officer clubs still preferred American bands.

GIs who could make music formed bands in order to take advantage of the military circuit. They served duty in the day and then played the clubs at nights. This persisted through the Vietnam War. The Army would hold band contests for the GIs and the winners would win a tour throughout the military clubs in Germany. For some Black GIs, being able to play the Special Services circuit in Germany meant they would not be deployed to

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[107] Kim Nalley, Interview with Tommie Harris Davos, Switzerland., April 2008.
[108] Suzanne Dietz, *"It's a Blues world:" Begegnungen mit Tommie Harris*, Documentary, History (BluesCat, 2019).
[109] Times Staff and Wire Reports, "Johnnie Wilder Jr., 56; Lead Singer of R&B; Band Heatwave," Los Angeles Times, May 28, 2006, https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2006-may-28-me-passings28.1-story.html.
[110] Nalley, Interview with Tommie Harris Davos, Switzerland.

Vietnam, which was a far more dangerous commission. By then, Black power,[111] funk and other counter cultural musical genres were popular. Lewis Hitt, a guitarist in an Army funk band named East of Underground, noted the irony of the Army making his band play the protest song Curtis Mayfield's, "There's a Hell Below, We're All Going to Go," from Mayfield's debut solo album *Curtis*.[112] The following is an excerpt of the lyrics:

> Top billing now is killing
> For peace no-one is willing
> And Nixon talking about don't worry[113]

The military did not just have the band play this live, they also recorded the band without their knowledge and used the album to recruit volunteers in schools and poor neighborhoods for years. In 2011, a compilation of East of Underground's live concerts made the album available for mass consumption. The producer, filmmaker, and library music collector David Hollander wrote in the liner notes that, "The U.S. Army spends an estimated $200 million a year on music, and is the largest single employer of musicians in the country."[114]

Having the military as one's musical contractor did have certain drawbacks, especially if the musician was a GI. The military was very strict about the band's dress appearance. Bands who performed for Special Services were expected to conform to a dress code. In the 1950s, for the Seventh Army Jazz Orchestra, the dress uniform was a suit and bow tie. After several minor dress infractions for not wearing ties, or not having the top collar buttoned, or for looking disheveled when coming off the tour bus, several Seventh Army Jazz Orchestra musicians decided to protest on several occasions. For example, one time the musicians came off of the tour bus with underwear on their heads. The Jazz Orchestra was disbanded. Saxophonist Don Menza, who was in this orchestra but did not take part in the protests, speculated that the military decided having a Jazz orchestra was not worth the trouble of dealing with so many troublesome Jazz musicians.[115]

The military tightly curtailed Special Services bands comprised of GIs into the 1970s. Austin Webb, a singer in the funk band East of Underground, had grown an Afro. A general watching their concert took offense to the Afro and was going to discipline him. The other members of the band managed to convince the general that the Afro was a wig and a part of their costume and Webb avoided disciplinary action. Fellow band member Hitt said, "We all learnt early on that you don't challenge the Army."[116]

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[111] A philosophy of Black pride and empowerment that had a popular resurgence in part due to Kwame Ture's eponymous book.

[112] Will Hodgkinson, "'If We Screwed up, We'd Be Sent to Vietnam': For US Army Draftees, the Best Way to Avoid War Was to Form a Funk Band. Will Hodgkinson Uncovers the Remarkable Story of How the Sound of Black Power Became a Military Tool," *The Times*, January 14, 2012, sec. Saturday Review.

[113] Curtis Mayfield, *(Don't Worry) If There Is a Hell Below, We're All Going to Go* (Mayfield, 1970).

[114] "The U.S. Army's Rock 'N' Roll Past," NPR.org, accessed March 2, 2021, https://www.npr.org/2011/10/30/141827472/the-u-s-armys-rock-n-roll-past.

[115] Don Menza, Telephone Interview with Don Menza by Kim Nalley, August 2020.

[116] Hodgkinson, "'If We Screwed up, We'd Be Sent to Vietnam.'"

Civilian musicians could also have their actions circumscribed as well. In 1953, the *Variety* wrote that artists working for Special Services in Germany were accustomed to "humiliations, hardships and unbearable conditions." This stemmed from the fact that although the military spent large sums of money hiring entertainment, the officers in charge of entertainment had no experience in the entertainment industry. Military shows were sometimes booked on travel days, which is generally avoided in the entertainment industry. If one worked on a weekly rate, one could be overbooked with several shows in a week for the same rate. The shows were expected to start and stop with military precision. At each new post artists would be expected to "audition" again. This "audition" was actually a private show for officers, although at times Germans employees would be present. In one case an artist was sent back to the States, not because the caliber of their show was under par but because an officer did not like the artist personally.[117]

In conclusion, the military's preference for American acts and the huge sums of money spent on procuring musicians created a scene comprised of GIs, former GIs and American civilian artists who had no previous connection to the military. The financial pull that the military circuit offered and the abysmal civil rights conditions in the US that frequently pushed African Americans to Europe, in combination fueled this scene. Ernest Dunbar wrote in 1968, "there is the traditional European respect for the musical artist, which lifts him out of the considerations of color and into a favored category of existence."[118] During the mid 1960s, a Black Jazz musician who moved to View Park, Los Angeles had his house bombed simply for being a Negro in a white neighborhood.[119] In comparison, Charles Nichols an expatriate in Berlin said that no one looked twice at him renting or owning in an upper-class neighborhood. Nicholas notes, "In the first place I couldn't have afforded it (in the States,) and in the second place ,they simply wouldn't have me."[120] This confirms the push pull conditions that fueled the scene. This does not mean there was not racial prejudice in Europe, however in comparison as one African American expatriate said, in the United States he was a worthless black face**, --** "a nigger."[121]

As with post WWI France, post-World War II Germany viewed African Americans as the "authentic purveyors of Jazz."[122] In the United States, that sentiment was no shared universally. In the United States, Benny Goodman is the King of Swing, not Duke Ellington or Count Basie. While there were many advantages to playing the military circuit, it is important to keep in mind that it is still the military and certain perks of the entertainment industry were not always available. For example, some musicians complained at certain clubs there were no dressing rooms and they had to change in the restrooms. Furthermore, the command hierarchy of the military meant that artists could be subject to the capriciousness of their higher ups, commanding officer, generals etc. One would not

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[117] Henry Vance, "U.S. Zone In Germany 'Worst' Booking For Yank Acts; GI Posts Ineptly Run," *Variety (Archive: 1905-2000)* (Los Angeles, United States: Penske Business Corporation, April 29, 1953).
[118] Dunbar, *The Black Expatriates*, 118.
[119] Dunbar, 147.
[120] Dunbar, 167.
[121] Dunbar, 145.
[122] Dunbar, 167.

become rich playing the military circuit, but it was a good living for many African Americans. For these reasons, I have dubbed the post-World War II network of clubs on military bases in Germany, the "German chitlin' circuit."

Chapter Three: Playing for Uncle Sam-The Seventh Army Band

The Count Basie Band was playing at the Plantation Club in Los Angeles, September of 1944. Buddy Tate recalled,

> "A young guy came out one night –Zoot suit on, big chain down to his knees like Cab Calloway. He introduced himself and [we] thought he was a fan." After buying them several rounds of drinks, he revealed himself to be an FBI agent there to conscript Lester Young and Jo Jones into the military. The FBI agent told them to "report at nine in the morning or else go to jail for five years."[123]

This chapter examines the experiences of some Jazz musicians in the military. It provides the background and biographies of several Jazz musicians in order to familiarize the reader for the subsequent chapter which examines the effect that GI Jazz from the Seventh Army Band had on Germans and African Americans. Before going into post-World War II period it is also important to show how it differed from the experiences of World War II.

World War II "interrupted" the careers of many Jazz musicians. After being drafted, famous White swing musicians, such as Glen Miller, were often allowed to form special military bands. African American Jazz musicians such as saxophonist Lester Young, however, could often look forward to basic training in the Jim Crow South. Young's time with the military mentally broke him after he spent a brutal year in a detention center, officially for marijuana possession, and unofficially for having a photo of his white wife in his locker.[124] Saxophone legend John Coltrane enlisted in the Navy in 1945, presumably to avoid the Army, and like many Black musicians in the segregated military at that time,[125] he was neither listed nor paid as a Navy bandsman despite playing in the military band the Melody Masters.[126] In addition to playing and recording with the Melody Masters, Coltrane was still obligated to fulfill his normal duties, including security detail and working in the kitchen, since officially he was only a guest player with the band.[127]

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[123] Scott Knowles DeVeaux, *The Birth of Bebop: A Social and Musical History* (University of California Press, 1997), 246; Martin Torgoff, *Bop Apocalypse: Jazz, Race, the Beats, and Drugs* (Boston, MA: Da Capo Press, 2017), 7.

[124] Dave Gelly, *Being Prez: The Life and Music of Lester Young* (Oxford University Press, 2007); Douglas Henry Daniels, *Lester Leaps in: The Life and Times of Lester "Pres" Young* (Beacon Press, 2003).

[125] Although the U.S. Navy allowed Black Americans to enlist, and during certain wars mix, I cannot call the Navy's largely race-based inequalities of rank and labor positions desegregated. A notable exception would be Alton Adams, the first Black bandmaster in the Navy, for more see, Alton A. Adams, *The Memoirs of Alton Augustus Adams, Sr.: First Black Bandmaster of the United States Navy* (University of California Press, 2008).

[126] Lewis Porter, *John Coltrane: His Life and Music* (University of Michigan Press, 1998), 38.

[127] Porter, 39.

Chapter Three: Playing for Uncle Sam-The Seventh Army Band

Unsurprisingly, some African-American musicians, loathe to die or be injured in a "White man's war," tried to avoid being drafted.[128] Some accomplished this by living an itinerant lifestyle, one-step ahead of the authorities, while others enjoyed a 4F status due to being unfit for service or pretending to be unfit for service.[129] Trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie in an effort to avoid the draft reported to his inspection in underwear while holding his trumpet in a paper bag which he refused to let go of. Gillespie also told them he did not understand how Germany was the enemy when the White man in the United States was the one who had "his foot up his ass." Gillespie said did not know any Germans and might shoot the wrong person. The inspectors may have thought he was crazy and declared him unfit for service.[130] More than just showing how he avoided being drafted it revealed the ambivalence that Gillespie felt about participating in a war between White people without having equal rights in his own country.

Even musicians who avoided the draft faced severe difficulties. Touring during World War II was difficult due to gas and rubber rationing.[131] *The Negro Motorist's Green Book Compendium*, written in 1936, was designed to help African Americans travelers find safe lodging, restaurants and restrooms. It was used until after the Civil Rights Movement had eradicated at least most of overt formal segregation. The *Green Book* was as much a how-to-travel book for African Americans, as it was a book on how hard it was to travel for African Americans.[132] Former Congressperson and NAACP chairperson Julian Bond emphasized the importance of the *Green Book* for African Americans travelling through the South. Musicians I interviewed, such as Houston Person and Tootie Heath testified that they relied on "the grapevine" or routes and places well known to any African American bandleader who was used to touring. In the case of a less savvy White bandleader, such as Artie Shaw, who had African American Jazz vocalist Billie Holiday in his band in 1938, they often did not pick places amenable to accommodating a Black person and according to Jazz musician, professor and chairperson of the Loyola English Department Mark Osteen, at times Billie had to sleep on the bus.[133] The Recording Ban of 1942-1944 and a union strike over royalties for radio and jukeboxes slowed the manufacturing of new records down to a

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[128] Scott Knowles DeVeaux, *The Birth of Bebop: A Social and Musical History* (University of California Press, 1997), 246; Dave Gelly, *Being Prez: The Life and Music of Lester Young* (Oxford University Press, 2007); Lewis Porter, *Lester Young* (University of Michigan Press, 2005), 23.

[129] Malcolm X details a humorous account of how he avoided the draft in his autobiography by Alex Haley.

[130] Dizzy Gillespie, *To Be, Or Not-- to Bop* (U of Minnesota Press, 2009), 119–220.

[131] Lawrence McClellan, *The Later Swing Era, 1942 to 1955* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2004), 41.

[132] Mia Bay, *Traveling Black: A Story of Race and Resistance* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press: An Imprint of Harvard University Press, 2021).

[133] Jesse Deflorio, *Music at the Crossroads: Lives & Legacies of Baltimore Jazz*, ed. Mark Osteen and Frank J. Graziano, Illustrated edition (Baltimore, MD: Apprentice House, 2010); "On Her Centennial, What Billie Holiday Means to Baltimore - Baltimore Sun," accessed January 11, 2021, https://www.baltimoresun.com/entertainment/arts/bs-ae-billie-holiday-centennial-20150328-story.html.

trickle.[134] All these factors combined to leave many Jazz musicians who were not in the war with "an attitude" or at least a distaste for authority.[135]

This distaste for authority was sometimes represent via clothing and "styling choices."[136] People who wore Zoot suits tended to be rebels who openly flouted the fabric rationing during the war by defiantly wear the excessively baggy broad shouldered suit favored by African Americans and Chicanos.[137] What better disguise to sneak up on Jazz musicians on? It is small wonder that the musicians in the Count Basie Band were surprised that the hip looking fellow wearing a Zoot suit was actually an FBI agent.

While World War II derailed many Jazz musicians' careers making it hard to keep a band of Jazz musicians as all available males became drafted, military service in post-World War II Germany seems to have helped the careers of many African American Jazz musicians. Before World War II had ended, the United States began a Cold War with its World War II partner the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR.) Truman's policy of containment ensured that military bases in Germany meant to de-Nazify a defeated country also became a means of securing the country against communist expansion. The draft was reenacted with the Selective Service Act of 1948, which was extended until 1973, when the United States switched to an all-volunteer military.[138]

The fact that American occupiers sought to de-Nazify Germany with a segregated military graphically revealed America's enduring racial hypocrisy.[139] During the Cold War, Truman became increasingly committed to civil rights as the plight of African Americans began to play out on the international stage. Truman's Executive Order 9981 to desegregate the military was issued on July 26, 1948. However military centers remained segregated for decades, with all-black units existing as late as 1954. In 1968 a memorandum from Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford admitted that "vestiges" of racial discrimination "lingered" into the1960s.[140]

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[134] Mike Levin, "All Recording Stops Today," *DownBeat Magazine*, August 1, 1942; DeVeaux, *The Birth of Bebop*, 299, 302, 366.
[135] DeVeaux, *The Birth of Bebop*, 246.
[136] Shane White and Graham White, *Stylin': African American Expressive Culture, from Its Beginnings to the Zoot Suit* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999).
[137] Luis Alvarez, *The Power of the Zoot: Youth Culture and Resistance during World War II* (University of California Press, 2008); Luis Alvarez, "From Zoot Suits to Hip Hop: Towards a Relational Chicana/o Studies1," *Latino Studies* 5, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 53–75, http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.lst.8600237; Shane White and Graham White, *Stylin': African American Expressive Culture, from Its Beginnings to the Zoot Suit* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999).
[138] Gerald T. Cantwell, *Citizen Airmen : A History of the Air Force Reserve 1946-1994* (DIANE Publishing, 1997); "Selective Service | USAGov," accessed August 10, 2020, https://www.usa.gov/selective-service.
[139] Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*, With a New preface by the author edition (Princeton, N.J.; Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2011).
[140] Clark Clifford, "Memorandum for the President from the Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford," July 26, 1968, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/7542721.

Chapter Three: Playing for Uncle Sam-The Seventh Army Band

Off-base discrimination was particularly difficult to curtail. The proliferation of military bases in Germany after World War II and the longevity of this occupation in the wake of the Cold War resulted in a proliferation of German clubs designed to entertain American GIs, and in many cases specifically Black GIs. These clubs helped to pump American dollars into the devastated German economy. These clubs also provided a haven for Black GIs, attracted American Jazz & blues musicians, and created a scene that a German version of Harlem Montmartre, or at least a German chitlin'[141] circuit.[142]

Much like African-Americans in France during the post-World War I, or interwar period, Black GIs who played Jazz in Germany after World War II found an emerging Jazz scene.[143] This new "chitlin' circuit"[144] as examined in chapter 2, centered around American Military Bases that offered many playing opportunities for African Americans. There were however opportunities off base as well. The *Chicago Defender*, March 30, 1946 wrote that "Many Ex-GIs Taking Jobs in Germany."[145] Maria Höhn noted that Fez Roundtree of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, who had served in Germany after WWII "stayed on for a number of years playing in the thriving Jazz clubs of Munich."[146] This is what Jazz musicians call a "scene." A "scene" in the Jazz vernacular is an area that fosters the artistry of Jazz musicians, usually in the combination of paying gigs to support oneself; jam sessions where musicians can congregate to network with other musicians; "shed," meaning to work on new musical ideas; meet new people; and acquire more gigs. In addition, the scene included audiences excited by live Jazz performances. The military provided the "day gig," GIs deployed in Germany could expect a steady salary, room and board courtesy of Uncle Sam. But often the real "hang" where lovers of Jazz could socialize freely was provided by German club. "Sam's Saxophone" and the "JazzKeller" in Frankfurt, the "International Club" and "Blue Note" in West Berlin, "Dug's Night Club" in Schönenberg-Kübelberg, and Cave 54 in Heidelberg were just a few of the clubs that were part of this scene. These places catered to Black GIs, played American Black music, - Jazz, Blues, and Rhythm and Blues Music which was often a hybrid during this period, and hired African American musicians who played it. In the same way that Blacks elevated the discarded remains of pig intestines into a tasty soul food called chitlins or chitterlings, world class Black culture was developed at these small clubs in part because Black musicians were not welcome at other places.

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[141] Chitlin's are pig intestine, offal that was often given to slaves and so denotes a second class status, while at the same time a certain amount of ethnic pride.

[142] See Chapter Two. "Many Ex-GIs Taking Jobs In Germany," *Chicago Defender*, March 30, 1946, 2.

[143] William A. Shack, *Harlem in Montmartre: A Paris Jazz Story Between the Great Wars*, 1st ed. (University of California Press, 2001); Tyler Stovall, *Paris Noir: African Americans in the City of Light* (Mariner Books, 1998).

[144] A network of venues (especially in segregated area) in which African-American entertainers could perform.

[145] "Many Ex-GIs Taking Jobs In Germany," *The Chicago Defender (National Edition) (1921-1967); Chicago, Ill.*, March 30, 1946.

[146] Maria Höhn, "'We Will Never Go Back to the Old Way Again': Germany in the African-American Debate on Civil Rights," *Central European History (Cambridge University Press / UK)* 41, no. 4 (December 2008): 605, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008938908000861.

Chapter Three: Playing for Uncle Sam-The Seventh Army Band

A great example of how the combination of the military and off-base German clubs functioned simultaneously with the same musicians can be illustrated by examining the history of the Seventh Army Band. The Seventh Army Band based out of Stuttgart was neither a marching band, nor was it an official instrument of cultural diplomacy, or cultural soft power as covered in Chapter One. The official institution of cultural diplomacy was the Seventh Army Symphony Orchestra which played mostly classical music.[147] The Seventh Army Symphony Orchestra toured throughout Europe from 1952-1962.[148] Some Jazz musicians such as Lanny Morgan, Eddie Harris and Leo Wright were in the Seventh Army Symphony. According to Lanny Morgan, the Seventh Army Symphony, did not play much Jazz because individual improvisation was not often a component of formal military bands.[149]

The ensemble known colloquially as the Seventh Army Band was actually an informal association of musicians most of whom were contracted by "Special Services" and often operated under the term "Soldiers' Show & Company."[150] European Command Special Services (EUCOM) provided off-duty recreation and entertainment for U.S. Forces. In 1949, EUCOM operated ninety-eight service clubs that provided music, dancing and shows. Eighty-eight of those clubs were in Germany, and they were frequented not only by the US Armed forces, but also by Allied personal and German guests.[151] For more on these clubs read Chapter Two the German Chitlin Circuit. The type of music performed at the service clubs was often "variety show" music, playing behind the "various and sundry" musicians such as Gary Crosby, the son of Bing Crosby.[152] During off hours, these musicians would play Jazz in German clubs and bars. Actually, the musicians often cited as being in the Seventh Army band were sometimes neither in the Soldier's Show and Company nor in the Seventh Army at all. The Vaihingen Air Force base was right next to the Seventh Army, and as I will show, the musicians from both the Air Force and the Army often played together in off base German clubs. The Seventh Army Band is important is because their activity both on and off base had a significant cultural impact on Germans and the Jazz GIs. It is also

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[147] African American conductor Henry Lewis was the conductor of the 7th Army symphony in 1954. Later he became the First Black symphonic conductor in the United States. Although this work is Jazz themed, it seems African-American musicians who excelled in Classical music may have benefitted from military orchestras as well.

[148] John Canarina, *Uncle Sam's Orchestra: Memories of the Seventh Army Symphony*, 1st edition (Rochester, NY: BOYE6, 1998), xi.

[149] McPhee, Interview conducted by students of Professor Maria Höhn's American Culture Colloquium, September 7, 2010.

[150] Cedar Walton, Interview with Cedar Walton NEA Jazz Master 2010 Smithsonian Jazz Oral History Program conducted by William A. Brower and engineered by Kenneth Kimery, October 2, 2010, Archives Center, National Museum of American History.

[151] "Information Bulletin Frankfurt, Germany: Office of the US High Commissioner for Germany Office of Public Affairs, Public Relations Division, APO 757, US Army, November 1949," *Information Bulletin*, November 1949, http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/History-idx?type=div&did=History.omg1949Nov.i0002&isize=text.

[152] Walton, Interview with Cedar Walton NEA Jazz Master 2010 Smithsonian Jazz Oral History Program conducted by William A. Brower and engineered by Kenneth Kimery.

important because many of these young musicians would later become Jazz luminaries, and these particular experiences informed their musical and cultural development.

Before demonstrating how the Seventh Army band unofficially yet profoundly contributed to a cultural diplomacy that affected both the Germans and the musicians positively, the next portion of this chapter, offers brief biographical sketches of the most influential members of the Seventh Army Band. Next in this chapter, I explore how these Jazz musicians became important emissaries of a type of Jazz different from that which Germans were familiar with. Under the Weimar Republic there were Negro revues and some Swing from rebellious *Swingjugend* during the Nazi era. The Seventh Army Band musicians could play almost anything, however, as I will show however in Chapter Four Jammin' the Blues in the Key of Democracy, their excellence in the new forms of Jazz such as Bebop, Post-Bop and Hard Bop created a unique scene. Chapter Four also explains how the military allowed Jazz GIs to marinate their art and make connections that would affect them after being discharged. As previously shown, several scholars have written about how Jazz has affected Germans, especially through the State Department's Jazz Ambassadors Program and through African American GIs. There is less information about how the military as an institution and a social and cultural environment affected Jazz musicians, other than stressing how Germany's relatively freer racial atmosphere undergirded the evolving German Jazz scene that these musicians helped to create. This work will in part rectify this deficiency by telling these Jazz GIs stories.

The Seventh Army Band is often mentioned by Jazz musicians but has never been written about in detail. Its line-up included young musicians who would later become Jazz luminaries, such as: Cedar Walton (1934-2013), piano; Don Menza (1936-present), tenor saxophone; Don Ellis (1934-1978), trumpet; Leo Wright (1933-1991), alto sax, flute, clarinet; Lex Humphries,(1936-1994), drums; Lanny Morgan (1933-present), alto sax; Eddie Harris (1934-1996), alto and tenor saxophone; Houston Person (1934-present), tenor saxophone; Billy Paul (1934- 2016), vocals; Ron Anthony (1933-present), guitar; Joe Jones (birthdate unknown-1992), piano; and, "Philly" Joe Jones (1923-1985), drums. This next section offers a biography of each of these musicians, some of whom, like Lex Humphries, have had no comprehensive bio previously written.

The leader of the Seventh Army Special Services Band during several periods, Cedar Walton (1934-2013) was an African American, born in Dallas, Texas and groomed to play Jazz piano by his mother, before going on to study music at Dillard University in New Orleans and the University of Denver. He left school before graduation to try his hand in the New York scene, but was drafted into the army in 1956.

Figure 2 Cedar Walton 1956 in the Seventh Army Band photo courtesy of Don Menza

Cedar notes, "I started to get a few gigs [in New York], though. After a year of that, almost to the day [from arriving in New York], April 1956, I let Uncle Sam catch me."[153] In the army, Walton had the opportunity to play with Duke Ellington's band before being deployed to Stuttgart-Vaihingen, Germany to work in communications, laying wire. Soon after he was transferred to Special Services to work full time as a pianist and leader for the Seventh Army Band. After serving two years and simultaneously playing in the Seventh Army Band, he returned to New York. His star quickly ascended, playing with Kenny Dorham, recording on John Coltrane's iconic "Giant Steps" album, which also featured fellow Seventh Army Band alum, drummer Lex Humphries. Walton subsequently landed the piano chair in Art Blakey's hard-bop group "The Jazz Messengers." After leaving the Jazz

[153] Gene Lees, *Cats of Any Color: Jazz Black and White* (Oxford University Press, 1995), 169.

Messengers, he played and recorded with Abbey Lincoln and Etta James, helping James win a Jazz Grammy for her Billie Holiday tribute "Mystery Lady." In later years, the Cedar Walton Trio featured drummer Billy Higgins and bassist Ron Carter or bassist Dave Williams. Many of Walton's compositions have become Jazz standards, including "Bolivia." In 2010, Walton was awarded a Lifetime honor as a Jazz Master by the National Endowment for the Arts.[154]

Houston Person is an African American born in Florence, South Carolina in 1934. He started learning piano before switching to tenor saxophone at the age of seventeen. He joined the Air Force voluntarily before he was drafted. He said he did so in part because he thought the Air Force would treat him better than the army, expressing admiration for the Tuskegee Airmen.[155] Person was stationed at Ramstein Airforce base outside of Mannheim. Although Person was technically not part of the Seventh Army Band, he played with the band regularly off base. After the Air Force, he attended Hartt Conservatory in Hartford, Connecticut and played two years with Hammond B3 Organ master Jimmy "Hammond" Smith before recording his first solo albums.

Person is one of the best-known purveyors of Soul-Jazz, a swinging funky[156] cross between hard-bop, gospel and blues that emphasized African-American musical cultural mores and a new style of danceability at a time, in the 1950s and 1960s when Jazz was losing a significant part of its Black audience. That noteworthy decline in Black audiences owed in part to intellectualization of the music, meaning Jazz's growing move to "White spaces" such as concert halls, and a Jazz disconnect from new dance rhythms. In addition to being funkier, Soul-Jazz often included the popular music featuring Black church organs, such as the Hammond B3. Person recorded one of the most iconic albums of Soul-Jazz with organist Charles Earland,"Black Talk!" It is one of the best-selling Soul Jazz albums of all time and according to critic and writer Scott Yanow, one of the few Jazz albums to effectively use popular and rock songs instead Jazz standards as a basis for bluesey, gospel

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[154] John Fordham, "Cedar Walton Obituary," *The Guardian*, August 23, 2013, sec. Music, http://www.theguardian.com/music/2013/aug/23/cedar-walton; "Interview with Cedar Walton," *DO THE M@TH* (blog), April 11, 2016, https://ethaniverson.com/interview-with-cedar-walton/; Ed Enright, "Pianist-Composer Cedar Walton Dies at Age 79," *DownBeat Magazine*, August 2013, https://web.archive.org/web/20131215040204/http://www.downbeat.com/default.asp?sect=news&subsect=news_detail&nid=2200.

[155] Houston Person, Interview with Houston Person conducted by Kim Nalley, November 10, 2010.

[156] In an African American musical context, funky means bluesy with a syncopated rhythm. Yale scholar Robert Farris Thompson connects it to the African word *lu-fuki*, strong body odor, but it used in a positive sense. In Jazz history ,the pioneer of Jazz, trumpeter Buddy Holden (1877-1931) had a band called the Funky Butt, named after an African American dance in which the buttocks were swayed in time with the music. Funky can also denote a certain connection to Black aesthetics. See, Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African & Afro-American Art & Philosophy* (Double Day: 2010).

tinged improvisation.[157] Person's music has been heavily sampled by young Hip-Hop artists today, including Kendrick Lamar and Jurassic 5. His is also well known for his thirty-plus year musical relationship with Jazz vocalist Etta Jones, best known for her 1960 hit "Don't Go To Strangers."[158]

Don Menza is a White[159] American tenor saxophonist who was born in Buffalo, NY in 1936. In an interview, he revealed no one else in his family was musically inclined.

> One day I heard a Jazz record—"Body and Soul." Then the next day somebody let me listen to a Gene Ammons[160] record. And three weeks later I had a tenor saxophone. That was it. I was 15, and I hadn't played till then. I never studied; it was something I went after, and there it is. I learned by practical experience only.[161]

Figure 3 Don Menza Trophy

Menza served in the Army from 1958-1960. He was originally assigned to the Third Army Military Band in Frankfurt. Menza played around Germany when off-duty and participated in the Hamburg Jazz Festival with his sextet. In my interview with him in 2020 Menza said, "We even sang a Four Freshmen's song[162] and I had a sax solo. We won top place. As a matter a fact I'm lookin' at the silver cup award right now. Right after that I was reassigned to Stuttgart to play in the Seventh Army Jazz Orchestra."[163] The Jazz Orchestra was a short-lived entity due to insubordination. For example, on one occasion many of the musicians wore underpants on their heads while exiting the tour bus or embellished charts with

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[157] Ted Gioia, *The Jazz Standards: A Guide to the Repertoire* (Oxford University Press, 2012); *Black Talk! - Charles Earland | Songs, Reviews, Credits | AllMusic*, accessed April 10, 2021, https://www.allmusic.com/album/black-talk%21-mw0000674678.

[158] Person, Interview with Houston Person conducted by Kim Nalley; Nat Hentoff, "Protector of the Soulful Melody," *Wall Street Journal*, December 7, 2010, sec. Life and Style, http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748704361504575552133970332218.

[159] I have identified race and nationality in the biographies precisely because it will be a relevant factor in this dissertation, also because "White" should not be considered a default color that is not mentioned while "Black" or other colors/races are.

[160] Gene Ammons was a tenor saxophonist with a thick, warm, soulful sound who was versed in bebop as well as the blues.

[161] Interview with Les Tompkins 1968, "Don Menza: I Never Studied," accessed October 13, 2017, http://jazzpro.nationaljazzJazzarchive.org.uk/interviews/don_menza.htm; Menza, Telephone Interview with Don Menza by Kim Nalley.

[162] The Four Freshmen were a popular vocal group that used extended Jazz harmonies.

[163] Don, Don Menza Interview by Sam Noto for Hamilton College Jazz Archive, January 28, 1997, Hamilton College Jazz Archive; Interview with Les Tompkins 1968, "Don Menza: I Never Studied"; Brian Charette, "Don Menza," *New York City Jazz Record*, November 2014.

funny notes. Menza clarifies that he, however, was not involved in any of these pranks. [164]

Menza then began playing in the Seventh Army Band, in a small combo under Special Services. Menza says that he played with Cedar, Don Ellis, and Leo Wright, but Lanny Morgan was not there yet. When asked to verify if Lex Humphries was in the band, Menza said he was not because he was in the Air Force. When asked if he played with Humphries offsite at clubs, Menza replied, that Humphries was "in the band like that, like, Percy [Houston Person]. Eddie Harris played with us all the time also, usually at the clubs."[165] After he was released from active duty, Menza had become close enough friends with Don Ellis for Ellis to invite Menza to live with him.

After the Army, Menza stopped playing because he wanted to have a "normal life." That lasted for two years. Next, he decided to resume being a working musician and was hired to play with Maynard Ferguson, a band that included the former Seventh Army Band alto saxophonist Lanny Morgan. Ferguson's band was very experimental but was not commercially popular enough to pay well. Menza decided to play with the better-paying Stan Kenton Band. That gig proved musically unfufilling, with little solo time. Menza then panicked. He now claims that he made the wrong decision. Disillusioned with the scene, he quit playing, again.

> Right then, in 1964, I just didn't know what I wanted to do. I didn't want to go in Woody [Herman]'s band[166]at the time. Nor did I want to go back with Maynard's band; they were starting to scuffle even more about bread. I knew Dusko Goykovich[167] from 1956 when I was in the Service; he gave me Max Greger's address, and said: "Write him a letter." So I wrote Max, told him who I was and what records he could get to hear me on. Three weeks later I was in Europe. What a switch that was!.[168]

Menza stayed in Munich, Germany from 1964-68. He was employed fulltime by the Max Gregor Big Band for ZDF Germany television, a lucrative, steady gig. After four years, Menza returned to the United States and played with Buddy Rich, Louie Bellson, and was a long-time member of Johnny Carson's Tonight Show Band. His compositions, especially "Groovin' Hard" have bcome jazz standards included in many jazzJazz study books.[169]

Don Ellis is a White American trumpeter born in 1934 in Los Angeles, California. He studied music composition at Boston College, graduated in 1956, and subsequently became a member of the Glen Miller Orchestra. Ellis states, "We had 3 months of one-night stands with a total of three nights off making a minimum of 500 miles a day in the bus. But I was

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[164] Menza, Telephone Interview with Don Menza by Kim Nalley.
[165] Menza.
[166] Woody Herman was clarinetist and Big Band leader during the Swing Era who enjoyed immense mainstream success. His hits include "Woodchopper's Ball" and "Sing, Sing Sing!"
[167] Duško Gojković is a Serbian trumpeter player who lived and played Jazz in West Germany in the 1950s, See "Frankfurt Allstars" (Brunswick; 1956) and Kurt Edelhagen Orchestra.
[168] Interview with Les Tompkins 1968, "Don Menza: I Never Studied."
[169] "Don Menza - Jazz Saxophonist," accessed August 9, 2020, https://www.donmenza.com/; Menza, Telephone Interview with Don Menza by Kim Nalley.

happy to be right out of college making $135 a week. I stayed until September of 1956, when the Army got me."[170]

Ellis became one of the few musicians who was both in the Seventh Army Orchestra and the Seventh Army Band (Soldier's Show Company) in which he was the chief arranger, according to Leonard Feather. My interviews with musicians, however, have given several differing accounts.[171] The personnel of the Seventh Army band during the Don Ellis years 1956-58, according to Feather, included Eddie Harris, Cedar Walton and vocalist Sam Fletcher, who later became roommates with Walton and Drummer Albert "Tootie" Heath in New York after they were discharged.

After leaving the Army in 1958, Ellis became a prominent figure in the New York Avant Garde Jazz Music scene**.** Avant garde Jazz was made popular by musicians such as Ornette Coleman and Cecil Taylor and featured a type a Jazz that tried to break away from established musicological rules.[172] Other players in this scene including Ellis then became a figure in the Third-Stream Jazz scene, a movement that sought to fuse Jazz with Classical music.[173] Don Shirley the protagonist of the popular movie the Green Book was a Third Stream pianist. Ellis returned for tours in Europe and recorded for the radio station sector of Norddeutscher Rundfunk (NDR) in Hamburg, Germany.

Ellis then began graduate studies in Ethnomusicology at the University of California, Los Angeles, and subsequently received a Rockefeller Foundation Creative Associate Fellowship. Ellis began to experiment with time signatures**,**[174] especially East Indian-Hindustani time signatures. In 1971, Ellis won a Grammy for his music arrangements for the film *French Connection*. He was a virtuoso on his instrument. Nevertheless, his beautiful, disciplined tone was deemed distracting by Jazz critic Richard Hadlock.[175] Hadlock, an excellent Jazz saxophonist, disc jockey and writer never felt that Jazz was better when it was closer to classical music. Hadlock perhaps thought Ellis was so self-

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[170] Leonard Feather, *From Satchmo To Miles* (New York; London: Da Capo Press, 1987), 215.
[171] Some identify Cedar Walton as the band leader. Since the musician did not often serve consecutive terms, it is possible that Ellis was the band leader and when he left Walton took over.
[172] Gabriel Solis, "Avant-Gardism, the 'Long 1960s' and Jazz Historiography," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131, no. 2 (January 1, 2006): 331–49; Daniel Won-gu Kim, "'In the Tradition': Amiri Baraka, Black Liberation, and Avant-Garde Praxis in the U.S.," *African American Review* 37, no. 2/3 (2003): 345–63, https://doi.org/10.2307/1512319.
[173] Don Banks, "Third-Stream Music," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 97 (1970): 59–67.
[174] A time signature is how many beats are played in a measure (bar) of music. In Jazz, 4/4 four beats to the bar sometimes called swing, 3/4 or three beats to the bar sometimes called waltz, one Latin feel might be 6/8 and a slow Gospel 12/8. In comparison, East Indian time signatures include a cycle or tala that has a more complex repeating pattern such as 9 beats divided into 4+2+3, which increases the permutations possible. For more info see, Tanya Kalmanovitch, "Jazz and Karnatic Music: Intercultural Collaboration in Pedagogical Perspective," *The World of Music* 47, no. 3 (2005): 135–60.
[175] Richard Hadlock, "Album Review of Essence," *DownBeat Magazine*, June 3, 1963.

conscious about his tone that he forgot to bring the grease[176] in the form of blue notes[177] and rhythms and perhaps it was Hadlock's statement on what he thought of Third Stream music in general.

Throughout his career Ellis enjoyed genre-defying popular success, performing alongside popular rock acts like the Grateful Dead and Big Brother and the Holding Company, while remaining at the cutting edge of Jazz. Feather described him as a relentless innovator and proselytizer for new developments and compared him to Miles Davis in importance. [178] Feather's description has not aged well in part because he is not as well-known as Miles Davis.[179] Miles Davis' 'Kind of Blue' is the best-selling Jazz album of all time and along with John Coltrane, he is arguably the most important Jazz instrumentalist of all times.[180] Nonetheless, Ellis is important enough for University of California at Los Angeles to house his complete collection.

Don Ellis' radical experimentations in Happenings, a type of performance art pioneered by American painter Allan Kaprow.[181] For example, a performance once included a group of musicians standing silently looking at a piano.[182] Don Ellis died of heart complications in 1978.[183]

Leo Nash Wright (1933-1999) was an African-American alto saxophone, flute and clarinet player who was born in 1933 in Wichita, Texas. His father, a Rhythm & Blues alto saxophonist, taught him to play. He also learned from John Hardee, a major player in the 1950s and 1960s for Blue Note.[184] Wright attended Tillotson College, where Bobby

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[176] The term grease implies dirt or a stain in the derogatory sense, but in Black American vernacular grease also has a positive meaning. Greasy is Bluesy, and in the pocket. It is the guttural cry of a sax that mimics the growl of the human voice moaning. Music with grease is smooth and dirty in a positive sense. Grease or oil is often used to moisturize the roots of afro-textured hair. It is also used to rub on dry elbows and knees to get rid of white "ashy" flakes so the skin can shine dark and glistening. Similarly, if a Black person says, "We need some grease up in this joint!" then they are saying the place lacks either Black people or Black esthetics.

[177] Flatted or minor third fifth or seventh notes. Blue notes are prevalent in African-American music.

[178] Feather, *From Satchmo To Miles*, 211–20.

[179] Feather was a record producer and manager as well as a critic. It would be interesting to see if Feather had any recording projects with Don Ellis. Thanks to Dr. Chuck MacKinnon for helping me brainstorm Feather's motives behind his description of Ellis.

[180] Eric Schewe, "Why Miles Davis's 'Kind of Blue' Is So Beloved," JSTOR Daily, April 21, 2019, https://daily.jstor.org/why-miles-daviss-kind-of-blue-is-so-beloved/.

[181] Robert E. Haywood, *Allan Kaprow and Claes Oldenburg: Art, Happenings, and Cultural Politics* (Yale University Press, 2017).

[182] Feather, *From Satchmo To Miles*, 213.

[183] Feather, 8, 212.

[184] "John Hardee," *Blue Note Records* (blog), accessed August 10, 2020, http://www.bluenote.com/artist/john-hardee/.

Bradford described him as playing like a mature professional.[185] The fraternity Omega Psi Phi lists Wright as a brother in Spring 1953 at Tillotson. Wright was drafted in 1956 before completing college and was accepted into the Seventh Army Symphony Orchestra as a flautist, his secondary instrument. This confirms his not only his Rhythm & Blues and Jazz prowess, but also his Classical music prowess. It is unclear if Wright was transferred from the Army to the Air Force, but he was stationed in both Stuttgart and later Ausberg which had an intelligence operation base there called Gablingen Kaserne. In either case, several musicians recall him playing with the Seventh Army Band in addition to being formally in the Symphony Orchestra.[186]

He resumed his education at San Francisco State University in 1958, while playing in back of Beat poets such as David Meltzer. When the money from his "GI Bill ran out," he moved to New York to find work.[187] There he played with Charles Mingus before being recruited by Dizzy Gillespie in 1959.[188] His debut album as a leader was the 1960 *Blues Shout* for Atlantic Records. He had mastery over several different styles of Jazz. For example, he recorded an important Third stream (classical Jazz fusion) album *Orchestra U.S.A. Debut* for Colpix Records; a Brazilian album with Argentine composer, conductor, arranger Lalo Schifrin and the father of bossa-nova great Antonio Carlos Jobim; and made an excellent soul-Jazz album with organist Gloria Coleman. The list of legendary artists he recorded with is amazing, including Ron Carter, Junior Mance, and Jack McDuff.

Wright freelanced in Scandinavia 1963-64 before he emigrated to Berlin, Germany in 1964. It is unclear why he moved. African Americans had still not gained formal equal rights and the Harlem riots after the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights would have been a push factor. His first wife was Sigrid Vogt. Sigrid is a Scandinavian name and Vogt is a German last name so perhaps that was a pulling factor. In Berlin, he became a full-time member of Paul Kuhn's Radio Free Berlin Studio Band, Sender Freies Berlin, which was lucrative steady work so that might have also been a pulling factor for becoming an ex-patriate. As I will show later, Paul Kuhn had hired African American flutist and saxophonist Leo Wright, another former Seventh Army Band musician. Wright's second wife vocalist Elly Wright was born in Austria so his move to Vienna is understandable. Wright suffered a stroke in 1980, but was able to resume playing.[189] He stayed in Europe until his death in Vienna in 1991. Despite his prodigious recording accomplishments, he is less remembered in the United States because he became an expatriate.[190]

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[185] "Www.Jazzweekly.Com | Interviews," accessed August 10, 2020, https://www.jazzweekly.com/interviews/bradford.htm.

[186] Lees, *Cats of Any Color*, 169; Ted Panken, "Eddie Harris Interview" (New York: WKCR-FM, June 29, 1994); Menza, Telephone Interview with Don Menza by Kim Nalley.

[187] Dave Oliphant, *Jazz Mavericks of the Lone Star State* (University of Texas Press, 2009), 54.

[188] Oliphant, 54–58.

[189] Joe Weisel, "GI Jazzer Sets Berlin Spectacle," *European Stars And Stripes*, March 8, 1980.

[190] Oliphant, *Jazz Mavericks of the Lone Star State*; "Leo Wright - Verve Records," accessed August 10, 2020, https://web.archive.org/web/20081008021526/http://www.vervemusicgroup.com/leowright; Chris Kelsey, "Leo Wright | Biography & History," Criteria for Recording Academy

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Lex P. Humphries III is an African American Jazz drummer born August 22, 1936. He is the drummer on some of the important Jazz albums of all times, including John Coltrane's "Giant Steps." Humphries has recorded important albums with Art Farmer, Benny Golson, Dizzy Gillespie, Junior Mance, Lee Morgan, McCoy Tyner, Wes Montgomery, Bay Area legend John Handy, Sonny Stitt, Herbie Hancock, Hank Mobley and Sun Ra. He appeared in the Sun Ra Science-fiction film "Space is the Place." Primarily known as a sideperson,[191] efforts to pin down a more detailed biography have been elusive. Humphries seems to be like an avatar due to his iconic status in the drum world. He was well-known enough to have a drum sponsorship with Neely drums. His birthplace is variously listed as: Queens, New York; Detroit, Michigan; Rockaway, New Jersey; and, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. There is a birth record that I tracked down for Lex Humphries born on August 22, 1936 — as noted above — in Queens, New York. However, both the Library of Congress and Oxford Music list him as having been born in Rockaway Beach, New Jersey.[192]Leonard Feather and Ira Gitler write that his mother played violin and his brother played congas.[193] A self-taught musician, Humphries cites Philly Joe Jones as his main influence. According to Eugene Chadbourne, who wrote the liner notes for the album "Leon Thomas in Berlin Live,"[194] Humphries played with Jazz yodeler/vocalist Leon Thomas, for the concert recording and then for the second half of the concert he played with Sun-Ra's Arkestra, a testament to Humphries' versatility and demand.[195] As previously noted, he had an

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membership, AllMusic, accessed August 16, 2020, https://www.allmusic.com/artist/leo-wright-mn0000208857/biography; "Leo Wright," IMDb, accessed August 16, 2020, http://www.imdb.com/name/nm4300314/; "TSHA | Wright, Leo Nash," accessed January 12, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/wright-leo-nash.

[191] I have avoided the use of the common phrase "sideman" to be gender inclusive; the term refers to the band members who are not the bandleader/headliner and/or do not have the record label contract. In short, the person who receives the checks rather than the person who signs the checks.

[192] The Library of Congress, "LC Linked Data Service: Authorities and Vocabularies (Library of Congress)," webpage, accessed August 17, 2020, https://id.loc.gov/authorities/names/no91018355.html; "Humphries, Lex (P., III)," Grove Music Online, accessed August 17, 2020, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-2000212300; "Ancestry.Com - New York, New York, Birth Index, 1910-1965," New York City Department of Health, accessed August 16, 2020, https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/61457/images/47769_b353776-00047?treeid=&personid=&hintid=&queryId=1bba904af9b13745ddb2a231f31f6807&usePUB=true&_phsrc=ynC1&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&_ga=2.135184373.597423666.1597617297-160934566.1597617297&pId=3301859.

[193] Leonard Feather and Ira Gitler, *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Jazz* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2007).

[194] Leon Thomas, *Leon Thomas In Berlin with Oliver Nelson Recorded Live at the Berlin Philharmonic Hall* (FLYING DUTCHMAN, 1970).

[195] Eugene Chadbourne, "Lex Humphries," *Blue Note Records* (blog), accessed August 16, 2020, http://www.bluenote.com/artist/lex-humphries/.

endorsement deal with Leedy Drums, whose advertisements sprinkle newspapers and Jazz publications. Beyond his discography and tour years, very little else is known about Humphries. Jazz critic Andrew Gilbert admits that Humphries is a "bit of a ghost," with even liner notes only mentioning his name in passing. Gilbert writes, "His associations make him look like a Detroit cat." For example, perhaps his earliest association was with Detroit trumpeter Donald Byrd, but he is not mentioned in Mark Stryker's *Jazz From Detroit*.[196] Humphries was in the Air Force but was requisitioned to played in the Seventh Army Band, particularly the Soldier's Show.

Saxophonist Lanny Morgan, a friend of Lex Humphries, wrote that Humphries was with him in the Air Force at about the same time, 1957 and 1958. They used to play together at the Jazz clubs in Heidelberg. Morgan recalled:

> We used to congregate in Heidelberg during any free time, a beautiful little university town about forty miles north of Stuttgart (Seventh Army headquarters). There were two Jazz clubs in Heidelberg, --Die Falle, the Fave, and Cave 54. We would take them [the clubs] over and play and drink 'til all hours. Lex was there most of the time. He was a wonderful drummer. I would see Lex occasionally when I lived in New York. I was on Maynard Ferguson's Band, and he was with Benny Golson's Jazztet. Last I saw him was in the Back Bar at Pep's (Jazz club) in Philly, where I was playing with Maynard. We had a couple of drinks together. He didn't seem right, staring into space, not talking much and disconnected. I had the feeling he wanted to hit on me for money. I think he was either strung out or very sick--or both. That's the last time I saw him, about '63-'64.[197]

Morgan's reminiscence reveals several things. First, it confirms the fluidity of the association between the Air Force and the Army musicians stationed in Stuttgart. Similarly, it reaffirms that the Seventh Army Band, at least as it is used by musicians, refers more to the associations of these musicians playing together off base, than it does the official military roster of the Seventh Army Symphony and Soldiers' Special Shows. Second, it reveals the nature of their relationship. Jazz musicians usually simply say they "know" someone, or that they "played together" or that they are "colleagues." The fact that Morgan refers to Humphries as a friend infers that there was a closeness between them off the stage as well. Despite segregation in United States and de facto racial discrimination or at least unfriendliness, like many Jazz musicians, Morgan, who is White, and Humphries, who was Black, did not allow the color of one's skin to dictate their friendships and willingness to play together, especially in "jam sessions." In the chapter "Occupiers," I explore how the Black GIs enjoyed a more equal status, or as Colin Powell called it a "breath of freedom" in post-World War II Germany.

Morgan's reminiscence also corroborates what I have gleaned from interviews by other musicians, who wish to remain anonymous on this point. They all feared that

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[196] Mark Stryker, *Jazz from Detroit* (University of Michigan Press, 2019); Andrew Gilbert, Telephone and email Conversation with Gilbert by Kim Nalley, Telephone and email, August 16, 2020.

[197] Lanny Morgan, Telephone Interview with Lanny Morgan by Kim Nalley, February 2, 2018.

Humphries was suffering from mental illness later in his life. Humphries seems to have died in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on July 11, 1994. This is also corroborated by oral reports that he lived in Germantown as well as several advertisements in newspapers that show him performing live in Philadelphia often.[198] s

Born in Des Moines Iowa, March 30, 1934, White American alto saxophonist Lanny Morgan is described as brilliant and underrated by several Jazz critics. This judgement owes to the fact that he grew up and was based in Los Angeles rather than New York, where Jazz musicians receive more notice.[199] Morgan's father was a 1930s Swing big band musician who played violin, saxophone and clarinet. He describes his mother as a "semi-classical singer." His uncle also played saxophone. Morgan began playing violin, an instrument he continued to play for sixteen years, although his mother did not want him to be a professional musician when he grew up.[200] In 1944 they moved to Los Angeles. Lanny started playing his father's clarinet in junior high and played clarinet in the marching band and violin in the orchestra at school, but did not switch to alto sax until the end of high school. Morgan credits the radio turned producer Gene Norman's "The East Side" radio Jazz program that played New York bebop artists such as alto saxophonist Charlie Parker and pianist Thelonious Monk with inspiring him to play saxophone. He studied harmony, counterpoint and arranging at Los Angeles City College. He was also in Bob McDonald's famous Jazz band[201] at Los Angeles City College, which was so accomplished that they won Metronome's Best College Jazz Dance Band award in 1953 . That distinction enabled them to record four sides[202] for Capitol Records.[203] Morgan must have learned quickly under McDonald's tutelage because by 1954 he started to play professionally with several Big Bands, including that of Charlie Barnet.

Morgan was playing at Texas A&M University when he received the telegram that he had been drafted. Initially Morgan thought his career would have taken off quicker if his career hadn't been interrupted because being drafted caused him to turn down a spot playing in Stan Kenton's band and took him "off of the scene."[204] In March 1956, he began playing in the Seventh Army band for two years until he was discharged. Morgan writes, "I was in the 4th Armored Division but was on TDY (temporary duty assignment) to the Seventh Army during my whole stay in Germany."[205] Lanny Morgan is listed as playing in

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[198] Germantown was primarily an African American neighborhood in the 1950s and 19060s and seems to be a likely place for an African American to have been able to purchase a house with the GI Bill.

[199] Herb Wong and Paul Simeon Fingerote, *Jazz on My Mind: Liner Notes, Anecdotes and Conversations from the 1940s to the 2000s* (McFarland, 2016), 93; Scott Yanow, *Bebop* (Hal Leonard Corporation, 2000), 316.

[200] *Lanny Morgan Interview by Monk Rowe - 2/14/1999 - Los Angeles, CA*, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0vtDRSUiF_c.

[201] Morgan says this is the first lab Jazz band that played student arrangements, had a studio and would bring in "ringers" famous musicians to play with the band.

[202] A side is one song on one side of a 78 or 45 record. In this case they recorded on 78.

[203] *Lanny Morgan Interview by Monk Rowe - 2/14/1999 - Los Angeles, CA*.

[204] *Lanny Morgan Interview by Monk Rowe - 2/14/1999 - Los Angeles, CA*.

[205] Lanny Morgan, "Email to Kim Nalley," August 17, 2020.

the Seventh Army Symphony Orchestra, but he said in a phone interview that he also played with a group called Jazz Three. The original group was Jazz One, then Jazz Two, and so forth.[206]

Figure 4 Photo provided by Lanny Morgan 1956

[206] Canarina, *Uncle Sam's Orchestra*; Morgan, Telephone Interview with Lanny Morgan by Kim Nalley.

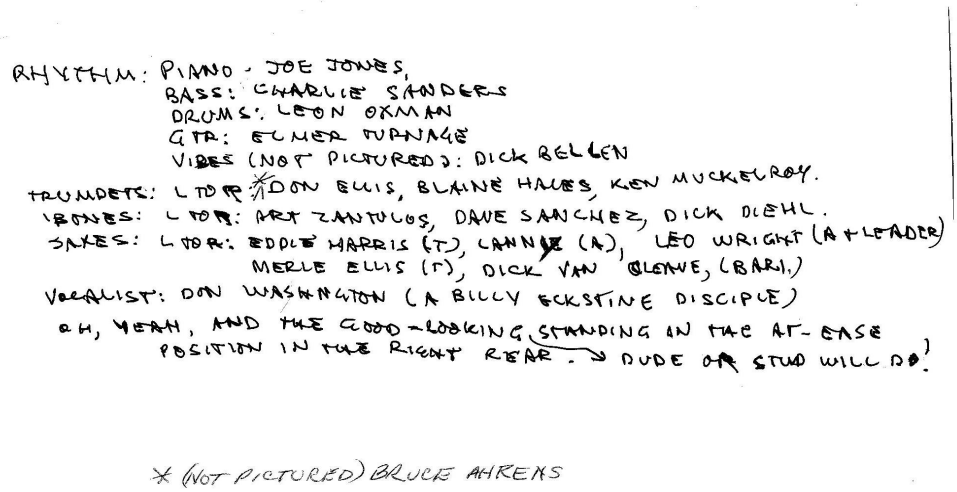

Figure 5 Photo and handwriting by Lanny Morgan –

Rhythm: Piano: Joe Jones: Bass Charlie Sanders Drums Leon Oxman Guitar: Elmer Turnage Vibes (not pictured) Dick Bellen

Trumpets: Left to Right Bruce Ahrens (not pictured) Don Ellis, Blaine Hale, Ken Muckleroy

[Trom]bones: Left to Right Art Zantulos Dave Sanchez Dick Diehl

Saxes: Eddie Harris (tenor) Lanny (alto) Leo Wright (alto and leader), Merle Ellis (tenor) Dick Van Cleave (baritone)

Vocalist: Don Washington (A Billy Eckstine Disciple)

Morgan was discharged on New Year's Eve 1958[207], and he soon began his long association with Maynard Ferguson's Big Band. He freelanced in New York, then returned to Los Angeles to play with the band SUPERSAX. A highly sought-after studio musician, he has played for film scores, and several television shows, and recorded with Manhattan Transfer, and Steely Dan.[208] A prolific educator with credits that include the Stanford Jazz Workshop and more than one hundred clinics, Morgan is alive and well, living in Los Angeles.[209]

Pianist Joe Jones was born in Newport Virginia. He was a child prodigy who began playing piano at age four. He appears to have been a multi-instrumentalist because he was

[207] Morgan, "Email to Kim Nalley," August 17, 2020.
[208] "Lanny Morgan," California Alliance for Jazz, accessed August 16, 2020, https://www.cajazz.org/hall-of-fame/lanny-morgan; Wong and Fingerote, *Jazz on My Mind*, 93-95; Yanow, *Bebop*, 316.
[209] Morgan, Telephone Interview with Lanny Morgan by Kim Nalley.

also a trumpeter in the Seventh Army Symphony. He also was the Pianist in Jazz Three at the same time as Lanny Morgan, Don Ellis and Eddie Harris. After being discharged he became the pianist for a seminal doo-wop group, the Five Keys, sometimes the Five Keys and the Three Notes. Jones also was an arranger for the group and can be heard on their recordings for Capitol Records and Aladdin Records. Jones also played with Cab Calloway and Otis Redding. Jones was also a talented Jazz organist who played regularly at Fagan's in Portsmouth, Virginia. In 1960, Trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie heard of his talents and stopped in to sit in and jam with Jones for hours after the gig had ended. Dizzy and Jones played until 5am in the morning. Dizzy had been testing Jones on his Jazz and Bebop skills and Jones passed the test and was offered a position in Dizzy's band. Jones died in 1992 from brain cancer but played regularly at the Savannah Club in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania until three months before his death.[210]

Drummer "Philly" Joseph Rudolph Jones was born on July 15, 1923 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The nick name "Philly" distinguished him from Count Basie's drummer "Papa" Jo Jones. Philly Joe started playing drums at age four and was also a tap dancer, which in the African American tradition is considered a percussion instrument as much as a form of dance.[211] Jones' aunt played saxophone and his mother and all her siblings could also play piano, but Jones preferred drums to piano, even getting suspended at school for drumming on his desk with his pencils. As a young teen, Jones would hang around the back window of clubs and bars that had live music so he could pick up how to play, even though he lacked a drum set. He was mentored by drummer James 'Coatsville' Harris. Described by many musicians as having a magical "it" quality with a wide range of skills like Sammy Davis, Jr., Jones could play, write arrangements, compose songs, play piano, play drums, sing, tap, was a comedienne and could do impressions of celebrities. Jones would have been well on his way to the New York scene, but Jones said he entered into Army at age sixteen in 1941, lying about his age so that he could join.[212] Jones was not qualified to be in a military band, instead he was a military policeman, however he jammed with other musicians in Germany every chance he could get.

Lex Humphries has been credited with replacing Philly Joe Jones in the drum chair in the Seventh Army band, although technically the Seventh Army was disbanded after the war and reactivated in 1950.[213] When Jones left the army in 1947 at age twenty-one, he was a much more seasoned player. Although Jones' years overlapped with the Seventh Army, they neither overlap with the years of the Seventh Symphony Orchestra nor the Soldier's Company Show. By the time Lex Humphries was in the military, Jones had become somewhat well known in the Jazz world and so perhaps the point is that Humphries was the next big drumming name jamming with the Jazz GIs after Jones.

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[210] "AROUND TOWN: [Final Edition]," *Daily Press*, September 6, 1992, sec. Arts & Leisure; "Joe Jones, Jazz Pianist," *Philadelphia Tribune (1912-2001)*, September 11, 1992.
[211] Aurwin Nicholas, *The History of Jazz and the Jazz Musicians* (Lulu.com, n.d.).
[212] This was not an uncommon practice; my great-uncle Reggie Jackson was also an underage veteran of World War II.
[213] Maria Höhn and Seungsook Moon, *Over There: Living with the U.S. Military Empire from World War Two to the Present* (Duke University Press, 2010), 10, 125.

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When Jones' left the military, he became close friends with drummer Max Roach and drummer Kenny Clarke, with whom he lived for a time in New York. He played in Philadelphia behind Charlie Parker, John Coltrane and Jimmy Griffith, before becoming the house drummer at Birdland in 1950. He played with pianist-composers Tadd Dameron and Gil Evans, and recorded with virtuoso trumpeter Clifford Brown. In 1952, Jones began his famous tenure in the Miles Davis Band that led to a string of iconic recordings with pianist Red Garland, saxophonist John Coltrane, and bassist Paul Chambers. He also played on John Coltrane's iconic album *Blue Trane.* Jones was Miles' favorite drummer, who famously said, "Philly Joe was the fire that was making a lot of shit happen. See he knew everything I was going to do, everything I was going to play; he anticipated me, felt what I was thinking."[214] That group is regarded as the Classic Miles Davis Quintet, and Miles became regarded as the most successful Jazz trumpeter, and arguably, Jazz musician, both musically and commercially.

This striking success owed in part to the technological triumph of 12-inch LPs (long play) records of the time. By 1959 33 1/3 LPs had replaced 78 singles. After decades of the 45s and 78s with two songs and two sides, longer play albums began to become popular. This larger format allowed Jazz music to be promoted with images, liner notes that included promotional biographies of all the players, and cover graphics that included the individual side players'[215] names. This long play format also allowed and encouraged long solos for more than one player.[216] These LPs were in fact closer to the live musical experience of Jazz.[217] In general it can be said that Miles' iconic band set the standard of Jazz to come, especially for the rhythm section.[218] Jones also recorded on the first Hard Bop studio date in 1953 with Clifford Brown and Lou Donaldson on an LP on for Blue Note Records in 1953. With commercial success that included promotion of the side players, after Jones' tenure in that band he became one the most in-demand Jazz drummers. The list of artists whose albums he recorded with after Davis is legendary.

Jones moved to Britain in 1967 where he taught Jazz with drummer Kenny Clarke. It does not appear that Jones had a work permit, so he likely took in private drum students, perhaps Clarke's overflow students. Jones then moved to Paris to play experimental music with Archie Shepp. He returned to the States in 1972 and formed his own group Dameronia, that featured compositions by esteemed Jazz composer Tadd Dameron**.** Jones also played regularly with Bobby Hutcherson, whose band included former Seventh Army

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[214] Farah Jasmine Griffin and Salim Washington, *Clawing at the Limits of Cool: Miles Davis, John Coltrane, and the Greatest Jazz Collaboration Ever* (Macmillan, 2008), 3; Miles Davis and Quincy Troupe, *Miles* (Simon and Schuster, 1990), 199.

[215] I have avoided the use of the common phrase "sideman" to be gender inclusive; the term refers to the band members who are not the bandleader/headliner and/or do not have the record label contract. In short, the person who receives the checks rather than the person who signs the checks.

[216] Record labels also began splicing the best solos from recording takes as well.

[217] Marc Myers, *Why Jazz Happened*, First edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 7; Janet Staiger and Sabine Hake, *Convergence Media History* (Routledge, 2009).

[218] Keith Waters, *The Studio Recordings of the Miles Davis Quintet, 1965-68* (Oxford University Press, 2011), 14.

band pianist Cedar Walton. Jones also recorded as a band leader for Milestones Records. Critic Ralph J. Gleason once called Philly Joe Jones "the greatest drummer in Jazz today and maybe the greatest drummer since Chick Webb."[219] He died at home in New York of a heart attack on August 30, 1985, at age sixty-two.[220]

Saxophonist Eddie Harris was born in Chicago on October 24, 1934. Harris started out in the church, playing piano and singing. He was a solo vocalist by age five. This was no small feat since the churches were Shiloh Baptist Church and later Ebenezer Baptist Church: the biggest churches in Chicago's South Side. His mother was from New Orleans and his father from Cuba. Harris was a sporty child who enjoyed boxing and other activities unlike many other budding musicians, who would have worried about ruining their hands or embouchure, the way an instrument fits in one's mouth. Playing classic Jazz such as the music of Duke Ellington came easily to him. As a result, because of the challenge it represented, Harris was more interested in Bebop, particularly players such as Charlie Parker and Bud Powell, whom he listened to on the Jazz at the Philharmonic radio program.

Chicago's Jazz scene has always rivaled New York's. While New York was known as the Jazz capital, Chicago also had a thriving and diverse world class music scene.[221] Harris was proud of Chicago and countered people who exalted John Coltrane as the first Jazz musician to play outside[222] [the changes] with, "Well, you should listen to Von Freeman!" Freeman (1923-2012), the father of celebrated Jazz saxophonist Chico Freeman, was a player who played outside many years before Coltrane. Although Coltrane is noted for popularizing playing outside of the changes, it is likely neither Freeman nor Coltrane were the first to play outside the changes. Rather, Harris was trying to convey that Chicago was cutting edge. Harris would often argue that Chicago had the most diverse players of any city, meaning that Chicagoans were already versed in a variety of styles. For example, King Oliver and Louis Armstrong brought the New Orleans style to Chicago very early on and there was a thriving blues scene and Hammond organ trio scene that many New Yorkers went to Chicago just to learn. Cedar Walton said in an interview that Harris was "the one that comes closest to reminding me of John Coltrane."[223]

At DuSable High school he was in the band directed by the famous Walter Dyett. The list of students under Dyett is astounding and includes Nat King Cole, Dinah Washington, Clifford Jordan, Dorothy Donegan and Johnny Hartman. Harris first started playing saxophone and clarinet with Dyett. Harris says, "John Gilmore was in class with me, Pat Patrick — the whole Sun Ra band, as a matter of fact." This was no ordinary marching band. Furthermore, there were also Jazz combos at DuSable that attracted the likes of

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[219] Panken, "Eddie Harris Interview."

[220] Jon Pareles, "Philly Joe Jones Dies at 62; Top Modern Jazz Drummer," *The New York Times*, September 3, 1985, sec. Arts, https://www.nytimes.com/1985/09/03/arts/philly-joe-jones-dies-at-62-top-modern-jazz-drummer.html.

[221] Davarian L. Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes: Modernity, the Great Migration, and Black Urban Life* (University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

[222] David Demsey, "Chromatic Third Relations in the Music of John Coltrane.," *Annual Review of Jazz Studies 5 (1991): 145-80.* 5 (80 145AD): 1991.

[223] Walton, Interview with Cedar Walton NEA Jazz Master 2010 Smithsonian Jazz Oral History Program conducted by William A. Brower and engineered by Kenneth Kimery.

Woody Herman, Count Basie, Duke Ellington, Lionel Hampton, all of whom were always eager to discover new talent.[224] Director Walter Dyett taught like a military sergeant. He would hit Harris and was known to kick musicians out of the band for playing a wrong note. The very next day he would have another, better musician in his seat. Walter Dyett's impact on Black music in Chicago is featured in the book, *The Black Musician and the White City: Race and Music in Chicago, 1900-1967*.[225]

After high school Harris studied music at Roosevelt University. After college he was drafted. Harris' strict training probably helped him in the military. He scored 98 out of 100 on his military music exams and was one of the few musicians who was both in the Seventh Army Symphony Orchestra and the Seventh Army Band. Harris says of his time in the Seventh Army Band.

> Yes. Cedar and I were outside of Stuttgart, at Vaihingen, and we had a Jazz band out of the orchestra that had formed. It was quite a Jazz band. Leo Wright was head of the Jazz band, people like Lanny Morgan, Don Menza was in the band . . . It was a very good band.[226]

After the military, Harris moved back to Chicago and signed with Vee Jay Records, producing several Jazz albums that crossed over in popularity. He was one of the pioneers in the Soul-Jazz movement, which brought many Black audiences back to Jazz by combining more current Black rhythms, such as funk, or by playing songs that had current appeal, instead of the largely White composer dominated "Tin Pan Alley" songs.[227] Because of his crossover appeal, Harris subsequently signed with major labels such as Columbia, and then Atlantic. He continued to produce high-caliber Jazz tunes that crossed over, culminating with his partnership with Soul-Jazz pianist-vocalist Les McCann.[228] Their explosive rendition of the protest song "Compared to What?" at the Montreux Jazz Festival 1969 was recorded for the album *Swiss Movement* (1969). This album received multiple Grammy nominations and awards.

Eddie Harris' credits as a composer include "Freedom Jazz Dance," popularized by Miles Davis. This tune is still played by Jazz musicians today. Harris also invented several instruments, including the reed-trumpet and the guitar-organ. He also put out a comedy album in 1975, called "The Reason Why I Am Talking Shit." In the 1980s and 1990s he collaborated with rock musicians such as Steve Winwood and Jeff Beck. Although

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[224] Other notable musicians who came from DuSable band included Gene Ammons, and Julian Priestley.

[225] Amy Absher, *The Black Musician and the White City: Race and Music in Chicago, 1900-1967* (University of Michigan Press, 2018).

[226] Panken, "Eddie Harris Interview."

[227] While the origins of the term Tin Pan Alley are disputed it is largely synonymous with the Great American Songbook and includes composer/lyricists such as Dorothy Fields, Jimmy McHugh, Irving Berlin, the Gershwins, Rogers, Cole Porter, and Hammerstein. Most Tin Pan Alley tunes are considered standards, played by Jazz musicians, but most were not written as Jazz tunes.

[228] Les McCann was a musician in the Navy in 1956. After his discharge he played with Gene McDaniels, the composer of "Compared to What?" The Navy band also has a long line of important Jazz musicians such as trumpeter Clark Terry and saxophonist John Coltrane.

sometimes denigrated as a sellout because of his popular success, Harris' playing was so virtuosic that his upper register on tenor saxophone was mistaken for a soprano sax on his debut recording *Exodus*. [229] He died in Los Angeles on November 5, 1996 of heart failure after a battle with bone cancer and kidney disease.[230]

Billy Paul was born Paul Williams on December 1, 1934. Born and raised in Philadelphia, Paul is considered one of the signature artists of producers Huff and Gamble's "Philly Soul Sound." This sound blended Jazz harmonies with funkier beats and strings. Paul was coming out of a Jazz background as opposed to a gospel background.[231] That collaboration gave Billy Paul a classic number one Billboard hit, "Me and Mrs. Jones." His first love, though, was Jazz, and he eagerly consumed the 78 Jazz records that his mother brought home.[232] He credits singing along to female Jazz vocalist such as Nina Simone, Carmen McCrae, Sarah Vaughn and Nancy Wilson for his high range. Paul said in an interview with Tony Cummings, "Female vocalists just did more with their voices, and that's why I paid more attention to them."[233] Paul was featured on radio station WPEN at age eleven through a connection from Bill Cosby, his neighbor. Later, Paul studied at the West Philadelphia Music School and the Granoff Music School. He then began to play the Jazz circuit, even performing with bebop alto saxophonist Charlie Parker. His first recording was a Jazz one for the Jubilee label, but he was shortly after drafted into the

[229] "In His Own Words Willie Pickens - 2004 Feature Interview," Chicago Jazz Magazine, December 15, 2017, https://www.chicagojazz.com/post/in-his-own-words-willie-pickens-2004-feature-interview.
[230] Panken, "Eddie Harris Interview"; Steve Huey, "Eddie Harris | Biography & History," AllMusic, accessed September 8, 2020, https://www.allmusic.com/artist/eddie-harris-mn0000169124/biography; "In His Own Words Willie Pickens - 2004 Feature Interview."
[231] Göran Olsson, *Am I Black Enough for You* (Abstract Sounds, 2009), http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1568801/; John A. Jackson, *A House on Fire: The Rise and Fall of Philadelphia Soul* (Oxford University Press, 2004).
[232] Fred Bronson, *The Billboard Book of Number One Hits* (Billboard Books, 2003), 325.
[233] William Grimes, "Billy Paul, Singer of the Hit 'Me and Mrs. Jones,' Dies at 81," *The New York Times*, April 25, 2016, sec. Arts, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/26/arts/music/billy-paulsinger-of-the-hit-me-and-mrs-jones-dies-at-81.html; Tony Cummings, *The Sound of Philadelphia*, n.d.

Army. Paul said he served from 1957-1959 in Korea and then he was moved to Kasern, Germany.[234]

Figure 6 Billy Paul personal photo

In an interview for *British Blues and Soul Magazine*, Paul said,

> I went in, in 1957 and I was stationed with Elvis Presley and Gary Crosby- Bing Crosby's son. We were in Germany and we said were going to start a band, so we didn't have to do any hard work in the service. We tried to get Elvis to join but he wanted to be a jeep driver. So me and Gary Crosby, we started it and called ourselves the Jazz Blues Symphony Band. Some famous people came out of that band; Cedar Walton, Eddie Harris and we toured all over Germany. Elvis didn't wanna join us. I used to see him every day, but he drove the jeep for the Colonel.[235]

After being discharged, Paul continued to sing Jazz professionally. Paul said he always wanted to play horn and compared his singing to a horn. He said when he played with John Coltrane that Coltrane told him he tried to play his sax like a voice.[236] He was discovered by Kenny Gamble singing to packed audiences at The Sahara Jazz Club. He then recorded" Feeling Good at the Cadillac Club" in 1968 for Gamble's new label, before having a hit with "Me and Mrs. Jones" on his next album with Huff and Gamble, for which he earned a Grammy in 1973.

"Am I Black Enough For You," his follow-up single, was controversial. Billy and his wife thought it was too militant of a song to follow up a crossover ballad. It did not receive mainstream airplay. In the documentary 'Am I Black Enough For You," Paul maintains this

[234] Olsson, *Am I Black Enough for You*.
[235] Lee Tyler, "Billy Paul: Soul Searching," *Blues and Soul Magazine UK*, 2009, http://www.bluesandsoul.com/feature/425/billy_paul_a_league_of_his_own/.
[236] Olsson, *Am I Black Enough for You*.

song stalled his radio plays by alienating white American fans.[237] The song in retrospect is one of the enduring anthems of the Black Power Movement, said Kenny Gamble. The song since has been rediscovered in part because of its inclusion on the soundtrack for the Stanley Nelson documentary "Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution. That rediscovery also owes to being covered, or sampled, by rap artists such as Schoolly-D. A number of scholars have analyzed its impact within the Black Arts Movement and within the larger Black Power Movement. [238] Paul did not achieve Billboard charting success again but continued to perform. In 2000, "Me and Mrs. Jones" was featured in a commercial with track and field Olympian Marion Jones. Paul had not been paid royalties since the 1980's despite the advertisement and the song's frequent inclusion in compilations. (See Discography) Paul sued and was awarded approximately $500,000. When he was eighty-one years old, he died of pancreatic cancer at his home in New Jersey in 2016.[239]

Ron Anthony was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania on December 16, 1933. His father was a postal worker, but his uncle was a guitarist who played with Frank Sinatra and George Shearing. Anthony started playing drums and singing at age twelve. His vocals were inspired by listening to Nat "King" Cole. During high school, at age sixteen, he talked his parents into buying him a friend's guitar by bargaining for the expensive instrument as a combined birthday and Christmas present.[240] The guitar turned out to be "awful;" the action, which means the height of the strings above the guitar neck, was too high and it made his fingers bleed.[241] Undeterred, he studied privately, and his teacher introduced him to guitarist Joe Negri, who played for Mister Roger's Neighborhood.

In an interview with the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, Anthony said he was always in trouble as a teenager for staying out late to play with bands. He dropped out of high school as a result.[242] His father encouraged him to join the Army so that he could use the GI Bill to get a house. He volunteered in 1956 and began playing bass, and then guitar in the Seventh Army's Soldier's Show and Special Services.[243] He was able to earn his GED during his time in the Army. After being discharged, he studied at Duquesne University. He majored in

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[237] Olsson.

[238] Stanley Nelson, *The Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution*, Documentary, History (Firelight Films, Independent Television Service (ITVS), 2015); "The Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution | Documentary about Black Panther Party | Independent Lens | PBS," *Independent Lens* (blog), accessed August 25, 2020, https://www.pbs.org/independentlens/films/the-black-panthers-vanguard-of-the-revolution/; James B. Stewart, "Message in the Music: Political Commentary in Black Popular Music from Rhythm and Blues to Early Hip Hop," *The Journal of African American History* 90, no. 3 (2005): 196–225; Jackson, *A House on Fire*.

[239] Grimes, "Billy Paul, Singer of the Hit 'Me and Mrs. Jones,' Dies at 81."

[240] Joe Barth, *Voices in Jazz Guitar: Great Performers Talk about Their Approach to Playing* (Mel Bay, 2006), 39.

[241] Ron Anthony, Ron Anthony NAMM Oral History, video, March 9, 2011, https://www.namm.org/library/oral-history/ron-anthony.

[242] Peter King, "Jazzman Ron Anthony Has Kept Beat with Elite," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, July 29, 1999, http://old.post-gazette.com/magazine/19990729anthony3.asp.

[243] Barth, *Voices in Jazz Guitar*, 40.

piano and bass because they didn't have a guitar major. He dropped out of Duquesne University, disillusioned with the program, and moved to New York for five years. He played mostly bass during this time, because there was more demand for bassists than guitarists.[244] Finally, he landed a touring job playing guitar with George Shearing. After New York, Anthony moved to Texas in 1965 to play with the Tex Beneke Big Band. He also worked with Pop-Jazz pianist Stan Kenton and vocalist Vic Damone. Anthony's early days of singing made him a great vocal accompanist on guitar playing with Jazz great vocalists Sheila Jordan, Mel Tormé, and Liza Minnelli, Judy Garland's famous daughter and the star of the huge hit film "Cabaret."

Anthony also wrote a book called *Comping: A Practical Method for the Accompanying Guitar* for Dale Zdenek Publications.[245] He played with Frank Sinatra's band from1986 until Sinatra's death. Anthony has composed several songs including "It's Always 4am." Anthony lives in Los Angeles where he teaches and performs still. [246]

These biographies demonstrate the high level of musicians in the Seventh Army Band. Their artistic creations are so prolific that only a curated discography, see appendix, was possible because an entire discography would be a book in itself. All of these players were quite young when they were drafted or volunteered for the military so their musical time could be said, as I will demonstrate later, to be a seminal influence on their playing and the Jazz scene. The purpose of this chapter was to familiarize the reader with the musician. The next Chapter Jamming the Blues in the Key of Democracy will delve further into the musical experiences of these Jazz GIs and how they helped spread democracy and better race relations through their musical performances in German both for the government and off stage jamming after hour at German clubs.

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[244] Jazz trios usually consist of piano or guitar, bass and drums, duos will have piano or guitar plus bass, which makes bassists more likely to receive calls for side person work.

[245] Bill Kohlhaase, "Ron Anthony Will Work the String Shift at Maxwell's : Jazz: The Guitarist Will Appear in Huntington Beach before Backing Frank Sinatra at Some out-of-State Sites.," *Los Angeles Times*, January 17, 1992, https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1992-01-17-ca-402-story.html.

[246] King, "Jazzman Ron Anthony Has Kept Beat with Elite"; Barth, *Voices in Jazz Guitar*; Feather and Gitler, *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Jazz*; Anthony, Ron Anthony NAMM Oral History.

Chapter Four: Jammin' the Blues in the Key of Democracy

"German democracy isn't being made by those assholes in Bonn, it's being made by these kids in the Keller."
-Willi Geipel the owner of the JazzKeller in Frankfurt from 1956-1978 [247]

It is the 1950s in Heidelberg, West Germany. You turn down a small, cobbled street near a church. There you see a small sign on a large stone building. You pass through the door under the sign only to descend the stairs, deep underground. It seems almost as if you are in a large sewer with arched ceilings made of conglomerate -bricks, stones and lots of mortar. When you get to the bottom you look in the back and see a small, jagged grotto that has been made into a stage. There are very young Black and white Americans on this stage playing the best Jazz you have ever heard. This isn't the Jazz of the Weimar Republic. It isn't the Jazz on the contraband Louis Armstrong record you hid under the bed during Hitler. It is fresh, hip, exciting, and fast! There are also lots of young Germans looking at them in awe. Several audience members are awkwardly holding their horns, wondering when and if they can sit in and play a tune with the band. Eventually everyone gets a chance. Some of them play poorly, or do not know the latest standards, but are still treated kindly by the band that is clearly out of their league. Others, like the young German female pianist Jutta Hipp, had listened to Allied Radio so much that they knew the language of Jazz. Someone plays a burning solo and the Black American on the drums nods and shouts appreciatively. It doesn't matter if the soloist is American or German, Black or white, a good Jazz solo is a good Jazz solo. You are at Cave 54. And the burning house band you have been listening to are American GIs. One day some of them will become some of the most important Jazz musicians of the 20th century.

The previous chapter provided the biographical backgrounds of the Jazz GIs. This chapter will move forward with more information on the Seventh Army Band as a group. This chapter argues that by providing salary, board and in many cases music employment to Jazz GIs in Germany who were also musicians, the United States government financed and fostered cultural diplomacy by creating a Jazz scene in Germany that benefitted both the Germans and the GI Jazz musicians. It is important to note that although this chapter concentrates on musicians who had positions in military bands**,** there were several other Jazz GIs who did not have musical appointments, but were also a part of creating a Jazz scene and engaging in cultural diplomacy. Some will be mentioned but the focus of this chapter will be on the jam sessions held by the Seventh Army.

The Seventh Army was recognized as having one of the best bands of all of the military regiments. For example**,** There are several interviews in which military musicians expressed the desire to change regiments so that they could play with one of the Seventh Army Bands.[248] There was the Seventh Army Symphony (1952-1962), but it played only

[247] George Black, "Notes from the Underground Frankfurt Am Main," August 8, 2009.
[248] Canarina, *Uncle Sam's Orchestra*; Menza, Telephone Interview with Don Menza by Kim Nalley.

classical music.[249] For a brief time there was a Jazz Orchestra, but it was disbanded due to insubordination and dress code violations. There were also several small Jazz combos, and a Soldier's Show and Company Band which played popular music, swing, R&B, blues or whatever genre was needed to back up visiting celebrity entertainers.

The lineup of the Seventh Army bands changed frequently. It largely depended on each individual musician's length of service. Tracking down exactly which musician played in the band at which time is difficult in part because there was more than one band and musicians frequently played in several bands at the same time. In addition, musicians could be requestioned from other regiments for shows. Drummer Lex Humphries, as mentioned in the previous chapter, was in the Air Force, but was on almost permanent requisition to the Seventh Army Band. Pianist Cedar Walton said he was able to requisition the finest military players when he led the Soldier's Show and Company.[250] As mentioned there were also Jazz combos. Cedar Walton explained that there was a band called Jazz One and that he was in Jazz Two.[251] Saxophonist Don Menza also said the Jazz One was earlier and there was a later band called Jazz Two.[252] Saxophonist Lanny Morgan said he was in Jazz Three. The "Seventh Army Band," then, is the colloquial name for a band that existed informally. The Seventh Army Band is the Jazz One, Two and Three that operated under Soldier's Show and Company. The latter, as I show, was also the colloquial name of an informal association of top Jazz musicians who played off base.

[249] Amy C. Beal, *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification* (University of California Press, 2006), 49; Canarina, *Uncle Sam's Orchestra*.
[250] Walton, Interview with Cedar Walton NEA Jazz Master 2010 Smithsonian Jazz Oral History Program conducted by William A. Brower and engineered by Kenneth Kimery.
[251] Lees, *Cats of Any Color*, 169.
[252] Menza, Telephone Interview with Don Menza by Kim Nalley.

Figure 7 Jazz Three Formal Photo 1956 courtesy of Lanny Morgan

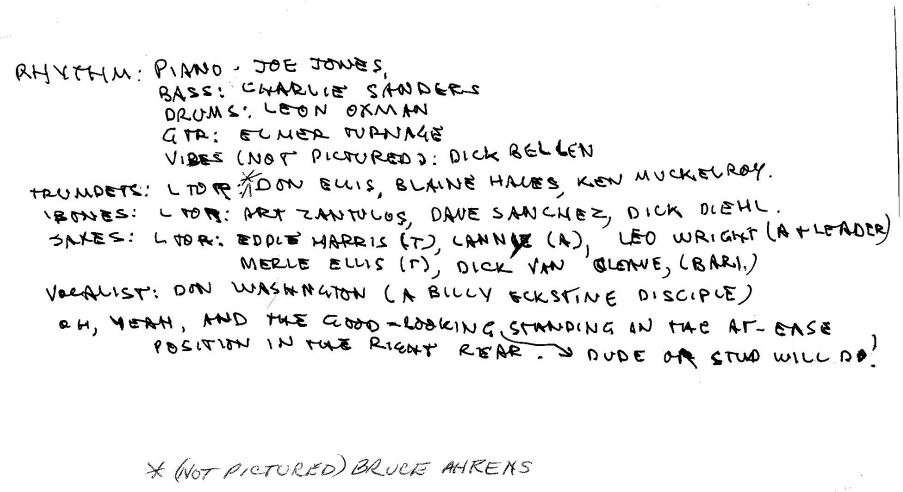

Figure 8 Photo and handwriting by Lanny Morgan –

Playing in a military band was and is still a coveted position for musicians. It offers great travel opportunities and musical education. Jazz musician Joseph McPhee switched instruments in order to gain acceptance in the military band. Jazz drummer Alvin Queen

signed up for military service specifically in hopes of getting into the military band.[253] For draftees who were musicians a position in a military band also meant it was unlikely they would be forced to do manual labor that might damage one's hands, a paramount concern for musicians whose manual dexterity is their livelihood and often critical to their identity. As mentioned earlier, when pianist Cedar Walton was first drafted, he did not have a position in the band. Like many African Americans he had a manual labor position. Walton's job was laying wire, which involved primarily digging ditches, which is a job that could easily ruin a pianist's hands. Fortunately, an officer got wind of his musical abilities, and he was switched to the band.

After playing behind pop vocalists for a time in Soldier's Show and Company, Walton was "permitted" by his commanding officer to have a "real" Jazz band, including the ability to requisition different players from different places, such as Funk-Jazz pioneer Eddie Harris. Eddie Harris' deep musical credentials span from Jazz and Motown to Woodstock. Walton also was able to requisition Detroit saxophonist Teddy Harris (1934-2005) who had been drafted into the army in 1957, and played in several of the military Jazz bands. There was also a pianist Teddy Harris who would later go on to play for Motown and with Marvin Gaye and Aretha Franklin. Walton requisitioned Pianist Harris several times for the Seventh Army Band, but Harris Commanding Officer refused to let him take let him go.[254] Pianist Teddy Harris did take part in one Special Services "Soldier's Show Company," with an ensemble featuring Eddie Harris, Don Ellis, Cedar Walton, Albert "Tootie" Heath, and Leo Wright.[255] These types of shows took a lot of planning to produce. Cedar said, Our duty for the first couple of weeks, once we got transferred into that unit, was just to go into the room and write music, go to lunch, come back, write music, go to dinner.[256]

Don Ellis confirms Walton's story. In a 1967 interview about the Seventh Army Symphony and Soldier Show, Ellis said, "What was so great about it was that we had all the time in the world to practice and play."[257] These descriptions of their schedules are very consistent with what a young musician might do as a civilian, except there usually would be a performance every night, in addition to the eight hours spent practicing and writing music. This account shows how the military did a good job providing the type of environment needed for the Seventh Army Band to survive, fostering their individual musicianship.

Most of the time the "real" Jazz happened off base, off hours, where these musician-soldiers could congregate and mix freely with Germans. Lanny Morgan explained,

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[253] Alvin Queen, Phone interview conducted by Kim Nalley, October 17, 2017; James McPhee, Interview conducted by students of Professor Maria Höhn's American Culture Colloquium, September 7, 2010, September 7, 2010, http://www.aacvr-germany.org/index.php/oral-histories-6#MCPhee.

[254] Morgan, Telephone Interview with Lanny Morgan by Kim Nalley.

[255] Albert Heath, Telephone Interview with Albert Tootie Heath, July 29, 2020; "Teddy Harris Biography," accessed July 30, 2020, https://musicianguide.com/biographies/1608001529/Teddy-Harris.html; "Harris, Teddy | Encyclopedia.Com," accessed July 30, 2020, https://www.encyclopedia.com/education/news-wires-white-papers-and-books/harris-teddy.

[256] Lees, *Cats of Any Color*, 169.

[257] P.K., "Echoes from the 7th Army Days," *The Stars and Stripes*, November 27, 1967.

Chapter Four: Jammin' the Blues in the Key of Democracy

> We used to congregate in Heidelberg during any free time, a beautiful little university town about forty miles north of Stuttgart (Seventh Army headquarters). There were two Jazz clubs in Heidelberg, --Die Falle (The Fave) and Cave 54. We would take them [the clubs] over and play and drink 'til all hours.[258]

Saxophonist Houston Person explained that "by all hours" Morgan meant all night. The owner would lock the door after hours and the soldiers would "sleep on tables, chairs, bars wherever. And in the morning start playing again."

These off base performances or jams in Germany were very important for Black musicians who all too often lived previously in segregated places or played in clubs where they were not treated as equals. This off-base musical freedom for all the military musicians proved especially liberating precisely because their performances for the military were circumscribed. During their time off-base not only did the Jazz GIs have the freedom to mix freely, but they also had the freedom to blow freely: to solo for as long as they felt they wanted to and to call the tunes they wished to play.

In addition, they had a rapt audience of Germans who were very interested in Jazz. The personal accounts of the military musicians emphasize the audience enthusiasm of this scene. Much has been written about German Fräuleins [259]who sought the company of Black GIs, but also present were Germans who desired to hear authentic Black Jazz.

The fact that an integrated band played the music merits emphasis. This had several implications. First, it suggested that the United States' "Jazz Nation," or collective of musicians, was more democratic than its nation-state. For some in Germany, Jazz in itself was a democratizing force that united people of different races and nationalities and taught them how to work together and respect each other.[260] Don Menza said that many of the Germans had romantic ideas about Jazz that were contradicted when they saw racial segregation.

Second, although most Germans believed that Jazz was played best by African Americans[261] seeing integrated bands that played authentically meant that the German musicians could potentially not only learn to play, but also improve their playing. Menza stressed that mentorship was a tenet of their relationship with the locals. Menza quoted Monk as having said, "right now they are copying but they will make their own music one day."[262] Walton said in an interview that he always let local Germans sit in. But, when asked about their musicianship he diplomatically that they were "uh fine" and "uh competent," but he could not remember any names.[263] This shows that he mentored

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[258] Morgan, Telephone Interview with Lanny Morgan by Kim Nalley.
[259] Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*; Canarina, *Uncle Sam's Orchestra*.
[260] Richard Hanser, "U. S. Conquest: Hot 'Yahtz'; Jazz Music Has Already Captured the Germans, Whatever Their Response May Be to More Serious 'Reorientation.,'" *The New York Times*, August 20, 1950, sec. Archives, https://www.nytimes.com/1950/08/20/archives/u-s-conquest-hot-yahtz-jazz-music-has-already-captured-the-germans.html.
[261] Hanser.
[262] Menza, Telephone Interview with Don Menza by Kim Nalley.
[263] Walton, Interview with Cedar Walton NEA Jazz Master 2010 Smithsonian Jazz Oral History Program conducted by William A. Brower and engineered by Kenneth Kimery.

German musicians because they had the desire to learn not because they showed amazing potential or skill.

There were formal government institutions such as the State Department's "Jazz Ambassadors" and the Seventh Army Symphony. These were important examples of formal soft power and cultural diplomacy.[264] The radio waves were also a powerful government form of soft power. The "Stars and Stripes," the military newspaper, mentions several radio broadcasts of live military bands and symphonies or military-sponsored concerts of civilian bands on military stations.[265] Katja Kaiser Von Schuttenbach described how Jutta Hipp (1925-2003), a German female pianist learned to play Jazz during World War II by listening to forbidden Jazz radio stations as a child and transcribing the solos.[266] This is a good example of how African-American culture can be spread globally, or African-Americanization, even without the physical presence of African Americans present. A 1950 New York *Times* article suggested that even though the Communists thought Jazz was a "Marshall Plan export to deaden the masses," reporters could hear Jazz radio broadcasts from West Germany blasting in the office of Gehart Eisler, the Communist press secretary of the Eastern Zone.[267]

Petra Goedde's book *GI and Germans* makes a compelling case for looking at the interactions between ordinary citizens and American troops, and not simply institutions of government.[268] The off-base excursions of these Jazz GIs are an example of this. In a war-ravaged Germany, the GIs had a wage higher than most Germans. These GIs also had access to food, chocolates and other military-supplied items that were luxury items for the Germans, which could fetch large sums on the black market. This attracted some "Fräuleins," and many clubs catered to connecting Fräuleins to GIs.[269] Some autobiographers, such as classical and Jazz pianist David Amram ,who played in the Seventh Army Symphony Orchestra, grimly likened these "Fräuleins" who consorted with GIs as prostitutes.[270] African-German musician, and later an editor for *Ebony Magazine*, Hans Massquoi, described post-war Hamburg as a "city in which women sold their bodies for nylons, where mothers bartered the favors of their teenage daughters for food, and husbands the affections of their wives for a pack of cigarettes." These autobiographies

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[264] Canarina, *Uncle Sam's Orchestra*; Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*.

[265] "Stars and Stripes," Official newspaper of the US military, n.d., https://starsandstripes.newspaperarchive.com/.

[266] "Jutta Hipp: The Inside Story - JazzWax," accessed November 8, 2017, http://www.jazzwax.com/2013/05/jutta-hipp-the-inside-story.html; Katja Kaiser, "Jutta Hipp – Painter, Pianist & Poet. (Unpublished Master's Thesis). Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, Graduate School-Newark, Newark, New Jersey." (Newark, New Jersey, Rutgers, The State Universiy of New Jersey, 2006).

[267] Hanser, "U. S. Conquest."

[268] Petra Goedde and Associate Professor of History Petra Goedde, *GIs and Germans: Culture, Gender and Foreign Relations, 1945-1949* (Yale University Press, 2003).

[269] Maria Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins: The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 2003); "Germany Meets the Negro Soldier," *Ebony* 1, no. 11 (October 1946): 5.

[270] David Amram, *Vibrations: A Memoir*, 1 edition (Boulder: Routledge, 2010), 132, 135.

reveal that GIs had hard power in the form of economic inducements in Germany. In comparison, the Seventh Army band was a true case of soft power. As I will show, in the case of the Seventh Army Band, Germans were attracted to the relatively new art form and the Art mentorship that the Jazz GIs offered.

American Black music, especially Jazz, which was banned as "Negermusik" during the Third Reich, was culturally attractive after WWII. The musicians interviewed all testified that Germans of both (all) genders crowded the clubs to listen to the off-duty Seventh Army Band. The attraction was not money, food, cigarettes, gum or chocolates but live Jazz: live art. By the early 1960s, American Jazz records were increasingly available in Europe. That is, for the few Germans who could afford the luxury of imported records. Real Jazz, however, has never been an art form that could be reduced to the three and a half minutes per side that radio waves or singles are constricted to.

Jazz is a live, improvisatory art form that is best heard and understood when heard and seen live in a night club, where songs can easily stretch beyond twelve minutes. The democracy and freedom that Jazz offers lies in part because in small ensembles each musician has a chance to musically say something while the rest of the band backs them up. The song is like a constitution that the entire band agrees to play. The band also must support the individual expression of the soloist while keeping to the constitution and each soloist must take turns in backing up the next soloist when their turn is finished. Jazz drummer Max Roach explained:

> When a [Jazz] piece is performed, everybody in the group has the opportunity to speak on it and comment on it through their performance. It's a democratic process, as opposed to most European classical music in which the two most important people are the composer and conductor. They are like the king and queen…in a Jazz performance, everyone has an opportunity to create a thing of beauty collectively, based on their own musical personalities.[271]

Forty-Five records and Seventy-Eight records (singles) offer perhaps one to two choruses and one instrumental solo, which is not enough time for each player to contribute. In comparison, live Jazz offers each musician countless choruses, each in an unspoken, unwritten orchestration that is a marvel to behold.

The ability of these Jazz GIs to create art was predicated on the fact that their living came from being employed by "Uncle Sam." However, their "side gig" on the weekend nights or other off-duty times was playing at Jazz clubs with an individual freedom not allowed in an Armed Forces band. Because they were occupiers, these Black GIs had a type of social freedom that many had never before experienced. They were no longer subject to Jim Crow and they had more power than the average White German. Black GIs were able to fraternize with White women, in this case German women or Fräuleins. Even if a German man did not like Black GI or the fact that they were socializing with Fräuleins, they lacked the power to do much about it other than try to solicit help from white GIs. This will be

[271] Paul F. Berliner, *Thinking in Jazz: The Infinite Art of Improvisation* (University of Chicago Press, 2009), 419.

explored more in the Chapter Five Occupiers.[272] In addition, as musicians, they also had an unprecedented type of freedom from record labels, producers, predatory club owners and patrons, which they had not had in America.[273]

The ban on Jazz as debased Negroid-Semitic music during the Third Reich meant that the type of Jazz that these GIs were bringing to German was a brand-new art form. By this I mean that during the Weimar Republic, New Orleans music, formerly known as the pejorative term Dixieland, and Swing, especially the Big Band Swing style dance music preferred by rebellious Swing Boys, *Swingjugend*,[274] during the early days of the Third Reich, had changed to Bebop, post-bop and the beginning of more progressive chord substitutions[275] The type of hot Jazz in the early years was at times compared to jungle music. The New York *Times* in 1924 editorialized that "Jazz was.... the product of incompetents."[276] Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer called Jazz "stylized barbarism."[277] Bebop and post-bop were considerably more intellectual because they were advanced harmonically. By the 1950s Jazz was well on its way from being low brow to being highbrow.[278]

While some Germans were derisive, the overall reception as evidenced by all the interviewees was effusive, even "magical." Lanny Morgan gave me an unpublished cassette tape from his memoirs. On the cassette tape was a concert given by Jazz Three recorded at Liederhalle in Stuttgart, Germany 1957. The applause by the German audience is deafening[279] and continues so long that in some cases, such as after Leo Wright's virtuoso flute rendition of "Lullaby of the Leaves," it is evident that there is likely a standing ovation accompanying the thunderous applause and whistles.[280] (See Appendix for the recording.) This particular concert was free; the German audience did not have to pay an admission price.

There has been work on how free or Black the Harlem Renaissance was given that most of these artists needed White patrons who at times intruded on the creative process

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[272] Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins*; Höhn and Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom*.

[273] Francesca Sawaya, *The Difficult Art of Giving: Patronage, Philanthropy, and the American Literary Market* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); Ralph D. Story, "PATRONAGE AND THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE: YOU GET WHAT YOU PAY FOR," *CLA Journal* 32, no. 3 (1989): 284–95.

[274] Lusane, *Hitler's Black Victims*; Michael H. Kater, *Different Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2003).

[275] Hans Massaquoi, *Destined to Witness: Growing Up Black In Nazi Germany* (Harper Collins, 2009).

[276] Lawrence W. Levine, "Jazz and American Culture," *The Journal of American Folklore* 102, no. 403 (January 1, 1989): 11, https://doi.org/10.2307/540078.

[277] Max Horkheimer, Theodor W. Adorno, and Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments* (Stanford University Press, 2002), 110.

[278] Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990).

[279] The music was so good that upon my first listening I yelled so loudly with excitement that my spouse came from two rooms down to see if I was hurt.

[280] Seventh Army Band, *Jazz Three Concert Recorded at Leiderhalle* (Stuttgart, Germany, 1956).

or dictated what they would finance.[281] In this case, the musicians' "nut," or their basic necessities, were covered by the government. The government, however, had no oversight of musical endeavors off-base. This gave these Jazz GIs the freedom to not simply create a product for the capitalist market, but to engage in the production of art and a scene that fostered it. In some cases the Jazz GIs were able to earn extra money playing these off base after hours gigs, but their main catalyst was their love of Jazz.

It is important to note that Jazz GIs did not have unlimited freedom off base. They could not socialize at a club for superior officers. Musicians who were good enough to play professionally took "gigs" off base, but even if they did not have a formal event, most musicians felt the need to play just to practice or release pent up creativity. Jazz and classical pianist David Amram wrote:

> On one of my excursions in civilian clothes I went to a bar that merchant seamen went to and was off limits to GIs. Their Jazz pianist was also a fine classical pianist, as most of the Jazz musicians in Germany were at that time. I couldn't stand it anymore. I had to play. I began to play the Beethoven Sonata... As I got to the end …I looked up in surprise and saw an MP squinting at me. "All right buddy, what you doin' here?" "I know you're an American with that God damn raunchy-looking suit. Even a Kraut wouldn't wear something that looked as shitty as that. Get the fuck over here." I finally blurted out, "Look, man, I'm really going insane. …I'm a musician and I don't want to be in the army and if I didn't come down here to play some music I would have wigged out. I'm sorry.[282]

This story illustrates the lengths that musicians would go to play freely. In this case, Amram is musically compelled to not only go to an off-limits club but also to expose himself as an American and hence a GI, which he knew would lead to a confrontation with a military police officer. Why? Because he felt a deep need: simply to play music for artistic and creative reasons.

There were also other constraints on the freedom of Jazz GIs to play music, especially if one was not formally in a military band. Lanny Morgan revealed a perk that military musicians had, "Everyone in the Seventh Army Symphony and Soldier Shows, including Jazz 3, had permanent 24-hour passes. I didn't have a uniform on for 1-1/2 years."[283] Soldiers from other bases would travel to German clubs where the Seventh Army Band was playing in order in order to play a song with the band or simply to listen.

The director of the Jazz Institute Darmstadt, Dear Knauer Wolfram, wrote in his book *"Play yourself, man!". The History of Jazz in Germany* that American soldiers who were not in the Army band needed overnight passes to stay outside of the barrack since the music didn't begin until nine pm. In addition, the first set was the house band only, who played before the stage was opened up to musicians who wanted to sit in, which means to play a song or two as a guest. Wolfraum notes:

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[281] Story, "PATRONAGE AND THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE"; Sawaya, *The Difficult Art of Giving*.
[282] Amram, *Vibrations*, 134–35.
[283] Morgan, "Email to Kim Nalley," August 17, 2020.

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> "Karl Berger tells the story of a tenor saxophonist named Percy who worked in the Army with the military police. He was a mediocre musician, but everyone let him play along because he provided his colleagues with the much coveted "overnight passes." Berger [said] "None of the musicians managed to get back to the barracks on time. Some of them even slept in the club."[284]

Karl Berger is a German pianist who lived in Heidelberg and learned how to play Jazz by jamming, or sitting in, with Cedar Walton and Leo Wright at the Cave in Heidelberg.[285]

This story clearly illustrates the lengths that Jazz GIs would go to play music freely. It also illustrates that the Seventh Army Band was so good that musicians from much further away bases would travel distances, even breaking military rules, in order to "get a piece of the action," as musicians would say: that is, to participate in the jam sessions. This story likewise reveals that the house band was complicit in this deception, which suggests the likelihood that there were other good players from other bases who were not as lucky to have been able to be assigned as a military musician with a 24-hour pass. One of those musicians was Houston Person.

Person acknowledged that although everyone credits him with being in the Seventh Army Band, he was not in the Army. He had volunteered for the Air Force because he believed them to be fairer with African Americans than the Army. Person emphasized the special sense of pride that African Americans had about the Air Force because of the Tuskegee Airman, African American pilots who actively fought in World War II.[286] He was stationed next to Stuttgart in Vaihingen, Germany, and the Seventh Army was also out of Stuttgart. Cave 54 was approximately 250 kilometers from their bases. Person drove there when off duty to "sit in," or play with the band while Cedar Walton was playing.[287]

"Sitting in" is an important tradition in Jazz. The hired band will allow equals or betters to sit in with them as a way of signifying and endorsing their status. It is also sometimes done with pupils with great promise. They, however, are usually allowed to "sit-in" only for one to two songs. This tradition takes place at clubs, not concert halls. Person was in some ways musically "younger" than some of the other musicians in the Seventh Army Band because he did not have as much experience on the saxophone, since he was originally trained as a pianist. He did not play piano with the band, but instead played saxophone.

"Jamming" was another Jazz tradition practiced and thus kept alive in these clubs. The word "jam" is a Jazz term for the act of improvisatory playing in a musical community. In a jam session everyone will play, sometimes via a sign-up sheet, in an order curated by a

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[284] Wolfram Knauer, *"Play yourself, man!". Die Geschichte des Jazz in Deutschland* (Reclam Verlag, 2019), 55. "*Karl Berger erzählt von einem Tenorsaxophonisten namens Percy, der in der Army bei der Militärpolizei arbeitete. Er sei ein mittelmäßiger Musiker gewesen, aber jeder ließ ihn mitspielen, weil er seine Kollegen mit den heißbegehrten »overnight passes« versorgte. Berger: »Keiner der Musiker schaffte es pünktlich in die Kaserne zurückzukommen. Einige von ihnen schliefen sogar im Club.*"

[285] Knauer, 55.

[286] J. Todd Moye, *Freedom Flyers: The Tuskegee Airmen of World War II* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 6.

[287] Person, Interview with Houston Person conducted by Kim Nalley.

leader: or, if in a private setting, whoever knows the tunes will join in spontaneously. Don Menza said, "Sunday afternoon Jazz sessions, I mean sessions where you could play, and you used to have to go in and almost sign up backstage and get in line and wait to play. And everybody was very…encouraging to help me play and learn how to play.[288]

Sometimes, in clubs, the house band will play the first set or two and then the last set they will open up the opportunity for qualified musicians to "sit-in" and jam with the band. Although sitting in is different from a jam session, the term "jamming with the band "is often used as a verb because the person sitting in usually will not know the band's arrangements. As a result, the song is more improvised off the top of one's head than usual.

There is clearly a measure of self-deprecation in Person's own representation of his prowess on the saxophone. In fact, although he was not paid by the club to be in the rhythm section, in popular Jazz memory he is recalled as being in the Seventh Army Band, meaning he "sat in" and played almost all night. By his own admission there were only a few tunes where he was in "over his head" and chose to "sit out," meaning not play.[289] This signifies that Person was accepted enough to freely go on and off stage of his own volition. Musicians "sitting in" usually do so by invitation. They are publicly asked on and off stage with an announcement of their accolades preceding the request to sit in and a formal thank you, subsequently signaling that the musician sitting in must leave the stage. In the absence of such formality, it is fair to surmise that although Person was in the Air Force not the Army, and was not paid by Cave 54, his de facto presence on the stage made him a member of the Seventh Army Band, like Lex Humphries, who was also in the Air Force and was considered by the other Seventh Army Band members to be "in the band."[290]

There were other Jazz GIs who came to Cave 54 in Heidelberg with their instruments in hope of sitting in, as well as German musicians and Jazz lovers of both genders. This sense of openness and not exactly knowing what to expect captured the anticipation and excitement that playing at a club provides. Even though there was a push to move Jazz into the concert halls as respectable music during the 1950s and 1960s, the club remained an important part of learning how to play and networking. Don Menza observed that:

> Concert halls tend to lose that intimacy; when you play bars and everything, and people are, like, looking down the bell of your horn, it's a different feeling, absolutely. And anybody that doesn't feel that but feels that it's become a black tie affair...I'm sorry. It's great that Jazz has made its steps in becoming more intellectual, with people studying it harder, finding out what made it work. But Jazz is an experience, a lifestyle.[291]

Menza's insight reinforces the idea of Jazz not simply as music but as culture. Indeed, within that musical culture, the club plays a large role.

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[288] Don, Don Menza Interview by Sam Noto for Hamilton College Jazz Archive.
[289] Person, Interview with Houston Person conducted by Kim Nalley.
[290] Menza, Telephone Interview with Don Menza by Kim Nalley.
[291] Don, Don Menza Interview by Sam Noto for Hamilton College Jazz Archive.

Chapter Four: Jammin' the Blues in the Key of Democracy

For musicians who did not grow up in a Black sanctified church, which was one of the important training places for musicians,[292] the next best training ground was club-based jam sessions.[293] It remains a great way to familiarize oneself with the scene, especially in the case of young musicians like those in the Seventh Army who had not had a chance to record and prove themselves. As mentioned earlier, Karl Berger learned to play Jazz by jamming at the Heidelberg Cave. This would be a classic example of African-Americanization. Berger said that the band mostly called blues or rhythm changes.[294] Blues are based on three chords and commonly known by everyone. This gives the musicians a lot of latitude to substitute chords and harmonies without the band getting lost. Rhythm changes[295] are more a little difficult than blues changes but again are well known enough and simple enough to also offer room for substitutions without the band getting lost. Blues and rhythm changes are the easiest tunes for beginning Jazz musicians to play, so it is unlikely that the band played only blues or rhythm changes all night. It is very likely that the band used those tunes for beginning musicians who were sitting in to play a tune.

The other times they played popular Jazz standards or original tunes, according to Houston Person. Some popular standards called during this time included "Have You met Miss Jones," a seemingly simple midtempo swinger written by Richard Rogers and Lorenz Hart in 1937, that had a very difficult bridge to navigate harmonically because it went through three key centers. It is unlikely that German musicians would be familiar with the bridge to "Have You Met Miss Jones," or the many chordal substitutions that had become common among Jazz musicians on this tune. These are part of the subcultural lexicon of Jazz that German musicians would not be fluent with unless they attended jam sessions with American musicians.

A major shift in Jazz had occurred between the Weimar Republic and the post WWII period called bebop. Prior to Bebop there were several popular Swing Big Bands, which due to the nature of large ensemble playing used fairly strict arrangements and featured solos that limited the amount of individual freedom each player had. During the WWII for several reasons there is a shift to small combos. One reason is because the World War II draft which made it difficult to retain a Big Band. Another reason is because of superlative

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[292] A thorough explanation would be a lengthy detour from the dissertation, and a publishable paper in its own right. Musicians in a Black sanctified church are expected to be able to not only improvise, but also follow the preacher's rise and fall and the congregations' rise and ebb for hours. There were elders who would train up the young musicians on the spot, for example a younger person on piano and bass with an Elder on the organ who would aurally show the young pianist and bassist what to play. Please note the organ has foot pedals that play the bass line. In an Interview for the Paris Review, James Baldwin said in regard to preaching," I would improvise from the texts, like a Jazz musician improvises from a theme. I never wrote a sermon—I studied the texts. I've never written a speech. I can't *read* a speech. It's kind of give-and-take. You have to sense the people you're talking to. You have to respond to what they hear."

[293] Berliner, *Thinking in Jazz*.

[294] Knauer, *"Play yourself, man!". Die Geschichte des Jazz in Deutschland*.

[295] They are called Rhythm changes because the song "I Got Rhythm" was based on this chord progression.

musicians such as Charlie Parker who played in ways that had not yet been heard by playing faster, more fluently with sounds and harmonies not yet used in Jazz**.** Small combos afforded more time to solo. As a result rigorous interactive improvisation became one of the hallmark features of Jazz.

In many ways Jazz became less a musical genre and more of a practice because any musical style was possible within the improvisatory excursion within one song. For example, Karl Berger testified that the band played mostly rhythm changes and blues. There is a world of difference between Sonny Rollin's "Oleo" and Gershwin's "I Got Rhythm." "I Got Rhythm is a common chord progression that predates Gershwin's composition. "Oleo" does not use the same chord changes as it does the harmonic framework to add substitutions and different colored chords and to add more chord. Additionally the tempo on "Oleo" is played much faster, there is more sophisticated syncopation, and the melody utilizes extended harmonic tones.

Another example would be calling Charlie Parker's "Blues for Alice" just a "Blues." This powerful work likewise reveals the ways in which Jazz was becoming, as noted above, "less a musical genre and more of a practice because any musical style was possible within the improvisatory excursion within one song." Parker, also known as the "Bird" because of his love for chicken, was an alto saxophonist instrumental in pioneering bebop. Parker's "Blues for Alice" is also a style of Jazz blues changes that are extremely different from the simple I-IV-V of traditional Blues, in which the first 4 bars are I before going to the IV.[296] Instead of three chords, "Blues for Alice" has sixteen chord changes in the first ten bars and is played at a very fast tempo. By the 1950s, with the evolving virtuosity of Bebop, Jazz was changing in revolutionary ways. Blues and Rhythm changes were no longer simple tunes, but elaborate mediations in chord and harmonic structures. This "new" Jazz also enhanced interplay for the ensemble and freedom for the soloist with the "constitution" of the agreed upon song.

Due to political and technological restraints, even German musicians who had access to Jazz records would not fully know the lexicon. First, critical moments in the development of Bebop coincided with a Musician's Union strike on recordings from 1942-1944, so very little of this early Bebop is recorded. Second, records during this time period were generally approximately three and one-half minutes long. The sheer complexity of what a musician like Charlie Parker was playing on the head in, otherwise known as the first chorus, might be evident to the listener. In live concerts and jams, however, there would have been several choruses taken by each instrument with the rest of the band adjusting on the spot to the soloist's substitutions and chord alterations.[297]

The Seventh Army Jazz musicians were very influenced by Bebop and Hard Bop, a more driving gospel-blues based form of Bop, during that period. Saxophonist Lanny Morgan notably recorded an album in tribute to the "Yardbird" Charlie Parker with blistering solos and a cascade of notes that flowed as heavily and as easily as sheets of rain. Cedar Walton

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[296] I am having an extremely difficult time explaining the differences without using music theory. I know that this being the history department that is not appropriate so if you have suggestions, please let me know. I will call Scott Deveaux and see if he has any suggestions as well.

[297] DeVeaux, *The Birth of Bebop*.

would later become famous for being a Hard Bop player in Art Blakey's Band, taking the seat once occupied by Horace Silver. Many of Cedar Walton's original compositions rely on altered chords and chromatic or modal movements.[298] Take Walton's very popular composition "Bolivia," for example. For someone not well versed in Jazz, the A section is simply a long one chord vamp, which means to repeat the chord or pattern. .This allows the expert pianist to use the dominant seven, nine and thirteen notes for color and to outline the vamp and for the soloist to improvise chromatically. Although the band played popular Jazz standards of their day, such as "Misty," written by Jazz pianist Errol Garner, and "Have you met Miss Jones," recorded by Art Tatum and "Sweet Clifford" by Clifford Brown and Max Roach, much of the practice of Jazz often involved working out complex harmonic ideas such as cycling in major thirds.[299] (See appendix for image)

The musicological complexities of Bebop are reflected socially as well. A musician sitting in at a jam will often be appointed a social hierarchy based on their knowledge of Jazz theory or at least the ability to hear complex changes and play them. If one does not play well on the first tune it is unlikely that they will be offered a second tune. Jazz politics in regard to sitting in can be extremely harsh. Musicians would at times call difficult tunes, in difficult keys, at breakneck tempos in order to "trip up" the guest soloist. For example, a band might play the song "Cherokee" or "KoKo," in the key of B, at 180 beats per minutes, in order to dissuade beginners and in order to train up young musicians. There is also a tradition of leaders, such as pianist Thelonious Monk or saxophonist George Coleman, who would start playing a tune without informing the rest of the band which tune, or which key they were playing in, and the rest of the band had to figure out the tune and key by using their ears. At times the process was humiliating, with the musicians laughing or leaving the stage if a novice couldn't keep up.[300]

In contrast, the Seventh Army Band was gentle, with musicians sitting in by calling the two easiest tunes for beginners, blues and rhythm changes. Berger's quote reveals the Seventh Army Band was more interested in disseminating Jazz than one-upmanship. This displayed a maturity and compassion that belied their youth.

It must be noted that in some cases "sitting in" happened before being stationed in Germany. Cedar Walton said that after he was drafted:

> I went to Fort Dix. I ran right into Wayne Shorter. He was stationed there. He was playing weekends with Horace Silver. And then Duke Ellington came to Fort Dix. He actually let me sit in! Can you imagine? I said, "Do you think it's possible for me and my friend, who is a singer [Sam Fletcher], to do 'What Is This Thing Called Love?'" He said, "Yeah." I couldn't believe it. I thought he'd say, `Not now, son.'' We went up and did it, just me and the rhythm section. Duke said, "Go easy on those keys, young man!" Jimmy Woode

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[298] For those who are not familiar with Jazz or music theory the best way to think about chromatic is one note next to each, black and white keys, or 12 notes which are all the notes in an octave scale. Modal mean using modes or scales that have their origins as early as the church and are given Greek or Greek based names. For a more detailed explanation, see Scott Deveaux, *The Birth Of Bebop*.

[299] Berliner, *Thinking in Jazz*.

[300] Berliner, 88.

> swears it was him on bass. Sam Woodyard on drums. And the whole band joined in on the last chorus, like a clambake ending. I said, "I'll be .... This must be a dream." And when Duke came back, he said, "I thought I told you to go easy!" I've got that in my memory to keep on track for a long time.

This event shows that after a year of playing in New York, Cedar Walton's real brush with stardom in the form of Duke Ellington came about on a military base and because he was drafted. The fact that Duke allowed Cedar to sit in with him was a sign of endorsement. Cedar mentions he was just playing with the rhythm section, just bass and drums. The fact that the entire band started playing at the end signifies not only the entire band's endorsement of Cedar's playing, but also that his playing was so "hot" that they needed a "piece" of the action [301] In other words, the music was so good that it inspired them to want to play with Cedar Walton on the piano. Walton's basic training story is not unusual.

When saxophonist Wayne Shorter was stationed as an army musician in Fort Dix, he played weekends with Horace Silver.[302] Pianist Horace Silver, born in 1928, mentioned earlier, was one of the most influential Jazz musicians of his day and of all time. Silver pioneered Hard-Bop and Soul-Jazz in the 1950s, co-founded the Jazz Messenger's with Art Blakey and was a prolific composer. Playing with Silver would be one of Shorter's first paid gigs with one of the greats and marked his arrival to the scene**.**

In this improbable place in and around military bases, a scene blossomed. Lanny Morgan, who as a young man thought being drafted would take him off the scene, quickly discovered that because he was in both the Seventh Army Band and the Symphony Orchestra it was "not a wasted time." On the contrary. Instead, Lanny speaks admirably about playing with Cedar Walton and Eddie Harris in the band and the thrill of performing "Porgy and Bess"[303] and "An American in Paris"[304] with the Symphony.[305] Being based near Stuttgart with its proximity to The Cave 54 in Heidelberg and the Air Force was an advantageous location. Lanny recalled:

> The Symphony & Soldier Show company, including Jazz 3, was billeted on the fourth floor of the headquarters building, - a beautiful old building with no elevators. This whole area (Patch Barracks) had been a German-Nazi Kasern (barracks). I did a Soldier Show ('Ain't Misbehavin,') for three months before Jazz 3 started. During that time, I stayed on that fourth floor. No partitions, just about 100 cots positioned about three feet apart. Talk about communal living! The Jazz show, for some reason, had already been banned

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[301] As Henry Louis Gates has mentioned there is so much signifying, meaning coded verbal and musical interplay, in Jazz a formal history could be written on that topic alone, Henry Louis Gates, *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African-American Literary Criticism* (Oxford University Press, USA, 1988), 63.

[302] Michelle Mercer, *Footprints: The Life and Work of Wayne Shorter* (Penguin, 2007), 54.

[303] Porgy and Bess is a Jazz Opera composed by George and Ira Gershwin, and Heywood Dubose that featured an all African American cast. It debuted on Broadway in 1935. One of the most popular Jazz standards of all time, 'Summertime,' is from this opera.

[304] An American In Paris is a 1928 Jazz influenced orchestral piece by Gershwin which was made into a popular film with Gene Kelly and Leslie Caron in 1951.

[305] *Lanny Morgan Interview by Monk Rowe - 2/14/1999 - Los Angeles, CA*.

> from Patch Barracks and we were sent to Saarbrüchen to rehearse and live until the touring began, about three months. Saarbrüchen is on Germany's southern border with France and close to Luxembourg. I'm sure the brass was punishing us for some minor infraction by keeping us away from the big city (Stuttgart), but they actually did us a favor. It was beautiful. Snow covered in the middle of a woods. The service club where we rehearsed had been an old lodge. As long as we had to be in the Army, this was the place to be.
>
> When we had the music down and were ready, we headed back to Stuttgart--for performing uniforms, scheduling, etc. The bus pulled up in front of our Seventh Army Kasern, the door opened, and Don Ellis--bless his little heart--bounded off with his collar unfastened and no tie--literally ran right into a three-star general. So, off we went again. The rest of us didn't even get off the bus. Saarbruchen couldn't take us back so we went a few kilometers north to Zweibruchen- equally as beautiful.

Morgan's oral history reveals that the officers knew that the musicians enjoyed being in Stuttgart with its close proximity to Heidelberg. Consequently, the officers relocated the Jazz GIs to punish them. It also confirms Menza's memory that GI Jazz musicians at times defied authority and conformity. Fortunately for Morgan, he enjoyed being in nature and the more generous accommodations, but we can surmise that many musicians would have preferred to be nearer the city scene with its opportunities to jam. Since Morgan was in both the Seventh Army Band (Soldier's Show) and the Symphony Orchestra, he was probably busier than the majority of musicians who were in one or the other, but not both.

Morgan's very detailed memories show that this was a very special time. As the interviewer, I found him very generous with his time, in not only relating these stories but also digging up artifacts of the period, including a cassette tape of a Jazz 3 concert at the Leiderhalle in Stuttgart, Germany. I will offer a more detailed analysis of the concert in the Appendix. For now, however, I must note that the musicianship was very high and the applause from the German audience was deafening and long. Morgan wrote to me that he thought the Jazz band was "actually a better PR tool than the symphony. Germany has always had great classical music, but American Jazz was new to them and a little beyond their reach - at that time. You heard the applause on the tape."[306]

The excitement and wistfulness were evident in every interviewee's voice. In some instances, I made cold calls, phone calls without warning or being introduced, and the suspicion of a strange person calling from a strange number transformed to happiness and in times incredulity when I announced that I was looking for an interview about the Seventh Army Band. Don Menza said, "Nobody knows about this unless they were there. How did you know? Boy, did we have fun! I am so glad you called to ask me about this. No one knows about this or writes about this except the musicians in the Jazz orchestra or band. This is a good project."[307]

It is important to remember that at the time the Seventh Army Band was comprised of very young musicians who were largely unknown. They were jamming together at German

[306] Seventh Army Band, *Jazz Three Concert Recorded at Leiderhalle*.
[307] Menza, Telephone Interview with Don Menza by Kim Nalley.

clubs only because the military occupation of Germany forced them to be there. It was not until after they were discharged that they became giants in the Jazz world, each with a name so important that individually each could draw a crowd as a headliner alone.

These musical memories also highlight the important fact that the standards for becoming a musician in the military were very high. In spite of their relative youth, then, these Jazz GIs were quite good. Assembled together, these great musicians made up a band that was in fact so good, that it was a dream come true for many Jazz musicians. Saxophonist Don Menza recalled:

> Stationed in Stuttgart, I was in the Seventh Army band that is legendary now. Don Ellis was in the band, Leo Wright, Lex Humphries, Cedar Walton, Lanny Morgan, Eddie Harris. Ooh, what a band that was. One of the best I ever played in. I couldn't believe it. I had the opportunity to write for the band; so it was a beginning for that.[308]

It is unlikely that Menza would have been allowed to write for a band of that caliber had he stayed home. This memory also reveals how extraordinary it was to have a band with so many evolving world class players.

The extraordinary nature of having so many world class players together is echoed by accounts of Jazz musicians such as Lester Young, who said everyone was centered in Harlem in the 30s and 40s, such as Billie Holiday, Cab Calloway, Duke Ellington, Chick Webb and Ella Fitzgerald. Fifty-Second Street was known as 'Swing Street' and there are many famous photos showing the legends in Jazz playing across the street from one

[308] Menza; Interview with Les Tompkins 1968, "Don Menza: I Never Studied."

another.

Figure 9 Gottlieb 1948 Library of Congress

Next, after the war, the scene dissolved into small combos that backed a headliner, who in turn, toured. For example, instead of Ella Fitzgerald and the Chick Webb Orchestra at Savoy Ballroom, it was simply Ella Fitzgerald backed by a trio or quartet. Lester Young had been roommates with Billie Holiday and extremely close, but in the famous broadcast of "Fine and Mellow" for the Sound of Jazz Television show in 1957, they had not seen each other in years.[309]

Even in the situation of a Big Band, where there were fifteen to seventeen players assembled, Don Ellis' account of one hundred, one night stands in three months reveals that the touring life required one to get into the tour bus to go to a new location nightly. That left the musicians with little opportunity to participate in the after-hours scene in a location they had just played, before going on the bus to the next location. Even if they did not have to be in a new location the next night, they were not members of that city's scene. They were guest visitors moving on to the city in a matter of days.

[309] Lester Young, Billie Holiday, WACU Philadelphia Radio Interview, 1958; Lewis Porter, *Lester Young* (University of Michigan Press, 2005); Gelly, *Being Prez*; *Jazz*, Documentary, History, Music (British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Florentine Films, General Motors Mark of Excellence Productions, 2001).

In comparison, the Jazz GIs were deployed to stationary locations. Sometimes they would be deployed to a new city, but for the most part they were stationary. The smaller size of West Germany, or Bundesrepublik Deutschland, approximately 1000 square miles in comparison to the United States. All of the military bases could be reached in a day. In the United States, the New York scene was very different and removed from the Los Angeles Scene, which was very different and far from the New Orleans scene and the Chicago scene. The scene in post-World War II Germany was small enough to be accessible to all the GIs when they were off duty.[310]

The importance of a scene is a point that is still relevant today with interviewee "Tootie" Heath. He stressed that the old scene he had known no longer existed in New York.[311] At the 53rd Monterey Jazz Festival in 2010 the topic of a panel presented by the Jazz Journalists Association moderated by Dan Ouellette of *Downbeat* magazine was "Are Jazz Musicians Trading Touring for Tenure?"[312] With growing numbers of Jazz musicians spread out at different universities, and the rents in cities becoming higher, "the scene" is becoming scarcer, with fewer generations in one spot.[313]

Once in Germany the opportunities to sit in or jam happened not only with Jazz GIs. Cedar Walton recalls first meeting vibraphonist Milt Jackson of the Modern Jazz Quartet who was performing at the Atlantic Bar in Stuttgart. After the performance they both went somewhere else and "jammed" on piano afterwards. This fortuitous meeting, which occurred when Walton was stationed in Germany, became the start of a close lifetime friendship.[314] In this instance there is more than simply the military that is the catalyst. The other catalyst was the German clubs and the German people's love of Jazz.

The same was true for Don Ellis and Leo Wright. In an interview for *Stars and Stripes* newspaper in 1967 Wright recalled, "The first time we met was at Ft. Ord (Calif.) in boot camp; that was in '58. Then we wound up together in the Seventh Army Symphony and Soldier's Show. The Army even sent us home together on the same ship in '58…" This observation also reveals that the desegregation of the armed forces, while not yet complete, had advanced to the point where African American Leo Wright was able to officially be assigned to the Symphony and Soldier's show. The same was not true at an earlier time for John Coltrane, whose presence playing with the all-White Melody Makes military band had to be kept somewhat a secret.

The Seventh Army Band is known for sometimes touring under the American banner for government concerts. Nevertheless, its reputation has been cemented in Jazz memory largely because of these jam sessions at German clubs. When books and interviewees

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[310] David Amram, Phone Interview conducted by Kim Nalley, September 8, 2020; Person, Interview with Houston Person conducted by Kim Nalley.

[311] Before Hurricane Katrina, a version of that type of scene still existed in New Orleans, however since Jazz is no longer popular music, the names are not as legendary. In 2020-2021, given the number of Jazz clubs closing because of the coronavirus pandemic, the scene has changed drastically.

[312] Dan Ouellette, "Panel: Are Jazz Musicians Trading Touring For Tenure?," *53rd Monterey Jazz Festival Program*, September 2010.

[313] Albert Heath, Telephone Interview with Albert Tootie Heath.

[314] Lees, *Cats of Any Color*, 170.

mention the Seventh Army Band, they always include musicians who were not in the Seventh Army but were "in the band" at the off-base German Jazz clubs. Cedar Walton noted in an interview that the Germans were glad to see the Jaz GIs coming,

> "Especially in downtown Stuttgart, the Atlantic Bar; we'd go there. Until perhaps uh we heard that uh, we weren't supposed to be off the base, you know. But we managed to get down there and uh and if the MPs came, had to sort of like make ourselves disappear. But we were young. I was twenty two, so [chuckles] I would take a chance. I wouldn't do that now. If I didn't live in New York now, I certainly wouldn't go there now. [chuckles] But if you're young, you'll try anything … I think. I mean, I did.[315]

The oral histories of these GIs provide a musical snapshot of a rare moment in time when Germany, a recently war-ravaged European country, ravenously consumed American Jazz.[316]

Enduring advantages

The cultural soft power of the live Jazz scene in occupied Germany and the Jazz GIs experiences as both artists and occupiers affected the cultural contributions of these musicians after their armed forces duties. Some, such as trumpeter Rick Keifer, heard about the scene. He became an expatriate, also playing in the Max Greger Big Band, before eventually playing for the West German Radio Big Band. Don Menza spent only a few years as an expatriate, but notes, "The four years in Europe was [a]priceless experience."[317]

> The Munich years were certainly very productive; I had a steady job there, and they treated me as one of their own. I never felt like I was a foreigner when I was there—it was sensational. And I have to thank Max Greger for—to hire a Jazz tenor player—well, he knew my reputation somewhat from when I was in the Army; I sent him a couple of records that I had done with Maynard Ferguson, and on the strength of that he hired me. Those were four very productive years.

Menza's time in the Seventh Army Band served as a calling card vouching for his ability. The trophy that Menza won in a contest, see Chapter three, led to him being transferred to a superior band, that of the Seventh Army. The military affected the musicians and Germany, and Germany in turn affected the musicians and at times the US military.

The *Stars and Stripes* recognized the symbiosis of Jazz in Germany and the military in their Monday, November 27, 1967 issue with the article, "Echoes from Seventh Army Days." The article covered the reunion of Leo Wright and Don Ellis for a 1967 concert for Berlin's Jazz Days. It acknowledges that while most of the time the army "unfathomably" will give soldiers assignments that do not match their skills, in this case the match for Wright and Ellis was harmonious. Both agreed their Army experiences helped them

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[315] Walton, Interview with Cedar Walton NEA Jazz Master 2010 Smithsonian Jazz Oral History Program conducted by William A. Brower and engineered by Kenneth Kimery.
[316] Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels*.
[317] "Don Menza 2005 Inductee Buffalo Music Hall of Fame," April 6, 2012, https://web.archive.org/web/20120406123903/http://www.buffalomusic.org/2005_dmenza.html.

tremendously in preparing for their future careers. Wright observes that they also were able to work together in New York after the military, and of course, in the 1967 Berlin concert.[318]

Beardless, crew-cut Ellis teamed with saxman Leo Wright in 1958 Army combo.

Figure 10 Beardless, Crew-cut Ellis teamed with saxman Leo Wright in 1958 Army combo

Photo: Ted Rhodes[319]

In the same issue of *Stars and Stripes*, Don Ellis, who was also performing at Berlin Jazz Days at the Berlin Philharmonic, received his own review. The article credits his days in the Seventh Army Symphony and Soldier's Show for building up his fan base. Ellis also made a key connection while in the military; he met Joachim Berendt, the author of the German bestseller, *Das JazzBuch*, The Jazz Book and impresario. Berendt offered Ellis the opportunity to pick twenty top German Jazzmen "to create a dream team" for his concert. Some of those he picked were ex-patriates, such as Leo Wright and trumpeter Carmell Jones, both from the Seventh Army Band. The review said Ellis almost eclipsed Duke Ellington and Basie as a band leader, and his band managed to electrify the crowd after the much more well-known Errol Garner Band with Sarah Vaughn, which preceded Don Ellis. Don Ellis was an avant-garde musician who was always on the cutting edge, which might have enamored him with the Germans who have long been arbiters of musical culture. It is fair to surmise that his days in the Seventh Army Band not only paved the way to this concert being offered, but it also helped to build up his fan base. The article states, "Many

[318] P.K., "Echoes from the 7th Army Days."
[319] P.K.

European Jazz fans knew him from his Army days in the late '50s when he blew trumpet and did some arrangements with the Jazz combo of the Seventh Army Symphony and Soldiers' Show at Vaihingen, Germany.[320] The article also notes that both Wright and Ellis agreed that their Army experiences touring for the military club circuit and for German audiences with Jazz 2 and 3 helped them tremendously in preparing for their future careers.[321]

It is important to realize that a deployment in Germany for African Americans was especially coveted because African Americans were often deployed in the front lines during the Korean War. Hans Massaquoi, a Liberian-German. who was called the derogatory term "Rhineland bastard" growing up during Nazi Germany, immigrated to the States and was drafted shortly after arriving.[322] Massaquoi had always considered America to be the land of the free due to his dealings with Black GIs in Hamburg, but that dream dissolved when he served time in the army. At that time the army was integrated du jure but still segregated de facto. Massaquoi wrote,

> When time came for us recruits to be assigned to permanent units, a pattern emerged. By the strangest of strange coincidences, all the white soldiers were sent to peaceful Europe, while all the blacks were shipped to places like Chonju and Kanggyong in war-torn Korea, where the odds of being returned in a body bag were exceedingly good.[323]

Massaquoi played "Jazz" saxophone professionally in Hamburg, but compared to American Jazz musicians, he was little more than a dilettante with no chance of getting into a military band, so he transferred to the airborne training in order to avoid becoming a Black Korean War casualty.

A similar experience happened to African American Jazz pianist Junior Mance, who later formed a deep association with all the players mentioned in the Seventh Army Band. Mance relates "I wasn't able to join the Army Band because I didn't play a marching instrument."[324] Mance, like many of the musicians detailed in this chapter, sneaked off base to jam with Cannonball Adderley, who was a famous Jazz saxophonist at the time.

> Cannon dug what I was playing so…I ended up playing the rest of the set with the band before my break was up and I had to go back to guard duty. And Cannon said to me, 'You're coming into the band, right?' I explained the problem of not playing a marching instrument and he said, 'Oh, that's too bad.'[325]

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[320] Peter Kuhrt, "A Milestone for Jazzman Don Ellis," *The Stars and Stripes*, November 27, 1967, Hesse, Darmstadt DE edition.
[321] P.K., "Echoes from the 7th Army Days."
[322] It is unclear if Massquoi was even eligible to be drafted since his father was African not African-American, however denied the opportunity to serve in Germany he was eager to prove himself in the States.
[323] Massaquoi, *Destined to Witness*, 2009, 421.
[324] "Junior Mance: Saved By A Cannonball - JazzTimes," accessed August 17, 2020, https://jazztimes.com/features/profiles/junior-mance-saved-by-a-cannonball/.
[325] "Junior Mance: Saved By A Cannonball - JazzTimes."

Cannonball was so impressed that he managed to have Mance switched out of basic training and into the Thirty-Sixth Army Band. Mance's former unit of 200 was shipped out to Korea and was killed en masse as soon as they reached land. Only five or six survived, related a survivor from Mance's outfit who was lucky to escape with his life, but missing both of his legs.[326]

It is clear from Massaquoi's and Mance's experiences that the majority of African Americans in the military during this period did not have the happy ending that many of the Seventh Army Band musicians enjoyed. Being a good musician was a form of currency that could keep one from dangerous missions and instead get one deployment in Europe, where the war was only a cold one as opposed to the very hot war in Korea. This was a significant difference.

In conclusion, the Seventh Army band is an example of a type of cultural diplomacy that was not simply propaganda. Rather, it fostered and helped develop a relatively free artistry among Jazz musicians who were talented enough to earn a spot as a musician in the Seventh Army. These musicians, because of their twenty-four hour passes, and the-desire of musicians to constantly play to improve their musicianship, led them to German clubs, which provided a musical freedom, and as I will later discuss, a racial freedom.

This cultural diplomacy aided both White and African American Jazz GIs, as well as the Germans. It helped German Jazz clubs to be profitable through GIs who spent American dollars there. It also created a scene that disseminated a new form of Jazz to Germany, trained a new generation of German Jazz musicians, and provided important contacts for the Jazz GIs after being discharged. For African Americans, a deployment in Germany during the Korean War could mean the difference between life or death. For musicians, it cannot be overstated, that deployment in Germany as a military musician provided the luxury of being able to hone their craft without having to support themselves financially solely through their music. When one considers the young ages of these particular Seventh Army Band musicians, which was college age or just out of college, the experience was especially singular. It would prove them good stead in the future musically— particularly for future tours in Europe, practical music experience, contacts with European musicians such as Menza's contact with Duško Gojković, which led to work as an ex-patriate, or recording projects (See Appendix: Discography). In addition, some like Leo Wright chose to become expatriates and stay in Europe.

Their time in the military would also make them eligible for the GI Bill. The GI Bill paid veterans' college tuition, monthly stipends and offered low interest, zero down house loans. The incentive was so strong that one interviewee who wishes to remain anonymous signed up for the military specially to get GI Bill benefits. Most musicians have fluctuating income that is often viewed as unstable by lenders. In Morgan's case he said that having a cosigned mortgage through the Title II benefit of the GI Bill made a huge difference in his life. He said he still lives in the house he purchased on the GI Bill.[327] There has been much scholarship about how African Americans were denied the full benefits offered by the GI Bill. Houston Person was savvy enough to circumvent these barriers and purchase a house.

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[326] "Junior Mance: Saved By A Cannonball - JazzTimes."

[327] *Lanny Morgan Interview by Monk Rowe - 2/14/1999 - Los Angeles, CA*.

Person said, "I was able to buy a house in a good neighborhood with GI Bill benefits. They pushed a lot of Black men into substandard properties, but a few of us were savvy. Then of course if you are going to move someplace even if there is no segregation you are likely going to move where there are Black people so you can be safe. So if I am moving to New Haven, I am going to stick to a property on Dixwell Avenue."[328] Dixwell Avenue was a street that was not only predominately black, but it was also in the city. Rather than attempt and be refused for a house in a White suburb, he applied for a loan in Connecticut, a state which did have a history of some Jim Crow, especially in regard to beaches and amusement parks, but was for the most part one of the more liberal states in the 1950s and1960s. He also used a loan broker who specialized in Black housing. Person's home was not his forever house like Lanny Morgan, but he was able to use it to gain a foothold into wealth, accrue equity and eventually sell it to move to a bigger house.

Fortunately for Houston Person, he was able to take advantage of his Title II educational GI Bill benefits as well. He attended a music conservatory, The Hartt School, in Connecticut, tuition-free. Person also said that he and some other African American veterans were able to receive their stipend checks.

> When we got our regular payouts, we would buy all the latest Prestige and Blue Note records and buy some chitlins and have a party. There was this one white girl from Georgia. I was nice to her, but she never spoke to me except to say the N word because that was how she was raised. She kept away from us. But that night she smelled the chitlins and knocked on our door and asked if that was chitlins she smelled and asked if she could have some. We invited her in, and she had several plates. Boy, we all laughed at the way she sopped it all up! But that is the power of food. It can bring people together who wouldn't otherwise.

These interviews with Houston Person confirm the argument of Kathleen Frydl, the author of the *G.I. Bill*, that although many African Americans were barred easy access "some African-Americans veterans found ways to use the Bill to their advantage."[329] This story also illustrates that Person was neither the only African American at the university, nor the only veteran able to access GI Bill benefits. That does not mean, however, that everything was equal. It is clear that although the university was integrated, they were subject to some verbal abuse and individuals who purposely refused to socialize across racial lines. Barriers for African-American veterans wanting to use their GI Bill benefits did exist, especially in the South. It is telling that Person, a native of South Carolina, chose a college and a house in Connecticut rather than the South. Rather than a narrative that is Manichean with whites having access and African Americans being barred, there is a range of experiences depending on circumstances. The ability of these African-American veterans to use their GI Bill benefits ,to go to a place like Hartt music conservatory, illustrate this. Furthermore, the fact that Hartt is a music conservatory bolsters the musical support the government unwitting gave to the musical scene. In sum, these Black GIs were able to further their artistry and musical professionalism by attending a solid musical college.

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[328] Person, Interview with Houston Person conducted by Kim Nalley.
[329] Kathleen J. Frydl, *The G.I. Bill* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), ix.

Chapter Four: Jammin' the Blues in the Key of Democracy

The musicians in the Seventh Army band are not typical because they were some of the world's best Jazz players. There were other military bands and many of the musicians in the other regiments, like Don Menza, strived to get into the Seventh Army Band because it was musically the best. Talented artists are often given preferential treatment. This is why it is dangerous to equate the experiences of African Americans general with the specific and special experiences of African-American Jazz musicians.

Jazz is not something that happens in a vacuum. Unfortunately, the voices of Jazz musicians themselves are noticeably absent in scholarly work about Jazz and Race in post-World War II Germany. The German reaction to the musicians is well documented but the voices of the musicians themselves are often submerged. Their stories offer us a view into the way some Black GIs were treated and the unique way in which Jazz musicians were able to build an interracial democratic atmosphere in Post-World War German clubs. The creation of this scene was financed and indirectly fostered by the American government, but it was not directed by it. Jazz was a music of cultural diplomacy, and these Jazz GIs were as much Ambassadors as the State Department's official "Jazz Ambassadors." Fortunately, for the musicians, their German audiences and fellow musicians , and the historical moment, their off-base concerts and Jam sessions were not government controlled.[330] This vital freedom from such oversight allowed the music to not just exist, but to thrive.

[330] Was the cultural diplomacy practiced by Jazz GIs public policy, strategic communications or cultural relations?

Chapter Five: Occupiers

Despite the abysmal civil rights conditions for African Americans in the United States, particularly in the southern states, and the racial hierarchy present in the military, Black GIs were still occupiers in post-World War II West Germany, which meant they were above German law. This gave them unprecedented power over "white" Germans, increasing the public arena for social interaction and affording them comforts and privileges not available to the war-devastated Germans, such as American dollars, gums, chocolate, music, etc. The dominant interpretation of the experience of American Black GIs is that it was a "breathe of freedom," to quote Colin Powell. In many ways their experience seems to mirror that of African Americans in France after World War I. Tyler Stovall says, "In many ways, African-Americans came to France as a sort of privileged minority, a kind of model minority, if you will -- a group that benefited not only from French fascination with blackness, but a French fascination about Americanness."[331] What differs is that in France, American troops were liberators and soon left. In contrast, in Germany, US troops were there to secure and de-Nazify a defeated country. In addition, after the war, they remained as part of a democratizing presence, especially in the wake of concerns about Soviet expansion during the Cold War.

Black GIs in Germany had "hard power." Hard power as defined by Political Scientist Robert Nye means using military or economies to influence a country's behavior.[332] Soft power is a carrot and hard power is a stick. Black GIs had hard power because they were part of an occupying military force in a defeated country and had economic advantages that could be used as influence to get better treatment. In comparison Black GIs in France after World War I had relatively little if none. From post-World War II until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1990, America has had more than twenty million servicemen and their dependents stationed in the Federal Republic of Germany.[333] In previous chapters, I have discussed the soft power of Jazz that the GIs had as artists. In this chapter I argue that as occupiers in the military they also had hard power. Germany was not simply a breathe of freedom for Black Americans just because they had left racial segregation, or Jim Crow, in the United States.

It bears repeating: Germany was a defeated country under military occupation. The freedoms that Black GIs enjoyed in Germany is a well-mined subject. However, much of the scholarship does not make it clear that these Black GIs had hard power because they were part of an occupying force. Even after the occupation of Germany ended formally in 1955 with its entry into The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the large American

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[331] "Paris' Allure for Black Americans Explored in Tidbit-Packed Tour," The Columbus Dispatch, accessed March 15, 2017, http://www.dispatch.com/article/20080302/LIFESTYLE/303029897.

[332] Joseph S. Nye, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (Basic Books, 1991).

[333] Maulucci and Junker, *GIs in Germany*, i.

military presence in Germany has caused scholars such as Rheinhold Wagnleittner[334] [and Journalist Christopher Bollyn to regard Germany as de facto occupied.[335] The freedom that Black GIs was noted by the Chicago *Defender*]that there were "not too drastic outward changes and even if an American was arrested the German were to turn the person over to the nearest U.S. authority.[336] This means that even if a Black GI was doing something that Germans did not approve or thought was illegal they only could bring the Black GI to the US authorities. They were not subject to the German police. The end of occupation did not result in the evacuation of American troops, nor could it. West Germany was so reliant on United States power that Chancellor Konrad Adneauer said without the guarantee of United States support 'Germany would be lost.'"[337]

As I mentioned previously, in a war-ravaged Germany, the GIs had the privilege of military wages that were higher than most Germans. These GIs also had access to food, chocolates and other military-supplied items that were luxury items for the Germans, which could fetch large sums on the black market. As this chapter will show a well-meaning Black GI could with a simple gift of gum or cigarettes provide a German with a lucrative item if the German chose to sell it on the black market. In general, Black GIs held a higher socio-economic status than the average German after World War II.

The fact that African American occupiers, like white American occupiers, had more disposable income attracted some "Fräuleins," and many clubs catered to connecting Fräuleins to GIs.[338] Some autobiographers, such as Classical and Jazz pianist David Amram, who played in the Seventh Army Symphony Orchestra, grimly likened these "Fräuleins" who consorted with GIs as prostitutes.[339] African-German musician and later editor for *Ebony Magazine*, Hans Massaquoi, described post-war Hamburg as a "city in which women sold their bodies for nylons, where mothers bartered the favors of their teenage daughters for food, and husbands the affections of their wives for a pack of cigarettes."

These autobiographies reveal that GIs had hard power in the form of economic inducements in Germany. There were approximately 250,000 American servicepeople and their families stationed in West Germany in 1957.[340] The military bases and the accompanying housing for the military were compared to cities themselves. These service people pumped money into the economy by buying goods, services or gifting things such as cigarettes that could be sold on the Black market. In places such as Mannheim, there were

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[334] Wagnleitner, *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War*.
[335] "Germany Still Occupied By US After 58 Years. By Christopher Bollyn 9-11-4," *Hellenic News of America* (blog), May 6, 2016, https://hellenicnews.com/germany-still-occupied-us-58-years-christopher-bollyn-9-11-4/.
[336] Ethel Payne, "Wives Of Negro GIs Still Draw Stares In Germany," *The Chicago Defender (National Edition) (1921-1967); Chicago, Ill.*, July 16, 1955.
[337] M.S. Handler, "The G.I. Abroad: He Learns to Coexist; A Survey Finds U.S. Forces Get Along Fairly Well With Civilians Despite Fractions and 'Little Americas,'" *The New York Times*, December 30, 1957, sec. Archives, https://www.nytimes.com/1957/12/30/archives/the-gi-abroad-he-learns-to-coexist-a-survey-finds-us-forces-get.html.
[338] Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins*; "Germany Meets the Negro Soldier."
[339] Amram, *Vibrations*, 132, 135.
[340] Handler, "The G.I. Abroad."

so many American GIs and new Jazz clubs to cater to them, that Mannheim was nicked named "Little America."[341]

During the post-World War II period, the West German people initially lacked the ability to police members of the United States military. Further complicating matters, the United States military was still de facto segregated through the 1950s and 1960s despite the Executive Order 9981 of 1948 that supposedly integrated the armed forces.[342] As demonstrated in my earlier chapters, African-American soldiers stationed in post-World War II Germany were often able to use off-base Jazz clubs and bars as "intermediary spaces, a third place between work and home, between United States and Germany and in between segregation and full equality. [343] Not all clubs welcomed Black GIS. Some catered to White American GIs who did not want to fraternize with Blacks off base.

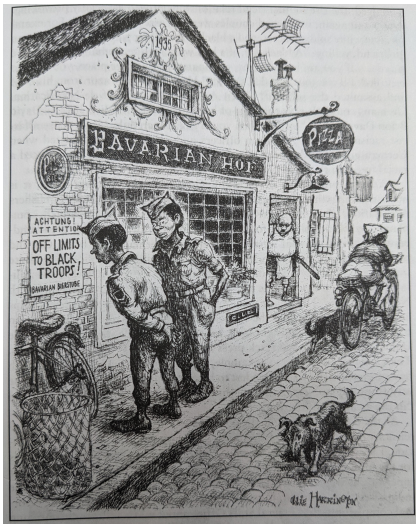

Figure 11 Oliver Harrington

Especially immediately after World War II, there were clubs that openly banned Black GIs. For example, a political cartoon for the *Daily World* by African American expatriate and civil rights activist Oliver Harrington drawn no earlier than 1960 depicts two soldiers outside a Bavarian Hof reading a sign that says "OFF LIMITS TO BLACK TROOPS!"[344] It is improbable that the local German police would be able to exercise authority over

[341] Elke Baur, *Mannheim - New York*, Documentary (Fama Film AG, Monipoly Productions, Tiger TV GmbH, 2001).
[342] July 1968 press release memorandum Clark Clifford 20th anniversary of executive order, Truman 1948 National Archives Identifier: 754272, Creator(s): Truman, Bess Wallace, 1885-1982 (Most Recent) Truman, Harry S., 1884-1972 (Predecessor)From: File Unit: Johnson, Lyndon B.-Recent Correspondence, 1953 – 1973 Series: Secretary's Office Files, 1953 - 1973Collection: Harry S. Truman Post-Presidential Papers, 1953 - 1973
[343] You-Mi Lee, Suk-Kyung Kim, and Ha-Ni Moon, "Intermediary Spaces Linking Urban Space to Buildings: Functions and User Satisfaction in Three Mixed-Use Complexes," *Journal of Sustainable Development* 6, no. 9 (August 4, 2013): 12, https://doi.org/10.5539/jsd.v6n9p12.
[344] Oliver Harrington, "When I Told the Colonel about It He Just Grinned. Said I Shouldn't Be Spreadin' Russian Propaganda!," image, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, accessed January 31, 2021, https://www.loc.gov/item/2016684959/.

occupying US soldiers without the complicity of the United States military, which is illustrated in the cartoon byline which reads, "When I told the colonel about it he just grinned, Said I shouldn't be spreading Russian propaganda!" Communist believed in the equality of races so that is likely what was meant by Russian propaganda. This political carton illustrates that the Black GIs expected that they were not to be subjected to Jim Crow in Germany. It also shows the dangers of trying to win a Cold War in Germany with a segregated military force.

The hypocrisy of the United States occupying Germany to deNazify the country was revealed by journalist Roi Ottley who reported to the Pittsburgh *Courier* in 1946 that an American military officer, in an effort to deter interracial fraternization between Germans and African Americans , told Germans in a speech that the "Negro has the same status in the U.S. as the Jew in Germany."[345] Most scholarship that details discrimination against Blacks in post-World War II Germany focuses on acts by White American Military soldiers and officers. That is not to say that none were perpetuated by Germans. The number is apparently relatively small precisely because the Black GIs were part of an occupying force. However, in some instances, German officials were able to discriminate in an indirect fashion. For example, a German mayor limited the hours of certain bars that just happened to be frequented by Black GIs.[346]

African American saxophonist Houston Person, who was in the Air Force, said that being in Germany was an opportunity of a lifetime. It was a lucky coincidence that he had studied a year of German before being assigned serendipitously to Germany. He made it a point to see as much of Germany as possible. He visited as many cities as possible, fraternized with the locals and tried any new food offered to him. Person has a certain personality in which even what some would consider an insignificant person, such as a maid, or cashier is treated with genuine respect and an interest in how they are doing. This was also noted in interviews conducted by Monroe Little. African Americans serving in Germany said the freedom to travel and dive deeply into German culture had a "liberating influence on lives."[347] Person notes that not all Black GIs felt the same. Some stuck to their base, what they knew and were not interested in trying new things like German food.[348] Person, in contrast, wanted to take advantage of his new freedom. The only requirement preventing those like him from traveling was a day pass, which he seemingly was able to acquire easily. Not all Black GIs were musicians and that might have been a factor, because all of the musicians interviewed expressed a strong desire to go off-base to play music and travel to different German cities. This is noted in 1948 by the Chicago *Defender*, which

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[345] Roi Ottley, "Tan GIs Attacked Unfairly, Pittsburgh Courier," *The Pittsburgh Courier*, December 28, 1946; Roi Ottley, *No Green Pastures: The Negro in Europe Today*, 1st edition (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), 159; Höhn and Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom*, 56.
[346] Höhn and Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom*.
[347] David McBride, Leroy Hopkins, and Carol Blackshire-Belay, *Crosscurrents: African Americans, Africa, and Germany in the Modern World* (Camden House, 1998), 80.
[348] Person, Interview with Houston Person conducted by Kim Nalley.

observed: "Jazz performers always seem to find one another" and that "jam sessions are typical of what some of the men do for entertainment during off-duty hours."[349]

There were many Germans who believed that Black GIs were nicer and less entitled than White GIs and sought them out. Maria Höhn and Marin Klimke have recorded this observation in detail.[350] For example, Germans frequently described the Black GIs as more generous than the White GIs. This makes it seem as if Germans and Black GIs social relations were good because of soft power. However, in English generous can also mean generous as in kind. The word "großzügig" or "big-hearted" could have been used instead to convey the word kind**.** Black GIs being "generous," especially with food, cigarettes and other monetary items is a form of hard power for a country that was recently devasted by war. This chapter does not argue that soft power was not present, but rather that it is often overlooked that Black GIs were part of a military force which is hard power. Why is sharing food hard power and sharing Jazz soft power? Food is necessary for life and has monetary value on the Black market. Music played at a club is a fleeting experience not necessary for physical life. It is only spiritual sustenance.

Hans Massaquoi an Afro-German whose father was Liberian, and whose mother was German, grew up derided, emasculated, ridiculed, barred from higher education and marriage in Germany under the 1935 Nuremberg racial laws and general social prejudice. When Germany was occupied after World War II, Massaquoi's fortunes changed radically. Because of his skin color, everyone assumed he was an African American GI. This faulty assumption offered him greater freedom of movement, and better work opportunities.

> It was gratifying for me to note that my skin color, which for so long I had regarded as my major liability, had almost overnight turned into an asset. During my previous, mostly clandestine, encounters with German girls, I rarely could escape the feeling of being used as forbidden fruit—quite willingly, I admit, but used nevertheless. Now I had the new, ego-bolstering experience of being pursued openly and unabashedly because, as far as the Fräuleins of the immediate postwar period were concerned, Black was definitely in.[351]

I don't think "Black would have been in" if Germany hadn't lost the war. The difference might be subtle to some but for Massaquoi the ability to fraternize with Whites Germans, have a future, have opportunities were all a result of the hard power of the allies having had won the war.

Massaquoi began impersonating an American GI whenever he could and was extremely successful in fooling not only Germans but also Allied Military police and White GIs. In one escapade that involved smuggling cigarettes, he realized he and his friend Jeff were being followed by the German police and began to run with them in pursuit, but "apparently our pursuers realizing that German police had no jurisdiction over Allied personnel, had given up on Jeff and me" and ceased to run after them. After becoming more acquainted with

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[349] "U.S. Army Troops 'Tune Up' Abroad: GIs Fond Of Their Music," *The Chicago Defender (National Edition) (1921-1967)*, May 8, 1948.
[350] Höhn and Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom*; Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins*; Maria Höhn, "Love across the Color Line: Limits of Democracy."
[351] Massaquoi, *Destined to Witness*, 2009.

Black GIs, he discovered that they were racially segregated and put in lowly positions in the United States and in the military. Nonetheless, he concluded that Black GIs were far better off than "vanquished Germans," and began to study more earnestly to pass as a Black GI. Massquoi was able to pass successfully enough to go to the USO canteen and to Allied personnel only concerts and dances.

Besides the afore mentioned Allied only concerts here were some military concerts open to the German public. Don Menza, a member in the Seventh Army Jazz Band,

Figure 12 Seventh Army Jazz Two Band in concert in Germany

provided a photo of a concert that was open to the public. The band is playing in their military Jazz band uniform, which consisted of a black bow tie, and tuxedo shirt topped by red tartan coat. The band risers indicate that the group was Jazz Two. The name of the venue is unknown. However a window in the background says "Restaurant Café" in English, which suggests that the German venue catered to Americans in general. The year of the photo is likely 1958 because Don Ellis is playing trumpet in the front row. The aspect of this photo that is most interesting is that the front row is occupied by Black people. White Germans are sitting in the back. The military might have placed these Blacks in the front row purposely to make American democracy look more attractive to the Germans. Perhaps everyone seated themselves, and Black GIs who loved Jazz made it a point to grab the front rows reserved for GIs. The important takeaway is that the US GIs , including Black GIs, were able to sit in the front seat over white Germans, which makes the hierarchy clear.

Military musicians had another perk that could be perceived as hard power to a musician. They were played on the American Forces Radio (AFN) frequently. In the United States bribes or "payola" were common to receive radio play. In this case, simply being a military person gave one that advantage. Radio waves have the ability to be transmitted to

more people and a greater distance than live jam sessions in German clubs. One can chose to be in a club but one cannot choose the music on the radio. In Reinhold Wagnleitner *Coco-colonization* he asked Americans to imagine if the music on our radios was predominately in another language and from another country. Wagnleitner compared it to a form of cultural colonization. This chapter does not argue to this extreme, but it is important to note that control over the radio waves is an important form of power. Throughout the history of the recording industry the practice of bribing radio stations' Disc Jockeys to play certain songs more often, known as payola or pay for play, was commonplace. It could have a direct effect on whether an artist's record would be launched into the music charts and stocked at record stores, or languish in a bin unheard and unsold. In 1960 the Federal Communications Commission held formal hearings to investigate payola that were followed by the public.[352] It lead to formally banning the practice however it is still practiced today.

In the case of Jazz GIs, they did not have to worry about payola to gain more radio exposure. The military had several radio stations and TV stations: American Forces Network Europe (AFN.) These radio stations broadcast not only music from the United States, but they also broadcasted shows that were performed at bases. For example, if a famous headliner such as Frank Sinatra performed for the troops, he would be backed up by the Soldier's Show and Company. AFN also broadcasted concerts given by the Seventh Army Symphony Orchestra and the Jazz Bands. The picture that follows shows the Seventh

[352] R. H. Coase, "Payola in Radio and Television Broadcasting," *The Journal of Law & Economics* 22, no. 2 (1979): 269–328; "In An Ever-Changing Music Industry, Cash For Hits Remains A Constant," NPR.org, accessed February 1, 2021, https://www.npr.org/2017/01/17/509851163/in-an-ever-changing-music-industry-cash-for-hits-remains-a-constant.

Army band giving a concert that is being broadcast live for AFN.

Figure 13 The Seventh Army Band performing for a live concert radio broadcast for AFN. Photo courtesy of Eugen Hahn

As noted earlier, these broadcasts played a part in building these young Jazz GIs career among the Germans and help create demand in Germany for these musicians after they were discharged. For example, alto saxophonist and flutist Leo Wright became an expatriate after being discharged from the Army. He found employment with Radio Free Berlin Sender Freis Berlin and RIAS *Rundfunk im amerikanischen Sektor,* which was American military-controlled radio.[353]

The *Stars and Stripes Military Magazine* also made a point of previewing and reviewing concerts that former military musicians gave in Germany during and after being discharged.[354] The *Stars and Stripes* review of a Jazz festival made a point of giving a large amount of both print and photo space to former Jazz GIs. What is significant is that with the exception of one photo of Jazz giants Dizzy Gillespie and Max Roach, all the photos and the majority of print space is given to white musicians. Given the reverence that most Germans who liked Jazz gave to Black musicians I can only conclude that this was American bias. For example, Don Ellis is featured more prominently than Leo Wright. Red Norvo is given a large lead page photo while Oscar Peterson is given none. The legendary Count

[353] Sam Bauman, "Jazz Days: Berlin Diary," *European Stars And Stripes*, November 16, 1968.
[354] Weisel, "GI Jazzer Sets Berlin Spectacle."

Basie Orchestra and the extremely popular vocalese group Lambert, Hendrix and Ross are barely mentioned while a large photo is given to British singer Julie Driscoll. The article referred to Driscoll as the "English Aretha Franklin" which was hyperbolic and not accurate. Driscoll's voice is beautiful, but it is more akin to Grace Slick's soaring vocals and noticeably lacks the gospel-tinged multi-chord runs or melismatic arpeggios of Franklin.

The practice of the press favoring White Jazz musicians over Black Jazz musicians has a long history. *Downbeat* Magazine, the most important magazine for Jazz, consistently gave more press to Woody Herman and Benny Goodman from 1936-1952 although the Count Basie Orchestra or the Fletcher Henderson Orchestra were arguably better dance bands. Duke Ellington was operating on a far higher musical level, writing performing, and recording Jazz symphonies such as the 'Sacred Concerts,' the opera 'Queenie,' and a Jazz arrangement of Tchaikovsky's 'The Nutcracker Suite' that was beautiful to hear and difficult to play. In comparison, most of Benny Goodman's famous songs were arranged by African American Jazz musicians such as Fletcher Henderson and Jim Mundy yet Goodman was featured on *Downbeat*'s cover almost as much as Ellington. White vocalists Peggy Lee and Doris Day were also featured on *Downbeat* cover more times than Sarah Vaughan, Ella Fitzgerald, and Billie Holiday, who were generally considered the best Jazz singers of all times. Press in the music industry is difficult to come by for newcomers. The Jazz GIs were young, and they were featured on American military-controlled television, radio and newspapers because they were in the military. This could be viewed as soft power by some, however it was a huge advantage for a musician and as Reinhold Wagnleiterner observed when the radio waves are controlled by a foreign country and in a foreign language there is no choice. Wagnleitner views this as a form of colonization.[355]

Another important power that Black GIs had in West Germany was the ability to fraternize with white women. In the United States, acting too familiar with a white woman could result in a lynching. Often a person would be lynched by a false accusation as in the case of Emmett Till who was lynched and killed in 1955 for allegedly whistling at a white woman.[356] Journalist and political activist Ida B. Wells tracked lynchings in the post-emancipation era and revealed that more often than not the apparent cause behind a lunching of a black person was simply being prosperous.[357]

Germans did not have the power to stop interracial relationships between Black GIs and Fräuliens. In some cases, clubs catered to interracial fraternization. In *Ebony Magazine*, the 1946 article "Germany Meets The Negro Soldier," a photo shows Black GIs talking with German women in a private club in Berlin. One German woman has her arm around the neck of the GI. Right behind them another Black GI leans on the shoulder of a German woman who smiles up at him.[358] The photo caption said:

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[355] Wagnleitner, *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War*.
[356] Richard Pérez-Peña, "Woman Linked to 1955 Emmett Till Murder Tells Historian Her Claims Were False," *The New York Times*, January 28, 2017, sec. U.S., https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/27/us/emmett-till-lynching-carolyn-bryant-donham.html.
[357] Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Jacqueline Jones Royster, *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892-1900* (Bedford Books, 1997), 29.
[358] "Germany Meets the Negro Soldier."

Chapter Five: Occupiers

> All five Negro outfits in the German capital have their own private clubs owned by German proprietors but managed by soldiers. Clubs are "off limits" to all German men but the girls are given a warm welcome. Curfew is at 10:30pm.

This article and picture illustrated the ease of interracial relationships that would be frowned upon or worse in the United States. The ability of Black GIs to have relationships with white German women was often linked to civil rights progress by Negro magazines and newspapers. In some ways it was. The right to associate is a civil rights issue. In the context of these Black GIs being occupiers, is this right of association also the right to engage in colonial sexual dynamics? The colonizer has historically been able to have sexual relations with colonized. At the very least sexual relations with the women of a vanquished country has been viewed as the spoils of war.

These colonial sexual dynamics crystalize more sharply on in the area of domesticity. American soldiers were given German maids, paid for by the government until after 1955, at which point the soldier would be responsible for the wages. This was also the practice in occupied Japan; Japanese women served as domestics for American GIs, black and white. Ann Stoler has written extensively on the use of domestics in *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule.* Stoler argues that social order is a defining feature of colonial rule the use of women from vanquished countries as domestics is part of that social order. It must have been novel for some of the Black wives of GIs to have a white maid. Whether the families were white or Black, they agreed that German domestics were not as servile as to be expected from maids. The Chicago *Defender* wrote that they were difficult and not as kind or reliable as Japanese maids.[359] It is unclear why. It could be a cultural difference or perhaps having a a German woman, who had been told only a short while ago that she was of the Aryan superior race, being servile to Black soldiers might have been an issue.

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Reinhold Wagnleitner, Ute Poiger, Maria Höhn, and Martin Klimke have all greatly enriched our understanding of the soft power of African American culture in Germany, see Chapter One.[360]Of these scholars, only Wagnleitner frames Americanization in a colonial perspective, meaning American culture was imposed upon Germany. In most narratives, the downtrodden Negro is seen as an underdog, or a rebel, or uniquely authentic in some way that was attractive to certain Germans. Furthermore, Germany is usually written about as being freer for African Americans. Only Petra Goedde, however, highlights the vast power differences between the two countries and the feminization of Germans during the Allied occupation.[361] This chapter agrees with Goedde's observations. The Cold War and United States acting out democracy and equality on a world stage is seen by many as an exercise in soft power in post-WW II occupied Germany. It is however important to realize

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[359] Payne, "Wives Of Negro GIs Still Draw Stares In Germany."
[360] Wagnleitner, *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War*; Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels*; Höhn and Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom*; Klimke, "The African American Civil Rights Struggle and Germany, 1945-1989."
[361] Goedde and Goedde, *GIs and Germans*.

that Black GIs in occupied Germany were able to influence changes in Germany during this period in part because they had hard power, in addition to soft power. They were part of the military which is the very definition of hard power.

At the same time, there was still social segregation practiced by some white American GIs, especially in off base spaces. These clubs were called "Dixie bars." Sometimes it would be as simple as blasting country music so that the Black GI would choose to go somewhere else or if the Black GI came into the bar, they would quickly find out they were not welcome and asked to leave or a brawl might ensue. Even after the Army was technically no longer an occupying power that did not have the authority to segregate a German bar, the Army did have the power to place a bar off-limits to all Army personnel. In 1961, the Pittsburgh *Courier* noted that because these German bars depended completely upon the income of US military people and if all GIs were prohibited from going there, "the proprietors would have to concede to Army demands or go out of business." [362] As a result there was a Dixie bar is every town where U. S. troops were stationed. It is clear that although the Black GI had power, that power was still constrained and they still experienced de facto social segregation in Germany. In conclusion, Black GIs in Germany held an "in between," a liminal, status. They at times were often not treated by the Germans, as equally as White American GIs, but they still held a certain amount of power as occupiers that put them above the Germans. This is a fact that was not lost on Black GIs. In 1959, reporter William Gardner Smith said in the New York *Post*,

> Do you know what it's like for a Negro to be among the "conquerors" instead of the defeated? We learned about it for the first time when we "occupied" Germany and none of us ever got over it. We will never go back to the old way again. It was the first time we had ever gotten out of the social nightmare in the United States and were in a situation where we were equals, in fact more equal than the Germans.[363]

For Black GIs to be more equal than Germans in their own country must have affected several Black GIs, especially when returning to the United States. For some such as Jazz and Blues singer Tommie Harris, see Chapter two, that manifested itself in a refusal to submit to Jim Crow and eventually led to him becoming an expatriate.

Cedar Walton noted that the military was totally integrated by 1956 when he arrived but on a social level, "there was race uh distinctions uh, different bars uh, white soldiers would uh, uh congregate and uh, uh, and same applied to other bars where the Black soldiers would congregate." Walton tells the tale of accidentally walking into a Dixie Bar.

> We were on a tour with one of the shows and we stopped at a bar and it was uh, it was I guess what we used to call a hillbilly bar. In this time they were called a redneck bar, I guess, you know. And man, we had to get outta there. There was uh a furious uh mistake, you know. Bottles started being

[362] Leonard W. Malone, "Army's Dixie-Minded GIs Spark Brawls in Europe," *New Pittsburgh Courier (1959-1965), National Edition*, July 22, 1961.
[363] William Gardner Smith, "An American in Paris -III," *New York Post*, September 29, 1959.

> thrown and oh man, I was hiding under the table, you know – stealthy animal that I was – and uh made it back to the bus.[364]

Walton's experience tempers the reports of freedom for Black GIs in Germany. It is clear that the Black GIs had strange waters to navigate as both part of the vanquishing army and as a race that was still considered socially unequal.

[364] Walton, Interview with Cedar Walton NEA Jazz Master 2010 Smithsonian Jazz Oral History Program conducted by William A. Brower and engineered by Kenneth Kimery.

Chapter Six: All the Good Black Men

The United States military was still de facto segregated through the 1950s and 1960s despite the Executive Order 9981 of 1948 that supposedly integrated the armed forces.[365] As demonstrated in my earlier chapters, African-American soldiers stationed in post-World War II Germany were often able to use off-base Jazz clubs and bars as "intermediary spaces, a third place between work and home, between United States and Germany and in between segregation and full equality.[366] These clubs were safe places for Black GIs to exercise their freedom. Among other freedoms, the ability to fraternize with other Whites as social equals was an important benefit of these clubs. Interracial relationships between Black GIs and German women often resulted from this fraternization. African American newspapers and magazines frequently published pictorial stories on interracial relationships, especially post-World War II relationships between Black GIs and German women. Many people viewed this as Civil Right progress.[367] While the reactions of Germans and White Americans to these relationships have been well documented, please see Chapter One, the reactions of African American women have been largely silent in academic literature. Much of the information about Black GIs was disseminated by Black magazines that were largely read by Black women but largely written and owned by Black men. There are copious "Letters to the Editors" written by Black women that reveal that many Black Women felt negatively about these interracial relationships or at times personally hurt by these interracial relationships. This paragraph also includes the testimonies of various African American women in the military in Europe. There were far fewer women in the military and there does not appear to be numbers on which percentage are African American. Before revealing the thoughts and feelings of these Black women during the post-World War II period, the next paragraphs offer a short biography of interracial relations between Black men and White women in the United States.

In the United States before the Civil War, interracial relationships were frowned upon, but were at times were tolerated at least covertly, because of White patriarchy and the fact that Black slaves were indeed property.[368] -Historian Martha Hodges has noted several legal cases in which White men, often poor, had to sue because their wives had relations

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[365] July 1968 press release memorandum Clark Clifford 20th anniversary of executive order Truman 1948 National Archives Identifier: 7542721
Creator(s): Truman, Bess Wallace, 1885-1982 (Most Recent)
Truman, Harry S., 1884-1972 (Predecessor)
From: File Unit: Johnson, Lyndon B.-Recent Correspondence, 1953 - 1973
Series: Secretary's Office Files, 1953 - 1973
Collection: Harry S. Truman Post-Presidential Papers, 1953 - 1973

[366] Lee, Kim, and Moon, "Intermediary Spaces Linking Urban Space to Buildings."

[367] Timothy Lee, "Between a New Germany and a New America: Unions between African-American Soldiers and German Women 1945-1960" (University of California, Berkley, 2009).

[368] Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Yale University Press, 1999); Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion*, Reissue edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996).

with a Black male slave that did not belong to them. In some case a monetary restitution was awarded. On one occasion, the court decided the husband, Lewis Bourne, failed to control his wife, so was not granted a divorce and therefore was obligated to support the mixed race child his wife had with a Black slave owned by someone else.[369] It was one thing to severely hurt maim or kill one's own slave but to inflict severe penalties would infringe upon owner's property rights. This is further complicated by the recent discovery by historian Stephanie Roger-Jones that because White women could not own property, they were often willed or gifted slaves.[370]

With the collapse of Reconstruction and the White backlash of "Redemption," Black bodies were increasingly lynched during the 1880s-1930s as part of systemic white supremacist efforts to curtail their freedoms. The rationalization — in reality, a lie — Whites often gave for lynching a Black man was that he had raped a White woman. In the 1890s, Ida B. Wells maintained that Black men were falsely accused of raping White Women as an excuse for lynching. Wells maintained that the white rationalization for the lynching of black men owed far more to Black male political and economic success than rape.[371]

This pattern persisted into the 20th century. During the Cold War, Truman became increasingly publicly committed to civil rights as the plight of African Americans began to play out on the international stage.[372] White backlash followed, exemplified by the 1955 lynching of fourteen-year-old Emmett Till for allegedly whistling at a White woman. Because of the severe penalties for African American men who socially engaged White women in the US, many scholars such as Maria Höhn and Martin Klimke, see Chapter One, have equated interracial relationships between Black GIs and German women with civil rights progress.[373] It is important to note that by interracial relationships, the scholarly concentration has mostly focused on Black men and White women.

This perspective is understandable in the German context, especially given the fact that very few African American women were deployed overseas initially. Also, African-American newspapers and magazines, particularly Johnson Publications, run largely by African-American men, tended to focus almost exclusively on relationships between Black men and White Women in articles about interracial relationships. As a result, African-American women's voices are noticeably absent. Do increased rights for Black Men advance the Civil rights of the race? Or are Black women left behind in these advancements? Is intersectionality of race and gender in patriarchal racism too complex to be unraveled by a progressive narrative of the intermarriage of African American soldiers to German

[369] Hodes, *White Women, Black Men*, 73.
[370] Stephanie E. Jones-Rogers, *They Were Her Property: White Women as Slave Owners in the American South* (Yale University Press, 2019).
[371] Wells-Barnett and Royster, *Southern Horrors and Other Writings*.
[372] Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*.
[373] Klimke, "The African American Civil Rights Struggle and Germany, 1945-1989"; Höhn and Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom*; Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins*; Maria Höhn, "Love across the Color Line: Limits of Democracy."

women?[374] When all the women are White, and all the Blacks are men, African-American women's voices are erased from the historical narrative.[375] It is important not to have the voices of Black men substitute for the entire race. This chapter seeks to build on the foundation provided by Maria Höhn, Heidi Fehrenbach and other Germanists, and to integrate it with Americanists such as Renée Romano, paying closer attention to the voices of African-American women who wrote "Letters to the Editor" to Black Magazines.[376] These letters were so involved that, as I will show that the remain in conversation with each other for several months.

The question of interracial relationships between Black men and White women is still a keen debate among African-American women.[377] Black NFL player Reggie Bush's 2010 cover photo on the Black women's magazine, *Essence*, caused a maelstrom of Letters to the Editor from disgruntled Black women because he was dating a white woman at the time.[378] Scholars such as Margaret E. Hill and Mark Hunter have argued that in terms of skin color, gender does make a difference.[379] The question of interracial relationships between Black women and White men today is still complicated in part by the troubled complex history of African-American women. White men did not suffer severe penalties for having sexual relations with Black women during and after slavery. Yet, these relationships, often coerced, have all at times had harsh repercussions for the Black women and their mulatto

[374] For more discourse on intersectionality see, Kimberle Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241–99, https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039.

[375] Akasha Hull, Patricia Bell-Scott, and Barbara Smith, eds., *But Some Of Us Are Brave: All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men: Black Women's Studies* (Old Westbury, N.Y: The Feminist Press at CUNY, 1993).

[376] Höhn and Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom*; Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins*; Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels*; Romano, *Race Mixing*; Heide Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler: Black Occupation Children in Postwar Germany and America* (Princeton University Press, 2005); Schroer, *Recasting Race after World War II*.

[377] I employ both the terms Black and African American using African American when needed in reference to Black people specifically from the United States. My apologies in advance for the concentration on Hetero-relationships.

[378] African American NFL player Reggie Bush's cover photo on Essence magazine in February 2010 caused many women to express anger over a Black woman's magazine featuring a Black man who was dating a White woman (Kim Kardashian) resulting in the magazine to remove the page with their comments. See Internet archive tools for these comments http://www.essence.com/magazine/reggie_bush_on_the_february_cover_of_ess.php#comments ; similar outrage over celebrity Black men dating White woman can be found ongoing on most of the online Black women's forums such as https://longhaircareforum.com/.

[379] Margaret L. Hunter, *Race, Gender, and the Politics of Skin Tone* (Routledge, 2013); Mark E. Hill, "Skin Color and the Perception of Attractiveness among African Americans: Does Gender Make a Difference?," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 65, no. 1 (2002): 77–91, https://doi.org/10.2307/3090169.

offspring.[380] Harriet Jacobs noted, "if the white parent is the father, instead of the mother, the offspring are unblushingly reared for the market."[381]

Even after slavery, the institutionalized rape of African-American women by White men has been a defining feature of patriarchal racial subjugation and control.[382] We would be remiss in assuming that most African-American women and men in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s broadly viewed interracial relationships positively. Many, as I will show, felt injured by such unions and did not view such interracial relationships positively.-In October 1946, the one-year-old African-American magazine, *Ebony,* published a seven-page spread titled "Germany Meets The Negro Soldier: GIs find more friendship and equality in Berlin than in Birmingham or on Broadway."[383] The article includes several photos of Black GIs socializing with German women in bars and clubs, drinking and dancing to Jazz. The article marvels over how quickly Negroes went from being referred to as "semi-ape" "Untermenschens" (subhumans) during Nazi rule, to being liked and befriended under Occupation. The article explains that many German women admitted to initially befriending Negro soldiers out of "self-interest" for coffee, soap, and cigarettes. Maria Höhn maintains that having access to these types of perks through an American "boyfriend" "could literally be a matter of life and death for a woman trying to feed herself and perhaps her children."[384]

Did African American women at the time view these relationships positively? Did African American men at the time view these relationships positively? For many I believe were not particularly concerned with what African American women were thinking. And there were not many African American women on Germany to date. But for Blac Women, how did the fact that the Black GIs were in a powerful position as occupiers, compared to the German women who were the occupied in a country completely decimated by war, with no currency, inadequate calories, and emasculated German men, shape Black women's views of these relationships ? Did these striking facts have any real impact on such views? Did the female readers of *Ebony* magazine see these relationships positively as racial progress. There are several "Letters to the Editor" in response to this 1946 article. The five letters written by women are all critical of both the interracial relationships and the news coverage of them.

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[380] A. B. Wilkinson, *Blurring the Lines of Race & Freedom: Mulattoes & Mixed Bloods in English Colonial America*, Illustrated edition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020).

[381] Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of A Slave Girl, Written by Herself: With Related Documents*, ed. Jennifer Fleischner, First Edition edition (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2009), 52.

[382] Danielle L. McGuire, *At the Dark End of the Street: Black Women, Rape, and Resistance--A New History of the Civil Rights Movement from Rosa Parks to the Rise of Black Power*, Reprint edition (New York, NY: Vintage, 2011); Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism* (Psychology Press, 2004), 19–21; Crystal N. Feimster, *Southern Horrors: Women and the Politics of Rape and Lynching* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011).

[383] "Germany Meets the Negro Soldier."

[384] Höhn and Moon, *Over There*, 113.

Chapter Six: All the Good Black Men

Ella Penman of Ohio was the most critical of the women. She referred to the soldiers as "our boys" denoting possession, a sentiment often expressed by other Black women in other articles. Penman speculated that the soldiers are the husbands of a "Negro working girl," which implied that the men were cheating and playing, while "their" [Negro] women were working hard on the home front. She described the German women as “buxom seductresses” ready to stab the men in the back, perhaps picking up on the opportunistic "self-interest" expressed in the article. The women are not simply White to Penman, they are German traitors. Penman does not seem ready to forget that during World War II they were the enemy and there is little honor in consorting with the defeated enemy. In this respect, we see patriotism and national identity taking a front spot in her mind as she questions both the "friendship" and "equality" headline of the *Ebony* article.

Edna Banks, from Hampton Institute of Virginia ,wrote that the coverage was not compatible with the goals of *Ebony* magazine. She took particular offense in that *Ebony* seemed to imply that it was “an honor to be with one whose skin is a trifle lighter than one's.” In this quote, we can see that she believed that portraying White women as more prestigious, as “trophies,” which dishonored Black women. She ended her letter saying that *Ebony* minimized the “fight for equality that is now raging.”

The article's numerous photos of Black men romantically engaged with White women at times, as I will soon show, fanned the flames of hot-headed White racists in the United States, who construed they were correct in alleging that the Civil Rights Movement was simply an excuse for Black men to sleep with White women. The very existence of the article seemed to give credence to suffragist Rebecca Felton's claim that "to permit a Black voter to feel like 'a man and your 'brother' would incite the rape of White women."[385] Ms. Banks was correct in her fears; one Rolf Sigg wrote a letter to the Editor that drolly praised the article as the perfect fodder to send to his friends "down south" and to white supremacist Ku Klux Klan member, Senator Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi.

Another *Ebony* letter to the editor in response to the same October 1946 issue seems to be completely overlooked by scholars. It is titled “Fried Hair,” which refers to Afro-textured, kinky hair that is straightened with a hot metal comb and grease. This was a weekly Saturday night/Sunday morning ritual of assimilation in many Black households. This letter reveals Mrs. L. Sims of Cleveland, Ohio sentiments on interracial relationships and Black women’s beauty.

> Why is it that a Black man can speak of his "ofay (White) chicks"[386] and feel honored in being seen with the Caucasian ladies? A Black woman may be seen or even heard of being with a man of the other color and she is looked upon with scorn. If Negro women had longer, better textured hair, I believe that they would stand a better valuation from their men, for it is they who tend to ridicule Negro womanhood. In songs and public places, they give with phrases of big hips and kinky-headed mamas.[387]

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[385] Hodes, *White Women, Black Men*, 196; W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880-1930*, First Paperback Edition edition (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

[386] Ofay is an offensive term for White people.

[387] “Letters and Pictures to the Editor,” *Ebony* 2, no. 3 (January 1947): 4.

Sims went on in the same letter and expressed her despair in having to compete with White supremacist beauty standards. She maintained that if "dark skinned sisters" do not get their hair "fixed" or "straightened" that they are denigrated. Sims pondered why in the "atomic" age, that technological advancements had not been made in hair straightening since Madame C.J. Walker.[388]

The *Ebony* photo spreads of Black GIs cavorting with Blonde German women with long straight hair may have biased Ms. Sims opinion and self-value. Regardless, Ms. Sims letter illustrates how seriously she believed that kinky hair hinders Black women's progress, a theme that is explored in Julia Kirk Blackwelder's *Styling Jim Crow*. Blackwelder writes, "Carefully groomed hair and immaculate dress armed women against the arrows of racial insults."[389] In Ms. Sims case these racial insults were not just from Whites, but from Blacks as well, particularly in the late 40 and 50s before the Black pride movement began to embrace African features.[390] Many African-Americans had assimilated the European beauty ideal of straight long hair, which in turn caused Black women, or at least Ms. Sims, to feel insecure. In comparison Black men did not have to conform to European beauty standards as much. Psychologists Neal and Wilson write that, "compared to Black males, Black females have been more profoundly affected by the prejudicial fallout surrounding issues of skin color, facial features, and hair."[391] This meant that Black men had the advantage in interracial relationships.

Sims is also concerned with Black women being "scorned" for entering into an interracial relationship. She suggests that for most Blacks, while a Black man dating or marrying a White woman could be viewed positively, as "respectable," a Black woman dating or marrying a White man was not considered to be positive, or "respectable." This belief could be residual trauma from slavery and Jim Crow, White men suffered few if any repercussion for raping Black women. The rape of Black female slaves is a standard element in slave narratives.[392] Sexualized violence is a hallmark of slavery, Jim Crow, and

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[388] Walker (1867-1919) was a laundress who became the first self-made female millionaire by selling hair products to grow and straighten Black hair.[388] The fact that she became a millionaire from sales of products that catered to only Black women shows the enormous value Black women have placed on long straight hair. It was popularly, albeit erroneously, believed that she invented the hot comb, and Ms. Sims might be referring to Walker's 1909 hot comb as the last technological advance in Black women's hair.

[389] Julia Kirk Blackwelder, *Styling Jim Crow: African American Beauty Training during Segregation*, 1st edition (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2003), 6.

[390] Waldo E. Martin, Jr., *No Coward Soldiers: Black Cultural Politics in Postwar America* (Harvard University Press, 2005), 86.

[391] Angela M. Neal and Midge L. Wilson, "The Role of Skin Color and Features in the Black Community: Implications for Black Women and Therapy," *Clinical Psychology Review* 9, no. 3 (January 1, 1989): 328, https://doi.org/10.1016/0272-7358(89)90060-3.

[392] Olaudah Equiano and Vincent Carretta, *The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings: Revised Edition*, Revised edition (New York: Penguin Classics, 2003); D. W. Blight F. Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass (Text Only) 2nd(Second) Edition by F. Douglass,D.*

colonization.[393] It could have been perceived as shameful willingly to willingly enter into a relationship with a race that had defiled Black women for so many centuries. It would seem that White men honorably marrying Black women in mutual loving relationships could have been seen in a positive light as racial progress, yet for many it was not.

Singer and actress Lena Horne hid her 1947 marriage to White (Jewish) pianist-arranger Lennie Hayton from the public for three years. When it was finally revealed that she had married a White man, she was deluged with hate mail and death threats from both Blacks and Whites.[394] The history of the debasement of African American women at the hands of Whites may have been too insurmountable for a Black woman to willingly be with a White man and not ruffle feathers in the Black community. Horne also might also have been given greater scrutiny for her interracial marriage because she was so light-skinned that she had to wear dark makeup in films so they cameras could "read" her skin as Negro.

Colorism is prejudice in regard to skin tone based on both real and perceived privilege from Whites for lighter skin tones or more Caucasian features such as hair texture, nose and lip shape. Although colorism is often understood as prejudice against darker skin tones, within the Black community colorism can be more complicated because skin that was too light could also be unacceptable.[395] As an extremely light-skinned person with a thin nose and thin lips, Lena Horne's Blackness came into question by marrying a White man. This is also a form of colorism, Light-skinned Blacks are routinely questioned on their heritage, lineage and allegiance, and can receive worse treatment from darker-skinned Blacks because of real and perceived light-skinned privilege. Scholar Verna King and Margaret Hunter have compared light skin in Black Women a form of social capital.[396] On the other extreme, being Light skinned brings up authenticity issues and much is made of the "tragic mulatto" as a trope, meaning that mixed race people will always end up with tragic fates. However in real life, ostracization from both the Black and the White communities and loneliness has haunted innumerable mixed-race men and women. In fact, these factors were contributing factors to the highly publicized 1984 suicide of Chicago *Tribune* columnist Leanita McClain.[397] McLain was very light-skinned and felt alienated at times from both the Black and While Community.

W. Blight, 2nd edition (Bedford/St. Martin's, 2002); Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of A Slave Girl, Written by Herself*.

[393] Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*; Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*.

[394] James Gavin, *Stormy Weather: The Life of Lena Horne* (Simon and Schuster, 2009), 199, 219, 239.

[395] Neal and Wilson, "The Role of Skin Color and Features in the Black Community," 326.

[396] Verna Keith, "A Color Struck World: Skin Tone, Achievement, and Self Esteem among African American Women," in *Shade of Difference: Why Skin Color Matters*, ed. Evelyn Nakano Glenn (Stanford Univerisyt Press, 2009), 25–39.

[397] Hill, "Skin Color and the Perception of Attractiveness among African Americans"; Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (Psychology Press, 2000), 66; Kevin Klose, "A Tormented Black Rising Star, Dead By Her Own Hand Leanita McClain: A Pioneer at the Racial Frontier Who Lost Her Way," *The Washington Post*, August 5, 1984,

In the case of NAACP leader Walter White, colorism also played a major role in the public's perception of his divorce from a Black woman, Gladys Powell, and remarriage to a White (Jewish) woman from South Africa named Poppy Cannon in 1947. Walter White had five-thirty-seconds 5/32, Black ancestry, blond hair, blue eyes, fair skin and "sharp" features.[398] He was easily able to pass as a White person. White's twenty-seven-year marriage to brown skinned Gladys Powell lent credibility to his Blackness. Among his harshest critics of his divorce of Gladys Powell to marry Cannon were his sisters Helen and Madeline, who wrote him in 1949.

> One of the main reasons for this worship and allegiance is the fact that you fell in love with and married a person of Gladys' complexion. They believed anything you told them. You were one of them. You personified the doctrine of Race. Can you afford to cast this aside? .... The NAACP is your life. When you give that up you will be lost, and you cannot continue if you do this.[399]

A Black man marrying a White woman could be construed as giving up some of one's Blackness and commitment to the Black freedom struggle. His ability to speak to the experiences of Black people when he did not look like a Black person and was not married to a Black person could be questioned. How could someone have Black pride if they forsook a Black woman to marry a White one? Many African Americans felt so strongly about White's marriage to a White woman that they called for his resignation as the leader of the NAACP.

Although Walter White was not a Black GI in Germany, the domestic reaction to his marriage during the same time period of the late 1940s, gives us some insight into how complicated African Americans' attitudes were in regard to interracial marriage. According to Renee Romano, censure in Black newspapers regarding White's divorce and remarriage were split. Some Black women were notably incensed. Violet Coburn wrote directly to the NAACP in regard to the White-Cannon marriage, that it was perhaps it was,

> a good idea that the White men lynch these Negro men to keep them from there [sic] White women. If they didn't, poor Black women would never get a husband. Soon as Negro men get in position to support a family, they must find a White wife or someone next to same complexion while the poor Black devils of womanhood suffer on bread lines with there [sic] brats.[400]

Here we see how the issue of interracial marriage is often conflated with intra-racial colorism. Coburn accuses Black men of being "colorstruck," meaning that they respect and

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https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1984/08/05/a-tormented-black-rising-star-dead-by-her-own-hand-leanita-mcclain-a-pioneer-at-the-racial-frontier-who-lost-her-way/2a8e292d-8d52-4231-999e-82c727441a6d/?utm_term=.771cd4026bb8.

[398] Walter Francis White, *A Man Called White: The Autobiography of Walter White* (University of Georgia Press, 1948), 3.

[399] Helen Martin to Walter White, May 20, 1949, in Box 4, Folder 131, Walter White-Poppy Cannon White Papers; Madeleine White to Walter White, May 20, 1949, in Box 7, Folder 225, Walter White-Poppy Cannon White Papers.

[400] Violet Coburn to NAACP National Headquarters, February 16, 1950, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Papers, Group II, Administrative Files (1940-55), Box A610, Folder: Staff-Walter White, Marriage, 1949-51, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

value White women and light-skinned Black women more than dark-skinned Black women. St. Clair Drake and Horace Clayton noted in 1945, “How can Negroes ignore culture distinctions when the whole culture puts a premium on being white?"[401] One physician interviewed by Drake and Clayton commented, "All of our early concepts of desirable physical attributes come from the white man."[402]

Alice Walker expounded on this idea by expanding the W.E.B. DuBois observation that “The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line—the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea." Walker writes:

> This is a true statement, but it is a man’s vision. That is to say, it sees clearer across seas than across the table or the street. Particularly it omits what is happening within the family, “the race,” at home; a family also capable of civil war. ...not only “the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men [sic] in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea,” but the relations between the darker and the lighter people of the same races, and of the women who represent both dark and light within each race. It is our “familial” relations with each other in America that we need to scrutinize. And it is the whole family, rather than the dark or the light, that must be affirmed.[403]

Walker’s Womanism asserts that racial relations of men cannot be divorced from the relations of the women of their race. The tensions between Black men and Black women in regard to colorism is particularly prone to intersectionality because studies suggest that dark skin is often viewed as a positive attribute in Black men, suggesting masculinity and virility. This means that it might have been easier for darker Black men to date lighter-skinned women often much to darker-skinned women's chagrin.[404] In comparison, darker-skinned females from the lower class were seen as "the least desirable for marriage and possessing the fewest options for pursuing any kind of higher education or career."[405]

Although the favoritism men had for light-skinned women at times strained relations between Black men and Black women, intra-racial relations seemed chilliest when Black men dated and married White women. The spread of Black GIs with German girlfriends and wives was concerning and alienating for some women. Pamela Allan of Columbus Ohio wrote to *Ebony* that she was not against mixed marriages, but she also echoed Sims' dismay at the prevalence of the press' positive depictions of Black male mixed

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[401] St Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (University of Chicago Press, 2015), 495.
[402] Drake and Cayton, 495.
[403] Alice Walker, *In Search of Our Mothers’ Gardens: Prose* (Open Road Media, 2011), 310–11.
[404] Ralph Ellison often expounds on White women's desires for darker men, see Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (Random House Digital, Inc., 1952), 263.
[405] Neal and Wilson, “The Role of Skin Color and Features in the Black Community,” 326; Charles Parrish, “The Significance of Color in the Negro Community” (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago), accessed May 9, 2017, http://oskicat.berkeley.edu/search/o8352821; William Lloyd Warner, *Color and Human Nature: Negro Personality Development in a Northern City* (Harper & Row, 1969).

marriages and the scorn for Black women who crossed the color-line. She wrote: "every time we lose a man to a woman of another race, it means one more Negro woman will be husbandless. Still there is a double standard for our women. The men of our upper crust and many others look down their noses at the women of our group who marry White men and are quick to point out that a White man's intentions toward a Negro woman are never honorable."[406] Faced with the unacceptability of interracial marriage from both Blacks and Whites, decorous Black women sought to marry Black men. However if Black men were able to date White women that increased competition for available Black men. In 1945 St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton wrote that they had found that only "a few -very few- Negro women, and a larger proportion of Black men" were for interracial marriage. They surmised that Black women were against it because of the one-sided nature of it, meaning that only Black men served to benefit. As one of their interviewees noted, "Why should Negro men marry white women? White men don't want to marry us. They just use us when they can."[407]

In the April 1951 *Negro Digest*, there was an anonymous article, "Are White Women Stealing our Husbands?[408] The author, a wealthy Black socialite, had lost her husband to a White woman. She refers to herself as a "victim of progress." The author did not appear to be against mixed marriages legally or in principle, but was worried about the negative repercussions interracial marriages had on for Black woman. She felt that the most desirable Black men were the ones who were crossing over the color line romantically. While Ms. Anonymous was primarily concerned with the very small pool of wealthy Black men, she pointed out that middle class Black women echoed the same concerns regarding Black GIs.

Employed men in uniform, like the Black GIs in postwar occupied Germany, were highly desirable mates for Black women. As shown in chapter four and five, they had both hard and soft power, a good job with money, housing including German maids paid for by the military for married soldiers. As shown in chapter two the type of Black woman in Germany married to a GI was often very accomplished, educated and high in Black society. For Black women like Ms. Anonymous, there were fewer available Black GIs, presumably including the pool of Black GIs in postwar Germany, because "those that survived shooting married foreigners." She claimed that it was no longer only "fast women" with bleached hair who married Black men. She lamented that the trend had spread to Park Avenue, meaning respectable high-class White women. She referenced "a berated and celebrated Negro leader who recently left his colored wife to marry an attractive White career woman," presumably Walter White and Poppy Cannon. She lamented that these interracial relationships were draining the Black community, writing:

> The most damage has been done…in the cultural class. Our leading novelist, a composer and orchestra conductor have all fallen victim to a

[406] "Letters to the Editor," *Ebony* 7, no. 1 (November 1951): 6.
[407] Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, 133–35.
[408] Anonymous, "Are White Women Stealing Our Men," Negro Digest, April 1951, p. 52.

> White woman's wiles. Even the leader of leaders has deserted the ship for interracial waters. [409]

The leading novelist referred to was the highly celebrated Richard Wright, perhaps best-known for *Native Son* (1940). The conductor was William Grant Still who was the first Black composer to have an opera performed by the Metropolitan opera. Once again, we see the perception of interracial marriage as leaving the Black community. Ms. Anonymous believed that the work that Black woman had done towards achieving social justice and equality for all Blacks, including Black men, had resulted in Black men getting ahead of them in the Civil Rights struggle . Despite the many problems and dangers involved in an interracial relationship, she asserted that the Black man would gladly trade the twelve years a Black woman had spent slaving with him to pay the mortgage, for the opportunity to have a White trophy on his arm. She quotes Langston Hughes' poem "Mellow,"

> *Into the laps*
> *of Black celebrities*
> *White girls fall*
> *like pale plums from a tree*
> *beyond a high tension wall*
> *wired for killing*
> *which makes it*
> *more thrilling.*[410]

Hughes' poem alludes to the lethal repercussions, lynching, for Black men who engage in relations with White women. His use of the word "girls" invokes the imagery of youth, an "attractive" quality for women and perhaps a comment on their naïveté and the risks that the young are willing to take. His analogy to White girls as "plums" on a tree represents them as forbidden fruit that is out of reach, but not out of sight. The "wall" separating them represent the years of segregation keeping the races separate and the "tension" can be seen as the White anxieties about sex between White women and Black men. The dangers associated with tasting the forbidden fruit makes it thrilling. The women fall into the laps meaning that the Black men do nothing; it is White women who proactively desire them. And, as Anonymous makes clear, thee white women use their "wiles" to seduce them.

This is a theme also presented in Ralph Ellison's epochal and iconic *Invisible Man*(1952). The narrator is sexually indifferent to White women. Nonetheless, they keep throwing themselves at him and sexualizing him. Both of these literary examples highlight Ms. Anonymous' complaint that white women are poaching too many of the best Black men. Indeed the Black men Hughes refers to are not just any ordinary Black men but very highly desirable celebrities." This harkens back to the main complaint that Anonymous and other African American women raised at the time: it was all the "good" Black men that they were "losing" to White women.

African-American Women Overseas

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[409] Anonymous, "Are White Women Stealing Our Husbands?," *Negro Digest*, April 1951, 52–53.

[410] Langston Hughes, *The Collected Works of Langston Hughes: The Poems, 1951-1967* (University of Missouri Press, 2001), 47.

Chapter Six: All the Good Black Men

In addition to the perspectives of Black women in the US, such as the letter writers cited previously, on this issue, we need to look at the relevant experiences and perspectives of African-American women serving overseas. What was it like for them? Did they date and marry European men at the same rates as Black GIs? Although African American women were not initially deployed in Germany, the all-Black 688th Women's Auxiliary Army Companies (WAAC later WAC) were the only Black women's group to serve during the war. Although not stationed in Germany, many testimonies compiled by Brenda Moore, echo the sentiments of innumerable Black women, again such as those cited earlier. There are limitations to using the testimonies of African American WAC orWAACs not deployed in Germany to illuminate the attitudes of African-American women towards interracial relationships in Germany, but they are African American women and their voices should not be discounted.

There is validity in this approach for several reasons. The power that the American military had in Germany was far greater than they had in in Britain and France. If Black WACs had been in Germany, the imbalance of power made it unlikely that Black GIs would eschew German women in favor of Black female GIs. German women were simply more plentiful and more available. Dating rituals revolve around men courting and gifting to women. Many German men were unlikely to be in the financial position to successfully court Black female GIs in the way that Black male GIs were able to court German women. Also, African-American mores in regard to Black women dating White men were still in place through the 1960s and would become more intense during the Black Power movement.

The 6888th WAAC was initially contemplated by General Eisenhower to be sent over to Europe during World War II to provide companionship for Black GIs in order to keep them away from White European women.[411] With the general outrage that followed of assuming that Black military women were the property of Black men this suggestion was abandoned. They were later brought over in 1944 to do technical jobs, such as postal work. This meant that they were generally higher educated and higher ranking than most of the Black GIs. Many GIs did not want to date a woman who was higher ranking than the. According to Charity Adams Earle, one of these Black WACs, "Negro males had been systematically degraded and mistreated in the civilian world, and the presence of successfully performing Negro women on the scene increased their resentment. The efforts of the women to be supportive of men was mistaken for competition and patronage."[412]

Several women of the 6888th WAAC, including Elise Oliver, maintained that African American soldiers were not interested in Black women for other reasons, "They [African American men] were busy with White [European] women overseas. That is why there were so many war babies. They would say such things to Black women such as 'We want something we can see at night.'"[413] This is an insult inferring that they were too dark to be desirable. They could not have been completely disinterested because another woman

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[411] Brenda L. Moore, *To Serve My Country, to Serve My Race: The Story of the Only African-American WACS Stationed Overseas During World War II* (NYU Press, 1997), 80–90.
[412] Charity Adams Earley, *One Woman's Army: A Black Officer Remembers the Wac* (Texas A&M University Press, 1989), 26.
[413] Moore, *To Serve My Country, to Serve My Race*.

testified that the soldiers called them names when they turned down date offers. However, the nature of the insult hurled at Oliver does reveal that European beauty ideals did infiltrate the minds and preferences of some Black GIs. It also confirms the accusation that Negro men at times insulted Negro women with racial taunts. This point was raised in the aforementioned Mrs. L Sims letter to *Ebony* in 1946.[414] When interracial relationships were the only options, Black women still had to deal with a variety of complicated issues, including colorism. When the playing field opened up for interracial relationships, it became harder for some Black women to compete with German women . This was especially true because Black WACs did not have the same freedom as Black GIs. Black WACs reported that Black GIs became very upset when they socialized with White European men because Black women were perceived as belonging to the males of their race.[415]

None of the Black WACs that I can trace married a European, but Brenda Moore writes that some had dated them. Unlike Black GIs, clubs and bars do not figure prominently in their stories.

> I met a young man, a civil engineer, whose job had kept him working for the city rather than off in the service. He took quite a fancy to me and, after struggling to overcome his English prejudice against "blacks," he asked me to accompany him to the theater. Before I could accept his invitation I, too, had a few personal and cultural adjustments to make . . .. One day he took me for tea at the home of friends of his.[416]

Most of the Black women who were interviewed called the European men their "friends," and many socialized in groups at a private house rather than one-on-one dates. It is unclear whether they were simply being discreet, or if they were not dating as much as the men. WACs certainly had good reasons for not dating American military in general. Claudia Kennedy, who became the first female three-star general said in an interview for ABC news, that WACs were allowed to marry if they received proper authorization. But if a WAC serving in the European Theater of Operations married an American military man, one of them was immediately transferred to a distant station. The transfer was meant to discourage romances resulting in pregnancy. In the Far East, a WAC could not marry unless she was pregnant. Any WAC who became pregnant was expected to announce her condition and quickly be processed for discharge on grounds of medical disability. Remarkably, these stringent conditions, first imposed at the height of World War II, still prevailed in the Women's Army Corps in 1968. A WAC could marry, with permission, but not become pregnant and remain in the service.[417]Unlike a male soldier who could date, engage in sexually relations and at times leave his European paramour a souvenir behind in

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[414] Letters and Pictures to the Editor," *Ebony* 2, no. 3 (January 1947): 4.
[415] Moore, *To Serve My Country, to Serve My Race*.
[416] Earley, *One Woman's Army*; Moore, *To Serve My Country, to Serve My Race*, 122–36.
[417] A. B. C. News, "Excerpt: 'Generally Speaking,'" ABC News, January 6, 2006, http://abcnews.go.com/GMA/story?id=126612&page=1.

the form of a baby, female soldiers of any race had greater repercussions to face if their relations resulted in a pregnancy.[418]

They might have also dated less because of lukewarm demand. In general, they did not report being given the exuberant welcome that so many Black GIs have described. Some even found the French to be cold and indifferent towards them. They didn't experience what they perceived as racism in France, but the French were not very friendly towards them.[419] Norma William Busby who served in Germany during the 1950s described her German experience as beautiful. She said they treated her so well that she had no idea a Black woman could receive such respect. For example, they routinely held the door open at the store for her. In terms of dating, Busby said that there was a rumor that the women over there were loose and by simply being there one would become loose. As a result she said that she and the other women held themselves with a certain pride because they did not want to be considered loose women.[420] While the male Black GIs dating Fräuleins at times was presented as positive by Black newspapers and magazines, because gender bias, female GIs Black or White were far more cautious about dating to maintain a sense of propriety. This feeling might have been enhanced by the fear of being placed in the Jezebel archetype.[421]

Intersectionality can play a role in the difference. Being a male soldier could be viewed as empowering for African American men, especially since they had limited ability to exercise similar power in the segregated United States. Being powerful was indeed a positive male attribute. In comparison, there was often prejudice against Black WACs simply because they were in the military. It diminished their perceived "femininity," and some were accused of being lesbians simply because they were in the Army. Many of the female veterans hid their military service because of the prevalence of the stereotype of military women being lesbians and the resulting stigma. In the post-World War II era, the cult of domestic femininity experienced an expansive return in the U.Ss and elsewhere.[422] Given the realities of Black Women's historical experiences in the U.S., including functioning as enslaved labor, peons and the continued need after World War II for Black women to work after marriage, it was obviously more difficult for them to conform to such standards. Many Black women worked and had worked throughout the history of the

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[418] Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler*; Hugel-Marshall, *Invisible Woman*; Mazon, *Not So Plain as Black and White*; Leslie A. Adelson, "Now You See It, Now You Don't: Afro-German Particulars and the Making of a Nation in Eva Demski's Afra: Roman in Fünf Bildern," *Women in German Yearbook* 12 (January 1, 1996): 217–31; Campt, "Pictures of 'US'? Blackness, Diaspora and the Afro-German Subject."

[419] Moore, *To Serve My Country, to Serve My Race*, 122–36.

[420] Norma Wilma Dean Busby, Viennease Dennis, and Kenneth D. Kreitzer II, "Norma Wilma Busby Collection," August 5, 2003, Veterans History Project, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/vhp/story/loc.natlib.afc2001001.48743/.

[421] Carolyn West, "Mammy, Jezebel, Sapphire, and Their Homegirls: Developing an 'Oppositional Gaze' toward the Images of Black Women," in *Lectures on the Psychology of Women*, ed. Joan C Chrisler, Carla Golden, and Patricia D Rozee (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2004).

[422] Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families In The Cold War Era* (Basic Books, 1999).

United States. For those who did manual labor, it may have been perceived that their work made them less feminine. Sojourner Truth famously exclaimed at the Women Rights Convention in Akron in 1851:

> Nobody ever helps me into carriages, or over mud-puddles, or gives me any best place! And arn't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arm! I have ploughed, and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And arn't I woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man—when I could get it—and bear the lash as well! And arn't I a woman?[423]

Descriptions of this speech say that Truth, "bared her right arm to the shoulder, showing her tremendous muscular power,"[424] in an attempt to display that even though she was strong and powerful she was still a woman despite not conforming to the Victorian feminine ideal. She also bared her breast to confirm her womanhood and claimed, "her breast had suckled many a white babe to the exclusion of her offspring." [425] This statement highlighted not only the fact that she had born children which solidified her status as a woman, but also that Black women were often used as wet nurses for White women. This meant that White women were not performing the womanly duty of nursing, which made Truth even more a woman in comparison

Scholar Johanne Meyerovitz has critically viewed post–World War II femininity as a largely fictive White middle-class luxury.[426] Scholar Lori Rotskoff further connects it to Protestantism as well.[427] Nonetheless, the articles in the Black women's magazines during the post-World War II period do reflect the type of feminine domestic pressure explored in Betty Friedan's influential 1963 book *The Feminine Mystique.*[428] My Master's thesis paper "This Bitter Earth"[429] explored this pressure as seen through the eyes of Billie Holiday, Sarah Vaughan and Ella Fitzgerald who were three of the most famous Black Jazz vocalists. In 1961, Downbeat's article "Mother Role Adds Climatic Touch" shows Sarah Vaughan in an apron taking care of her newly adopted child. The interview of one of the most successful singers in the world concentrated on domesticity and implicated that being a mother established Vaughan's true worth.[430] Billie Holiday is photographed an apron cooking a steak for her dog "Mister" by Herman Leonard in 1949. Downbeat magazine even asked Billie if she ever thought of "Ever think of settling down to a cozy home, -cooking sewing

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[423] Sojourner Truth, "Transcript of Speech from Akron Ohio Women's Convention," *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, June 21, 1851.
[424] Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan Brownell Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, *History of Woman Suffrage* (Susan B. Anthony, 1889), 116.
[425] Nell Irvin Painter, *Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol*, Revised ed. edition (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997), 116.
[426] Joanne Meyerowitz, ed., *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, First Edition (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).
[427] Lori Rotskoff, *Love on the Rocks: Men, Women, and Alcohol in Post-World War II America* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 2002).
[428] Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (Norton, 2001).
[429] Kim Nalley, "This Bitter Earth: Billie, Ella, Sarah and Infertility [Thesis]" (University of California, Berkeley, 2012).
[430] Allan Morrison, "Sarah Vaughn Adopts A Baby," *Ebony Magazine*, September 1961.

and dusting?"[431] In a May 29, 1969 interview with *Jet* magazine, Ella intimated that she regretted that she "wasn't able to stay at home and be more of a mother to her only son." [432] The article was accompanied by several photos of Ella looking matronly at home with her family. It was run a few months before another feature spread, one in which her family reunited in Denmark.[433] These women felt the influence after World Word II to return to domesticity and their status as famous and influential Black women undoubtable influenced other Black women. It was desirable to be a married Black domestic mother in post-World War II United States. These magazine spreads on Holiday, Fitzgerald and Vaughan emphasized that individual success alone was not sufficient to make a woman happy.

In 1979, Black sociologist Robert Staples' maintained that Black women can be scarred from being overly independent and that Black men prefer a more traditionally feminine, subordinate partner, which are claims that are controversial to say the least.[434] While this view is contentious, it is a point also brought up by the 1965 'Moniyhan Report' on "The Negro Family" in which Moynihan took patriarchy as the preferred norm and inferred that Black Women were dominating Black men in a manner that hearkens the Saffire stereotype, or male castrating Black woman.[435] Certainly many of the Black WACs who were interviewed felt enough sexist, racist, and misogynist pressure to hide their service, meaning it was viewed by many as a stigma for women, including Black women.[436]

They did, however, speak positively about the benefits of serving. Most of the WACs that Moore interviewed revealed that they were able to achieve higher educational goals through the GI Bill, which in turn resulted in more financial stability. The Black WACs reported that they were treated very well by White Europeans, which Moore maintains, boosted their self-image. Bertha Solomon Walker said, "We realized that we had self-worth, a right to be proud and dignified."[437] Most of them were able to further their careers and marry well. So, despite the widespread fears of the unavailability of Black men after the war, those Black female veterans who wished to marry Black men in fact did so, showing clearly that all the good Black men were not taken. Also it confirmed that the negative perception of them within the Black community had been exaggerated.

The concerns that these African-American women voiced complicate our understanding of interracial relationships as progress. Cited above are but a small sample of many letters

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[431] Paul Kerr, *Billie on Billie* (October Films, 2003), 91.
[432] Johnson Publishing Company, "Ellla Fitzgerald Says 'Regret,'" *Jet*, May 29, 1969.
[433] Johnson Publishing Company, "Ella's Family Happily Reunites in Denmark," *Jet*, August 14, 1969.
[434] Robert Staples, "THE MYTH OF BLACK MACHO: A RESPONSE TO ANGRY BLACK FEMINISTS," *The Black Scholar* 10, no. 6/7 (1979): 24–33.
[435] Earl Smith, "THE BLACK FAMILY: DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN AND THE TANGLE OF PATHOLOGY REVISITED," *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations* 14, no. 1/2 (1987): 281–305; United States Department of Labor and United States Department of Labor Office of Policy Planning and Research, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), 30–32.
[436] Moore, *To Serve My Country, to Serve My Race,* Kindle Locations 2379-2380.
[437] Moore, Kindle Locations 3214-3216.

by Black women to the editors of Black publications who were very concerned with the prevalence of positive portrayals of Black men with White women.[438] Germanists have often interpreted the positive portrayals of interracial relationships in the Black press as a sign that African Americans were overwhelmingly in support of interracial marriage as an advancement of civil rights. Americanists like Renée Romano, however, show that the African American response was far more nuanced. Romano calls it "ambivalent acceptance."[439] While most African Americans did not want laws prohibiting interracial marriage in principle, the question of who to marry in practice was much more difficult. Like the debate on abortion, there is a difference between being for it and not against it. One could be not against interracial marriage intellectually or legally, but when it came down to an individual, emotions, privacy and personal choice were often tantamount.

The history of Whites as the oppressors and persecutors of Blacks in America certainly played a role in Black attitudes toward the personal practice of interracial marriage/relationships. Both Black men and Black women have been hyper-sexualized by Whites.[440] Under patriarchal racism, White women had to be protected from "lascivious" Black men, while "impure" and lascivious Black women had no protection from White men. Whites socially and legally prohibited Black men from romantic or sexual relations with White women on the grounds that White women pure and would be defiled by inferior Black men. Consensual relations were often painted as the rape and defilement of White woman.[441] White men were not prohibited from sexual relations with Black women since Black women were considered impure and because the sexual debasement of women was a major component of White supremacy and racial colonialism.[442] After the Civil War, a Black Woman romantically cohabitating or marrying a White man was acceptable. In 1896, for example, Charlotte Woody, a Black woman, and her White husband were lynched for being in an interracial relationship.[443]

In 1967, the court case *Loving v. Virginia* struck down all prohibitions on interracial marriages in the United States. The plaintiffs were Mildred and Richard Loving, a Black woman married to a White man. Clearly *Loving v. Virginia* offered some progress for all Blacks, especially Black women. Being able to legally marry across the color line gave them access to capital like pensions, social security and property. Marriage also diminished the social stigma of simply cohabitating or having children out of wedlock.

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[438] The responses to these letters to the editor at times go on for several issues with both Black men and White women writing in to defend their relationships so that one article depicting a Black male-White female relationship can result in a letter to the editor feud that spans over several months.

[439] Romano, *Race Mixing*.

[440] Collins, *Black Sexual Politics*; George Yancey, *Black Bodies, White Gazes: The Continuing Significance of Race* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008).

[441] Kristina DuRocher Ph.D, *Raising Racists: The Socialization of White Children in the Jim Crow South* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2011).

[442] McGuire, *At the Dark End of the Street*.

[443] Feimster, *Southern Horrors*, 165.

Chapter Six: All the Good Black Men

Since *Loving v. Virginia,* the rate of intermarriage between Black men and White women has risen exponentially compared to Black women marrying outside the race.[444] Romano writes, "In 1960, roughly equal numbers of Black men and Black women were married to Whites, but by 1970, 64 percent of all Black-White marriages involved Black men and White women, a number that would reach 73 percent by 1980."[445] For many, this was a sign of progress and the triumph of individual rights to marry whomever one chose, regardless. Others felt that these numbers played into the racial stereotypes that Black men were mostly interested in having sex with White women when they spoke of social equality. At the intersection of race and gender there also existed a fraction of Black women who felt left out of this "progress." There was a double standard in which it was not as respectable for Black women to date or marry interracially. Furthermore, many Black women felt interracial relationships between Black men and White women were an extension of many such men being both color-struck and imprisoned within white supremacist beauty standards. This White supremacist beauty standard was applied to Black women more than Black men, which seemed to diminish Black women's attractiveness compared to that of Black men. These patterns continued into the twenty-first century. In 2009, the online dating website "OK Cupid!" analyzed their data and reported that:

> Men don't write black women back. Black women reply the most; yet get by far the fewest replies. Essentially every race—including other blacks—singles them out for the cold shoulder.

This data validates the insecurities of not being wanted that the anonymous Black women interviewed by Drake and Hayton expressed.[446] Most people, even if they are for interracial marriage, tended to marry within their race. This means that the heterosexual Black women who wished to marry should have the most success in looking to Black men for relationships. African American magazines and newspapers, however, often ran articles that highlighted Black GIs with German women. These interracial relationships often led some Black women to erroneously believe that all the good Black men had been taken by White women.

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[444] Matthijs Kalmijn, "Trends in Black/White Intermarriage," *Social Forces* 72, no. 1 (1993): 129, https://doi.org/10.2307/2580162.
[445] Romano, *Race Mixing*.
[446] Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, 133–35.

Epilogue

This study establishes that segregation whether de jure or de facto, resulted in a relatively unknown yet revealing circuit of Military clubs that in postwar Germany that hired Jazz musicians. The combination of club work, more freedom in Germany, and Jim Crow in the United States led some musicians to stay in Germany. An in depth look at one such band and their activities on and off bases show that the government brought together some of the finest Jazz musicians ever assembled. This would increase interracial contacts, music contacts and provided a soft power that many West Germans exuberantly welcome. Jazz GIs were so welcomed that many stayed on for a period of time, or visited for tours or became expatriates. The GI Bill that they received enabled many to go to art school and buy a house. The influence of the military of these Jazz GIs is immeasurable.

While the Black Jazz GI was attractive to German in many different senses it is always important to remember that they were part of the military of an occupied country and some of the freedoms they had were due to their positions as military men. That is not to negate any earlier studies in the soft power of American culture but rather to add nuance to the view. Despite the fact the United States was still segregated, the United States Armed Forces were formally not after Truman's Executive order in 1948, so some of the freedoms African American GIs experienced are in part because they were in the military as well as being stationed outside of the United States.

The paucity of material on African American women during this same period is not surprising. The years coincide with a push to get women back at home after the war. There were not too many women in the Women Army Corps and no data on the percentage of race. Nonetheless it is important to add their voices into any conversation dealing with the Black race.

Appendix

The first portion of the Appendix is an mp3 copied from a 1956 cassette recording of a music concert from the Seventh Army Band Jazz Three in LeiderHalle, Germany provided by Lanny Morgan. See Chapter Three Playing for Uncle Sam – The Seventh Army for more analysis and a band photo. The musicians were:

Piano Joe Jones
Bass Charlie Sanders
Drums Leon Oxman
Guitar: Elmage Turner
Vibes Dick Bellen
Trumpets: Don Ellis, Blaine Hales, Ken Muckleroy
Saxophones: Eddie Harris tenor, Lanny Morgan alto, Leo Wright alto and flute, Merle Ellis tenor, Dick Van Cleave baritone
Vocalist Don Washington

The Set list is as follows:

1. Walk on music: The Master of ceremonies says, "Introducing the Jazz Three Orchestra." The Master of Ceremonies uses the term lightly since this is a perhaps a Big Band but not an Orchestra. The rhythm section strikes up the band with a fast rhythm changes, but the bridge goes up a fourth. It is a modified version of the Fats Waller song "Honey Suckle Rose." It is a flag waver, barn burner opening.
2. "Peacock Alley": This is a 1956 R&B song originally sung by organist Bill Dogget with the Ink Spots original composer Butler Harris. This song features Eddie Harris on the Tenor playing a perfect solo.
3. "Blues Back Stage": A Count Basie Blues Swing song.
4. "Lullaby of the Leaves": A 1932 standard by Bernice Petkere and Joe Young. Leo Wright plays a flute solo that brings the house down.
5. "The Song is You": A 1932 Jerome Kern and Oscar Hammerstein song. The vocalist Don Washington has a smooth Billy Eckstine voice and speaks German very well. "Vielen Danke"(Thank you very much) he says 3 times as the crowd will not stop applauding when he arrives on stage. .The song moves between ballad and swing. Washington says, "Guten Abend meine Damen und Herren" (Good evening, my ladies and gentlemen.) The audience titters? Perhaps because he is smooth and precise in his Deutsch and Black? He announces the next song in German that "he wishes to sing for them."
6. "Stella By Starlight": A 1944 song written by Victor Young and Ned Washington which became a Jazz standard. It is played at 66 beats per minutes (BPM) much slower than one would do a ballad during the swing era. Leo Wright punctuates with flute like a bird sounds, on the lyrics "a robin sings." Joe Jones takes a soulful piano solo missing one note before catching his stride again with soulful

effect. Don Washington. Comes back in and Joe Jones shows his expertise as an accompanist. The applause is endless with whistling and cheering for over a minute

7. "Blues for Norman": The MC says the Trombone wrote it. It is a Charlie Parker style Bebop Blues.

8. Parker medley- "Now's The Time"; "Parkers Mood"; "Relaxing At Camarillo": There is a shout from the band as the saxophonist starts the first in tempo riffs of the songs. He makes the song his own. It is not a note by note recreation like King Pleasures version. Next tune?? Band plays in unison at a blazing tempo sax quotes confirmation in his solo During the breaks that occur before a solo the crowd yells with excitement as if it were a rock and roll concert. 39:35 end

9. UNKNOWN SONG : A swinging bass opens with cheering. The bass player is allowed to solo in tandem with the alto saxophone while the audience enthusiastic cheers along. It ends with a halftime of in which the audience claps along with gusto. The set ends with a band chaser that sounds similar to Junior Mance's "Jubilation" but is obviously too early to be that song.

SIDE TWO

1. The count in audio is noticeably better. Bass sounds electric. Modern recording??? This is perhaps something Lanny taped over

2. "Anthropology": A Charlie Parker tune that is counted off at a breakneck tempo, around the same tempo as Parker's version. There is good applause with whistles. The master of ceremonies says the song is by Dizzy.

3. "Creepin'": A song by Horace Silver and the Jazz Messengers results in good applause with long piercing whistles of approval.

4. "Home Cooking": Another song by Horace Silver. Joe Jones sounds very much like Horace Silver. Not that he is literally copying the notes but his sound and style with his greasy, blue-based solos are on point. The crowd murmurs in appreciation whenever he hits something particularly soulful, but they do not realize the form of the song and start clapping at the end of two A sections not realizing the Bridge comes next. The drummer lacks the Silver feel and plays in a Big Band manner.

5. Unknown Eddie Harris Composition. This is the first sign that the band is not superhuman and gets a little sloppy. The arrangement is very difficult. It is perhaps a signal of Harris' future prowess.

6. "Glory Be": Author unknown This song features the Bass soloing. The song sounds like the type of song Neil Hefty the trumpet composer of the theme song for the TV series "The Odd Couple" and for the Count Basie Band or Lightening Hopkins, country Blues singer-songwriter might write.

7. "Every I have the Blues" in the style of Joe Williams. The vocalist returns and the applause grows to a loud pitch, again expressing their favor for the vocalist.

8. "Summertime": A song by George and Ira Gershwin, which is sung very slowly with perfect enunciation. Joe Jones' piano playing is exemplary. The vocalist's voice is loud enough to cause the tape to blow out slightly. In comparison the MC's voice is muffled and hard to make out. Again, the drums play in a style better suited for a big band. The audience will not stop whistling and yelling. They start screaming

hysterically as he moved from the stage and did not stop until he moves back to the microphone 1:27

9. ENCORE: "When in Early Autumn": A Woody Herman hit that Johnny Mercer was later asked to write lyrics for. Joe Jones' accompaniment for vocalist and the vibraphone are perfect counterpoints. The drums are bombastic for the buildup shout chorus, but one cannot help but love his puppy dog enthusiasm. Vibraphone solo is also good. The crowd is appreciative, But the encore does not elicit the same reaction from the audience as "Summertime, which brought the house down

CONCERT END

Writing a discography for a Jazz musician is a formidable task because of the sheer volume of music that many of them recorded. A true discography would also include songs that an artist wrote but was recorded by a different artist. Cedar Walton in particular wrote many tunes that would become standards, such as Bolivia which is also a common tune to call at jam sessions. It would include other aspects of an album, for example, producer credit or engineer. To further complicate things there is a sessionography and a discography according to music critic and author Joel Selvin. The former being when the musicians actually recorded the music and the latter being when said music was released. There is a normal lag time between recording and production that can span 6 months to two year or much longer in the case of the "The Lost Berlin Tapes of Ella Fitzgerald" which was recorded in 1962 but was not released until 2020. Much more common than "discoveries" of found lost tapes is the practice of record labels taking an album that they think will not perform as well as another artist with a similar audience demographic on the same label and shelving it which essentially means not releasing it in order to concentrate promotional dollars toward the album the label will be a hit. Sometimes an artist will sign with another label and have greater success. As a consequence the artist's old label will take advantage of not only albums that were shelved but outtakes by their former artist now experiencing greater success with a new label and release them. These were typically recordings that were supposed to be deleted and never heard.

To further complicate matters previously released Jazz songs are often repackaged into compilation albums. On one hand, it is the exact same song. On the other hand, it says something that there was enough demand for Soul Jazz from the 1960s that the "Legends of Acid Jazz," which feature several Organ players, especially Hammond B3 players for the label to produce several volumes of songs that were recorded thirty years ago. Since this this work is focused on the social history, I have decided to produce a curated sessionography/discography. Whenever possible the date of the session if the one that will be noted. So, for example, The Archie Shepp album "Kwanza" was recorded with 4 different ensembles over several dates and then released five years later. Because Cedar Walton is a subject in this work, I have chosen to list the date that Cedar Record in order to bring more clarity to what he has doing that year. If the artist is listed as "various" then it is a compilation of songs from different artists and different dates, therefore the date that

album was released will be used. The date was recorded and released in Europe before being released in the States the European date will be used.

Looking at the sessionography/discography, it becomes clear that the contacts Jazz GIs from the Seventh Army made during their German stints had an impact on their careers, playing with each other on several albums or with contacts that they made in Europe long after their time in the military. The sheer volume of this sessionography/discography, despite being an extremely shortened list, and the lengthy span of time in which their albums continued to be released is a testimony to the enduing importance of these musicians, the virtuosity of their musicianship, and their enduring popularity with audiences. Many of these recordings are live. Live albums sometimes have musical mistakes, and the songs are much longer but the popularity of Live Jazz speaks to the importance of Jazz as a live art.

When Looking examining the Discography we find two dominant trends linked to both Race, Instrument and Location. The Black Jazz GIs largely stayed in the New York and European scene. They all tended to excellent players of Soul-Jazz, or Bluesey Jazz that appealed to Black audiences. The White Jazz GIs largely stayed in the LA scene and were able to make considerable contributions to Pop music. In comparison, Soul-Jazz would take a Pop tune and play it with a Bluesey Gospel tinged sound in a Jazz manner with long solos. The two vocalists Billy Paul and Sam Fletcher have the smallest discography, yet arguably Billy Paul had the largest cultural success. While there are many famous Jazz instrumentalist, singers tended to get pushed into crossover territory and had much briefer recording careers because they were the front person. The Jazz GI whose list was cut down the most was Cedar Walton. Unlike many Jazz musicians, he did not have a heyday. Instead he continued to be on the cutting edge of Jazz, recording albums that were highly regarded by fans and critics. These include “Cedar Plays Cedar” in 1991, and his trio work with drummer Billy Higgins and bassist David Williams, was considered by many critics to be one of the gold standards of piano, bass and drum trio Jazz. Additionally, all the recordings by Walton’s band “Eastern Rebellion” were popular with audiences and critics.

Cedar Walton

Album	Label	Year
Lucky Thompson - Lucky Thompson	Paramount	1957
Kenny Dorham - Kenny Dorham Sings and Plays: This Is the Moment!	Riverside Records	1958
Abbey Lincoln - Abbey Is Blue	Riverside Records	1959
Blue Mitchell - Out of the Blue	Original Jazz Classics, Riv	1959
Cannonball Adderley / Kenny Dorham - Blue Spring	Riverside Records	1959
Chet Baker - New Blue Horns	Riverside Records	1959
John Coltrane - Alternate Takes	Atlantic	1959
Clifford Jordan / Clifford Jordan Quartet - Spellbound	Riverside Records	1960
J.J. Johnson - J.J. Inc.	Columbia	1960
Jimmy Heath / Jimmy Heath Orchestra - Really Big!	Riverside Records	1960
John Coltrane - Giant Steps	Atlantic	1960
Wayne Shorter - Second Genesis	Vee Jay Records	1960
Art Blakey - Pisces	Blue Note	1961
Art Blakey & the Jazz Messengers - Mosaic	Blue Note	1961
Art Farmer / Benny Golson / The Jazztet - Big City Sounds	Argo	1961
Clifford Jordan - Starting Time	Jazzland	1961
Freddie Hubbard - Hub Cap	Blue Note	1961
Jimmy Heath - The Quota	Riverside Records	1961
John Coltrane - Coltrane Jazz	Atlantic Jazz	1961
Sonny Red - The Mode	Jazzland	1961
The Art Farmer-Benny Golson Jazztet / Art Farmer - Blues on Down	Jazzland	1961
Art Blakey - Live Messengers	Blue Note	1962
Art Blakey & the Jazz Messengers - 3 Blind Mice, Vol. 1	United Artists Jazz	1962
Art Blakey & the Jazz Messengers - 3 Blind Mice, Vol. 2	United Artists Jazz	1962
Art Blakey & the Jazz Messengers - Buhaina's Delight	Blue Note	1962
Art Blakey & the Jazz Messengers - Caravan	Riverside Records	1962
Benny Golson Quartet - Free	Chess	1962
Clifford Jordan Quartet - Bearcat	Jazzland	1962
Curtis Fuller - Soul Trombone	Impulse!	1962

Cedar Walton

Album	Label	Year
Jimmy Heath - Triple Threat	Riverside Records	1962
Art Blakey & the Jazz Messengers - Ugetsu	Riverside Records	1963
Art Blakey's Jazz Messengers - Ugetsu	Riverside Records	1963
Blue Mitchell - The Cup Bearers	Riverside Records	1963
Freddie Hubbard - The Body & the Soul	Impulse!	1963
Various - The Giants Of Jazz	Columbia	1963
Art Blakey & the Jazz Messengers - Kyoto	Riverside Records	1964
Jimmy Heath - Nice People	Riverside Records	1964
Clifford Jordan - These Are My Roots - Clifford Jordan Plays Leadbelly	Atlantic	1965
Eddie Harris - Cool Sax From Hollywood To Broadway	Columbia	1965
Eddie Harris - The In Sound	Atlantic	1965
Milt Jackson - At The Museum Of Modern Art	Limelight	1965
Art Blakey & The Jazz Messengers - Indestructible	Blue Note	1966
Art Blakey And The Jazz Messengers - Kyoto	Riverside Records	1966
Blue Mitchell - Boss Horn	Blue Note	1966
Eddie Harris - Mean Greens	Atlantic	1966
Joe Henderson - Mode For Joe	Blue Note	1966
Lee Morgan - Charisma	Blue Note	1966
Lee Morgan - The Rajah	Blue Note	1966
Art Farmer Quintet - Plays The Great Jazz Hits	Columbia	1967
Art Farmer Quintet - The Time And The Place	Columbia	1967
Bobby Timmons - Got to Get It!	Milestone	1967
David "Fathead" Newman - House of David	Atlantic	1967
Donald Byrd - Blackjack	Blue Note	1967
Donald Byrd - Slow Drag	Blue Note	1967
Eddie Harris - The Tender Storm	Atlantic	1967
Eric Kloss - First Class Kloss!	Prestige	1967
Hank Mobley - Far Away Lands	Blue Note	1967

Album	Label	Year
Hank Mobley - Third Season	Blue Note	1967
Houston Person - Chocomotive	Prestige	1967
Lee Morgan - Sonic Boom	Blue Note	1967
Lee Morgan - The Sixth Sense	Blue Note	1967
Milt Jackson - Born Free	Limelight	1967
Pat Martino - Strings!	Prestige	1967
Sonny Criss - Up, Up And Away	Prestige	1967
Teddy Edwards - It's All Right	Prestige	1967
The Cedar Walton Trio, Quartet & Quintet - Cedar!	Prestige	1967
The Teddy Edwards Sextet - It's All Right	Prestige	1967
Art Farmer Quintet - Art Farmer Quintet Plays the Great Jazz Hits	Prestige	1968
Barry Harris - Bull's Eye	Presitge	1968
Cedar Walton - Spectrum	Prestige	1968
Charles McPherson - From This Moment On!	Prestige	1968
Houston Person - Blue Odyssey	Prestige	1968
Houston Person - Trust In Me	Prestige	1968
Lee Morgan - Caramba	Blue Note	1968
Milt Jackson And The Hip String Quartet - Milt Jackson And The Hip String Quartet	Verve Records	1968
Sonny Criss - The Beat Goes On!	Prestige	1968
Art Blakey - Art Blakey	Fratelli Fabbri Editori, Bl	1969
Cedar Walton - Soul Cycle	Prestige	1969
Cedar Walton - The Electric Boogaloo Song	Prestige	1969
Charles McPherson - Horizons	Prestige	1969
Houston Person - The Best of Houston Person	Prestige	1969
Jean-Luc Ponty - Electric Connection	World Pacific Jazz	1969
Milt Jackson - Milt Jackson and the Hip String Quartet	Verve Records	1969
Stanley Turrentine - Another Story	Blue Note	1969
Archie Shepp - Kwanza	Impulse!	1969

Album	Label	Year
Hank Mobley - Thinking of Home	Blue Note	1970
I Got It Bad (And That Ain't Good) and 2 more... Archie Shepp - For Losers	Impulse!, ABC Records	1970
Joe Henderson - At the Lighthouse	Milestone	1970
Love Theme From and 3 more... Eddie Harris - The Best Of Eddie Harris	Atlantic	1970
Sonny Criss - The Best Of Sonny Criss/Hits Of The '60's	Prestige	1970
Art Farmer - Homecoming	Mainstream Records	1971
Johnny Coles - Katumbo	Mainstream Records	1971
Sonny Red - Sonny Red	Mainstream Records	1971
Various - Modern Jazz Drums Deluxe	ABC Impulse!	1971
Curtis Fuller - Smokin'	Mainstream Records	1972
Dexter Gordon - Generation	Prestige	1972
Dexter Gordon - Tangerine	Prestige	1972
George Freeman / O'Donel Levy / Jimmy McGriff / Lucky Thompson - Friday the 13th at the Cook County Jail		1972
Houston Person - Broken Windows, Empty Hallways	Prestige	1972
The Cedar Walton / Hank Mobley Quintet - Breakthrough	Cobblestone	1972
Various - Impulse Energy Essentials (A Developmental And Historical Introduction To	Impulse!	1972
Art Blakey - Anthenagin	Prestige	1973
Art Blakey - Buhaina	Presitge	1973
Art Blakey - Thermo	Milestone	1973
Art Blakey / Elvin Jones / Philly Joe Jones / Max Roach - The Big Beat	Milestone	1973
Art Blakey & The Jazz Messengers - Buhaina	Prestige	1973
Art Blakey And The Jazz Messengers - Anthenagin	Prestige	1973
Cedar Walton - A Night at Boomer's, Vol. 1	Muse Records	1973
Cedar Walton - A Night at Boomer's, Vol. 2	Muse Records	1973
Clifford Jordan - Glass Bead Games	Strata-East	1973
Eddie Harris - Excursions	Atlantic Jazz	1973
Freddie Hubbard - Reevaluation: The Impulse Years	Impulse!	1973
Hey Wado and 1 more... Eddie Harris - Excursions	Atlantic	1973

Album	Label	Year
Jimmy McGriff, Lucky Thompson, George Freeman, O'Donel Levy - Concert Friday The	Groove Merchant	1973
Joe Chambers - The Almoravid	Muse Records	1973
Lucky Thompson - Goodbye Yesterday!	Groove Merchant	1973
Lucky Thompson - I Offer You	Groove Merchant	1973
The Cedar Walton Trio Special Guest Star Clifford Jordan - A Night At Boomers, Vol. 1	Muse Records	1973
Various - Milestone Twofers	Milestone	1973
Milt Jackson - Goodbye	CTI Records	1973
Catta and 1 more... Joe Chambers - The Almoravid	Muse Records	1974
Cedar Walton - Firm Roots	Muse Records	1974
Cedar Walton - Pit Inn	East Wind	1974
Cedar Walton / Cedar Walton Trio - Cedar Walton Trio Plays Billy Strayhorn	Disconforme, Jazz Ball	1974
Clifford Jordan - Half Note	SteepleChase	1974
Clifford Jordan Quartet - Glass Bead Games	Strata-East	1974
Lucky Thompson - Illuminations	Groove Merchant	1974
Milt Jackson - Olinga	CTI Records	1974
Milt Jackson With Hubert Laws - Goodbye	CTI Records	1974
Slow Drag Archie Shepp - Kwanza	Impulse!	1974
The Cedar Walton Trio Special Guest Star Clifford Jordan - A Night At Boomers, Vol. 2	Muse Records	1974
Art Farmer - To Duke With Love	East Wind	1975
Blue Mitchell - Stratosonic Nuances	RCA	1975
Cedar Walton - Mobius	RCA, RCA	1975
Clifford Jordan - Firm Roots	SteepleChase	1975
Clifford Jordan - Night of the Mark VII	Muse Records	1975
Clifford Jordan - On Stage, Vol. 1	Muse Records	1975
Clifford Jordan - On Stage, Vol. 2	Muse Records	1975
Clifford Jordan - On Stage, Vol. 3	Muse Records	1975
Clifford Jordan - The Highest Mountain	Muse Records	1975
Clifford Jordan And The Magic Triangle - Firm Roots	SteepleChase	1975

Album	Label	Year
Clifford Jordan Quartet - Night Of The Mark VII	Muse Records	1975
Eastern Rebellion - Just One of Those Nights: At the Village Vanguard	MusicMasters Jazz	1975
Freddie Hubbard - Freddie Hubbard	Blue Note	1975
George Coleman / Cedar Walton - Eastern Rebellion, Vol. 1	Timeless Records	1975
Horace Parlan - No Blues	SteepleChase	1975
Jimmy Heath - Fast Company	Milestone	1975
Kimiko Kasai With Cedar Walton Trio - Kimiko Is Here	CBS/Sony, CBS/Sony	1975
Sadao Watanabe - At Pit Inn	CBS/Sony	1975
Sam Jones - Seven Minds	East Wind	1975
Stan Getz / Jimmy Rowles - The Peacocks	Columbia	1975
James Spaulding - Plays the Legacy of Duke Ellington	Storyville	1976
Milt Jackson - At the Kosei Nenkin	Pablo Records	1976
Milt Jackson - Milt Jackson At The Kosei Nenkin	Pablo Live	1976
Ray Brown / Milt Jackson - Fuji Mama	West Wind	1976
Rita DaCosta With Cedar Walton Trio - Rita DaCosta Meets The Cedar Walton Trio	Finite Records	1976
The Pentagon (3) - The Pentagon	East Wind	1976
Art Farmer - The Summer Knows	East Wind, East Wind	1976
Art Farmer - Yesterday's Thoughts	East Wind	1976
Art Farmer Quintet - At Boomers	East Wind	1976
Cedar Walton - Beyond Mobius	RCA Victor	1976
Cedar Walton - The Pentagon	West Wind Japan	1976
Clifford Jordan And The Magic Triangle - The Highest Mountain	SteepleChase	1976
Eddie Harris - How Can You Live Like That?	Atlantic	1976
Freddie Hubbard - Here To Stay	Blue Note, Essential Jazz	1976
Idrees Sulieman - Now Is The Time	SteepleChase	1976
Art Farmer - Live In Tokyo	King Records, CTI Recor	1977
Blue Mitchell - African Violet	Impulse!	1977
Blue Mitchell - Summer Soft	ABC Impulse!	1977

Album	Label	Year
Cedar Walton - First Set	Steeplechase Denmark	1977
Cedar Walton - Second Set	Steeplechase Denmark	1977
Cedar Walton - Third Set	Steeplechase Denmark	1977
Cedar Walton・Bob Berg・Sam Jones・Billy Higgins - Eastern Rebellion 2	Timeless Records	1977
Clifford Jordan & The Magic Triangle* - On Stage Vol. 1	Steeplechase	1977
Isao Suzuki - Cadillac Woman	Flying Disk	1977
Sam Jones - Something in Common	Muse Records	1977
Various - Jazz Na Koncertnom Podiju Vol. 1	Jugoton	1977
Art Blakey - Live At The Renaissance Club	Blue Note, Blue Note	1978
Bob Berg - New Birth	Xanadu Records	1978
Bobby Hutcherson - Highway One	Columbia	1978
Bouquet Bobby Hutcherson - Highway One	Columbia	1978
Cedar Walton - Animation	Columbia	1978
Cedar Walton Quartet - First Set	SteepleChase	1978
Clifford Jordan & The Magic Triangle* - On Stage Vol. 2	SteepleChase	1978
Dick Spencer Quintet - Shining Hour	Discomate	1978
Philly Joe Jones - Drum Songs	Advance!, Fantasy	1978
Ray Brown - Something For Lester	Contemporary Records	1978
Ray Brown & Ichiro Masuda - The Most Special Joint	JVC	1978
Stardust and 1 more... Kimiko Kasai - Round And Round	CBS/Sony	1978
Billy Higgins - Soweto	Red Record	1979
Billy Higgins - The Soldier	Timeless Records	1979
Clifford Jordan & The Magic Triangle* - On Stage Vol. 3	Steeplechase	1979
Havana Jam	Columbia, Cuba	1979
Houston Person - The Big Horn	Muse Records	1979
Johnny Griffin - Bush Dance	Galaxy	1979
Milt Jackson - Bags' Bag	Pablo Records	1979
Philly Joe Jones - Advance!	Galaxy	1979

Cedar Walton

Album	Label	Year
Siegfried Kessler / Siegfried Kessler Trio - Invitation	Improv France	1979
The Great Jazz Trio / The Pentagon (3) - All That Jazz	BBC Radioplay Music	1979
Various - Havana Jam 2	Columbia, Columbia	1979
Billy Higgins - Once More	Red Record	1980
Cedar Walton - Soundscapes	CBS	1980
Cedar Walton ? Abbey Lincoln - The Maestro	Muse Records	1980
Cedar Walton With Curtis Fuller, Bob Berg, Sam Jones And Billy Higgins - Eastern Reb	Timeless Records	1980
David "Fathead" Newman - Resurgence	Muse Records	1980
Lucky Thompson - Yesterday's Child	America Records	1980
Milt Jackson - The Best Of Milt Jackson	Pablo Records	1980
Stanley Turrentine - Inflation	Elektra	1980
Stanley Turrentine - Use The Stairs	Fantasy	1980
Art Farmer - Jazz at the Smithsonian	Sony	1982
Cedar Walton, Billy Higgins and David Williams - The Trio, Vol. 1	Red Record	1985
Cedar Walton, Billy Higgins and David Williams - The Trio, Vol. 2	Red Record	1985
Cedar Walton, Billy Higgins and David Williams - The Trio, Vol. 3	Red Record	1985
Cedar Walton - Cedar Plays Cedar	OOJC	1991

Album	Label	Year
Maynard Ferguson - "Straightaway" Jazz Themes	Roulette	1961
John Lee Hooker - Folk Blues 1951/52	Crown	1962
Maynard Ferguson - Maynard '62	Roulette	1962
Maynard Ferguson - One Night Stand With Maynard Ferguson	Joyce	1962
Stan Kenton - Adventures In Time, A Concerto For Orchestra	Capitol Records	1962
Stan Kenton's Melophoneum Band - One Night Stand With Stan Kenton's Melophone	Joyce	1962
Count Basie & Maynard Ferguson - Big Band Scene '65	Roulette	1965
The Max Greger Big Band - Maximum	Polydor	1965
Don Menza - Morning Song	SABA, MPS	1966
Eugen Cicero Quintett - Eugen Cicero Quintett	Metronome	1968
The Buddy Rich Big Band - Mercy, Mercy	World Pacific Jazz, Pacifi	1968
The Sophisticated GipsyBenny Bailey And His Orchestra - The Balkan In My Soul (Bou	SABA, SABA	1968
Various - Mezinárodní Jazzový Festival Praha 1967	Supraphon, Gramofonov	1968
Dan Terry Orchestra & Chorus* - Lonely Place	Happy Tiger Records	1969
Dick Rosmini - A Genuine Rosmini	Imperial	1969
Donato - A Bad Donato	Blue Thumb Records	1970
Lynne Hughes - Freeway Gypsy	Fontana	1970
Neil Diamond - Tap Root Manuscript	UNI Records	1970
Rita Coolidge - Rita Coolidge	Polygram	1971
Jack Daugherty - The Class Of Nineteen Hundred And Seventy One	A&M Records	1971
Klaus Weiss - I Just Want to Celebrate	BASF	1971
Michel Colombier - Wings	A&M Records	1971
Rita Coolidge - Rita Coolidge/Nice Feelin'	A&M Records	1971
Quicksilver Messenger Service - Comin' Thru	Capitol Records	1972
Buckwheat - Charade	London Records	1972
Gayle McCormick - Flesh & Blood	Decca	1972
Gloria Lynne - A Very Gentle Sound	Mercury	1972
John Klemmer - Constant Throb	Impulse!	1972

Album	Label	Year
Klaus Weiss Orchestra - I Just Want To Celebrate	BASF, BASF	1972
Maynard Ferguson - '61/Si, Si, M.F.	Roulette	1972
Maynard Ferguson & His Orchestra - The Big Band Sound Of Maynard Ferguson	Roulette	1972
Barry McGuire - Seeds	Myrrh, Myrrh	1973
Claudia Lennear - Phew!	Warner Bros. Records	1973
Frank Strazzeri - Taurus	Revelation Records	1973
Gloria Jones - Share My Love	Motown	1973
John Lee Hooker - Born In Mississippi, Raised Up In Tennessee	ABC Records	1973
Laurie Kaye Cohen - Under The Skunk	Playboy Records	1973
Mike Deasy - Letters To My Head	Capitol Records	1973
Ned Doheny - Ned Doheny	Asylum Records	1973
Neil Sedaka - Sedaka's Back	The Rocket Record Com	1973
Stan Kenton And His Orchestra - By Request - Volume VI	Creative World	1973
Wendy Waldman - Love Has Got Me	Warner Bros. Records	1973
Cold Blood - Lydia	Warner Bros. Records	1974
Henry Mancini - Hangin' Out	RCA Victor	1974
José Feliciano - For My Love...Mother Music	RCA Victor	1974
Louie Bellson And His Big Band - Louie Rides Again!	Percussion Power	1974
Michael Omartian - White Horse	ABC/Dunhill Records	1974
Neil Sedaka - Laughter In The Rain	Polydor, Polydor	1974
Wendy Waldman - Gypsy Symphony	Warner Bros. Records	1974
Louie Bellson - 150 MPH	Concord Jazz	1974
Phil Spector - Phil Spector's 20 Greatest Hits	Warner-Spector	1975
Cannonball Adderley - Big Man: The Legend Of John Henry	Fantasy	1975
Chris Ducey - Duce Of Hearts	Warner Bros. Records	1975
Frank Strazzeri - Frames	Glendale Records	1975
Glen Campbell - Rhinestone Cowboy	Capitol Records	1975
Hugo Montenegro - Others By Brothers	RCA Victor	1975

Album	Label	Year
Hugo Montenegro - Rocket Man (A Tribute To Elton John)	RCA	1975
Jimmy Witherspoon - Spoonful	Blue Note	1975
Karen Alexander - Isn't It Always Love	Asylum Records	1975
Maria Muldaur - Southern Winds	Warner Bros. Records	1975
Maynard Ferguson / Maynard Ferguson & His Orchestra - Maynard '61/Straightaway	Jazz Themes	1975
Nancy Nevins - Nancy Nevins	Tom Cat Records	1975
Peter Magadini, Don Menza, Dave Young, George Duke - Polyrhythm	Briko Records	1975
Route Infinity and 1 more...Moacir Santos - Carnival Of The Spirits	Blue Note	1975
Shawn Phillips (2) - Do You Wonder	A&M Records	1975
Tavares - In The City	Capitol Records, Haven F	1975
The Righteous Brothers - The Sons Of Mrs. Righteous	Haven Records, Capitol F	1975
Neil Diamond - Beautiful Noise	Columbia	1976
Andrew Gold - What's Wrong With This Picture?	Asylum Records	1976
Bill Berry's L.A. Big Band* - Hello Rev	Concord Jazz	1976
Carmen McRae - Can't Hide Love	Blue Note	1976
Doonesbury's Jimmy Thudpucker - Ginny's Song	Warner Bros. Records	1976
Helen Reddy - Music, Music	Capitol Records	1976
Henry Mancini And His Orchestra - The Cop Show Themes	RCA Victor	1976
I've Got Your NumberNed Doheny - Hard Candy	Columbia	1976
John David Souther - Black Rose	Asylum Records	1976
Luis Gasca - Collage	Fantasy	1976
Sergio Mendes & Brasil 77* - Homecooking	RCA Victor	1976
Tom Pacheco - Swallowed Up In The Great American Heartland	RCA Victor	1976
Phil Keaggy - Love Broke Thru	New Song Productions	1977
Boz Scaggs - Down Two Then Left	Columbia	1977
Don Menza - First Flight	Catalyst Records	1977
Empty Bed BluesBette Midler - Broken Blossom	Atlantic, Atlantic	1977
Fretman SamDoonesbury's Jimmy Thudpucker - Doonesbury's Jimmy Thudpucker Ar	Windsong Records	1977

Album	Label	Year
Leonard Cohen - Death Of A Ladies' Man	Columbia	1977
Les DeMerle - On Fire	Palo Alto Records	**1977**
Louie Bellson - Inferno!: 150 MPH/Dynamite	Concord Jazz	**1977**
Michael Omartian - Adam Again	Myrrh	1977
Paul Anka - The Music Man	United Artists Records	1977
Rhapsody In BlueWalter Murphy - Rhapsody In Blue	Private Stock	1977
Rick Dees And His Cast Of Idiots* - The Original Disco Duck	RSO	1977
The Sons Of Champlin - Loving Is Why	Ariola Records America	1977
Various - Rock And Roll Forever	Warner Special Product:	1977
West Coast Confidential Steven T. - West Coast Confidential	Dream Records	1977
Seals & Crofts - Takin' It Easy	Wounded Bird	1978
Alessi - Driftin'	A&M Records	1978
Dirk Hamilton - Meet Me At The Crux	Elektra	1978
Donna Summer - Live And More	Casablanca	1978
George Deffet - No Guts... No Glory!	GRR Music Inc, GRR Mus:	1978
Lalo Schifrin - Gypsies	Tabu Records	1978
Les DeMerle - Concerts By The Sea	Bar T	1978
Louie Bellson & The "Explosion" Orchestra - Sunshine Rock	Pablo Records	1978
Louis Bellson And Explosion* - Note Smoking	Discwasher Recordings	1978
Love For Sale and 1 more...The Manhattan Transfer - Pastiche	Atlantic	1978
Pete Magadini - Bones Blues	Sackville Records	1978
The Manhattan Transfer - Pastiche	Atlantic	1978
The Sylvers - Forever Yours	Casablanca	1978
Various - "American Hot Wax" Paramount Film	A&M Records	1978
Louie Bellson - Side Track	Concord Jazz	1979
Che & Ray - California	EMI	1979
Dee Dee Bridgewater - Bad For Me	Elektra	1979
Don Menza - Horn Of Plenty	Discwasher Recordings	1979

Album	Label	Year
Full & Satisfied Narada Michael Walden - Awakening	Atlantic	1979
Göran Fristorp - På Mjuka Vågor	Sonet	1979
Keely Smith - Keely Swings Basie-Style With Strings	Concord Jazz	1979
Lenny Williams - Love Current	MCA Records	1979
Peter Herbolzheimer All Star Big Band - Jazz Gala Concert Vol. 3	Rare Bid	1979
Peter Herbolzheimer All Star Big Band - Jazz Gala Concert Vol.1	Rare Bid	1979
Sophisticated Lady and 1 more...Peter Herbolzheimer All Star Big Band - Jazz Gala Cor	Rare Bid	1979
Supersax - Dynamite !!	MPS Records	1979
The Archers (3) - Stand Up!	Light Records	1979
The Les DeMerle Transfusion - Transcendental Watusi!	United National Records	1979
The Louie Bellson Drum Explosion - Matterhorn	Pablo Records	1979
Uncle Louie - Uncle Louie's Here	Marlin, Crabapple Enter	1979
Walter Murphy - Discosymphony	New York International	1979
Kenny Burell - Heritage	Audio Source	1980
Louie Bellson - Live at Ronnie Scott's	DRG	1980
Almost Like Being In LoveHerbie Mann - Maynard Ferguson - The Herbie Mann-Mayn	Marfer	1980
Klaus Weiss Big Band - Lightnin'	Jeton Germany	1985
Larry Carlton - Friends	Warner Bros. Records	1983
Dolly Parton - The Great Pretender	RCA Victor, RCA	1984
Henry Mancini / Henry Mancini & His Orchestra - The Mancini Generation/Hangin' O	Vocalion	1984
Natalie Cole - Unforgettable: With Love	Electra	1991
Kenny Burrell - Gifts	Xien	1995
Dianne Reeves - For Every Heart	TBA Records	1995
Dianne Reeves - The Palo Alto Sessions 1981-1985	Blue Note	1996
Rio Bahia - Encontro	Del Soul	1997
Pete Magadini / Don Menza - Live at Claudio's	Sackville Records	1999
Keely Smith - Keely Sings Sinatra	Concord Jazz	2002
Sergio Mendes & Brasil '88 - Brasil '88	RCA	2002

Album	Label	Year
Larry Levan - Journey into Paradise: The Larry Levan Story	Rhno	2006
Kenny Clarke-Francy Boland Big Band - Live in Prague 1967	Impro-Jazz Spain	2008
Leonard Cohen - The Complete Studio Albums Collection	Sony Music, Columbia, L	2011
Pete Magadini - Polyrhythm (book with audio)	Hal Leonard	2011
The Beach Boys - Made in California	Capitol Records	2013
Nicole Herzog - That's Life: Nicole Herzog Meets Don Menza	Musique Suisse	2017

Album	Label	Year
Chris Connor - He Loves Me, He Loves Me Not	Atlantic	1956
Chris Connor - Chris Connor Sings George Gershwin	Atlantic	1957
Chris Connor - In Person	Atlantic	1959
Dizzy Gillespie - Have Trumpet, Will Excite!	Verve	1959
Donald Byrd - Fuego	Blue Note, Toshiba	1959
Duke Pearson - Profile	Blue Note	1959
Duke Pearson - Tender Feelin's	Blue Note	1959
Junior Mance - Junior	Verve	1959
Yusef Lateef - Imagination	Prestige	1959
Donald Byrd - Byrd in Flight	Blue Note	1960
Donald Byrd - Donald Byrd at the Half Note Cafe, Vol. 1& 2	Blue Note	1960
Doug Watkins / Doug Watkins Quintet - Soulnik	New Jazz Label	1960
John Coltrane - Giant Steps	Atlantic	1960
Art Farmer - - Meet the Jazztet	Argo	1960
John Handy - No Coast Jazz	Roulette	1960
Yusef Lateef - The Three Faces of Yusef Lateef	Riverside	1960
Duke Pearson - Dedication!	Prestige	1961
Freddie Hubbard - Minor Mishap (Groovy!)	Fontana UK, Prestige	1970
Paul Chambers - 1st Bassman	Vee-Jay	1960
Wes Montgomery - So Much Guitar!	Riverside	1961
Yusef Lateef - Eastern Sounds	Moodsville	1961
Yusef Lateef - The Centaur and the Phoenix	Riverside	1960
Duke Pearson - Angel Eyes. 1961/62	Polydor	1968
Donald Byrd - A New Perspective	Blue Note	1964
McCoy Tyner - Nights of Ballads & Blues	Impulse!	1963
Sun Ra - When Sun Comes Out	Saturn	1963
Sun Ra - Other Planes of There 1964	Saturn	1966
Leon Thomas - In Berlin	Flying Dutchman	1971

Album	Label	Year
Sun Ra - Fondation Maeght Nights, Vol. 1	Maeght Foundation	1971
Sun Ra - Fondation Maeght Nights, Vol. 2	Maeght Foundation	1971
Sun Ra - It's After the End of the World: Live At the Donaueschingen and Berlin Festiv	MPS	1970
Sun Ra - The Solar-Myth Approach, Vol. 1	Affinity	1972
Sun Ra - The Solar-Myth Approach, Vol. 2	Affinity	1972
Sun Ra - Horizon	Art Yard	1973
All Star Jazz Show #4: Rockin' in Rhythm TV	Sounds Great	1987
Art Farmer - I Remember Clifford	Jazz Hour Europe	1991
Sun Ra - Life Is Splendid 1972 Newport	Total Energy	1999
Lester Young - Pres in Europe 1956	High Note	2000
Sonny Red - Red, Blue & Green 1984	Jazzland	2000
Sun Ra - Standards	Black Lion	2000
Horace Silver Quintet - Song For My Father	Blue Note	1964

Eddie Harris

Album	Label	Year
Eddie Harris - Exodus to Jazz	Collectables	1961
Eddie Harris - Jazz for "Breakfast at Tiffany's"	Vee-Jay	1961
Eddie Harris - Mighty Like a Rose	Vee-Jay	1961
Eddie Harris - The Lost Album Plus the Better Half	Collectables	1962
Eddie Harris - A Study in Jazz	Vee-Jay	1963
Eddie Harris - Bossa Nova	Vee-Jay	1963
Eddie Harris - Eddie Harris Goes to the Movies	Vee-Jay	1963
Eddie Harris - Cool Sax, Warm Heart	Columbia	1964
Eddie Harris - Here Comes the Judge	Columbia	1964
Ray Bryant - Cold Turkey	Collectables	1964
Eddie Harris - For Bird and Bags	Koch Jazz	1965
Eddie Harris - The In Sound	Collectables	1965
Don Ellis - Live In 3 and 2/3/4 Time	Pacific Jazz	1966
Eddie Harris - Mean Greens	Collectables	1966
Eddie Harris - The Tender Storm	Collectables	1966
Les McCann - Les Is More	Night Music	1967
Young-Holt Unlimited - The Beat Goes On	Brunswick	1967
Charles McPherson - From This Moment On!	Prestige	1968
Eddie Harris - Plug Me In	Rhino	1968
Eddie Harris - Silver Cycles	Atlantic	1968
Eddie Harris - The Electrifying Eddie Harris	Atlantic	1968
Freddie McCoy - Listen Here	Prestige	1968
Willie Bobo - A New Dimension	Verve	1968
Arthur Conley - More Sweet Soul	Atlantic, Atco	1969
Buddy Rich - Buddy & Soul	Pacific Jazz records	1969
Eddie Harris - Free Speech	Atlantic	1969
Eddie Harris - High Voltage	Atlantic	1969
Eddie Harris / Les McCann - Swiss Movement	Atlantic	1969
Born Free: 12 German Jazz Festival	Scout	1970

Eddie Harris

Album	Label	Year
Charles Earland - Living Black!/Live at the Lighthouse	Prestige	1970
Eddie Harris - Come on Down!	Atlantic	1970
Eddie Harris - Live at Newport	Atlantic	1970
Eddie Harris / Les McCann - Second Movement	Rhino	1971
Soul to Soul [Original Soundtrack]	Atlantic	1971
Charles Earland - Live at the Lighthouse	Prestige	1972
Eddie Harris - Eddie Harris Sings the Blues	Atlantic	1972
Eddie Harris - Instant Death	Warner Music	1972
Les McCann - Live at Montreux	Atlantic	1972
Charles Earland - Leaving This Planet	Prestige	1973
Eddie Harris - E.H. in the U.K.	Rhino	1973
Eddie Harris - Excursions	Atlantic	1973
Eddie Harris - Experience	Atlantic	1973
Eddie Harris - I Need Some Money	Atlantic	1974
Eddie Harris - Bad Luck Is All I Have	Atlantic	1975
Eddie Harris - Is It In	Atlantic	1975
Eddie Harris - That Is Why You're Overweight	Atlantic	1975
Eddie Harris - The Reason Why I'm Talking S--t	Atlantic	1975
Eddie Harris - How Can You Live Like That?	Atlantic	1976
Brian Auger - The Best of Brian Auger's Oblivion Express	Disconforme	1977
Eddie Harris featuring Don Ellis - One Man Section	Atlantic	1977
Eddie Harris - I'm Tired of Driving	Atlantic	1979
Eddie Harris - Playing with Myself	RCA	1979
Eddie Harris - Sounds Incredible	Angelaco	1980
Eddie Harris - Quintet	Steeplechase	1981
Eddie Harris - Steps Up	Atlantic	1981
Eddie Harris - The Versatile Eddie Harris	Atlantic	1981
Eddie Harris / Jimmy Smith - All the Way Live	Milestone	1981

Eddie Harris

Album	Label	Year
Eddie Harris - The Real Electrifying Eddie Harris	Ubiquity	1982
Eddie Harris - Tale of Two Cities	Night Records	1983
Horace Silver - Spiritualizing the Senses	Silverto	1983
Horace Silver - There's No Need to Struggle	Silverto	1983
Eddie Harris / Ellis Marsalis - Homecoming	Elm	1985

Houston Person

Album	Label	Year
Johnny "Hammond" Smith - A Little Taste	Riverside Records	1963
Johnny "Hammond" Smith - Mr. Wonderful	Riverside Records	1963
Johnny "Hammond" Smith - The Stinger	Prestige	1965
Houston Person - Underground Soul	Prestige	1966
Johnny "Hammond" Smith - The Stinger Meets the Golden Thrush	Prestige	1966
Johnny "Hammond" Smith* With Byrdie Green - The Stinger Meets The Golden Thrus	Prestige	1966
Byrdie Green - I Got It Bad (And That Ain't Good)	Prestige	1967
Don Patterson - Four Dimensions	Prestige	1967
Houston Person - Chocomotive	Prestige	1967
Houston Person - Trust in Me	Prestige	1967
Johnny "Hammond" Smith - Gettin' Up	Prestige	1967
Houston Person - Blue Odyssey	Prestige	1968
Houston Person - Soul Dance	Prestige	1968
Johnny "Hammond" Smith - Dirty Grape	Prestige	1968
Johnny "Hammond" Smith - Nasty!	Prestige	1968
Johnny "Hammond" Smith - Soul Flowers	Prestige	1968
Billy Butler - This Is Billy Butler!	Prestige	1969
Charles Earland - Black Talk!	Prestige	1969
Don Patterson - Dem New York Dues	Prestige	1969
Don Patterson - Oh, Happy Day!	Prestige	1969
Don Patterson - The Best of Don Patterson & the Jazz Giants	Prestige	1969
Don Patterson - Tune Up	Prestige	1971
Gene Ammons - The Boss Is Back!	Prestige	1969
Houston Person - Goodness!	Prestige	1969
Houston Person - Jamilah	Prestige	1969
Houston Person - The Best of Houston Person	Prestige	1969
Leon Thomas - Spirits Known and Unknown	Flying Dutchman	1969
Sonny Phillips - Sure 'Nuff	Prestige	1969

Houston Person

Album	Label	Year
Billy Butler - Yesterday, Today & Tomorrow	Prestige	1970
Billy Butler - Night Life	Prestige	1970
Charles Kynard - Afro-Disiac	Prestige	1970
Horace Silver / Horace Silver Quintet - That Healin' Feelin'	Blue Note	1970
Horace Silver Quintet - That Healin' Feelin' (The United States Of Mind / Phase 1)	Blue Note	1970
Houston Person - Person to Person	Prestige	1970
Houston Person - The Truth!	Prestige	1970
Johnny "Hammond" Smith - Here It 'tis	Prestige	1970
Melvin Sparks - Sparks!	Prestige	1970
Charles Earland - Soul Story	Prestige	1971
Houston Person - Houston Express	Prestige	1971
Bernard Purdie - Shaft	Prestige	1972
Ceasar Frazier - Hail Ceasar!	Eastbound Records	1972
Houston Person - Broken Windows, Empty Hallways	Prestige	1972
Houston Person - Sweet Buns & Barbeque	Prestige	1972
Houston Person - Real Thing	Eastbound Records	1973
Houston Person - The Real Thing	Eastbound Records	1973
Tiny Grimes - Profoundly Blue	Muse Records	1973
Etta Jones - Etta Jones '75	20th Century Records, V	1975
Reuben Wilson And The Cost Of Living - Got To Get Your Own	Cadet	1975
Houston Person - Get Out'a My Way!	Westbound	1976
Houston Person - Pure Pleasure	Mercury	1976
Houston Person - Stolen Sweets	Muse Records	1976
Houston Person - The Big Horn	Muse Records	1976
Sonny Phillips - My Black Flower	Muse Records	1976
Etta Jones - My Mother's Eyes	Muse Records	1977
Houston Person - Harmony	Mercury	1977
Houston Person - The Nearness of You	Muse Records	1977

Houston Person

Album	Label	Year
Houston Person - Wildflower	Muse Records	1977
Richard "Groove" Holmes - Good Vibrations	Muse Records	1977
Charles Earland - Pleasant Afternoon	Muse Records	1978
Houston Person - The Gospel Soul of Houston Person	Savoy	1978
Etta Jones - If You Could See Me Now	Muse Records	1979
Charles Earland - Burners	Prestige	1980
Groove Holmes - Good Vibrations	Muse Records	1980
Houston Person - Suspicions	Muse Records	1980
Houston Person - Very Personal	Muse Records	1980
Johnny Lytle - Fast Hands	Muse Records	1980
Mike Mandel - Utopia Parkway	Vanguard Freestyle	1980
Richard "Groove" Holmes - Broadway	Muse Records	1980
Charlie Earland - Pleasant Afternoon	Muse Records	1981
Etta Jones - Save Your Love for Me	Muse Records	1981
Johnny Lytle - Good Vibes	Muse Records	1981
Charlie Earland - In The Pocket...	Muse Records	1982
Groove Holmes - Broadway	Muse Records	1982
Houston Person - Heavy Juice	Muse Records	1982
Etta Jones - Love Me With All Your Heart	Muse Records	1984
Les McCann / Houston Person - Road Warriors	Greene Street Records	1984

Album	Label	Year
Charles Mingus - Mingus Ah Um	Columbia	1959
Charles Mingus - Mingus Dynasty	Columbia	1960
Don Ellis - How Time Passes	Candid	1960
Maynard Ferguson - A Message from Birdland	Roulette	1960
Maynard Ferguson - Newport Suite	Roulette	1960
Don Ellis - Out of Nowhere	Candid	1961
Don Ellis Quintet - New Ideas	New Jazz	1961
George Russell - Ezz-Thetics	Riverside	1961
Don Ellis - Essence	Mighty Quinn	1962
Don Ellis - Jazz Jamboree	Polish Musica	1962
George Russell - Outer Thoughts	Milestone	1962
George Russell Septet - The Stratus Seekers	Riverside	1962
George Russell Sextet - The Outer View	Riverside	1962
Don Ellis - Live In 3 and 2/3/4 Time	Pacific Jazz	1966
Don Ellis / The Don Ellis Orchestra - Live at Monterey	Blue Note	1966
Don Ellis / The Don Ellis Orchestra - Electric Bath	Columbia	1967
The Mothers of Invention / Frank Zappa - Absolutely Free	Verve	1967
Al Kooper - I Stand Alone	Columbia	1968
Don Ellis - Shock Treatment	Koch Jazz	1968
The Don Ellis Orchestra - Autumn	Columbia, CBS	1968
The Wilburn Brothers - It's Another World	Decca	1968
Don Ellis - New Don Ellis Band Goes Underground	Wounded Bird	1969
Don Ellis - At Fillmore	Wounded Bird	1970
Don Ellis - Tears of Joy	Wounded Bird	1971
Don Ellis - Connection	Wounded Bird	1972
Don Ellis - Haiku	Promising	1973
Don Ellis - Soaring	Universal	1973
Allan Rich - Allan Rich	Epic	1974

Album	Label	Year
Average White Band - AWB	Atlantic	1974
Steppenwolf - Slow Flux	Epic	1974
Annie [Original Broadway Cast Recording]	Sony	1977
Don Ellis - Live at Montreux	Atlantic	1977
Don Ellis - Music from Other Galaxies and Planets	Wounded Bird	1977
Average White Band - Warmer Communications	Atlantic	1978
Eddie Harris - The Versatile Eddie Harris	Atlantic	1981
Eric Dolphy - Stockholm Sessions 1961	Inner City Label	1981
That's Entertainment! The Ultimate Anthology of M-G-M Musicals	TCM	1995
Kenny Rogers - There You Go Again	Dreamcatcher	2000
Blake Shelton - Blake Shelton	Warner Brother's	2001

Lanny Morgan

Album	Label	Year
Tommy Alexander And His Orchestra - Alexander The Great	Liberty	1956
Rey DeMichel And His Orchestra - Cookin' With Rey	Challenge	1959
Rey DeMichel And His Orchestra - For Bloozers Only!	Challenge	1959
Si Zentner And His Orchestra - Suddenly It's Swing	Liberty	1960
Chris Connor & Maynard Ferguson - Double Exposure	Atlantic	1961
Jimmy Witherspoon - 'Spoon	Reprise Records	1961
Maynard Ferguson - "Straightaway" Jazz Themes	Roulette	1961
Maynard Ferguson And Chris Connor - Two's Company	Roulette	1961
Maynard Ferguson And His Orchestra* - Maynard '61	Roulette	1961
Chris Connor - Chris Connor Sings the George Gershwin Almanac of Song	Atlantic	1961
Maynard Ferguson - Maynard '62	Roulette	1962
Maynard Ferguson And His Orch.* - Si! Si! - M.F.	Roulette	1962
Maynard Ferguson - Si! Si!/Maynard '64	Roulette	*1962*
Maynard Ferguson And His Orchestra* - The New Sounds Of Maynard Ferguson And	Cameo	1963
Maynard Ferguson's Big Band* - Come Blow Your Horn	Cameo	1963
Maynard Ferguson - A Message From Maynard	Roulette	1963
Maynard Ferguson - Color Him Wild 12	Mainstream Records	1964
Maynard Ferguson - The Blues Roar	Mainstream Records	1964
Maynard Ferguson - The World Of Maynard Ferguson	Roulette	1964
The Maynard Ferguson Sextet - The Maynard Ferguson Sextet	Mainstream Records	1965
Count Basie & Maynard Ferguson - Big Band Scene '65	Roulette	1965
Michel Colombier - Wings	A&M Records	1971
The 5th Dimension - Love's Lines, Angles And Rhymes	Bell Records	1971
Maynard Ferguson & His Orchestra - The Big Band Sound Of Maynard Ferguson	Roulette	1972
Dewey Terry - Chief	Tumbleweed Records In	1972
Steely Dan - Countdown To Ecstasy	ABC Records	1973
Cheryl Ernst - Always Beginning	Bell Records	1973
Roy Burns With The Dick Grove Big Band - Big, Bad & Beautiful	FPM	1973

Lanny Morgan

Album	Label	Year
Maynard Ferguson - The Big 'F'	Mainstream Records	1974
Maynard Ferguson And His Orchestra* - Color Me Wild	Mainstream Records	1974
Carmen McRae - Can't Hide Love	Blue Note	1976
Horace Silver - Silver 'N Wood	Blue Note	1976
Bill Berry's L.A. Big Band - Hello Rev	Concord Jazz	1976
Lani Hall - Sweetbird	A&M Records	*1977*
Frank Capp/Pierce Juggernaut Featuring Joe Williams - Live At The Century Plaza	Concord Jazz	1978
Supersax - Dynamite	Capitol	*1978*
Grover Mitchell - The Devil's Waltz	Jazz Chronicles	*1980*
Herbie Mann - Maynard Ferguson - The Herbie Mann-Maynard Ferguson Years	Marfer	1980
Steely Dan - Greatest Hits	MCA Records	1980
Whispers - Love Is Where You Find It	Solar	1981
Crystal Gayle / Tom Waits - One from the Heart	CBS	*1982*
Tom Waits And Crystal Gayle - One From The Heart - The Original Motion Picture Sou	CBS, CBS	1982
Afternoon Of A Prawn (as L. Morgan)The Bob Florence Limited Edition - Soaring	Bosco	1983
Tom Waits - Swordfishtrombones	Island	1983
Supersax & L. A. Voices - Supersax & L.A. Voices Volume 2	CBS	1984
Bob Summers Quintet - Inside Out	Discovery Records	1984
Supersax - Chasin' The Bird	MPS Records	1984
The Bob Florence Limited Edition - Magic Time	Trend	1984
Steely Dan - A Decade Of Steely Dan	MCA Records	1985
Maynard Ferguson And Chris Connor - Two's Company	Roulette	1985
Supersax & L. A. Voices - Straighten Up And Fly Right Volume 3	Columbia	1986
The Ralph Burns Big Band Featuring Beverly D'Angelo And Jennifer Holliday - "In The	Atlantic	1987
The Bob Florence Limited Edition - Trash Can City	Trend	1987
Supersax - Stone Bird	Columbia	1988
The Bill Holman Band - The Bill Holman Band	JVC	1988
Bob Florence - State Of The Art	USA Music Group	1988

Lanny Morgan

Album	Label	Year
Joe Williams - In Good Company	Verve Records	1989
The Bill Holman Orchestra, The Charlie Shoemake Quintet, Sandi Shoemake - Strollin'	Chase Music Group	1991
Natalie Cole - Unforgettable With Love	Elektra	1991
Diane Schuur - In Tribute	GRP	1992
Shirley Horn - Shirley Horn With Strings - Here's To Life	Verve Records	1992
Frank Sinatra - Duets	Capitol Records	1993
Ernestine Anderson - Now & Then	Warner Brothers	*1993*
Ken Burns - Baseball: The American Epic	PBS	1994
Kenny Rogers - Timepiece	Atlantic	*1994*
Barry Manilow - Manilow Sings Sinatra	Arista	1998
Lanny Morgan - A Suite For Yardbird	Fresh Sound Records	1998
Star Wars Collection	20th Century Fox	*1983*
David Axelrod - David Axelrod	Mo Wax	2001
Carl Saunders - Be Bop Big Band	Sea Breeze Jazz	2002
Tony Danza - The House I Live In	Sin-Drome Records	2002
The Carl Saunders - Lanny Morgan Quintet - Live At Capozzoli's	Woofy	2002
Keely Smith - Keely Swings Basie-Style With Strings	Concord Jazz	*2002*
Stan Kenton - From The Creative World Of Stan Kenton Comes... A Merry Christmas!	Capitol Jazz	2003
Si Zentner - Suddenly It's Swing / The Swingin' Eye	Capitol Records	2003
Steely Dan - Gaucho 1980 /Aja 1977/Countdown to Ecstacy 1973	MCA, ABC	*2003*
The Bill Holman Band - Live	Jazzed Media	2005
The Don Menza Big Band - Menza Lines	Jazzed Media	2005
Cheryl Bentyne - Let Me Off Uptown	Telarc Jazz	2005
Steely Dan - The Definitive Collection	Geffen Records	2006
The Bud Shank Big Band With Special Guest Bob Florence - Taking The Long Way Hon	Jazzed Media	2006
Phil Kelly & The SW Santa Ana Winds - My Museum	Origin Records	2006
Clint Eastwood - Flags of Our Fathers	Warner Brothers	*2006*

Leo Wright

Album	Label	Year
Dizzy Gillespie - Copenhagen Concert	Steeplechase	*1959*
Virgil Gonsalves Big Band Plus Six - Jazz at Monterey	Omega	*1959*
Four Jazz Legends Live at Newport 1960	Omega	*1960*
Leo Wright - Blues Shout	Atlantic	*1960*
Richard Gene Williams - New Horn in Town	Candid	*1960*
Dizzy Gillespie - A Musical Safari	Booman	*1961*
Dizzy Gillespie Orchestra - Gillespiana	AIS	*1961*
Dizzy Gillespie Quintet - An Electrifying Evening with the Dizzy Gillespie Quintet	Polygram	*1961*
Brother Jack McDuff - Screamin'	Prestige	*1962*
Dave Pike - Limbo Carnival	New Jazz Label	*1962*
Dizzy Gillespie - Dizzy on the French Riviera	Phillips	*1962*
Dizzy Gillespie - The New Continent	Limelight	*1962*
Eldee Young - Just for Kicks	Argo	*1962*
Great Jazz Artists Play Compositions Of Tadd Dameron	Riverside	*1962*
Kenny Burrell - Bluesin' Around	Columbia	*1962*
Kenny Burrell / Coleman Hawkins - Bluesy Burrell	Moodsville	*1962*
Lalo Schifrin - Lalo Schifrin: Brilliance	Roulette	*1962*
Leo Wright - Suddenly the Blues	Koch	*1962*
Tadd Dameron & His Orchestra - The Magic Touch	Riverside	*1962*
Antônio Carlos Jobim - The Composer of Desafinado, Plays	Verve	*1963*
Blue Mitchell - Step Lightly	Blue Note	*1963*
Bob Brookmeyer / Lalo Schifrin - Samba Para Dos	Verve	*1963*
Gloria Coleman / Gloria Coleman Quartet - Soul Sisters	Impulse!	*1963*
Jimmy Witherspoon - Baby, Baby, Baby	Prestige	*1963*
Johnny Coles - Little Johnny C	Blue Note	*1963*
Leo Wright - Soul Talk	Water Music	*1963*
Luiz Bonfá - Composer of Black Orpheus Plays and Sings Bossa Nova	Verve	*1963*
Orchestra U.S.A. - Orchestra U.S.A.: The Debut Recording	Colpix	*1963*

Leo Wright

Album	Label	Year
Gildo Mahones - I'm Shooting High	Prestige	*1964*
George Gruntz - Jazz Goes Baroque 2: The Music of Italy	Phillips Germany	*1965*
Gildo Mahones - The Great Gildo	Prestige	*1965*
Leo Wright - Modern Jazz Studio Number 4	Amiga	*1965*
Annie Ross & Pony Poindexter - Berlin All Stars	SABA Germany	*1967*
Leo Wright, Lee Konitz Pony Poindexter & Phil Woods Alto Summit	MPS Germany, Prestige	*1968*
Carmell Jones - Carmell Jones in Europe	Fontana, Prestige	*1969*
Jean-Luc Ponty - More than Meets the Ear	Pacific Jazz	*1969*
Leo Wright - It's All Wright	MPS Germany	*1972*
Mladen Gutesha - ...Und...	Roulette	*1972*
Leo Wright - Evening Breeze	EMI Electrola	*1977*
Dizzy Gillespie - Live at the Monterey Jazz Festival	Monterey Jazz, Ala	*1979*
Antônio Carlos Jobim - Quiet Nights	CTI Germany	*1993*

Billy Paul

Album	Label	Year
Billy Paul - Feelin' Good At The Cadillac Club	Gamble	1968
Billy Paul - Ebony Woman	Neptune Records (5)	1970
Billy Paul - Going East	Philadelphia Internation	1971
Billy Paul - 360 Degrees Of Billy Paul	Philadelphia Internation	1972
Billy Paul - War Of The Gods	Philadelphia Internation	1973
Billy Paul - Live In Europe	Philadelphia Internation	1974
Billy Paul - With Host Lou Rawls - Sailing With Soul	Naval Recruiting Comma	1974
Billy Paul - When Love Is New	Philadelphia Internation	1975
Billy Paul - Got My Head On Straight	Philadelphia Internation	1975
Billy Paul - Let 'Em In	Philadelphia Internation	1976
Billy Paul - Only The Strong Survive	Philadelphia Internation	1977
Billy Paul - Solo La Dura Supervivencia	Epic Records	1977
Billy Paul - First Class	Philadelphia Internation	1979
Billy Paul - Live On Stage	Philadelphia Internation	1981
Billy Paul - Lately	Total Experience Record	1985
Billy Paul - Wide Open	Ichiban Records	1988
Billy Paul - Feelin' Good At The Cadillac Club	Sony Music	1998
Billy Paul - Your Songs	Warner Music France	2000
Various - The Sound Of Philadelphia In Concert	Tring	Unknown
Billy Paul - Let the Dollar Circulate	Be With Records	Unknown
Intruders with Billy Paul	Hi Horse	Unknown

Album	Label	Year
Sam Fletcher - If You Love Me (Really Love Me)	Metro Records	1959
Sam Fletcher - Only Heaven Knows / Beyond My Wildest Dreams	Cub	1959
Sam Fletcher - Time Has A Way / No Such Luck album	Cub	1959
Sam Fletcher - Torn Between Two Lovers	Metro Records	1959
Sings I Believe In You	Vee Jay Records	1964
Sam Fletcher - The Look Of Love The Sound Of Soul	Vault	1967
Sam Fletcher The Man with the Golden Voice Singles 1958-1967	Blue Moon	2017
Sam Fletcher - Serenade In Blue - US Air Force Band	U.S. Air Force Recruiting	Unknown

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