The Case of the Stan Kenton Clinics:

Contemplating Change in Music Education

by

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ABSTRACT

The Stan Kenton Clinics changed music education in American public schools by providing inspiring jazz learning experiences to countless students and music teachers. Stan Kenton was a well-known mid-twentieth century jazz big band leader who devoted his time, money, and fame in support of these educational clinics. The clinics began in 1959 under the auspices of the National Stage Band Camps and continued until Kenton's death in 1979. The present study comprises a first-of-its-kind history of the clinics, focusing primarily on the first five years of their existence. This history is subsequently used as a case for contemplating future changes to music education.

DEDICATION

To my grandfather, Herb Sontag, whose sweet, “MIT Techtonian” tone first inspired my interest in the trumpet. To Clark Terry, who invited me into the world of the swinging the blues with just three notes. To Mike Vax, who took me under his wing and became an important mentor during the crucible of my adolescence. To Bob Athayde who agreed to teach me jazz piano in exchange for a summer of manual labor. To Jim Hodge, who demonstrated consistently incomparable musicianship and wisdom as my high school band director. To Dr. Duane Carol who first showed me I was an above average musician. And most of all to my parents, siblings, wife, and children, without whose loving support none of this could have ever happened.

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As a student of ASU, I acknowledge that the Tempe campus sits on the ancestral homelands of those American Indian tribes that have inhabited this place for centuries, including the Akimel O'odham (Pima) and Pee Posh (Maricopa) peoples, as well as their predecessors, people who, in ignorance of what they called themselves, we now call by different names.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

CHAPTER

1 INTRODUCTION 1

Cultural Reproduction, its Resistance, and Change 5

Background and Purpose of the Present Study 17

Philosophical Positioning 21

Organization of the Study 42

2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE 45

The Jazz Word: Origins 49

American Popular Music in the Early Nineteenth Century 54

Fascinating Blackness 57

Mimicry, Minstrelsy, and Syncretism 75

The Jazz Word: Coda 94

3 METHODOLOGY 97

Introduction: Euridice and Orfeo 97

The Eurydicean Methodological Paradigm 99

Methodological Boilerplate: Method versus Methodology 102

Hermeneutic Narrative Phenomenological Ethno-Historiography 111

Hemeneutics and Narrative 119

Phenomenology 129

Improvisational Ethno-Historiography 140

Page

CHAPTER

4 THE STAN KENTON CLINICS 150

Introduction 150

Names, Entrepreneurs, and Pedagogues 154

Ironies Amid Changing Landscapes 160

Risky Innovations: The 1957 National Stage Band Camp and Rendezvous

Ballroom Reopenning 171

The National Stage Band Camps Presenting the Stan Kenton Clinics 177

Mid-Century American Racism 230

Tearful Farewells and Kenton and Morris Part Ways 254

Kenton's Jazz Orchestra in Residence 268

5 DISCUSSION 268

Auroral Traditions and Your and Our Music 280

Loci of Change 298

BIBLIOGRAPHY 320

APPENDIX

A KENTON CLINIC EPHEMERA AND PHOTOGRAPHS 344

B ASU INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL 347

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> I wanted to use the dance band as a motivation for the whole music program. And this is exactly what it has done. It has created interest in music in the entire school.
>
> Clem DeRosa, an early high school jazz educator (1958)[1]

> I attended a dance where a fine 16-piece stage band was playing for a large crowd of high school students. [The students] played for over an hour with never more than eight people on the [dance] floor, then took an intermission. Immediately a phonograph was started playing [rock and roll] records and the [dance] floor was crowded. The dejected band members packed up and left.
>
> Art Dedrick, an early arranger of music for school jazz ensembles (1965)[2]

I am interested in the future of whatever we might call music – including its corollary, music education – far more than anything from its past. For this reason, my primary interest in musical stories we might tell about the past, including those associated with the Stan Kenton Clinics, is to inspire the future of whatever we might call music. Chapter Four of this dissertation narrates a history of the Stan Kenton clinics, from its beginnings in association with Ken Morris and the National Dance Band Camps through its culmination under the auspices of Kenton's own Creative World Enterprises. The overarching purpose of this dissertation, however, is to explore and inspire change in music education.

I do not think that Kenton himself would have been particularly interested in a narrowly conceived history of his clinics. Given the continuously changing, creative, and exploratory nature of his musical career, I imagine he might react with reticence to such

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[1] Clem DeRosa, "The Little League of Jazz," *Downbeat* (October 2,1958).

[2] Art Dedrick, "Stage Band Camps: Summer, '65," *The School Musician* 37, no. 4 (1965 December), 12.

an overt emphasis on the past. For example, unlike many other big band leaders of his era, Kenton refused to allow his name to be used to support a so-called "ghost band" – a band that continues to perform under the nostalgic headline of its progenitor long after that individual has died.[3] In addition, Kenton continually chose to align himself with many of the more progressive initiatives in America's cultural scene. As a participant in the 1967 Tanglewood Symposium, Kenton was signatory to a declaration that, among other things, suggested music education should be expanded to include "music of our time in its rich variety, including currently popular teenage music."[4] And finally, as Kenton himself once stated, "If I had to name a pet peeve of mine, it could describe it with one word . . . nostalgia."[5]

I am interested in musical futures which are not yet known to us; musical cultures that will be developed by musicians of the future, responding to the circumstances of their own communities, times, and places. What educative experiences might best support their emergent musical cultures? This, I believe, is the discussion that Kenton himself would prefer. My hope is that the Kenton Clinics may serve as a vehicle for inspiring change in the present and future of whatever we might call music, and by extension, music education.

Throughout his career, Kenton doggedly pursued a creative vision that, despite the odds, embraced near continuous change. Kenton's ideas occasionally produced commercial triumph, while at other times they invited financial disaster. Nonetheless, I

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[3] William F. Lee, *Stan Kenton: Artistry in Rhythm* (Los Angeles, CA: Creative Press, 1980).

[4] Robert Choate*, et al.*, "The Tanglewood Symposium: Music in American Society," *Music Educators Journal* 54, no. 3 (1967), 51.

[5] Quoted in "Kenton Quotes (Press Release)," n.d. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University,

think there is much to admire in Kenton's forward-thinking entrepreneurial creativity. I find some of the music he produced and/or commissioned exciting and inspiring. At the same time, some of it I confess I could happily live without. Kenton, like any other human being, was not perfect and his musical output was no exception. Accordingly, as jazz critic Leonard Feather reminisced shortly after Kenton's death, we are free to "argue angrily or reminisce fondly [about him], according to our personal predilections."[6] Of course, you may assume that since I chose both the topic and focus of this dissertation, that my positionality towards Kenton trends towards fondness more than it does anger.

Kenton's involvement in music education demonstrated a certain willingness to invest in the futures of countless young musicians, inspiring and nurturing them. In the history of American popular music – and yes, please remember that jazz was once a "popular" music – there are many artists who have achieved stardom with hit songs, made and lost fortunes, and won industry awards or other honors. Among these, however, I am unaware of any who, like Kenton, have sat in theaters for hours on end listening to the performances of countless student musicians, of oftentimes middling to poor quality. I am further unaware of any who, like Kenton, spent weeks at a time on college campuses, readily accessible *on a first name basis* to students young enough to be their grandchildren. I am also unaware of any who, like Kenton, were willing to regularly underwrite such educational activities at their own expense.[7]

[6] Leonard Feather, *The Passion for Jazz* (New York, NY: Horizon Press, 1980), 75.

[7] These data form part of the present study. Gene Hall, the first director of the Stan Kenton Clinics, is one of many individuals who have described Kenton underwriting the costs of the clinics. For additional details, see Chapter Four.

The Kenton Clinics preserved aspects of America's musical past that were beloved to Kenton and those associated with him – those of big band jazz. In Kenton's own words, his clinics were meant to help students "take a bath in jazz," to learn the intricacies of what he called "jazz-lore" from some of its most seasoned performers and educators.[8] In this regard, his clinics were arguably successful: thousands of students participated in the tightly packed schedule of a Kenton Clinic over a twenty year period, taking this proverbial "bath" and experiencing the close association of many professional jazz musicians. The Clinics also preserved another aspect of the big band era: that of a full-time touring big band. Throughout the nineteen seventies, the Clinics provided a financial lifeline that enabled the Stan Kenton Orchestra to stay on the road long after economic realities and changing audience tastes forced many of his peers off the road.[9]

As a product of mid-to-late 20th century American culture, however, the clinics also preserved inequities whose challenges continue to this day. The miniscule participation by people of color in clinics that, at times, sought to codify an art form that originated in the synergizing creativity of the early twentieth century American black community are testament to this fact. In addition, few women participated in the clinics during their twenty-year history. Issues of equity, inclusion, gender, and cultural appropriation are too complex to discuss here but receive more ample treatment in later chapters. Ultimately, my hope is that an honest critique of the past can enable those changes that might bring about more equitable futures.

[8] "Stan Kenton Recieves $1000 From AFofM." *International Musician*, 1960.
[9] These data form part of the present study.

Many Kenton Clinic participants went on to have formidable careers as professional musicians, but not always within the context of big band jazz that originally inspired their attendance in the clinics themselves.[10] As a scholar interested in exploring change in music education, this makes the Clinics an interesting place to center an exploration of such change. Kenton may have expressed his feelings about such musical innovators when he stated, in succinct and colorful language: "You bring a young musician along – you nurse him [sic] – and all of the sudden he tells you to fuck yourself and he flies away. It's beautiful!"[11] And so it is, out of respect for Stan Kenton, I choose to begin this study in the selfsame place of musical change that he thought so beautiful.

Cultural Reproduction, its Resistance, and Change

> Anything comparable to my melodies and songs no one has ever ordered to be composed. . . In the school may [my music] never be changed forever!
>
> King Shulgi of Ur (third millennium BCE)[12]

> A musical revolution always means a social revolution
>
> Damon of Athens (fifth century BCE)[13]

The inevitability of change is arguably the most universal of phenomena. Solar systems change. Environments change. People change. Even as we learn, our brains physically change in response to new stimuli.[14] And as people change, cultures change —

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[10] These data form part of the present study.

[11] Quoted in George Simon, *The Big Bands* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1971), 541.

[12] Jacob Klein, "The Royal Hymns of Shulgi King of Ur: Man's Quest for Immortal Fame," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 71, no. 7 (1981), 18-19.

[13] quoted in: M.L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 246.

[14] See Chapter 12 in: Morton Hunt, *Psychology* (New York: Anchor Books, 2007).

musics change.[15] Anthropologist Franz Boas stated, "[cultural characteristics] that are assumed as almost absolutely stable are constantly undergoing changes."[16] And as music changes, so too does whatever we might call an education in music. Or does it? What *really* changes when we talk about change in music education?

An education in music, however construed, has existed in some form throughout recorded history. For example, four thousand years ago in ancient Sumer, Adad-lamassi gave five silver pieces to Illi-siri so that he would instruct his son, Hedu-Eridu, in five different musical instruments up to the seventh level, the entire arrangement overseen by Kuli-ippalsani, the music master.[17] Meanwhile, in a school district of Anytown USA, a music educator is paid a salary to teach a student the recorder up to the blackbelt level,[18] the entire arrangement perhaps overseen by a school administrator. Standards of practice, remuneration, bureaucracies, and other associations for music education have been around for a *very* long time. Music educator Estelle Jorgensen suggests that, "by and large, music educators have been a remarkably consistent breed for millennia."[19] Though a student may learn to play different instruments and create sounds possibly unimagined by our ancient forebears, many aspects of a twenty-first century education in music are remarkably similar to those of some of history's oldest known cultures.

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[15] Lawrence Kramer, "Subjectivity Unbound: Music, Language, Culture," in *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert, and Richard Middleton (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012).

[16] Franz Boas, *Race, Language, and Culture* (New York, NY: Macmillan Company, 1948), 253.

[17] Though this tablet is believed to represent a school exercise, it is nonetheless interpreted as reflecting an actual cultural practice. See: Piotr Michalowski, "Learning Music: Schooling, Apprenticeship, and Gender in Early Mesopotamia," in *Musiker Und Tradierung: Studien Zur Rolle Von Musikern Bei Der Verschriftlichtung Und Tradierung Von Literarischen Werken*, ed. Regine Prutzinsky, and Dahlia Shehata (Austria: Universitat Wien, 2010), 205.

[18] Philipak, Barb. *Recorder Karate: A Highly Motivational Method for Young Players*. Wauwatosa, WI: Plank Road Publishing, 2002.

[19] Estelle Jorgensen, "What Philosophy Can Bring to Music Education: Musicianship as a Case in Point," *British Journal of Music Education* 20, no. 2 (2003), 202.

Similarities between ancient cultures and those of our own time are due, at least in part, to the role that educational structures play in processes of enculturation and cultural reproduction. For the present discussion, culture is defined as the comprehensive thinking and doing of any group of people, large or small, in a particular place at a particular time.[20] People are said to be encultured as they both learn and adopt the prevailing values of the culture in which they reside.[21] Enculturation occurs gradually, even unconsciously, and one typically recognizes it only when confronted with an experience that doesn't fit their expectations.[22] As people enact the ways of thinking and doing (i.e., culture) to which they have become encultured, those aspects of that culture are interpreted as being reproduced.[23]

Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu describes how ruling classes often seek to maintain power through the reproduction of cultures values that reaffirm their power.[24] For example, over four thousand years ago, King Shulgi of Ancient Mesopotamia mandated that the music he ordered composed in his specially constructed *nidaba* (a type of Sumerian musical conservatory) should be taught in perpetuity without change. As one might imagine, Shulgi believed that the music composed in his nidabas was of peerless quality. Similarly, there are those today who espouse an interpretation of the music of

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[20] Bronislaw Malinowski, *A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1944); Alfred Kroeber, *The Nature of Culture* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1952); Pierre Bourdieu, and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture,* trans. Richard Nice (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1977); David Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2013); Jere Paul Surber, *Culture and Critique: An Introduction to the Critical Discourses of Cultural Studies* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2018).

[21] See "enculturation" (n.d.) In the Oxford Dictionary. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/us/enculturation

[22] Minette Mans, *Living in Worlds of Music: A View of Education and Values* (Dordrecht, NL: Springer, 2009).

[23] Chris Jenks, ed. *Cultural Reproduction* (London, UK: Routledge, 1993).

[24] Bourdieu, and Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture*.

some other moment and place in history, which they also esteem to be of the highest quality, and champion its proliferation among a younger generation. For example, music in the so-called "classical" traditions of Europe has long been promoted, performed, and reproduced among music students in the United States. As musicologist Charles Hamm observes:

> It is no accident that the most important patrons of classical music. . . the people who funded opera companies and symphony orchestras and attended their performances, were the Carnegies and other robber barons. What does this mean? Quite simply that at certain points in the history of our country, classical music has been an instrument of power – social power, economic power, political power.[25]

Bourdieu criticizes such elitist notions of aesthetic superiority that ruling classes often impose on a general public that they believe is incapable of embracing appropriate cultural values themselves. For Bourdieu, cultural values (i.e., ways of thinking and doing, aesthetics, etc.) including those associated with education, are "arbitrary."[26]

In the reproduction of culture, however, everything is continually reinvented and reinterpreted by successive generations.[27] For example, the phenomenon of a "classical" music concert in the twenty-first century bears little resemblance to the original performance environment of such music. What was once perhaps the background music for an aristocratic soiree, or similar event produced for a newly ascendant bourgeoisie class of social aspirants, is now presented in reverential silence under the spotlights of a concert hall. While the notes of yesteryear are arguably being reproduced among a new

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[25] Charles Hamm, "Dvorak, Stephen Foster, and American National Song," in *Dvorak in America*, ed. John C. Tibbetts (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1993), 149.

[26] Bourdieu, and Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture*, 115.

[27] Chris Jenks, "Introduction: The Analytic Bases of Cultural Reproduction Theory," in *Cultural Reproduction*, ed. Chris Jenks (London, UK: Routledge, 1993).

generation, very little of the original musical culture has been similarly maintained. As musicologist Curt Sachs has observed, "seeing and weighing the difference between two musical worlds might help us to realize that our gain is our loss, our growth is our wane. It might help us to understand that we have not progressed but merely changed. And, when seen from the cultural point of view, we have not always changed for the better."[28] For this reason, cultural reproduction is, according to sociologist Chris Jenks, not so much a "metaphor of reproduction as copy or imitation, [but of] regeneration or synthesis."[29]

Culture changes because its reproduction is never absolute. Critical theorist Henry Giroux observes that cultural reproduction "always meet[s] with partially realized elements of opposition."[30] For Giroux, the ever changing contexts and social structures of culture can promote forms of dominion and subjugation against which people may feel "the need" to resist.[31] Giroux characterizes such resistance as an interpretive exercise that can connect processes of self-formation and culture, human agency and structure in pedagogically useful ways.[32] Giroux's resistance theory is meant to serve as a counterpoint to Bourdieu's reproduction theory. Where Bourdieu focuses on acts of domination that a ruling class may use to maintain its power, Giroux focuses on ways such efforts are resisted, ushering in subsequent cultural change.

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[28] Christopher Small, *Music, Society, Education* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1996), 9.

[29] Jenks, "Introduction: The Analytic Bases of Cultural Reproduction Theory," 2.

[30] Henry Giroux, "Theories of Reproduction and Resistance in the New Sociology of Education: A Critical Analysis," *Harvard Educational Review* 53, no. 3 (1983), 259.

[31] Giroux, "Theories," 290.

[32] Giroux, "Theories," 292.

Focusing on acts of resistance points to contested spaces where cultural change may be in progress. Ethnomusicologist Minette Mans suggests that a tendency to embrace romantic visions of the past in which "musical cultures were clearly defined," misses the possibility of recognizing the confluence of processes and interactions in which a culture actually develops.[33] A resistance reading of history specifically emphasizes the processes and interactions through which a culture, including its music and music education, is changing. For example, Plutarch reported that Lasus resisted Greek tradition and, "changed the old music into something new . . . [by using] a larger number of scattered notes."[34] Conversely, jazz musician Miles Davis did the exact opposite, using only a few notes to resist a culture of fast and sometimes "scattered" notes known as bebop. This isn't to suggest that Davis destroyed bebop or that Lasus ended all interest in older, arguably simpler Greek music. In both cases, however, the musical culture was changed by an act of resistance that resulted in the addition of something new. Meanwhile, Stan Kenton seemed to look with approbation on young musicians who were carefully nurtured according to a particular set of musical parameters before ultimately rejecting those parameters and setting out on their own.[35]

Musical cultures, including whatever might be called an education in music, are the product of cultures that preceded them. Anthropologist Arthur Kroeber stated that culture is "conditioned by its cumulative past."[36] Future evolutions of such cultures, however, are determined through myriad decisions and actions made in the present.

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[33] Mans, *Living in Worlds of Music: A View of Education and Values*, 1.

[34] Plutarch references an increased use of vocal ornamentation. See: West, *Ancient Greek Music*, 343.

[35] Simon, *The Big Bands*, 541.

[36] Kroeber, *The Nature of Culture*, 4.

Curriculum theorist Patrick Slattery reminds educators that, "while the present is conditioned by the past, every moment is also full of future possibilities for change and new directions."[37] Similarly, curriculum theorist William Pinar observes that, "It is not simple allegiance to the past which is blame for ignoring the present; it is ideological commitments and the political struggle for ascendency."[38] And while a knowledge of the past may help teachers come to appreciate the provenance of some of their musical and pedagogic traditions, as Jorgensen suggests, it does not absolve them from the need to contemplate whether some of those traditions ought to be changed.[39] So, what do music educators see or feel is changing in music education? What practices of the past and present do they resist?

The world we all share is more interconnected and interdependent than perhaps at any other time in history, with enormous implications for whatever we might call an education in music. As Slattery reminds us, "Whether the critics like it or not, society has become a global plurality of competing subcultures and movements where no one ideology and episteme (understanding of knowledge) dominates."[40] While global society may be more pluralistic than ever before, educators in the United States, and/or the bureaucratic hierarchies in which they operate, often continue to resist such pluralism.[41] The type of egalitarian coexistence that characterizes pluralism is at odds with value-

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[37] Patrick Slattery, *Curriculum Development in the Postmodern Era: Teaching and Learning in an Age of Accountability* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2013), 282.

[38] William F. Pinar, *et al.*, *Understanding Curriculum* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 1995), 13.

[39] Jorgensen, "What Philosophy Can Bring to Music Education: Musicianship as a Case in Point," 206-07.

[40] Slattery, *Curriculum Development in the Postmodern Era: Teaching and Learning in an Age of Accountability*, 19.

[41] Christian Rolle, "What is Right? What is Wrong?: Music Education in a World of Pluralism and Diversity," *Philosophy of Music Education Review* 25, no. 1 (2017).

laden conceptions of aesthetic superiority that often accompany music education.[42] Educators are often unaware of the musical and educational values that shape their choices and judgements, let alone able to communicate them to others.[43] However, as musicologist Tia DeNora states, "unlike gravity or the sound barrier," such values are best conceived as tied to social institutions and not natural laws.[44]

Values can work to both promote change as well as prevent it. William Arms Fisher, as president of the Music Teachers' National Association (MTNA) in 1933, questioned why public school music educators were slow to embrace change when he stated, "surely it is better to be merry with saxophones than smug and solemnly exclusive with classic ponderousness."[45] In the context of Fisher's time and place, change revolved around that newly popular genre of music known as jazz. Fisher, however, as a student of Antonín Dvořák in New York City, had likely been encultured to embrace and celebrate America's autochthonous art forms, even if, like Dvořák, he did so in a way that was unique to his Western Classical training.[46] Though my twenty-first century sensibilities are uncomfortable with the racial and cultural hierarchies at play in the arrangements that Fisher, a well-heeled white male, made of African-American Spirituals,[47] I nonetheless celebrate his efforts to champion the music of an American cultural group that was

[42] Juliet Hess, "Critiquing the Critical: The Casualties and Paradoxes of Critical Pedagogy in Music Education," *Philosophy of Music Education Review* 25, no. 2 (2017).

[43] James Garratt, "Values and Judgements," in *Aesthetics of Music: Musicological Perspectives*, ed. Stephen Downes (New York, NY: Routledge, 2014), 23.

[44] Tia DeNora, "Musical Practice and Social Structure: A Toolkit," in *Empirical Musicology: Aims, Methods, Prospects*, ed. Eric Clarke, and Nicholas Cook (New York, NY: Oxford, 2004), 44.

[45] William Arms Fisher, "Music in a Changing World," *Music supervisors journal* 19, no. 4 (1933).

[46] Joseph Horowitz, "Dvorak and the New World: A Concentrated Movement," in *Dvorak and His World*, ed. Michael Beckerman (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

[47] William Arms Fisher, "Seventy African American Spirituals," (1926).

largely disparaged during his time. I further celebrate his efforts to promote the study of popular musics during a time when they still had mass appeal.

Music educator Jere Humphreys observed that new genres are not typically introduced into public school music education until their broad popularity has waned.[48] Such was demonstrably the case with jazz. During the 1960s, as rock-and-roll increased in popularity and jazz fell further and further from popular consciousness, many concerned and aging jazz aficionados were explicitly encouraged to "look to the colleges," where jazz was now being formally taught — the tradition and culture being replicated like all cultures are replicated, in synthesizing and changing regeneration.[49] Similarly, today, now that rock guitarist Eric Clapton is too arthritic to continue performing,[50] the Wilson sisters (lead vocalists for the band Heart) are both old enough to collect Social Security,[51] and Keith Richards of the Rolling Stones has written a charming memoir for his grandchildren,[52] there are more and more instances of rock oriented ensembles and repertoire finding their way into American public school classrooms — albeit, generally without the cultural rebellion and sexuality once associated with rock culture.[53]

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[48] Jere T Humphreys, "Instrumental Music in American Education: In Service of Many Masters," *Journal of Band Research* 30, no. 2 (1995).

[49] Peter Welding, "Big Band Jazz: Look to the Colleges," *DownBeat* (1962 September 27).

[50] Andrews, Travis, "Eric Clapton Reveals Nerve Damage That Makes Playing Guitar 'Hard Work'." *Washington Post*, 2016.

[51] Ann and Nancy Wilson, of the band Heart were born in 1950 and 1954 respectively.

[52] Keith Richards, *Gus & Me: The Story of My Granddad and My First Guitar* (New York, NY: Hachette Book Group, Inc., 2014).

[53] David Hebert, and Patricia Shehan Campbell, "Rock Music in American Schools: Positions and Practices Since the 1960s," *International Journal of Music Education* 36, no. 1 (2000); Corin Overland, "Intersections of Public and Private Enterprise in American Music Education: Lessons Learned From the "School of Rock"," in *International Yearbook for Research in Arts Education 4/2016: At the Crossroads of Arts and Cultural Education: Queries Meet Assumptions*, ed. Aud Berggraf Saebo (Munich: Waxman Verlag, 2016).

As new genres are finally welcomed into the canon of whatever public school might call an education in music, however, they are often soon constrained by educational structures that are just as rigid as those that preceded them. Music educator Randall Allsup uses a conceptual heuristic of "open" versus "closed" forms to describe this rigidity: open forms are characterized by creativity and change while closed forms represent the tendency to claim "the power to establish a rule, to control its issue, and to direct the continuity of its course."[54] Are closed forms the most appropriate avenue for music educators interested in change to embrace?

Among American public-school music educators, closed forms predominate. For example, music educator Roger Mantie has conducted a discourse analysis of American proponents of an public school music education in "popular music" and found that there appears to be more concern for orthodoxy and established repertoire than anything else.[55] Similarly, as jazz has become established in American public schools its increasing institutional rigidity has been amply criticized.[56] This leads me to wonder whether many of those who embrace change in music education are, like King Shulgi of Ancient Mesopotamia, insisting on the establishment of a new canon of purportedly unchanging traditions — the emperor's new clothes sewn in more or less the same way as the emperor's old clothes — but perhaps with different notes and/or instruments. Does this really constitute change in music education?

[54] Randall Everett Allsup, *Remixing the Classroom* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2016), 19.

[55] Roger Mantie, "A Comparison of "popular Music Pedagogy" Discourses," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 6, no. 3 (2013).

[56] Kenneth E. Prouty, "The History of Jazz Education: A Critical Reassessment," *Journal of historical research in music education* 16, no. 2 (2005 01/2005).

As educators grapple with declining enrollment in traditionally oriented music programs (e.g. band, orchestra, choir), there are many who have suggested that incorporating "popular music" would be an appropriate and responsible.[57] Unfortunately, once a style of music can be circumscribed to the educational structures that public school educators tend to prefer — that is, an established method, theory, pedagogy, aesthetic taxonomy, and otherwise closed forms — that music must be old enough to permit such action.[58] This hardly seems to reflect the dynamic and sometimes rebellious landscape that popular music often represents.[59] Furthermore, the words "popular" and "old" are somewhat diametric to one another. The 19th century waltzes of Johann Strauss were once "popular," just as "big band music" or "rock-and-roll" once topped popularity charts. Of course, in the interim, the musical culture changed and what was once popular is now history. From my perspective, it seems that the field of music education is so far behind, that it regularly claims music of the *past* to be the music of its future.[60]

The way that music is taught is an integral part of a musical culture.[61] As that culture changes, so too will an education in whatever it might call music. As the music education profession contemplates changes that will inevitably arise over the course of the twenty-first century, including changes educators and/or students may choose to enact

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[57] Tom Parkinson, and Gareth Dylan Smith, "Towards an Epistemology of Authenticity in Higher Popular Music Education," *Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education* 14, no. 1 (2015); Little Kids Rock, "Modern Band," (2016 November 1); John Kratus, "Music Education At the Tipping Point," *Music Educators Journal* Nov (2007); Bryan Powell, Andrew Krikun, and Joseph Michael Pignato, "‚äúsomething‚äôs Happening Here!‚äù: Popular Music Education in the United States," *IASPM@ Journal* 5, no. 1 (2015).

[58] Gareth Dylan Smith, "Seeking ‚'success' in Popular Music," in *Music Education: Navigating the Future*, ed. Clint Randles (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015).

[59] Wiley L. Housewright*, et al.*, "Youth Music: A Special Report," *Music Educators Journal* 56, no. 3 (1969); Hebert, and Campbell, "Rock Music in American Schools: Positions and Practices Since the 1960s."

[60] Smith, "Seeking 'Success' in Popular Music."

[61] Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2015).

themselves, an understanding of change from a variety of perspectives – including musicology, ethnography, phenomenology, hermeneutics – may guide educators as they seek to orient themselves towards the changes that inevitably occur within their respective musical cultures.

I am unaware of any who continue to reproduce the music of King Shulgi outside of the rarified (and delightful!) circles of Assyriologists. While a limited glimpse of an education in music some four-thousand-five hundred years ago in Ancient Mesopotamia suggests that many things have changed considerably, there is much that has stayed the same. We may no longer perform King Shulgi's music, however the music of more recent "kings" continues to be preserved in our educational institutions and other places of musico-cultural reproduction.[62]

This dissertation contemplates the following fundamental, even philosophical questions:

- When people say that whatever they might call music (as well as its corollary, an education in music) is changing, where is the locus of such change? For example, is the change located in the sounds we call music? Alternatively, do the sounds stay the same while the ways we teach and learn them change?
- When people say that whatever they might call music (as well as its corollary, an education in music) is changing, what is resisted and why?

[62] The musical repertoire contained in many band curricula overwhelmingly favors European men and hasn't changed significantly in 100 years. See: Ruth V. Brittin, and Deborah Sheldon, "An Analysis of Band Method Books: Implications of Culture, Composer, and Type of Music," *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education* 161 (2004).

These philosophical questions will be addressed through the means of carefully documented narrative, trusting that readers will develop their own hermeneutics for change in music – and by extension an education in music.

Background and Purpose of the Present Study

Throughout the 1950s, music education in American public schools consisted largely of wind ensembles, orchestras, and choirs.[63] Jazz music was only barely beginning to make inroads, and then usually as student-run organizations or afterschool clubs that were often called "stage" or "dance" bands, often to avoid the negative connotations many communities still had with the word "jazz."[64] All the while, the landscape of American popular music was inexorably changing as rock and roll took its place in history. As jazz's halcyon days as America's popular music continued to wane throughout the sixties, jazz ensemble programs in American public schools, colleges, and universities would increase by over 16,000 in what has been called the "stage band movement."[65]

Amid the social-musical upheavals of the late 1950s an entrepreneur named Ken Morris, with the support of a jazz bandleader named Stan Kenton, and jazz pedagogue Gene Hall (among others), initiated a new educational endeavor which they called "The National Stage Band Camps presenting The Stan Kenton Clinics." This dissertation

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[63] Michael L. Mark, and Charles L. Gary, *A History of American Music Education* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007).

[64] Walter Barr, "The Jazz Studies Curriculum," (Ed.D Music Department, Arizona State University, 1974); Frank Heuser, "Pipe Dreams, Ideals and Transformation in Music Education: Lessons From the Field," *Research Studies in Music Education* (2015); Prouty, "The History of Jazz Education: A Critical Reassessment."

[65] Barr, "The Jazz Studies Curriculum"; Frank Ferriano, "A Study of the School Jazz Ensemble in American Music Education," (PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 1974).

centers its exploration of change in music education in the context of The Kenton Clinics, as originally presented under the auspices of the National Stage Band Camps from 1959-1963, through its transformations under the administration of Kenton's own Creative World Productions from 1966-1979.

If nothing else, this study derives consequence from the fact that few histories devoted to the Kenton Clinics have ever been written despite its nearly 20-year existence and the hundreds of educators and the tens of thousands of students who participated. To be sure, the immense popularity and growth of this program from its beginnings in 1959 throughout the next decade are often cited as having had a profound and lasting impact on public school music education.[66] Nonetheless, many of these brief accounts perpetuate numerous errors that historiographic data from the present study help clarify.

Music educator Clint Randles observes that, as the music education profession is bombarded with new conceptions of music education to which it has previously been ignorant, it may "re-evaluate its place." Over time then, the profession can eventually expand its perceptual world of what music education might be, which can then expand its cultural world. As Randles states, "the 'who we are' part of self [and thus the profession] has a legacy. This legacy is what we have to acknowledge and work around. . . [Music education] was formed over time, and so therefore, out of necessity, it must change over time."[67]

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[66] For example, Mark, and Gary, *A History of American Music Education*; Warrick Carter, "Jazz Education: A History Still in the Making," *Jazz Educators Journal* 18 (1986); Kenneth Prouty, "From Storyville to State University: The Intersection of Academic and Non-Academic Learning Cultures in Post-Secondary Jazz Education," (PhD Dissertation, University of Pittsburg, 2002).

[67] Clint Randles, "A Theory of Change in Music Education," *Music Education Research* 15, no. 4 (2013), 478.

I am not convinced, however, that the academe devoted to an education of whatever we might call music needs another standalone history centered on an entrepreneurial initiative promoted by a dominant social class that effected change in the landscape of public-school music education. For that reason, I use the Kenton Clinics as a vehicle for provoking and problematizing a philosophy of change. This is change that imagines and critiques possible futures more than it obsesses with the past. In so doing, I use the Kenton clinics to provide an additional 'musical image' after the thinking of Estelle Jorgenson, who notes that, "Every musical image provides valuable insights and is flawed or limited in some ways. None suffices as the sole perspective on music. Rather, each typically interacts in dialectic tension one with others."[68]

Many student participants in the Kenton Clinics went on to become formidable jazz musicians in their own right, in some cases, even becoming faculty at future clinics.[69] Other participants transitioned into the music industry, became public school teachers, or pursued careers in occupations unrelated to music.[70] The lived experiences of those participating in the Kenton Clinics as both students and teachers may provide insight to educators contemplating change in music education, particularly as these experiences are contextualized within broader social and cultural histories. As social science researcher Max Van Manen has suggested, we "borrow" the experiences and

[68] Estelle Jorgensen, *Transforming Music Education* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001), 110.
[69] Lee, *Stan Kenton: Artistry in Rhythm*.
[70] These data form part of the present research.

reflections of others in order to "come to an understanding of the deeper meaning or significance of an aspect of human experience."[71]

An awareness of sociocultural histories and narratives of lived experience can provide educators with invaluable insight as they conceptualize change in music education. As Slattery suggests, the study of history is, "an opportunity to inform the present and provide access to the future."[72] Furthermore, lived experiences may illuminate aspects of music education that are often overlooked, including the values, ideologies, and beliefs that are regularly cited as embodying a culture.[73] This effort derives additional consequence from significant educational research conducted during the past 20 years highlighting the impact that experience, together with the complex and concomitant variable of culture, has on learning.[74] An understanding of various histories of change in whatever people might call music and an education in the same may help educators employ a more thoughtful, even philosophical orientation to the changes in music education that occur in their own time and cultural context, whatever they may be.

As explored previously, musical change, like any other aspect of cultural change, is inevitable. Most obviously, music changes when people change, amend, revise, expand, or otherwise alter those sounds that they call music. Music also changes, however, when people seek to preserve its sounds in unchanging perpetuity. Where an understanding of whatever might be called music includes the indelible impact that

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[71] Max Van Manen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990), 62.

[72] Slattery, *Curriculum Development in the Postmodern Era: Teaching and Learning in an Age of Accountability*, 44.

[73] Sonia Nieto, "Culture and Education," *Teachers College record* 110, no. 13 (2008).

[74] National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, *How People Learn Ii: Learners, Contexts, and Cultures* (Washington, D.C.: The National Academies Press, 2018).

cultural context plays on that music, as well as the impact such contexts have on our own conscious selves (including the contextual milieu of whatever we might call an "education" in music), we are forced to conclude that changes in the context in which music exists change *us*, which in turn changes the music itself.

Philosophical Positioning

This study is first and foremost historical in that it centers on research associated with the beginnings and development of the Stan Kenton Clinics. It is also philosophical, however, in that it uses a history of the Stan Kenton Clinics – and a history of the development of jazz generally – to conceptualize a continuously emergent ontology for what music education might become. The hermeneutics implicated in the ways I winnow and construct narratives for both jazz history and the Kenton Clinics, as well as the philosophical positions I promote based in these data, are complex and multifaceted, however. My basic methodology for the historical portions of this text could be summarized as "the stories I tell about how I tell stories." As a storyteller, however, I am mindful of hermeneutic philosopher Paul Ricoeur's observation that "the hermeneutically trained mind will also include historical consciousness." For Ricouer, interpretation is always grounded in shared understandings, which understandings can only originate in the past. As he states, "Historiography itself, let us already say, will not succeed in setting aside the continually derided and continually reasserted conviction that the final referent of memory remains in the past, whatever the pastness of the past may signify."[75]

[75] Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative,* trans. Kathleen McLaughlin, and David Pellauer (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1985a), 77; 222-23.

Ricoeur, however, also cautions that ideologies implicated in any historiographic hermeneutics are philosophical positions that are often ignorant of their philosophical nature.[76] Thus, to dispel such ignorance, the following section of this document attempts to clearly acknowledge what I understand to be *my* philosophical-hermeneutic positions through a process of phenomenological *dasein*.

Anthropologists Jack Katz and Thomas Csordas use phenomenological thinking to cast suspicion on notions of epistemological certainty when studying or describing cultural phenomena. According to Katz and Csordas, where anthropology is based on the disciplinary analysis of culture, phenomenology demonstrates that “culture effaces [erases] the processes of its creation.” Or, put another way, culture “systematically lies.” As a result, they embrace conceptions of culture, that, like consciousness are continually emergent and highly interpretive.[77]

Educational philosopher Maxine Greene opines that consciousness “is in part defined by the way it always reaches beyond itself toward a fullness and a completeness that can never be attained. If it were attained, there would be a stoppage, a petrification. There would be no need for a quest.”[78] Nonetheless, as philosopher Gunter Figal suggests, “In showing itself, [consciousness] is always richer and more complex than its particular interpretations.”[79] Whatever phenomenology provides can thus be readily impugned as suspect, subjective, and obviously hermeneutic.

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[76] Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*.

[77] Jack Katz, and Thomas J. Csordas, “Phenomenological Ethnography in Sociology and Anthropology,” *Ethnography* 4, no. 3 (2003), 285.

[78] Maxine Greene, *Releasing the Imagination: Essays on Education, the Arts, and Social Change* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1995), 24-25.

[79] Gunter Figal, “Hermeneutical Phenomenology,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Contemporary Phenomenology*, ed. Dan Zahavi (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012), 538.

Thus, the following section acknowledges many aspects of my situatedness in relation to this study and whatever philosophy it might provoke. All of this, I hope, will explicate the some of the hermeneutics that inform my Kenton Clinics research, as well as substantiate some of the philosophy that the present research provokes about change in those sounds we call music, as well as an education in the same.

Dasein (Part One)

My own love of music and background as a professional musician informs every aspect of the present research. My musical skill is best described as interdisciplinary, as it crosses numerous disciplinary domains and musical genres. I was fortunate enough to enjoy a successful and award-winning career as a trumpet player in both the classical and jazz genres. Jazz, was one of my first musical loves, however, and I grew up in and around jazz bands mentored by supportive, creative, and playful musicians. I also performed and recorded music of my own composition on many occasions. In my early twenties I followed personal creative interests in orchestral music to learn new skill sets and quickly began performing with "classical" orchestras and chamber ensembles of all types, including those dedicated to performing contemporary and other modern and experimental musical styles, ensembles dedicated to traditional folk and ethnic musics, as well as so-called "early music" ensembles performing on original instruments according to centuries-old performance practices. In addition to all the above, my ability to improvise, first honed as a jazz musician and later expanded to include a wider variety of musical genres, opened doors for recording studio collaborations with many pop and electronic music producers, performers, and songwriters. In the process, I learned to use and appreciate the many affordances and limitations of digital music production tools. I

also worked extensively in training young musicians in music performance-oriented pedagogical techniques, including how to engage or teach audiences about music from the concert stage.

Following the onset of a career-ending disability, however, I retired from all the above and devoted my time to exploring music education. First, in the PhD program that occasioned this dissertation, subsequently in ethnomusicological study related to my work developing curricula for a global museum of musical instruments and culture, and finally as an instrumental music teacher to fifth through twelfth graders.

And so, with an extensive personal history with and knowledge of nominally jazz and classical musics, as well as liminal experience with an even wider variety of musical styles and cultures, I cherish music on a very broad scale. Music, as I experience it, is a complex, wonderous, funky mycelium in which tendrils of rich cultural nuance grow, compete, and communicate across a perpetually decomposing fungal world where there is little concern for creative boundaries of any sort. And just as I cannot prevent random mushrooms from sprouting following a good rainstorm, I can still knowingly cultivate others in highly controlled environments.

Where an understanding of music is writ broadly, it is easy to gaze across enormous musical diversity occasioned by time, place, culture, and genre while declaring the obvious: *in music, the only rules are those that we make up ourselves*. Want to sound like Bach and his contemporaries? Learn and follow their rules. Want to hang with the young jazz enthusiasts jamming bebop at your local pizzeria, or on your seventy five-year old Blue Note recordings? Learn and follow their rules. Want to emulate guitarist and

songwriter St. Vincent (Anne Clark)? Learn and follow her rules. Want to create music that sounds like you? Create your own rules.

Whose Narratives? Hermeneutic-Philosophical Position the First

My dedication to upholding the creation of one's own rules for whatever sounds we might call music directly segues into the fundamental hermeneutic principle that undergirds the creation of this text: when the data presents a choice, I always do my best to give autochthonous narratives pride of place. Following Ricouer's reminder that a hermeneutic consciousness is also historically situated, I begin my exploration of this principle in the early twentieth century with the anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowsky who differentiated between descriptions of cultural phenomena that centered on the perspective of an inside versus outside observer, something he characterized as *emic* and *etic,* respectively.[80] My understanding of Malinowsky, however, is tempered by Clifford Geertz whose concept of "thick description" both upholds the primacy of the emic or insider perspective, while simultaneously calling into doubt the hermeneutic challenges inherent to external observers attempting to uphold insider perspectives, "straining" to interpret foreign cultural phenomena while "reading over the shoulders of those [to whom such phenomena] properly belong."[81] More recently, researchers such as Sandra Stauffer round out my orientation towards autochthonous narratives: "narrative scholars live and

[80] Bronislaw Malinowski, *A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1944)

[81] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 452.

study *with* those who choose to allow researchers to talk with them, listen to them, and hold up their stories for others to hear."[82]

The philosophical orientation of well-meaning researchers dedicated to upholding autochthonous, emic stories cannot control the emergent hermeneutics of such stories in the phenomenology of different audiences, however. We lose control over stories once they are shared as different audiences experience our stories and draw their own, uniquely situated meanings from their content. Ricouer observes the conflicts that occur at these points "where the living memory of survivors confronts the distantiated, critical gaze of the historian, to say nothing of the viewpoint of the judge."[83] For this reason, I embrace the proposition posited by anthropologist Michael Carrithers that "the world would be better if people began from confusion, rather than certainty."[84]

The tension between autochthonous narratives and emergent hermeneutics is illustrated by my love of the music and culture of the Warao people. The Warao have, for many centuries, inhabited the regions that most maps now label as the Orinoco Delta in the present-day geopolitical chieftaincy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. When Warao musicians use their own knives to carve a *sekeseke* from the wood of their own trees and then prop it against their chests to bow the melodies of their own songs over its tightly strung strings, I see no need to deny the truth of their origin myths for this instrument that, in ignorance, I might accidentally colonize for queen and country by

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[82] Sandra Stauffer, "Narrative Inquiry and the Uses of Narrative Inquiry in Music Education Research," in *Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research in Music Education*, ed. Colleen Conway (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014), 180.

[83] Ricouer, *Memory, History, Forgetting,* 87.

[84] Michael Carrithers*, et al.*, "Ontology is Just Another Word for Culture: Motion Tabled At the 2008 Meeting of the Group for Debates in Anthropological Theory, University of Manchester," *Critique of Anthropology* 30, no. 2 (2008), 157.

calling a "violin."[85] In Warao mythology the sekeseke first appeared in the dreams of a half-human half-monkey personage named Nakurao who used its sounds to calm a hungry jaguar and make forest animals dance.[86]

Though I give primacy to the Warao narrative for the sekeseke, I am also aware that in physical form and playing technique it bears an uncanny resemblance to the 16th century European *viola da bracchio* — one of many nominal precursors of the violin. Coincidentally, the Warao play the sekeseke as it is supported against their breast, just like any self-respecting sixteenth century European fiddler, or many other current Amerindian peoples who carve and use similar bowed string instruments.[87]

The Warao origin story for the sekeseke directly contradicts the emergent hermeneutics of the European-colonial narrative that I bring to their narrative, including my knowledge of similar string instruments carved and performed by indigenous musicians throughout the Americas. Archeologist Ronald Mason writes of the conflicts engendered by contradictions between empirical archeology and oral traditions of people like the Warao. While issues of Native American cultural ownership, research funding, and human remains repatriation are beyond the scope of this essay, the epistemological questions Mason raises regarding oral traditions are apt to many historic research disciplines, whether archeological, cultural, or musical. As Mason states, "Just as the oral

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[85] Rafael Gassón, and Dieter Heinen, "¿Existe un Warao Genérico?: Cuestiones Clave en la Etnografía y la Ecología Histórica del Delta del Orinoco y el Territorio Warao-Lokono-Paragoto," [Does a Generic Warao Exist? Important Questions in the Historical Ecology of the Orinoco Delta and the Warao-Lokono-Paragoto Territory]. *Tipití: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America* 10, no. 1 (2012)

[86] Dale A. Olsen, *Music of the Warao of Venezuela: Song People of the Rainforest* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1996).

[87] "Late renaissance and baroque pictures show rebecs, lyras, violins held either against the breast … or on the collarbone, left or right of the chin and without chin-rest." Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music* (London, UK: Faber and Faber, 1963), 468.

traditions of a particular society deserve respect for what they are, they lose respect when taken out of their original context and proffered as a surrogate for something missing in another one."[88]

We have ample empirical proofs for the horrors of colonialism, however. I wonder, for example, if Nakurao's dream ever converted into a nightmare? Therefore, when confronted with the hermeneutic philosophical choice to tell a musical story that elevates a dominant or privileged narrative, regardless of its empirical proofs (e.g., Colonialism: the Warao probably got the idea for the sekeseke from European colonizers) versus an less powerful or underrepresented narrative (e.g., Indigenous Oral History: the sekeseke appears to Nakurao in a dream, calms a jaguar, and inspires forest animals to dance) I always seek to elevate the narrative that comes from the less privileged, less powerful place. Besides, regarding the Warao and other Native American cultures, how many centuries does a people have to carve a musical instrument with their own knives from their own trees so they can use it to perform their own tunes before a Euro-centric narrative finally grants them complete ownership over it?

In the spirit of phenomenological dasein, then, where I seek to make my philosophical-hermeneutic positions clear, the preceding should suffice to demonstrate some of the broad ways that I experience music, as well as my philosophical orientation towards the stories I may elevate about this music. It is also worth noting that none of the above have anything to do with the Kenton Clinics, nor any of the musical instruments taught at the Kenton Clinics. Thus, the reader may safely assume that my positionality

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[88] Ronald J. Mason, *Inconstant Companions: Archeology and North American Indian Oral Traditions* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2006), 19.

towards change in those sounds we call music, as well as an education in the same, lie much further afield than either the Kenton Clinics or any construal of the history of jazz education.

Interdisciplinarity: Hermeneutic Philosophical Position the Second

I relish similarities of performance practice that transgress temporal and cultural boundaries, like the holding and playing of musical instruments, whether Warao or pan-European. This is all part of the funky, fundamentally interdisciplinary mycelium that I cherish as those sounds I call music. Such is my love for these things that I would not deny anyone the sonic delights of a Warao sekeseke or a melancholy sixteenth century viol. To this list I might add other sounds we call music, performed on ostensibly similar bowed contrivances, including György Ligeti's (1923-2006) violin concerto, or the violin playing of Ray Nance (1913-1976) of the Duke Ellington Orchestra, violin rockstar Mark Wood, dancer/violinist/YouTube sensation Lindsey Stirling, sometime hip-hop violinist Daniel Bernard Roumain, or the post-jazz-fusion violin of Regina Carter.

As an interdisciplinary musician, however, I regularly experience an aporetic ignorance and expertise in musical settings. For example, though I can often readily circumscribe any music to the harmonic, rhythmic, or notational practices of my experience as a nominally jazz and classical musician, I often remain ignorant of countless nuances inherent to an autochthonous experience with such sounds. Thus, my experience reflects a certain order of expertise intrinsically tied to an ignorance of another. According to Michael Smithson, ignorance is an "inevitable" part of

interdisciplinary research.[89] Furthermore, Erin Leahey observes that many interdisciplinary researchers struggle with the challenges of no longer being an 'expert' in the interdisciplinary domains in which they are working.[90]

My ignorance causes me to experience the sekeseke and, at least until I learn better, place it within the mental schema that best fits my experience. In other words, at least at first, I ignorantly colonize-call it a violin. I could describe countless ways I similarly delimit other musical cultures to the mental frames that best suit my experience and understanding. I continuously conscribe music I hear to the staff notation schemes common to European classical music and jazz, whether such schemes are appropriate to the musical culture at hand or not. I honed this skill over so many years listening to countless jazz records that I now struggle to turn "turn it off," whether I'm actively writing out the music I hear or simply watching it scroll by somewhere deep in my consciousness. Similarly, the types of diatonic modal frames and tuning systems with which I am most experienced cause me to regularly [mis]understand musical pitches, particularly when I hear what I think are microtonal variations, assuming I can hear them as such and not simply as expressive forms of intonation. Less ignorance of the musical thinking of Middle Eastern and South Asian classical musics would improve my knowledge of and experience with those musics. Until then, however, my musical referents remain heavily influenced by a bunch of long-dead Greek and Medieval

[89] Michael Smithson, "Afterward: Ignorance Studies — Interdisciplinary, Multidisciplinary, and Transdisciplinary," in *Routledge International Handbook of Ignorance Studies*, ed. Matthias Gross, and Linsey McGoey (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015).

[90] Erin Leahey, "The Perks and Perils of Interdisciplinary Research," *European Review* 26, no. S2 (2018).

European white men, their musico-philosophical progeny, and the work of countless jazz and contemporary pop artists.

Even as the traversal of numerous disciplinary domains breeds ignorance, however, it also embraces an expertise of a different order – that of being interdisciplinary. For example, on the general subject of 'bowed string instruments and their diverse music,' I might hear whispers of Warao sekeseke in the microtonal ostenati of Ligeti's violin concerto, while any ostinato – now translated into an electronically mediated "loop" might quickly morph into Daniel Bernard Roumain's *Symphony for a Dance Floor* (2011) or any of variety of the electronic dance, house, trap, or similar musics on which his composition is based. Meanwhile, the occasional grind of a sekeseke can wink distorted rock-star Mark Wood while Lindsey Stirling's portamenti can approach Ray Nance or Regina Carter's blues – sounds the latter develop with more assurance; they are, after all, both "jazz" musicians. Of course, Stirling is the only violinist that I am aware of capable of performing such sounds while also effecting a perfect arabesque!

Many years ago, anthropologist Arthur Kroeber described how his process of understanding was iterative and continually evolving as "theorem, hypothesis, [and] conclusion . . . develop together" without sharp differentiations. In Kroeber's view, "there are, strictly speaking, no proofs in this method; there is an increasingly more concordant understanding of widening areas of knowledge and therefore sounder understanding."[91] My interdisciplinarity causes me to continually assess what I think I

[91] Alfred Kroeber, *The Nature of Culture* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 3.

might know from multiple perspectives in a similarly evolving way, where widening domains of expertise produce richer understandings of the phenomena at hand.

At the same time, however, the wise words of my esteemed high school band director, the late Jim Hodge, continually menace from the recesses of my adolescent memory: "the more you know, the more you don't know." And suddenly, my interdisciplinarity leaves me with still more unanswered questions and a richer perspective of my own ignorance.

Ethnomusicology: Hermeneutic Philosophical Position the Third

Ethnomusicology is a common thread in the interdisciplinarity of my musical experience, a direct segue to the third hermeneutic philosophical position that significantly impacts the creation of this text. The study of music in culture, or ethnomusicology is derivative of the critique, analysis, and historical study of both culture (anthropology) and music (musicology).[92]

With such theoretical parentage, ethnomusicology is obviously heavily influenced by the epistemological values of the European enlightenment, which values may also be found in many degree-granting university programs across the globe. For this reason, the ethnomusicological endeavor can be readily described as scholars from predominantly privileged societies documenting and describing the music and culture of less privileged societies. Put bluntly, it is not the Warao who travel the globe exploring the music and cultures of various degree-granting university programs. The inherent privilege of the ethnomusicology paradigm can be summed up in the words of one researcher who

[92] Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2015).

boasted of “taking a year off to travel the world instead of reading about it in ethnographic monographs.”[93]

The importance of studying the music of real humans in their authentic cultural settings should be understood as the subtext of the previous quote, even if I chafe at the way its author chose to convey that point. My personal circumstances are such that I will never enjoy the privilege of travelling the world for a year to study the musical cultures of far-flung lands. For this reason, I identify primarily as an armchair ethnomusicologist, relying on ethnographic monographs for *most* of the musical cultures with which I am familiar.[94]

As an armchair ethnomusicologist I am primarily concerned with what Bruno Nettl described as “the study of music from a comparative and egalitarian perspective.” This includes a fascination for those sounds called music that appear to transect or even unify disparate cultures, as well as what Nettl described as the “strange facts” that help deconstruct such generalizations with reference to the music or meanings of one small society or another.[95]

Of course, I am not exclusively an armchair ethnomusicologist. My primary musical and pedagogical interests are those musical cultures which are closest to me, even within my own community. Mark Slobin differentiates between musical “sub-” and “supercultures” where the latter flourish on an industry- or country-wide scale, while the

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[93] David Locke. “The African Ensemble in America,” in *Performing Ethnomusicology: Teaching and Representation in World Music Ensembles*, ed. Ted Solis (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 169.

[94] The notion of fieldwork in ethnomusicological circles has been expanded in recent years, with some ethnomusicologists performing such fieldwork via technological media, including YouTube. See Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology.*

[95] Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology,* 16.

former develops locally, emerging within and sometimes in conflict with the superculture. As Slobin describes subcultures as comprised of "musicians [that] keep one eye on their in-group audience and the other on the superculture, looking out for useful codes and successful strategies, while a third, inner eye seeks personal aesthetic satisfaction."[96]

Subcultures are those that I do not need to appreciate from the distantiated confines of a book-lined mahogany library, upholstered wing chair, velvet smoking jacket, and digital audio contrivance. In my case, these are the music and cultures of jazz, hotdogs, opera, bratwurst, ballet, and the creation of silly "Are You a Banjo, Banjo?" songs, accompanied by plastic horses strung at the hooves with rubber bands. This is also the music and culture of each classroom of students that I interact with on a day-to-day basis; of local open-mic nights, drum circles, quinceañeras, jam bands, qigong practitioners, and stadium-sized line arrays – though this last example can easily trend towards superculture status, depending on the circumstances and hermeneutic orientation. Armchair ethnomusicology, together with field experiences predominantly in my local community, provide continually inspiring pools for musical-pedagogical reflection, and at times, musical yearning. I wish, for example, that my current local community featured more historically informed performances of seventeenth-century European vocal and instrumental music.

Over fifty-years ago, ethnomusicologist Charles Keil criticized a phenomenon he called "moldy-fig mentality," the insistence that the music and culture of the past or some

[96] Mark Slobin, *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1993), 89.

distant place was in some way superior to that happening in a person's immediate proximity. For Keil, moldy-fig mentality was exemplified by blues writers who ignored then-contemporary developments of the form in favor of its much older variants. As Keil stated, "it is much easier to reminisce with old bluesmen, collect rare records, and write histories that it is to properly assess a career-conscious singer, analyze an on-going blues scene, and attempt to understand the blues as [a black Chicago youth] in 1966 understands them."[97]

Ethnomusicology and Keil's moldy fig metaphor help me balance the quirkiness of my own musical acculturations with those of my immediate community. For example, as groovy as I may find the sounds of seventeenth century Iberian instrumental music, I would not replace the comparatively more modern (yet nonetheless 'traditional') mariachis at my neighbor's *quinceañera* with such sounds. Of course, contemporary mariachis and their seventeenth century Iberian predecessors exhibit many musical similarities due to the legacy of colonial influence.[98] Mariachi culture, however, is not immune to 'moldy-fig' mentality. Ethnomusicologists Michelle Barba and Amanda Soto have observed that, "mariachis in Mexico are constantly changing and adding repertoire,

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[97] Keil's original wording here, "Chicago Negro," is antiquated and likely off-putting to many contemporaneous readers. Charles Keil, *Urban Blues* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 38.

[98] There are many contemporary mariachi performance practices that can be directly traced to those of seventeenth century Spain, and by reflection, those of Italy – momentarily ignoring the nineteenth century influences of French and German (Austrian) music of mariachi culture. Considered against the early twentieth century promotion of mariachi culture by a fledgling Mexican government intent on encouraging broad cultural unity across the newly independent United Mexican States, it is relatively straightforward to hear mariachi music as a "modern" invention, as well as a vibrant musical culture with a stylistic history reaching into the distant past. A solid overview of many historical threads of mariachi music may be found in Daniel E. Sheehy, "Mexico," in *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music Volume 2 - South America, Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean*, ed. Dale A. Olsen, and Daniel E. Sheehy (New York, NY: Routledge, 1998) while Mexico's own Manuel Mejía Armijo and his "Grupo Segrel" mine the depths of Mexican colonial music with astonishing dedication and skill.

while in the US there is a tendency . . . to stay within a canon that is further limited in K-12 schools."[99] Moldy figs indeed.

The egalitarianism inherent to contemporary ethnomusicological epistemology, helps me avoid placing any one musical culture above another, whether historic or contemporary. Rather, I seek to appreciate and enjoy diverse musical cultures on their own terms, according to the meanings and customs of their respective audiences.

And regarding mariachis, I feel too privileged, humbled, and honored by the experience of once wearing a charro and passing as a mariachi to ever look upon that musical culture with anything but the deepest respect.[100] I arrived at a far-flung Brooklyn church for a religious celebration and my Mexican American friend and colleague, through a huge grin, simply said "*Póntelo*" [put it on] and shoved a neatly pressed and dry cleaned charro into my arms. Spanish language fluency and years of living in Central America could not prepare me for the feelings of gratitude and respect the parishioners of this church made me feel while wearing that charro, including granting me cultural privileges I had never previously experienced in any other musical venue, and largely not experienced since. Though I was both an invited guest and cultural imposter on the occasion, the charro I was wearing was not. It represented something deeply meaningful to this immigrant congregation that I doubt I will ever fully comprehend. So, replace the mariachis at my neighbor's quinceañera with something else? I think not. Of course, the specific sounds called music those mariachis might play remains an open question.

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[99] Michelle Barba, and Amanda Soto, "Enriching or Endangering: Exploring the Positive and Negative Effects of Recontextualizing Mariachi Music for Use in K-12 Schools," *Musike. International journal of ethnomusicological studies* 1, no. 3 (2007), 62.

[100] A 'charro' is the highly ornamented horseman's suit traditionally worn by many Mariachis.

Whose Sounds Called Music?

The ethnomusicological ethic of sounds-called-music egalitarianism influences my orientation towards change in a way that merits special attention. Where all musical cultures are viewed equally, what is the basis for choosing the most appropriate musical cultures to be reproduced in a classroom? Helen Myers observes this egalitarianism, noting that "Each [ethnomusicologist] is eager to defend the music of his or her own people as special and unique [but] no ethnomusicologist will rank the music of his culture over that of his colleague's."[101]

Following the ethnomusicological approach, where all musics and associated cultures are equal, the choice of which of these cultures to teach becomes unimportant. Thus, this egalitarianism causes me to experience a liberating sort of ambivalence when confronted with the question of what sounds called music to teach. Depending on the circumstances, this could literally be anything!

As a school music teacher, however, choices about which musical cultures to transmit must by necessity be made. And as a result, this choice will still inevitably privilege one music over another. Music educator Wayne Bowman problematizes a refusal to make such determinations when he opines that, "to teach or make music as if anything and everything were permissible would be irresponsible."[102] Part of the reason such choices must be made has to do with the psychology of choice itself. As Barry

[101] Helen Meyers, "Ethnomusicology: An Introduction," in *Ethnomusicology: Historical and Regional Studies*, ed. Helen Meyers (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1993), 11.

[102] Bowman, "Open" Philosophy or Down the Rabbit Hole?", 16.

Schwartz observes, “when there are too many choices . . . satisfaction with whatever is chosen diminishes, . . . and people [often] choose not to choose at all.”[103]

Psychological satisfaction aside, whether working as a work-a-day professional musician, or a school music teacher, I remain continually subject to the norms and social practices that, depending on the circumstances, either supportively encircle or menacingly besiege me. For example, my own philosophical orientation towards teaching music may be based in ethnomusicological equanimity though the aspirations and interests of the community in which I teach may not. As music educator Wayne Bowman observes, such are the “cooperative and collective modes of human action” whose patterns of activity and products are “cooperatively determined and never set in stone.”[104] Thus, though I may philosophically believe that all musics are created equal, I recognize that some communities will feel differently.

Furthermore, the utopian relativity expressed in the ethnomusicological ethos of musical equity does not extend to my own musical preferences, which though wildly eclectic, remain heavily biased. I enjoy a closeness with some sounds called music due to my own experiences with and within these cultures. This phenomenon is personified by Ricoeur as “close relations . . . privileged others.”[105] To not embrace these preferences would be to engage in a perverse type of self-loathing. For example, there are times when only the biting improvisatory wit of a Panamanian *decima (cantadera)* will suffice.

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[103] Schwartz refers to this as the “Paradox of Choice.” See Barry Schwartz, “Can There Ever be Too Many Flowers Blooming?,” in *Engaging Art: The Next Great Transformation of America's Cultural Life* 2008), 242.

[104] Wayne Bowman, “”Open” Philosophy or Down the Rabbit Hole?,” *Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education* 16, no. 1 (2017), 21.

[105] Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting,* trans. Kathleen Blamey, and David Pellauer (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 132.

Alternatively, the "*freude[s] schöner Götterfunken*" sound of children shouting hip hop lyrics and destruction of Valhalla variously wet my eyes with tears.[106] At other times I *need* to experience some thumping, bumping, swinging, blues-soaked jazz music – or a good symphonic scherzo, Irish jam session, or a distorted electric guitar solo. Thus, my musical interdisciplinarity complicates the ethnomusicological ethos of equity by demonstrating the immense diversity of musics to which one might become richly encultured, as well as highlighting the inherent limitations associated with such enculturation, self-selective or otherwise. I cannot recall, for example, an instance of ever feeling a *need* to listen to an Indonesian gamelan, or a brass quintet for that matter. In the case of the former, I expect more personal experience would change this. In the case of the latter, there is little that would mollify my general distaste for this genre at this point in my life – remember, I was once a classically-trained trumpet player![107] As the kids say, #YMMV – "your mileage [experiences] may vary." The biases inherent in my acculturation and interdisciplinary tastes aside, I embrace the inevitable gulf that exists between my experiences and those of anyone else.

Given the breadth of possibility inherent in the ethnomusicological ethos of musical equality, however, my allegiances tilt towards the 'close relation' of the receivers of a musical culture, call this culturally responsive teaching, student-centeredness, or whatever else you may wish. Ethnomusicologist John Blacking exemplifies this ethos

[106] A play on the opening lyrics of the chorus from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, "Joyous, beautiful divine spark" and the bombastic ending of the Wagner's *Götterdammerung*.

[107] At the risk of offending my friends and colleagues of the American Brass Quintet, Canadian Brass, and others I would observe that when one has been weened on intimate jazz, like any of the duo recordings of Oscar Peterson or Kenny Barron with various horn players, or period instrument chamber music like Biber's *Sonatae Tam Aulis Quam Aris Servientes* or any of those sixteenth century madrigals rich with improvisatory diminutions and continuo playing, it becomes pretty easy to have very little patience for a typical brass quintet performance of some sort of "arrangement."

when he states that, "Music-making must be used to enhance personal consciousness and experience in the community."[108] Nonetheless, even as I privilege the receivers (i.e., students) of such a particular musical culture, I maintain an ethical responsibility to the originators of that culture (Whose Narratives?).

In a related manner, my reproduction of a given musical culture may only highlight those aspects of the culture that I determine are most appropriate for reproduction for a particular group, at a particular time. For example, I may ignore the sounds, elitism, and musical instruments traditional to European classicism and choose to reproduce only the progressive ethic of music composition traditionally found in that culture. Alternatively, I may ignore all the above and facilitate only the reproduction of that culture's powdered wigs, corsets, pantaloons, and petticoats, accompanied by whatever other dance music I decide. Musical cultures are clearly complex and multifaceted! One may reproduce certain aspects of a culture while completely ignoring many of its other salient characteristics. For this reason, ethnomusicologist Ted Solis observes that, "The degree of compromise [an educator] negotiates [in this regard] tells a great deal about his or her identity and overall plans and goals."[109]

The complications inherent to reproducing any musical culture cause me to remain emotionally and philosophically committed to those musics and their associated experiences which have yet to be created and/or experienced. As one might imagine, this is partly the reproductive result of my own musical enculturation. For example, a historic

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[108] John Blacking, *A Commonsense View of All Music: Reflections on Percy Grainger's Contribution to Ethnomusicology and Music Education* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 131.

[109] Ted Solis, "Teaching What Cannot be Taught: An Optimistic Overview," in *Performing Ethnomusicology*, ed. Ted Solis (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 9.

understanding of jazz and the traditions of European musical classicism are both predicated on such a commitment. This claim can easily be substantiated by considering the transformations jazz has undergone during the past one hundred years, and for classical musics by skimming the Epic of Donald Grout and Claude Palisca (likely now in its 4999th edition).[110] Nonetheless, resistance to such musics which have yet to be created is also a part of both traditions. For example, critic Giovanni Artusi once menaced composer Claudio Monteverdi with the tyranny of the Catholic Inquisition for his overly "modern" voice leading. Meanwhile, the sounds Artusi so despised are now solidly, if antiquatedly, "common practice."[111] Similarly, jazz trumpeter Miles Davis's musical innovations of the 1970s were met with angry scandal in many circles.[112]

You the reader may be wondering what any of this has to do with historical research generally or a philosophy of change in music education. I propose that whether you find the preceding to be irrelevant or substantive has entirely to do with your own epistemic acculturation, including the degree to which you believe, or not, that the hermeneutic aspects of historical research can be easily explicated, or that the researcher's own background and bias are an integral part of the resulting research. I have perhaps, just given you more than you ever wanted to know about my own background and bias. And there is much more to be said about that still!

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[110] My obvious hyperbole aside, this is the edition with which I am most familiar. I cannot imagine that it has changed significantly over the past twenty years. Donald Grout, and Jay Palisca, *A History of Western Music* (New York, NY: Norton, 2001).

[111] Tim Carter, "Cerberus Barks in Vain: Poetic Asides in the Artusi - Monteverdi Controversy," *The Journal of Musicology* 29, no. 4 (2012).

[112] See chapter fifteen in Miles Davis, and Quincy Troupe, *Miles* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1989).

For the time being, however, I am content to signify the fundamental interdisciplinarity that guides the inquiry of this project within the cockamamie mechanics of a methodological paradigm of my own invention: “hermeneutic narrative phenomenological ethno-historiography.” This mouthful I signify with the beautiful name Eurydice, the protagonist of the Orpheus myth from ancient Greece. This myth is often interpreted as a morality play centered on how people react to change. Thus, Eurydicean research methodology is predicated on change, mindful of hermeneutics, employs many narrative methods, embraces phenomenological philosophy, and honors diverse cultures of music making, past, present, and future.

Organization of the Study

In Chapter Two I review literature pertinent to the beginnings of those sounds we now signify with the jazz-word. Rather than focusing on jazz sounds after they were already named and understood as such, I chose to base my review in the century prior to the emergence of those musical sounds that were to come to be signified by the jazz-word. I do this for two purposes. First, what might we learn from the beautiful, primordial cultural goo of musical sounds not yet canonized as “jazz?” What lessons or inspiration for future musical change might we discover in the work of musicians laying the groundwork, whether intentionally or not, for jazz-word-signified sound? Of particular interest here is that those musicians were involved in the development of a music with a particular sound that, due to a variety of factors, was embraced by American popular culture and ex post facto branded accordingly.

In Chapter Three I outline the Eurydicean methodology I employ throughout this study as well as outlining the type of methodological boilerplate that protects Arizona State University from possibly being sued. Eurydicean research methodology combines hermeneutics, narrative research, and phenomenological philosophy with ethnographic and historiographic methods and ways of thinking. Eurydicean methodology is named for the female protagonist of the Orpheus myth. This myth, at least in part, explores the repercussions of those who, like Orpheus, fail to accept change.

Chapter four narrates a history of the Stan Kenton Jazz Clinics. As mentioned previously, I do not believe Stan Kenton would have been particularly interested in a standalone history of his clinics. Nonetheless, I wrote just such a history. This is because it is a history that interests me personally as well as many people who are close to me. Like all histories, however, your interpretation and/or understanding of it may differ from my own. Nonetheless, the fact that I have chosen to focus on this topic in relation to change in music education should clearly signify that I feel it is somehow relevant to the enterprise.

In Chapter Five I present summarizing, philosophical ruminations that the present history of the Stan Kenton Clinics inspires. This includes analyzing and critiquing the Clinics for various loci it exemplified. Looking towards the future, however, I identify and define a concept inspired largely by the phenomenological-historiographic writings of Paul Ricouer that I call *your music* – that is, the ontology of the music as you personally experience it, both in the moment and through reflection. In addition to honoring your unique musical experiences, I identify the shared aspects of such experiences: *our music.*

Changes in those sounds that people call music do not happen in isolation but result from a confluence of sometimes ineffable influences. Change occurs due to dialectical relationships between the music as experienced of numerous individuals, each of whom I allow possessive claim to such music, as well as groups of individuals who claim a shared experience of music within culture, creating culture. The purpose of this discussion is to invite you to better understand change in those sounds that are called music generally by contemplating the complexly shared beginnings of such change – the creation of an ontology, a schema, gestalt, literacy, culture, rules. Whatever word we use, the creation of an ontology (culture, schema, gestalt, literacy, rules, etc.) is not immune from the power dynamics that affect society at large. Some are privileged with more power in this regard than others.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

"Once you name it, you've dated it."[1]
Duke Ellington

"The idea of debt is inseparable from the notion of heritage. We are indebted to those who have gone before us for part of what we are."[2]
Paul Ricoeur

"My music would not be such without the music created in the past." [3]
Stan Kenton

In the beginning was sound, and sound was with words, and sound was words. Sound, however, was not yet signified by the jazz-word.[4] Musicians of turn-of-the-twentieth century America referred to their music variously as *ragtime, blues, stomps, hot music, cakewalks, quadrilles, low-down quadrilles, novelties, minstrels, spasm, opera,* among many others.[5] As musicologist Gunther Schuller stated, "Much of this early music was not jazz or even intended to be jazz."[6] In New Orleans, however, 'King' Buddy Bolden, "a "fine lookin' brown skin man, tall and slender and a terror with the ladies,"[7] "turned his big trumpet around toward the city and [blew] his blues, calling his children home."[8] And thus, the sounds of the jazz-word were born. At least, the sound of Buddy

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[1] Duke Ellington, "Where is Jazz Going?," *Music Journal* 20, no. 3 (1962), 31.

[2] Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting,* trans. Kathleen Blamey, and David Pellauer (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 89.

[3] Quoted in Lee, *Stan Kenton: Artistry in Rhythm*, 156.

[4] I need to acknowledge a delightful collection of essays published under this title that I once read. Dom Cerulli, Burt Koral, and Mort Nasatir, eds. *The Jazz Word: The Way Jazz is Today — 42 Provocative Pieces Written By Musicians and Critics* (New York, NY: Ballantine, 1960).

[5] Ted Gioia, *The History of Jazz* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[6] Schuller, *Early Jazz: Its Roots and Musical Development*, 65.

[7] Quoting trumpeter Bunk Johnson. In Nat Shapiro, and Nat Hentoff, eds. *Hear Me Talking' to Ya: The Story of Jazz as Told By the Men Who Made it* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1955), 37.

[8] Quoting pianist/composer Jelly Roll Morton. In Alan Lomax, *Mister Jelly Roll: The Fortunes of Jelly Roll Morton, New Orleans Creole and "Inventor of Jazz"* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), 61.

Bolden's band echoing across the humid musk of a pre-dawn summer in New Orleans is where countless stories about jazz begin.[9]

Stories are a cherished part of the jazz-word's legacy, including its culture and folklore. I learned this many years ago in a hotel suite high above the lights of New York City's Times Square where famous jazz artists were embracing, drinking, laughing, and celebrating the amazing career of an aging trumpet player. By this time, Clark Terry's clarion blues had lost some of its former vigor. His jocular whisper, however – "I wanna tell a story" – was all it took to gather his jazz children around his wheelchair. Terry's career had spanned decades and included dynamic collaborations, hangs, tours, and performances with nearly every great musician you could think of. He grew up outside of Saint Louis just ahead of a young Miles Davis. Terry had toured the world, including as a member of both the Count Basie and Duke Ellington ensembles. He also appeared as a soloist multiple times on the Tonight Show, made countless records, and otherwise been everywhere and done everything. Terry had also, several years prior to this engagement, provided me with my first lesson in jazz improvisation, a story that I'll save for another time. On this occasion, however, Terry's hotel suite was packed with many of the good and great of jazz seated quietly on the floor surrounding him like well-trained kindergartners.

Though I cherish the telling of jazz stories, the details of whatever story Clark Terry shared that night in New York are not a part of any story I can share. My memories of that night, and therefore my story, is of the telling of the story, not the story itself. In

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[9] Shapiro and Hentoff, *Hear Me Talking' to Ya.*

any case, Terry was at a sufficiently advanced age by that time that it is reasonable to assume this was a story he had shared on previous occasions. Accordingly, it also seems reasonable to assume that many of the musicians seated around Terry's wheelchair could have filled in details of his story they remembered from previous hearings but which, on this occasion, Terry had neglected to include.[10] In that moment, however, none of these things seemed to matter. An aging jazz musician delivered his punchline with impeccable timing and characteristic wit whereupon his jazz children lovingly and joyfully erupted in laughter.

"Bolden would blow so hard, he actually blew the tuning slide out of his cornet, and it would land twenty feet away!" Stories about Bolden feature large in the mythology of jazz, his stories passed down by those musicians who witnessed dawn of the sounds now often signified by the jazz-word. Bolden, however, almost certainly never used the jazz-word to describe his own music. By the second decade of the twentieth century, when the jazz-word's usage became widespread, he had been long overcome by mental illness and institutionalized in a state hospital.[11] As a result, Bolden's music became jazz in the memories of those musicians who originally heard it, a modest reconstruction of the past to suit contemporary understandings. As John Dewey describes, "All conscious perception involves a risk. . . for as it assimilates the present to the past it also brings about some reconstruction of that past."[12]

[10] A handful of Clark's stories may be found in Paul Berliner, *Thinking in Jazz: The Infinite Art of Improvisation* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

[11] Quoting Zue Robertson, later a member of the Original Creole Jazz Band. In Marquis, *In Search of Buddy Bolden,* 43.

[12] John Dewey, *Art as Experience* (New York, NY: Minton, Balch, 1934), 272.

For Maxine Greene, reconstructed understandings of the past, particularly when effected from imaginative new vantage points, are a first step in embracing the sort of creative reckoning that can effect change, especially in educational settings. According to Greene, embracing new vantage points for cultural assumptions, received wisdom, morals, or any other such cultural phenomenon defined by primarily by its past-tense situatedness, stimulates us to imagine new ways of doing things. In the present context this might include developing new sounds we call music and new ways to help students learn to manipulate those sounds so that they might find personal growth in the process and develop either social cohesion, cultural empathy, or both. And with respect to teaching, however, Greene observes that such reconstructed understandings help educators teach towards unknown futures, with, "an awareness of leaving something behind while reaching toward something new."[13]

The present reconstruction of the past, presented in the nominal guise of a 'review of literature,' is presented to inspire music teachers to reach towards something new. As a result, this chapter centers on the musical precursors of jazz-word signified sound once common to nineteenth and early-twentieth century American and Latin American culture, popular music, and dancing. This is preparatory to a newly researched history of the emergence of a foundational initiative in mid-twentieth century jazz education efforts, that of The Stan Kenton Clinics. I begin this historical review approximately one hundred years prior to the Kenton Clinics as it helps deconstruct many of the ideological challenges facing jazz-word signified sound as the genre evolved into the mid-twentieth

[13] Maxine Greene, *Releasing the Imagination: Essays on Education, the Arts, and Social Change* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1995), 20.

century and beyond. And besides, by the time the Kenton Clinics finally came to fruition, music signified by the jazz-word was already over a half-century old! That it took so long for enough people to recognize the value in teaching and learning this music to necessitate such a thing as the Stan Kenton Clinics is an obvious subtext here. Nonetheless, by conceptually reaching forward towards a musical future that was all but uncertain in the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century, I hope to inspire readers to imagine possible futures for their own musical circumstances, whatever they may be. Perhaps, by taking inspiration from stories about the struggles and creativity of those musicians who created the foundations for the sounds and culture we now signify by the jazz-word we can all imagine musical futures of our own.

The Jazz-Word: Origins

Many musicians active at the turn of the twentieth century expressed a semantic ambivalence about the jazz-word. Bandleader and composer W.C. Handy once stated, "we played music similar to jazz, but we didn't call it jazz."[14] Pianist Eubie Blake observed, "A decade past it was called 'ragging' while today we call it 'jazzing.'"[15] Even the dance steps associated with jazz-word were not immune to such ambivalence. Early twentieth-century Broadway actress, fashionista, and dance instructor Irene Castle, observed that "people have come to me bubbling over with enthusiasm about the jazz

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[14] Quoted in Gunther Schuller, *Early Jazz: Its Roots and Musical Development* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1968), 65.

[15] Edward Berlin, *Ragtime: A Musical and Cultural History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980), 15.

dance . . . And when I've asked them to show [it] to me, they've just trotted forth the old fox-trot, pure and simple."[16]

Despite the diffuse and even shrugging meanings of the jazz-word's origins, it now enjoys connotations of sophistication and a cache of elegance. This is evident enough in its cobranding to a wide array of luxury items like watches, fine suits, automobiles, fragrances, beverages, and even a particular brand of purportedly 'fancy' seasoned potatoes As Mark Laver writes, "The astonishing diversity of brands and commodities that have been articulated to jazz speaks to its remarkable semiotic fluidity as a cultural touchstone."[17]

New Orleans pianist Jelly Roll Morton claimed to have, "started using the word jazz in 1902 to show people the difference between jazz and ragtime." By the time Morton made this assertion, however, jazz had already achieved broad international popularity. As a result, many scholars attribute Morton's claim as an effort to burnish the legacy of his recordings, compositions, and performances during the founding decades of the music.[18]

As jazz-word signified music became mainstream, many musicians, like Morton, sought to claim its origin story for themselves. Like Morton, Dominique "Nick" LaRocca, a New Orleans trumpeter and founding member of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band (ODJB), claimed later in his life to have invented the term. The ODJB was the first

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[16] Quoted in Badger Reed, *James Reese Europe: A Life in Ragtime* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1995), 211.

[17] Mark Laver, *Jazz Sells: Music, Marketing, and Meaning* (New York, NY: Taylor and Francis Group, 2015), 2.

[18] Lomax, *Mister Jelly Roll: The Fortunes of Jelly Roll Morton, New Orleans Creole and "Inventor of Jazz,"* 61.

band to make and market recordings under the jazz-word banner, beginning in 1917.[19] New Orleans trombonist Tom Brown, a contemporary of and direct competition to the ODJB, claimed the term was first applied to his band in 1915 during a publicity row precipitated by the Chicago musicians union. Union officials were reportedly upset that Brown, an out-of-towner, was performing in Chicago without a union contract for which they started a smear campaign that Brown's band played 'jass' music. As the story goes, the public showed up in droves to hear what all the fuss was about.[20] Alternatively, Wilbur Sweatman, clarinetist (he was known to play three at once!), composer, and bandleader who first employed a young Duke Ellington in New York City, claimed to have begun using the term to advertise his band sometime before 1915. Musical aspects of Sweatman's recordings made a year prior to the ODJB have led some scholars to suggest that he was the first musician to make a jazz recording.[21] Others still have pointed to the work of ragtime composer and band leader James Reese Europe as one of the first jazz musicians. However, Europe, for all his immense talents, like Bolden, is not known to have ever used the jazz-word in association with his music.[22]

The jazz-word first appeared in print in San Francisco in the year 1913 where it was attributed to French Creole origins (hello Jelly Roll circumstantial evidence Morton!) and said to signify an increase in speed or pep. As a result, the term quickly found a niche amongst sports writers. Purported French Creole origins for the term has prompted scholars to propose that the French *jaser,* meaning to chat or gossip, is a possible origin

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[19] Gioia, *The History of Jazz*.

[20] Alan Merriam, and Fradley Garner, "Jazz: The Word," *Ethnomusicology* 12, no. 3 (1968).

[21] Schuller, *Early Jazz.*

[22] Badger Reed, *James Reese Europe: A Life in Ragtime* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1995).

word. Another jazz-word origin story finds phonetic roots of the term among West African Hausa dialects where the term *jazibayah* is associated with the sound of distant drums. The Hausa may have borrowed this term from Arabic speaking North Africans where *jazb'* means allurement or desire, closely related to the Hindustani (i.e., Indian Muslim) term *jazba,* meaning 'violent desire.' [23]

Many origin stories for the term appeared in association with racist vitriol. For example, the jazz-word appeared many times as a marketing gimmick in association with the caricature of an imaginary minstrel musician named Jasbo Brown (or a variety of similar-sounding variants) whom audiences would drown in gin until he created music, "of the wildest, most barbaric abandon. . . Patrons offered Jasbo more and more gin. First, it was the query, 'More Jasbo?,' directed at the darky's thirst; then the insistence, 'More Jasbo!,' directed at the darky's music, and then just plain, 'More jazz!'" Furthermore, many white authors writing long after the jazz-word had gained musical prominence claimed the word had, "long been a common vulgarity among Negroes in the South" used to denote sexual intercourse.[24]

The specific origins of the jazz-word notwithstanding, musical sound signified by the term emerged as musicians and the communities they served came together over the sounds and rhythms of a uniquely cosmopolitan style of American music. Buddy Bolden attracted crowds of people who wanted to dance to the exciting new rhythms and sounds his band produced.[25] Another part of Bolden's appeal was also likely the rebellious nature

[23] Merriam and Garner, "Jazz: The Word," 379.
[24] Merriam and Garner, "Jazz: The Word," 378-379.
[25] Donald Marquis, *In Search of Buddy Bolden.*

of some of his music. One of his signature tunes, often called "Funky Butt," featured veiled criticisms of a local judge and other individuals once prominent in New Orleans society. Soprano saxophonist Sidney Bechet witnessed Bolden perform this tune as a child, recalling that as the gathered crowd started singing the song's lyrics, "policeman began whipping heads." According to Bechet, "Police put you in jail if they ever heard you singing ["Funky Butt"]."[26]

Half-a-century-or-so after Buddy Bolden, at around the same time the Kenton Clinics were just getting under way, police were once again whipping heads over the wild excitement and "rioting" engendered by the purportedly new sounds of another New Orleans musician, Fats Domino. Despite being a famously soft-spoken musician himself, Domino's audiences, fueled by a volatile combination of alcohol and racially integrated animosity, often rioted in well-publicized incidents that helped propel Domino to even greater fame. And as subsequent generations did to Bolden with the jazz-word, they did to Domino with the 'rock-and-roll'-word, labeling him the first "rock and roll" musician. Of course, Domino heard things differently. As Domino once related to *DownBeat,* "The rhythm we play is from New Orleans. I don't know what to call it."[27] On another occasion, however, Domino was more direct: "Well, what they [publicists, disk jockeys,

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[26] Quoted in Ted Gioia, *The History of Jazz,* 36. When Jelly Roll sat down with Alan Lomax to record an oral history of jazz for the Library of Congress, he related that Bolden created the tune for this song in 1902 whereupon many of his fans invented a variety of bawdy lyrics to accompany it. Morton's lyrics for the tune on that occasion included: "I thought I heard Buddy Bolden say: 'You're nasty, you're dirty, take it away You're terrible, you're awful, take it away' I thought I heard Buddy Bolden say. . . I thought I heard Judge Fogerty say: 'Thirty days in the Market. Take him away. Get him a good broom to sweep with. Take him away.' I thought I heard him say." It is relatively easy, however, to imagine significantly more vulgar lyrics than these being invented amongst rowdy revellers.

[27] Ralph Gleason, "Fats Domino: Not Responsible." *DownBeat*, September 19, 1956, 40.

audiences, etc.] call rock 'n' roll is rhythm and blues, and I've been playing it for fifteen years in New Orleans."[28] Buddy Bolden could well have made a similar comment to the press if his health had sustained him into the 1920s, perhaps expressing something to the effect that what people now call jazz is just ragtime and that he had been playing in New Orleans for ages.

And so, it seems that the first lesson we might draw from the emergence of jazz-word signified sound is that whenever we think the sounds we call music are changing, 'newness' is entirely a matter of perception. Secondly, as jazz composer and bandleader Duke Ellington reminded trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie when the latter was developing a then-new iteration of jazz-word signified sound that came to be known as bebop, "Once you name it, you've dated it."[29] In other words, once the sounds we call *new* music have been around long enough that we can easily label them, they are already a part of history. Perhaps as a result, Duke Ellington preferred to think of himself and his music as "beyond category."[30] Finally, Bolden's experiences, like those of Fats Domino, suggest that public enthusiasm for new musical sounds may be met with some resistance.

American Popular Music in the Early Nineteenth Century

An understanding of the racially charged development of American popular music leading up to the dawn of jazz-word signified sound helps illuminate both the ambivalence many early twentieth century musicians expressed about the term, as well as

[28] Quoted in Rick Coleman, *Blue Monday: Fats Domino and the Lost Dawn of Rock 'n' Roll* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2006), xiv.

[29] Quoted in Quoted in Quoted in Hentoff, "The Duke, Before My Time."

[30] Duke Ellington, *Music is My Mistress* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1973).

the desire others felt to bolster their connections to its invention. The foundations of this development reside in the kinds of sounds called music that were popular in the United States at the dawn of the nineteenth century. For the sake of brevity, I circumscribe this trend with a story of only one of America's first popular musicians whose musical output is broadly representative of many prevailing popular music trends during his lifetime.

In ante-bellum Philadelphia, composer, violinist, bandleader, and keyed bugle virtuoso Francis "Frank" Johnson (1792-1844) entertained Philadelphia's high society with promenade concerts and balls, performing music of his own composition as well as other popular songs of the day, including American minstrels, European-style military marches, waltzes, polkas, quadrilles, contradances, and excerpts from then-popular operas. Johnson also improvised extensively according to eye-witness accounts (his variations on "Yankee Doodle" were a particular highlight for one reviewer) and was also adept at transforming common sentimental (i.e., slow) folk songs into fast paced dance tunes. Johnson's concerts in the parks and dance halls of Philadelphia drew massive and exuberant crowds, his fame only increasing when Philadelphia's Masonic Hall caught fire during one of his performances nearly destroying the building, all the while emboldening the lure of Johnson's 'hot' musicianship.[31]

Based on Johnson's formidable musical output and prominence in Philadelphia and surrounding American urban centers, he was clearly one of North America's first "popular" musicians.[32] To wit, there were some who complained about the excessive

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[31] Charles Kelley Jones, *Francis Johnson (1792-1844): Chronicle of a Black Musician in Early Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2006).

[32] Johnson's extant musical compositions are all superb examples of mid-19th century dance music. For example, his *Bingham Cotillion* (1820), *The Citizen's Quadrilles* (1837), *Victoria Gallop* (1839), and *The Philadelphia Firemen's Anniversary Parade March* (1842), employ melodies that adhere

volume of his music and its accompanying crowds. I can empathize (with some sarcasm) with the plight of the poor Scottish phrenologist who struggled to deliver his lecture at the Philadelphia Museum while Johnson's band blasted away for thousands of foot stomping revelers in the ballroom overhead: "the music is so loud that it often drowns my voice, and when the audience above applauds with their feet, I have no alternative to stop till they have done."[33]

Johnson was also a black man subject to the racism that was rampant throughout the United States at the time. (Imagine the ways Johnson's race must have poured salt in the wounds of Philadelphia's visiting 'fly-in-my-soup' phrenologist!)[34] Slavery was still in full, brutal force below the Mason-Dixon line throughout Johnson's life, and racist laws curtailed the movement, housing, and employment prospects of so-called 'free' blacks in many parts of the northern states. Such laws and the racist attitudes behind them followed Johnson and his all-black Cotilion Band for their entire lives. A racist mob chased them from Pittsburgh during a concert stop there and a law that forbade free blacks from entering Missouri got them thrown in jail in association with a concert in Saint Louis. A testament to Johnson's fame, the story of his arrest was picked up as far away as New York City.[35] There were also white musicians who refused to perform in

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closely to the triad and feature appoggiatura or turns for ornamentation. In addition, Johnson often places the lowest note of a large melodic leap squarely on the beat. When repeated, as is often the case, this has the effect of creating a "thumping" sensation that strongly reinforces the overall beat, an important consideration in music meant for dancing or marching.[32] Johnson is known to have written around 300 such pieces, a further testament to his enormous skill.

[33] Quoting phrenologist George Comb, in Eileen Southern, "Frank Johnson of Philadelphia and His Promenade Concerts," *The Black Perspective in Music* 5, no. 1 (1977), 13.

[34] Phrenology was the study of the way skull shapes influence human intelligence and a myriad of other traits. In the early nineteenth century it was commonly used to bolster claims of racial superiority among a myriad of other pseudoscientific quackeries.

[35] "Immediately after the arrival of Frank Johnson and band at St. Louis they were arrested and fined $10 each, under the law which forbids free men of color to appear there without a license. Some

venues where Johnson was booked and disparagingly assumed the highly trained musicians of color in his band could not really read the printed music in front of them.[36]

Johnson's liberal treatment by wealthy, white, establishment figures in Philadelphia stands in stark contrast to the challenges he experienced elsewhere. For example, in 1838 Philadelphia's high society threw a benefit ball to raise money to send Johnson and some of his musicians on a European tour. As a result, Johnson was likely the first black American musician to tour Europe, where he performed to significant acclaim. Johnson returned to the United States with an expanded palette of musical ideas, including that of an outdoor "promenade concert," the rage in London during his visit, in which the audience strolls about while listening to a performance featuring popular melodies, patriotic tunes, and light classical music. Promenade concerts were a precursor of later outdoor wind band and "pops" concerts that filled America's public spaces with music at the dawn of the 20th century.[37]

Fascinating Blackness

Advertising and newspaper editorials surrounding Johnson's concerts and dances merit special attention as they provide glimpses of prevailing attitudes and assumptions in the places he performed. First, extant editorials and advertisements for Johnson's concerts in his native Philadelphia make little to no reference of his race, focusing instead on the musicianship and civil service of "Old Frank."[38] By contrast, many newspaper

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respectable citizens became bail and the matter was carried to a higher Court." Quoted in "Music in Missouri." *New York Daily Herald*, January 14, 1843, 4. www.newspapers.com, accessed April 7, 2023.

[36] Jones, *Francis Johnson.*

[37] Southern, "Frank Johnson of Philadelphia."

[38] The only example that betrays this is his obituary, which lists his race before lauding his many musical accomplishments. See Southern, "Frank Johnson of Philadelphia."

notices outside of Philadelphia described him as the famed "colored" bandleader.[39] Most important to the present discussion, however, Johnson's first advertisements for his concerts in London read in part: "Great novelty. The American minstrels,[40] self-taught men of color from Philadelphia, have the honour to announce their intention of giving a series of concerts. . . to consist of national music and the music of the most celebrated composers." The rare opportunity to hear black musicians was clearly a significant draw for Johnson's London audiences. As one London reviewer noted following a Johnson concert, using racial invective that continues to shock many modern ears: "Who says that niggers cannot be cultivated?"[41]

Racial animosity aside, part of Johnson's allure to London audiences was undoubtedly his ability to master the exigencies of nominally white, Western European music and spaces at a time when people of color in the cultural milieu of Europe and the United States were thought to be broadly uneducable, worthy of enslavement, or worse. As a result, his race juxtaposed with his mastery of western European musical styles presented something of a novelty to his audiences.

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[39] For example, "Chronicle," *Niles National Register,* April 28, 1938, 16. www.newspapers.com, accessed April 7, 2023. Also

[40] The term 'minstrel,' as used in 1830s London, does not yet appear to signify the same racial connotations that so-called Ethiopian Minstrelsy had in the United States in later decades. For example, in *The London Minstrel: A Capital Collection of All the Best Songs As Sung in London Theatres, Public and Private Concerts, and Other Places of Amusement,* published in 1830 by John Duncomb, there are few references to race, but rather comedic songs that primarily revolve around bawdy tales of failed romance. Even if the word minstrelsy had not yet come to signify racist entertainments at the time of Johnson's London performances, it is an amazing coincidence that "Jim Crow" Rice (aka Thomas Dartmouth Rice), one of the original performers of the racist 'blackface' caricature that came to be known as minstrelsy, travelled to London at the exact same time as Johnson, possibly even on the same ship. See "Departure Extraordinary," *The New York Daily Herald,* August 6, 1838, 4, www.newspapers.com, accessed April 7, 2023.

[41] Southern, "Frank Johnson of Philadelphia," 7-8.

Many people of color in addition to Johnson mastered the composition and performance of European musical styles. The renowned French creole violinist and composer Joseph Bologne, Chevalier de Saint-Georges (1745-1799) stunned audiences with his French classical operas and dance music a couple of generations prior to Johnson. The child of a Senegalese mother who was enslaved to his father, Bologne was nearly awarded directorship of the French National Opera before racist attitudes among a cadre of wealthy opera patrons halted his promotion.[42] To Bologne, we could also add generations of creole, indigenous, and mestizo musicians from across seemingly every European colony in the Americas and beyond who also became skilled in the creation and performance of European-styled music.[43] Apropos to the present story, many French creoles of color immigrated to New Orleans in the early nineteenth century following Haitian revolution, bringing their rich musical culture with them.[44] Those New Orleans creoles will assume a critical place in this story in due course. For now, however, my exploration of the foundations of jazz-word signified sound needs to re-center on the music of black Americans, including white fascination such music.

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[42] Julian A. Ledford, "Joseph Boulogne, the Chevalier De Saint-George and the Problem With 'Black Mozart'" *Journal of Black Studies* 51, no. 1 (2020).

[43] Vicente Lusitano, a Portuguese creole, published numerous motets exhibiting late-Renaissance counterpoint. His treatise on cantus firmus based improvised counterpoint is considered a fascinating insight into musical thinking of the mid-sixteenth century. See Philippe Canguilhem, "Singing Upon the Book According to Vicente Lusitano," *Early Music History* 30 (2011). The *ministriles* tradition in Jesuit missions used European music as a conversion tool among America's indigenous populations, the first generations of whom often learned such music in connection with their own enslavement. The music of later generations of such musicians, typically mestizo, can be found in cathedral archives throughout the Americas, and represent a fascinating glimpse of colonial-era music. See Egberto Bermúdez, "The Ministriles Tradition in Latin America: Part One: South America 1. The Cases of Santa Fé (Columbia) and La Plata (Bolivia) in the Seventeenth Century," *History Brass Society Journal* (1999).

[44] Curtis D. Jerde, "Black Music in New Orleans: A Historical Overview," *Black Music Research Journal* 10, no. 1 (1990).

Black Music

The conceptual foundations for Black Music arose from the frustrations of mid-twentieth century musicians of color with endemic racism in the continental United States. This included the obvious dangers of 'Jim Crow' laws and policies that constrained the movement and freedom of assembly of blacks, particularly in Southern states. More broadly, however, these musicians resented racist circumstances whose social institutionalization long predated even Frank Johnson.

The highest echelons of society, even in a city as broadly inclusive as Frank Johnson's Philadelphia, were solely reserved for well-connected, wealthy, white families. And in Johnson's case, much of what we know about his music comes from an extensive manuscript folio containing some seventy pages of his compositions that he presented to such a family, the Rushes, and long preserved in the special collections of Philadelphia's historic public Library Company.[45] The Rushes were among Philadelphia's wealthiest and most powerful families during Johnson's lifetime and arguably his most supportive patrons.[46] Put another way, Johnson worked for the Rushes.

One hundred years later, as the jazz-word developed its commercial cache, musicians of color were still in the position of working under the direction of white patrons – only by that time the details of such patronage had shifted to revolve around white club managers, concert promoters, and record company executives. By the mid-

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[45] Francis Johnson, "Presented to Mrs. A. Rush by Frank Johnson, a Black Musician of Our Balls and Parties," 1820, Rush MSS Volume 403, Yi2 7214.F, Library Company of Philadelphia, Books & Other Texts, Rare.

[46] Dr. Benjamin Rush was signatory to the Declaration of Independence and the family likely facilitated Johnson's London performances. Jones, *Francis Johnson (1792-1844)*.

twentieth century and coinciding with the broader societal reckonings inspired by the black civil rights era, including the rise of Black Nationalism, many musicians of color were openly clamoring for more principal roles in the profit potential of their music. The words of Cuban American trumpeter Fats Navarro aptly described the circumstances:

> If they don't own us, they push us off the scene. Jazz is big business to the white man and you can't move without him. We [are] just work ants. He owns the magazines, agencies, record companies and all the joints that sell jazz to the public. If you won't sell out and you try to fight, they won't hire you and they give a bad picture of you with the false publicity.[47]

The challenges to jazz musicians of color that Navarro delineated above resulted in an increased desire among many musicians to embrace and even highlight their ethnic identity. For example, Cuban American musician Machito named his band the "Afro-Cubans," an act that jazz historian Gerald Horne called "a brave statement of ethnic identity." It also resulted in, among other things, the creation of black-owned record companies and stores, perhaps most famously by bassist Charles Mingus and drummer Max Roach.[48]

From the challenging circumstances of first, being black; and second, being a musician, the conceptual foundations of black music were laid. Though precise impressions for black music vary, a common definition is that articulated by musicologist Samuel Floyd, that "black music is that which reflects and expresses essentials of the Afro-American experience in the United States." Similarly, the Art Ensemble of Chicago uses the term "Great Black Music" to describe the music they create, combining the

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[47] Quoted in Gerald Horne, *Jazz Justice: Racism and the Political Economy of the Music* (New York, NY: Monthly Review Press, Inc., 2019), 123-124.

[48] Horne, *Jazz Justice,* 126.

sounds of whatever musical traditions in ways unique to their black creative and aesthetic impulses. Others prefer to describe their work as “creative black music.”[49]

Due to the countless syncretisms, both historical and contemporary, between many conceptions of black music and Western music, Floyd places his conception of black music squarely within the analytical traditions of Western music:

> In spite of protests to the contrary, the music of black Americans is Western music, although some of its musical roots do lie in the East and it does share some traits with Eastern music (the same could be said of European or Euro-American music) . . . and since black music is a Western music, it demands explication through a ‘Western’ approach to aesthetics… [50]

Like Floyd, I use Western musical, aesthetic, and historical frames as I look forward to jazz-word signified sound from the early nineteenth century.

Frank Johnson is the first musician who enriches the present exploration of black music, for our understanding of black music must contend with the fact that like many twentieth century jazz musicians, Johnson’s primary financial patrons were white. As a result, we might wonder how Johnson’s genteel gallopades, waltzes, and quadrilles reflect black American experiences. Nonetheless, descriptions of the thousands of mostly black mourners who processed in Johnson’s funeral suggests that Philadelphia’s black citizens loved Johnson’s music as much as their richer, more politically powerful, white counterparts.[51] Therefore, to suggest that Johnson’s music was not in some way black music, or that it did not reflect the experiences of the black mourners in antebellum

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[49] Norman Michael Goecke, “What is At Stake in Jazz Education? Black Music and the Twenty-First-Century Learning Environment,” Diss., (Ohio State University, 2016).

[50] Samuel A. Floyd, “Black American Music and Aesthetic Communication,” *Black Music Research Journal* 1 (1980), 2, 4.

[51] Jones, *Francis Johnson.* Further study of nineteenth century social mores might help explicate the apparent lack of white mourners, particularly given the cultural breadth of Johnson’s musical appeal.

Philadelphia, denies the legitimacy of those early nineteenth century Philadelphians who so loved it.

Applying a concept like 'black music' whose genesis emanates from recent modernity (in this case, the mid-twentieth century American civil rights struggles) to a time and place in the more distant past (like early nineteenth century Philadelphia) is also a cogent example of Maxine Greene's thesis that looking at the past from new vantage points can help produce imaginative new futures. Embracing Johnson as a dichotomous exemplar of black music even as he is simultaneously an exemplar of white music, helps us see, as Greene states,

> that each person's reality must be understood to be interpreted experience—and that the mode of interpretation depends on his or her situation and location in the world. It depends as well on the number of vantage points a person is able or enabled to take—the number of perspectives that will disclose multiple aspects of a contingent (not a self-existent) world.[52]

The fuzzy phenomenology of Greene's statement notwithstanding, the musical styles at which Johnson was so expert directly impinge on the ultimate emergence of jazz-word signified sound.

I doubt that we could imagine the eventual emergence of jazz-word signified by listening to a modern rendition of, for example, Johnson's "Victoria Gallopade," (ostensibly written for a performance for the eponymous young Queen during his London sojourn). One reason for this difficulty is that Johnson's music, as we can understand it from contemporary description and extant musical notation, did not exhibit enough musical syncretisms of African origin. Performing concerts of overtures to then-popular

[52] Greene, *Releasing the Imagination,* 19.

Italian operas, patriotic songs, and genteel dance music placed Johnson squarely in league with countless other bandleaders of his time. For this reason, I would argue that it was Johnson's race that fascinated his London audiences more than his actual music. To imagine, then, how a contradance like the [Queen] Victoria Gallopade could eventually result in jazz-word signified sound, we need to focus on black music of a distinctly more African origin, as well as some of its syncretisms. After all, these were the sounds that ultimately entranced many nineteenth century white observers. These were also the sounds that, when creatively applied to new musical styles and circumstances, arguably resulted in what we might now call jazz-word signified sound.

African Music in the Americas

Those Africans forcibly commodified, enslaved, and exported from their homelands to be sold, trafficked, and otherwise abused in the Americas carried unique musical cultures in their memories. Among the first generations of enslaved Africans to arrive in the Americas, manifestations of such memories found reenactment in new cultural contexts, wherever they could. Unfortunately, the most common nineteenth century descriptions of their music come from white authors. As Eileen Southern states, "In order to piece together the history of the black musician we must turn to documents of the master group – to their colonial newspapers, town and court records, legislative journals, and to the various diaries, personal narratives, missionary reports, journals and fiction of white colonist and travelers in the New World."[53]

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[53] Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Musicians: A History* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton Co., Inc., 1970), 27.

When Washington D.C. architect Benjamin Latrobe visited New Orleans, Louisiana in the early nineteenth century, he was thrust into a world that was unimaginably exotic. Unlike the earth-toned Anglo-Saxon environs of Latrobe's more familiar colonial east coast, this one-time French, later Spanish, and now United States city featured colorful markets of vendors dressed in bright yellow and crimson frocks trading in "more and odder things than [he] could count," and boasted uniquely Caribbean styles of sailing vessels, many still *va-te-fair-voir!* flying the French tricolor.[54] It also boasted a unique culture of African music making that, while reflecting practices common throughout the slaveholding Americas, was remarkable for its comparative freedoms. Despite Latrobe's obvious biases (e.g., he thought the New Orleans predilection for colorful dress was "garish"), his subsequent descriptions and sketches of what he saw and heard are among the more detailed glimpses of African musical culture in the United States at the time.[55]

> I heard the most extraordinary noise, which I supposed to proceed from some horse mill, the horses trampling on a wooden floor. I found, however, on emerging from the houses onto the Common, that it proceeded from a crowd of five to six-hundred persons assembled in an open space or public square. I went to the spot and crowded near enough to see the performance. All those who were engaged in the business seemed to be *blacks* [italics original].
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> They were formed into circular groups in the midst of four of which – [that] I examined, but there were more of them – was a ring, the largest not 10 feet in diameter. In the first [ring] were two women dancing. They held each a coarse handkerchief extended by the corners of their hands, & set to each other in a miserably dull & slow figure, hardly moving their feet or bodies. The music consisted of two drums and a stringed instrument. An old man sat astride of a cylindrical drum about a foot in diameter and beat it with incredible quickness

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[54] Benjamin Henry Boneval Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans: Diary & Sketches, 1818-1820* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1951), 49. The French "va te fair voir" is analogous to the English phrase "screw you."

[55] Jerah Johnson, "New Orleans's Congo Square: An Urban Setting for Early Afro-American Culture," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Society* 32, no. 2 (1991).

with the edge of his hand & fingers. The other drum was an open staved thing, held between the knees & beaten in the same manner. They made an incredible noise. The most curious instrument, however, was a stringed instrument which no doubt was imported from Africa. On the top of the finger board was the rude figure of a man in a sitting posture, & two pegs behind him to which the strings were fastened. The body was a calabash. It was played upon by a very little old man, apparently 80 or 90 years old. The women squalled out a burthen to the playing at intervals, consisting of two notes, as the negroes, working in our cities, respond to the song of their leader.

Most of the circles contained the same sort of dancers. One was larger, in which a ring of a dozen women walked, by way of dancing, round the music in the center. But the instruments were of a different construction. One, which from the color of the wood seemed new, consisted of a block cut into something of the form of a cricket bat with a long & deep mortice down the center. This thing made a considerable noise, being beaten lustily on the side by a short stick. In the same orchestra was a square drum, looking like a stool, which made an abominably loud noise; also a calabash with a round hole in it, the hole studded with brass nails, which was beaten by a woman with two short sticks. A man sung an uncouth song to the dancing which I suppose was in some African language, for it was not French, & the women screamed a detestable burthen on a one single note.

The allowed amusements of Sunday have, it seems, perpetuated here [in New Orleans] those of Africa among its inhabitants. . . I have never seen anything more brutally savage . . . than this whole exhibition. . . Returning after sunset near the same spot, the noise was still heard.[56]

Descriptions of similar circle dancing and drumming can be found from upstate New York to Philadelphia. In some of the earliest descriptions of such practices, participants organized themselves according to African ethnolinguistic groups, many still proudly sporting the ritual scarifications and filed teeth of their African homelands, as well as other unique cultural markers.[57] Various types of drums and assorted percussion instruments, including shakers and the jawbones of large, domesticated animals, accompanied such drumming and dancing. In addition, plucked string instruments of

[56]Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans*, 49-51.

[57] Jerah Johnson, "New Orleans's Congo Square: An Urban Setting for Early Afro-American Culture," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Society* 32, no. 2 (1991).

various types, including the banjo, were also common, depending on the occasion. As many of these circle dances owed their origins to various African spirit possession rituals, it was also typical for the dancing to become more frenzied as the afternoon wore on.[58]

Most enslaved people in the United States experienced significant efforts to break down their cultural and familial structures, regulating in turn their music, language, and religion. The ever-present threat of revolt against such circumstances inspired most white colonists to ban large gatherings of slaves. As an early 18th century governor of Virginia once stated, "We are not to depend on either their stupidity, or that babel of languages among them; freedom wears a cap, which can without a tongue call together all those who long to shake off the fetters of slavery."[59]

Amid prohibitions against assembly and cultural expression, many expressly African cultural practices moved underground outside the paranoid gaze of slaveholding eyes. Most commonly, the enslaved retired to the forests surrounding their homes. Frederick Douglas, who was born into slavery of a mother enslaved to his father, described singing that often took place under such circumstances:

> … [enslaved people] would make the dense old woods, for miles around, reverberate with their wild songs, revealing at once the highest joy and the deepest sadness. They would compose and sing as they went along, consulting neither time nor tune. The thought that came up, came out--if not in the word, in the sound; --and as frequently in the one as in the other. They would sometimes sing the most pathetic sentiment in the most rapturous tone, and the most rapturous sentiment in the most pathetic tone. . . they would sing, as a chorus, to words which to many would seem unmeaning jargon, but which, nevertheless, were full of meaning to themselves. I have sometimes thought that the mere hearing of those songs would do more to impress some horrible character of slavery, than the reading of whole volumes of philosophy on the subject could do.

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[58] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans.*
[59] Quoted in Southern, *The Music of Black Americans,* 39.

> I did not, when a slave, understand the deep meaning of those rude and apparently incoherent songs. I was myself within the circle; so that I neither saw nor heard as those without might see and hear. They told a tale of woe which was then altogether beyond my feeble comprehension; they were tones loud, long, and deep; they breathed the prayer and complaint of souls boiling over with the bitterest anguish. Every tone was a testimony against slavery, and a prayer to God for deliverance from chains. The hearing of those wild notes always depressed my spirit and filled me with ineffable sadness. I have frequently found myself in tears while hearing them. The mere recurrence to those songs, even now, afflicts me; and while I am writing these lines, an expression of feeling has already found its way down my cheek. To those songs I trace my first glimmering conception of the dehumanizing character of slavery. I can never get rid of that conception. Those songs still follow me, to deepen my hatred of slavery, and quicken my sympathies for my brethren in bonds.[60]

Despite countless obstacles, first-generation Africans passed musical memories of their motherlands and related practices on to their American-born children. As a result, even as late as the nineteenth century, spirit possession rituals of African origin were seen in New Orleans backyards.[61] Women were often seen as guardians of African social memory, sharing stories of their old country to spellbound audiences both young and old.[62] Other memories were shared along family lines. Such was the case with W.E.B. Du Bois who documented the words and melody of a song said to have been passed down from his great-great grandmother, who, "seized by an evil Dutch trader . . . and coming to the valleys of the Hudson and Housatonic, black, little, and lithe, she shivered and shrank in the harsh north winds, looked longingly at the hills, and often crooned a heathen melody to the child between her knees." The tune sung by this young African mother was

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[60] Frederick Douglas, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglas: An American Slave, Written by Himself* (Boston, MA: Anti-Slavery Office, 1845).: 13-14.

[61] Johnson, "New Orleans's Congo Square."

[62] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans,* 57.

subsequently passed down across generations of the Du Bois family until W.E.B. published it in *The Souls of Black Folk.*[63]

Syncretisms: From African to Black American

Musical practices of African origin were transformed as they encountered a myriad of new cultural influences in the New World. These included new religious practices, musical forms, musical instruments, and styles of dance. Anthropologists often use the word syncretism to describe the new, hybridized cultural forms that emerge from cultural exchange. Such syncretisms may occur whether the cultural exchange is peaceful and democratic or violent and authoritarian.[64] As Frank Tirro notes, "Any suggestion that the black slave was willingly accepting elements of the white culture and integrating them into his own music are certainly not acceptable for first-generation slaves . . . Nevertheless, a process of transformation and acculturation too place, willingly, intentionally, or otherwise."[65]

Africans from disparate ethnolinguistic groups were often lumped together in the New World, their enslaved circumstances perhaps more a unifying factor than their cultures of origin. An inevitable melding of these cultures was the result. Influences of distinctly European, and indigenous American origin wrought further changes to these cultures. As Jerah Johnson states, "Like the various European cultures that were transplanted to these shores, many African cultures joined and blended with one another

[63] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago, IL: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1903), 177.
[64] Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2015), 286.
[65] Frank Tirro, *Jazz: A History* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1977), 45.

and with European and native American Indian cultures to become a new meld, Afro-American culture."[66] Ultimately, these transformations resulted in new forms of dancing and music making centered in the unique experiences of black people in the United States.[67]

The Christianization of enslaved people, with its ironic duality of purported concern for the eternal African soul while denying the humanity of its embodied temporality, was a significant influence on African musical developments in the Americas. Many enslaved Africans found solace in the freedom and redemption themes of Christianity, theological ironies notwithstanding. As early as 1755 colonists expressed amazement at the singing of enslaved people in their churches. As one contemporary observer remarked, "The Negroes above all the Human species that I ever knew have an Ear for Musick, and a kind of ecstatic delight in Psalmody."[68]

Descriptions of black music making from the American Ante-Bellum period suggest that the music of the black church was anything but monolithic. Broadly speaking, church singing was often notable for the unique balance of its communal cohesion and improvisatory interplay. This was not always the case, however. A black episcopal congregation in Philadelphia was the first to install a pipe organ, as well as hire an organist, a young black woman named Ann Appo. The use of an organ suggests a highly euro-centric musical orientation, as an organ by nature of its authoritarian volume of sound, forcefully homogenizes congregational singing, thus limiting opportunities for

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[66] Jerah Johnson, "New Orleans's Congo Square: An Urban Setting for Early Afro-American Culture," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Society* 32, no. 2 (1991), 147.

[67] Gioia, *The History of Jazz*.

[68] Quoting Samuel Davies, who would later become president of Princeton University. In Southern, *The Music of Black Americans,* 40.

individual musical expression. Meanwhile, Baptist and Methodist congregations faced internal turmoil over the addition of trained choirs to their worship services, the old timers preferring older, more participatory (and improvisatory!) traditions of congregational singing. As one contemporary observer noted, "The singing today was not good, there being an opposition because the old people are opposed to note [i.e., musically proscriptive] singing. . . so we had dull music today."[69]

It is evident from contemporary descriptions that black church culture retained a uniquely long memory for musical practices originating in Africa, despite the inevitable mixing with European religious practices. In many cases, the most uniquely African practices took place after regular church services, even late into the evening. Daniel Alexander Payne, a free black Methodist minister provides ample descriptions of these practices, typically stemming from his effort to eradicate them:

> After the sermon, [the black parishioners] formed a ring, and with coats off, sung, clapped their hands and stamped their feet in a most ridiculous and heathenish way. I requested the pastor to go and stop their dancing. At his request they stopped their dancing and clapping of hands, but remained singing and rocking their bodies to and fro . . . After the sermon in the afternoon, having another opportunity of speaking alone to this young leader of the singing and clapping ring, he said: "Sinners won't get converted unless there is a ring . . . The Spirit of God works upon people in different ways. At campmeeting [sic, i.e., an outdoor religious service] there must be a ring here, a ring there, a ring over yonder, or sinners will not get converted.[70]

Parallels between the circle rituals of the Methodist camp meeting that Payne observed, and the circular spirit possession rituals observed by Latrobe and others in New Orleans

[69] Quoted in Southern, *The Music of Black Americans,* 129.
[70] Quoted in Southern, *The Music of Black Americans,* 130.

and other locations throughout the antebellum American states should be obvious. Such rhythmic dances and associated singing are often referred to as "shouts."[71]

Leaders of the black church often resisted encroaching 'Africanisms' in every way they could. Black Methodists even passed a resolution opposing the singing of "tunes and hymns of our own composing." Nonetheless, as Eileen Southern gleefully states, "None of the suppressive measures worked!" Heavily improvisatory spiritual singing and associated rhythmic dancing continued throughout the nineteenth century, creating a uniquely Black American form of cultural expression that would exert an enormous influence on American musical culture at large.[72]

In addition to singing, significant numbers of enslaved and free blacks became expert instrumentalists. In certain cases, enslaved people were provided instruction on European musical instruments so they could provide music for the dancing and entertainment of their white masters. Typically instructed on the fiddle or flute, as these instruments were the most conducive to the preferred dance music of white colonists, these enslaved musicians developed significant musical skill, as evidenced by their ability to perform the virtuosic jigs, minuets, and cotillions beloved by their white masters. That this practice was widespread is evident enough from newspaper advertisements describing the musical skill of such enslaved musicians when they ran away. Black instrumentalists were also heavily involved in the Revolutionary War as bands of drummers, fifers, and trumpeters, the latter typically used more for signaling and

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[71] The details of a typical shout, as well as the comparison and differentiation of similar "ring shouts" are beyond the scope of the present essay. Eileen Southern provides arguably the most comprehensive overview on pp. 182-183 of *The Music of Black Americans.*

[72] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans,* 131.

battlefield communication purposes than music or entertainment; as well as Civil War as military bandsmen, performing popular music on assorted brass and woodwind instruments similar to that performed by Frank Johnson for the entertainment and recreation of troops.[73]

Following emancipation, violinist Northrup Epps reflected on the deep personal significance of playing the violin while enslaved:

> [My violin] was my companion – the friend of my bosom – triumphing loudly when I was joyful, and uttering its soft, melodious consolations when I was sad. Often, at midnight, when sleep had fled affrighted from the cabin, and my soul was disturbed and troubled with the contemplation of my fate, it would sing me a song of peace. On holy Sabbath days, when an hour or two of leisure was allowed, it would accompany me to some quiet place on the bayou bank, and, lifting up its voice, discourse kindly and pleasantly indeed.[74]

In the absence of empirical certainty, we can only guess at the kinds of soul-soothing-sounds Epps created on his violin on the banks of the Bayou. Perhaps they mimicked in some way the "wild songs" of the black vocalists described by Frederick Douglass.[75]

In addition to vocal and instrumental religious and dance music, music often broke up the drudgery of forced labor. Fiddles and work songs often accompanied the movements of coffle gangs, long 'chain gangs' handcuffed enslaved people, sometimes numbered in the hundreds, forced to march towards new plantations. So-called *work songs* were often performed at the behest of white masters who recognized their utility in both increasing the efficiency of a rhythmically coordinated workforce, as well as providing an audible signal for tracking the location of enslaved workers. As Frederick

[73] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans.*
[74] Quoted in Southern, *The Music of Black Americans,* 178.
[75] Frederick Douglas, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglas.*

Douglas explained: "Slaves are generally expected to sing as well as to work. A silent slave is not liked by masters or overseers. "*Make a noise"* and "*bear a hand,"* are the words usually addressed to the slaves when there is silence among them. This may account for the almost constant singing heard in the southern states."[76] Such work songs, as transcribed by white observers, typically exhibited melodic forms closely mirroring those of many European folk songs. In many cases, such songs persisted into the early twentieth century, whereupon diligent ethnomusicologists sought out and recorded them, preserving what they believed to be something of their original purity.[77]

Unique forms of music and dancing evolved together with the lives of generations of Black Americans. People of color developed skill in the performance of European religious and dance music on musical instruments of European origin. Vestiges of African musical practices also continued in their dancing and the unique intonations of their singing. As generations passed, the ensuing musico-cultural syncretisms became harder to trace with any sense of empirical certainty. What became abundantly clear, however, was that African Americans developed a culture unique to their experiences, interests, and aspirations. These syncretisms can be perhaps best exemplified by the most enduringly 'African' of all such practices in the United States: ensuing generations of young black participants in the circle dances witnessed by Latrobe and others in New Orleans increasingly incorporated musical stylings and dance tastes of French-inspired quadrilles, Spanish-American contradances, and other variants of nineteenth century

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[76] Quoted in Southern, *The Music of Black Americans,* 161.

[77] Benjamin Filene, ""Our Singing Country:" John and Alan Lomax, Leadbelly, and the Construction of an American Past," *American Quarterly* 43, no. 4 (1991).

popular musics. Nonetheless, the circles of dancers and the drumming never seem to have ever disappeared entirely.[78]

Mimicry and Minstrelsy

White fascination with black music began early in the history of the American colonies as enslaved people were forced to demonstrate their 'African' singing and dancing for the entertainment their white owners.[79] This fascination also drew white audiences to the London concerts of free-born musicians of color like Frank Johnson, whose music bore little resemblance to that of his enslaved contemporaries. As the nineteenth century wore on, white fascination for those sounds of black music still rich with its syncretized Africanisms, including ring shouts, spirituals, jubilees, and work songs, inspired the documentation of such music in transcription books. As the editors of *Slave Songs of the United States* wrote in 1867, just two years following the American Civil War, "these relics of a state of society which has passed away [i.e., the music of enslaved people] should be preserved while it is still possible."[80]

Documenting the unique music of the formerly enslaved, including its multitude of syncretisms of African origin, created immediate challenges for musicians trained in European traditions of musical notation and transcription. This problem was noted by the editors of *Slave Songs* as well as those of a similar volume, *The Cabin and Plantation Songs as Sung by the Hampton Students.* In a particularly musically detailed description

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[78] Jerah Johnson, "New Orleans's Congo Square: An Urban Setting for Early Afro-American Culture."

[79] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans.*

[80] William Francis Allen, Charles Pickard Ware, and Lucy McKim Garrison, eds. *Slave Songs of the United States* (New York, NY: Agathynian Press, 1867), iii.

of these challenges, the editors of the latter described the regular use of such sounds which they "[had] no musical characters to represent." Using as an example one song which they chose to notate nominally, with a flatted seventh in the melody, the editors confessed that in performance this moment was typically "variable in pitch, ranging through an entire interval on different occasions, according to the inspiration of the singer.[81]

Preservation was not the only interest of those white audiences for black music. In many cases, whites also sought to participate in black music making themselves. The introductory material for *Slave Songs of the United States* is instructive in this regard:

> The public had well-nigh forgotten these genuine slave songs, and the creative power from which they sprang, when a fresh interest was excited through the educational mission to the Port Royal Islands, in 1861 [among the relatively remote chain of Sea Islands south of Charleston, South Carolina]. The agents of this mission were not long in discovering the rich vein of music that existed in these half-barbarous people, and when visitors from the North were on the islands, there was nothing that seemed better worth their while than to see a "shout" or hear the "people" sing their "sperichils." A few of these last, of special merit, soon became established favorites among the whites, and hardly a Sunday passed at the church on St. Helena without "Gabriel's Trumpet," "I Hear from Heaven Today," or "Jehovah Hallelujah." . . . All of them were sung, and then the glorious shout, "I Can't Stay Behind, My Lord," was struck up, and sung by the entire multitude.[82]

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[81] Thomas Fenner, Frederic Rathbun, and Bessie Cleaveland [sic], eds. *Cabin and Plantation Songs as Sung By the Hampton Students* (New York, NY: G.P. Putnam and Sons, 1874), iii-iv.

[82] *Slave Songs of the United States,* ii. That this book was meant to help whites sing these songs themselves is bolstered by the "Directions for Singing" beginning on p. xlii. By their own admission, the editors provided these directions to "help remove all obscurities with which the reader may be embarrassed." The apparent racial integration implied by my interpretation of the foregoing led me to explore broader instances of such a phenomenon in progressive ecclesiastical missions during the nineteenth century. Such integration, including its breadth, caveats, and limitations is both substantiated and explored further in Otis Westbrook Pickett, "Neither Slave nor Free: Interracial Ecclesiastical Interaction in Presbyterian Mission Churches From South Carolina to Mississippi, 1818-1877," (PhD Diss., University of Mississippi, 2013).

While the comparatively progressive editors of *Slave Songs* and *Cabin and Plantation Songs* were intent on dutifully documenting black music practices in as authentic a way as possible, others had long been more interested in lampooning such practices for comedic entertainment.

So-called Ethiopian Minstrelsy was a de-facto American popular entertainment of the mid-to-late nineteenth century featuring racist caricatures of blacks. In the antebellum period minstrelsy featured white performers with faces blackened with burnt cork performing grotesque pantomimes of plantation life. While this practice existed as early as the late eighteenth century, it reached its zenith with the efforts of Thomas Dartmouth Rice ("Daddy Rice") who imagined the comedic impact of a stage act imitating a physically disabled, black, stable hand he once encountered during his travels. The resulting "Jim Crow Song" established Rice's future as a performer and served as a catalyst for the expansion of similar acts across the country.[83]

Nineteenth century songwriters often visited plantations, docks, riverboats, and anywhere else blacks might be engaged in music making to source new songs and material for minstrel shows. As a result, Ethiopian Minstrelsy presented certain aspects of black culture, though grossly distorted, to audiences far and wide. As a result, the impact of Ethiopian Minstrelsy on American popular music in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is hard to fully appreciate. As Eileen Southern states, "Everyone sang these songs; the music became part of the American tradition . . . For more than four decades,

[83] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans.*

Ethiopian Minstrelsy was the most popular form of theatrical entertainment in the United States and, to the rest of the world, America's unique contribution to the stage."[84]

The ironic circumstances inherent to white consumption of black music inspired W.E.B. DuBois to lament:

> Since their day [the music of enslaved blacks has] been imitated—sometimes well, by the singers of Hampton and Atlanta, sometimes ill, by straggling quartettes. Caricature has sought again to spoil the quaint beauty of the music and has filled the air with many debased melodies which vulgar ears scarce know from the real. But the true Negro folk–song still lives in the hearts of those who have heard them truly sung and in the hearts of the Negro people.[85]

Black Minstrelsy

Persistent white fascination with black culture eventually led audiences to demanded more purportedly "authentic" racial representations in their minstrel entertainments. As a result, minstrel shows evolved to feature black performers as well. As Brian Harker notes, "Black entertainers applied the hated cork to their own faces, grudgingly accepting the shame and self-mockery the institution required."[86]

By the end of the nineteenth century, black minstrelsy was in full force. Performed in theaters, brothels, circus tents, and street corners, this caricature of black music became a breeding ground for countless musical precursors to the jazz age of the following century. As Marshall Stearns stated, "many minstrel hits . . . were taken over wholly or in part from the Negro. As usual, white men were in a better position to cash in on them."[87]

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[84] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans,* 92-93.
[85] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago, IL: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1903), 91.
[86] Brian Harker, *Sportin' Life: John W. Bubbles, an American Classic* (Oxford, 2022), 25.
[87] Marshall Stearns, *The Story of Jazz* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1956), 89.

For example, the 'Babe Connors' brothel of Saint Louis featured a black woman named Mama Lou who sang the nominal precursors of the blues, including work songs and plantation spirituals. Lou exemplified a "Mammy" character that was a popular trope in many minstrel shows, dressing in an outfit that would later become associated with 'Aunt Jemima' of pancake syrup fame.[88] Lou was renowned for her improvisatory skill and the wealthy, white patrons of the business reportedly considered her the brothel's greatest asset.[89]

At least three of Lou's songs are believed to have been coopted by different "Tin Pan Alley" songwriters. [90] The sounds of such Tin Pan Alley songs, named for the street in New York City where many of them were published, filled local music stores across the country where they were (typically) played by woman pianists for the approval of potential customers. Women often provide music lessons in such stores as well, assuming the student could afford them.[91] When a song was purchased, the "composer" theoretically received a portion of the purchase price as a royalty.[92] It is doubtful that Mama Lou ever received such royalties.

Similarly, composer, bandleader, and self-proclaimed "father of the blues," W.C. Handy directed the Maharaja Minstrels, a black minstrel revue branded to highlight the

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[88] Other stock characters included the sexually attractive black "yaller gal," and the elegant but austere white woman. See Allston Brown, and Charles Day, "Black Musicians and Early Ethiopian Minstrelsy," *The Black Perspective in Music* 3, no. 1 (1975).

[89] Dahl, *Stormy Weather: The Music and Lives of a Century of Jazzwomen*.

[90] Dahl, *Stormy Weather: The Music and Lives of a Century of Jazzwomen*.

[91]. The first blues that Jelly Roll Morton recalled hearing was sung by a woman named Mamie Desdoumes. Trumpeter Bunk Johnson recalled working with her as well. See 1984.; Nat Shapiro, and Nat Hentoff, eds. *Hear Me Talking' to Ya: The Story of Jazz as Told By the Men Who Made it* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1955).

[92] Russel Sanjek, *American Popular Music and Its Business: The First Four Hundred Years* (New York, NY: Oxford, 1988).

exoticism of its purportedly South-Asian Orientalism. Handy's group of cornets, trombones, and other wind and brass instruments was in many ways a direct descendant of the type of popular band directed by Frank Johnson some fifty years prior and was renowned for its musical skill. Handy's band could play highly energetic, uniquely black, styles of music – music that he described as like jazz, but not yet called jazz. As Handy stated further, "It was only when we were lip-weary that we eased off to the light, swingy marches of R.B. Hall and John Phillip Sousa." And as Marshall Stearns once observed, "A Sousa march . . . when played with a little verve can come very close to jazz."[93]

Syncretisms: From Minstrelsy to Ragtime

Black minstrelsy preserved many of the sexist and racist tropes that helped propel it to broad popularity in the mid-nineteenth century. As a popular music, however, it was also constantly in search of the kinds of novelty that might further entertain audiences. Under such circumstances, syncretisms with new musical styles were inevitable.

For example, W.C. Handy travelled to Cuba following the Spanish American War and subsequent United States occupation of Cuba. While there he became fascinated with the musical stylings of many local ensembles, as he stated, "the small, shy bands that played behind closed shutters on dark out of the way streets where the passionflower bloomed in the heart of the night."[94] Handy incorporated his interpretation of this Cuban music into many of his compositions, including "Saint Louis Blues" and "Beale Street

[93] Marshall Stearns, *The Story of Jazz* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1956), 90.

[94] Ned Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music: From the First Drums to the Mambo* (Chicago, IL: Chicago Review Press, 2004), 326-27.

Blues."[95] Both compositions feature a lilting gently syncopated rhythm known as the *habanera.* At the same time, Cuban interest in contemporaneous American musical forms contributed to what Leonard Acosta called "a renewal of traditional Cuban music, establishing the foundations on which its vitality would be preserved to this day."[96]

The habanera was performed by countless musical ensembles throughout Cuba, some featuring strings, some featuring winds, or a mixture of the two. In a configuration that became common around 1879, a trumpet or cornet played the melody while a clarinet and trombone performed in close harmonic, even improvisatory interplay. The first recordings of such Cuban ensembles were made as early as 1905.[97] This same configuration of instruments was not only popular in Cuba but in the United States as well. Coincidentally, habanera music (later, *danzón*) was itself derivative of the English-French quadrilles that had previously been taken up by younger generations of black revelers in the early nineteenth century circle dances of New Orleans.

In cities across the United States, young musicians of color looked up to the bandsmen of groups like Handy's Maharaja Minstrels and saw professional opportunities that were scarcely available to them in other industries. As a result, many musical instruments abandoned or hawked at the end of the Civil War received new life in the

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The contradance originated as an English country dance before being adopted into the French courts during the eighteenth century, and subsequently dispersed throughout the Americas. See "Introduction" in Peter Manuel, ed. *Creolizing Contradance in the Caribbean* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2009).

[96] Quoted in Cristóbal Díaz Ayala, "Influencias Recíprocas Entre El Jazz Y La Música Caribeña [Reciprocal Influences Between Jazz and Caribbean Music]," in *El Jazz Desde La Perspectiva Caribeña [Jazz from the Caribbean Perspective]*, ed. Darío Tejeda, and Rafael Emilio Yunén (Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic: Instituto de Estudios Caribeños, 2012).

[97] Cristóbal Díaz Ayala, "Influencias Recíprocas Entre El Jazz Y La Música Caribeña [Reciprocal Influences Between Jazz and Caribbean Music]," in *El Jazz Desde La Perspectiva Caribeña [Jazz From the Caribbean Perspective]*, ed. Darío Tejeda, and Rafael Emilio Yunén (Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic: Instituto de Estudios Caribeños, 2012).

hands of subsequent generations of young musicians, many of whom learned to play music, at least initially, by ear.[98]

For example, New Orleans enjoyed a long tradition of musicians who could readily learn to play music by ear. As musician Jack Weber described, it was common practice that a bandleader would teach the melody to the player of a prominent sounding instrument, like the trumpet, who would then, "play it for the band, and the [players] would come in making a complete arrangement. According to Weber, it was "every man for himself, [with the players] filling in the best [they] could."[99] While many later observers interpreted the seemingly free-for-all nature of these musical arrangements as a type of collective improvisation, the musicians themselves thought of what they did as playing, "voiced parts" like might be found any other printed arrangement.[100]

In addition, learning to play music by ear resulted in enormous musical diversity, as there were just as many interpretations of various popular melodies as there were bands to play them. As Weber observed,

> Many of [the arrangements] were stolen from old marches . . . [and] because [the leader] couldn't read, the band played [the arrangement] differently than the original. Other band leaders stole it in turn, and, because they couldn't read either, the tune was played with many variations.

Weber continues describing how, in addition the enormous variation in the arrangements (including different transpositions of key), many bands had their own

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[98] For additional discussion, see chapter ten in LeRoi Jones, *Blues People: Negro Music in White America* (New York, NY: William Morrow and Company, 1963). and chapter eight in Marshall Stearns, *The Story of Jazz* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1956).

[99] Shapiro, and Hentoff, *Hear Me Talking' to Ya: The Story of Jazz as Told By the Men Who Made it*, 59.

[100] Jerde, "Black Music in New Orleans: A Historical Overview," 22.. Jerde cites many oral histories conducted with New Orleans jazz musicians in the 1950s and now housed in the Hogan Jazz Archives at Tulane University to substantiate this claim.

names for the tunes on which their arrangements were otherwise based. And as Weber further observed, "their tunes came from a million sources."[101] Ironically, the story is told that trumpeter Freddie Keppard, as leader of the Original Creole Orchestra, declined to be recorded by Victor out of fear that musicians across a much larger market might "steal" his ideas.[102]

Pianist Emma Barrett recalled how she first learned to play piano by ear, copying "the guys who used to gather on the street corners at night with one or two guitars [to] sing some of the old tunes."[103] Barrett's "gut-bucket" piano style made her an important fixture of many early New Orleans jazz bands. Furthermore, as New Orleans musician Mutt Carey opined, "[many] musicians came up the hard way, largely self-taught, as there were few teachers, and most could not afford lessons." Drummer Warren "Baby" Dodds did not mince words when he stated, "I learned in the streets."[104]

White fascination with black music did not subside, however. Jack Weber's eyewitness observations of the New Orleans musical milieu are instructive in this regard:

> Negro funeral bands went down the streets, and white musicians gathered on the sidewalks to listen. Colored bands played dance dates, and white boys watched from outside and "sweat" the band to get ideas – they never went inside. And when white bands played a dance, the Negroes listened outside and danced in the street.[105]

Paul Mares of the New Orleans Rhythm Kings recalled he and bandmates did their best to "copy" the music of the black bands they heard at home while growing up. And as

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[101] Shapiro and Hentoff, *Hear Me Talking' to Ya,* 60.
[102] Gioia, *The History of Jazz*.
[103] Quoted in Dahl, *Stormy Weather: The Music and Lives of a Century of Jazzwomen*, 16.
[104] Quoted in Shapiro, and Hentoff, *Hear Me Talking' to Ya,* 26.
[105] Quoted in Shapiro, and Hentoff, *Hear Me Talking' to Ya,* 39.

Mares described, most of the earliest members of the New Orleans Rhythm Kings could not read notated music. [106]

There were instances where learning music by ear became a legal matter, particularly after the music had been written down and published and thus, could benefit from associated copyright protections. This was demonstrably the case for the song "Livery Stable Blues," which was published in both New York and Chicago by two different authors, each with ties to each other and the brass bands of New Orleans musician "Papa" Jack Laine. Both parties sued. The legal case was complicated by the improvisational nature of the music and the fact that neither of the tune's purported authors, both of whom were white, could actually read the notated music for the song. In the end, the judge tossed the case and declared "Livery Stable Blues" to be in the public domain.[107] Given the syncretic complexity of the musical traditions in which the tune likely came to be, this may have been a wise choice.

"Livery Stable Blues" features numerous sound effects that are meant to imitate barnyard animals. The tune was part of what were considered at the time "novelties," in that the musicians employed some type of schtick explicitly meant to entertain the audience. This has caused modern listeners to view such music pejoratively, not perhaps fully recognizing the origins of the types of novelty sounds in which the ODJB engaged. For example, Morton suggested that "many of the most important things in jazz originated in some guy's crazy idea that we tried out for a laugh or just to surprise [the

[106] Gioia, *The History of Jazz*, 46.
[107] Gioia, *The History of Jazz*.

audience].”[108] Morton’s subsequent list of such “novelty” effects precisely included the types of animal sounds that the ODJB made famous.

Persistent white fascination with black music, as well as the search for entertainment value and novelty leading up to the dawn of the jazz age, caused an incalculably large number of musical-cultural syncretisms to occur. From Handy’s minstrel habaneras to the sounds of barnyard animals, black music demonstrated a willingness to entertain and delight with populist novelty.

Creole Culture and Black Music

There were many in New Orleans, however who resented populist black music performed by the likes of W.C. Handy and other minstrel musicians, some of the most vehement of whom were creoles of color. These were individuals of mixed ancestry, part French, Spanish, African, etc., many of whom had emigrated to New Orleans from Haiti around the time of the Haitian democratic revolution. Creoles of color were traditionally well-educated, Catholic, French speaking (i.e., French Creole), and otherwise Euro-centric in their mannerisms and tastes. Many were highly skilled musicians in the European classical tradition. By way of contrast, many minstrel musicians tended to have limited formal education, spoke English, were Protestant, and generally expressed limited aspiration for European cultural models.[109]

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[108] Quoted in Lomax, *Mister Jelly Roll: The Fortunes of Jelly Roll Morton, New Orleans Creole and “Inventor of Jazz,”* 63.

[109] For a succinct history of creoles of color in New Orleans, as well as their “uptown/downtown” geographic distribution, see Jeff Ake, *Jazz Cultures* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2002). There are also numerous anecdotes associated with the New Orleans creole phenomenon found in Jerah Johnson, “New Orleans’s Congo Square: An Urban Setting for Early Afro-

Under French and Spanish colonial rule, creoles of color benefitted from a multitiered caste system that placed them above enslaved blacks or their freeborn descendants, but still below those whose skin was light enough to pass for white. The trouble for New Orleans creoles, however, was that race relations in the United States were not predicated on the complex fluidity and ironies that characterized their culture. As New Orleans faced increasing assimilation into the United States following the Louisiana Purchase, Civil War, and Reconstruction, the complex caste system that provided creoles of color with degrees of privilege and autonomy over freeborn blacks and/or emancipated slaves came under increasing attack. Generally speaking, the United States was moving towards a black-white binary which in the twentieth century would be codified as infamous Jim Crow-era "one drop" rules – laws that designated a person as "black" if they had one metaphoric drop of purported African ancestry. These issues came to a head in New Orleans with progressively more restrictive segregation laws beginning in 1890 and continuing into the twentieth century.[110]

Some New Orleans creoles of color came to embrace the musical innovations that musicians with limited formal training that the minstrel musicians were popularizing. This phenomenon increased as segregation laws restricted creole access to concert halls and dance pavilions where they had once found ready employment in respectable, racially fluid creole orchestras. As a result, many creoles only grudgingly embraced such innovations. Some, like clarinetist Sidney Bechet, suffered cultural exile, parental

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American Culture," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Society* 32, no. 2 (1991); Lomax, *Mister Jelly Roll: The Fortunes of Jelly Roll Morton, New Orleans Creole and "Inventor of Jazz"*.

[110] While many jazz historians have observed this phenomenon, Jerah Johnson provides a detailed and well-documented account. Jerah Johnson, "Jim Crow Laws of the 1890s and the Origins of New Orleans Jazz: Correction of an Error," *Popular Music* 19, no. 2 (2000).

disapproval, and other forms of resistance as a result of their participation in innovations in popular music.[111] Jelly Roll Morton's stepfather famously beat him with a belt for trying to learn that music by ear on the piano. Nonetheless, the sounds of that music was infectious for those young and/or open enough to accept it. For example, creole of color clarinetist George Baquet referred to himself as a "legitimate" musician, in that he had some classical training and could read music. Nonetheless, as he stated that after hearing the strident sounds of Bolden and sitting in with his band, "I didn't play 'legitimate' so much anymore."[112]

Black Art Music

It was not only the creoles of color who resisted these increasingly popular strains of black minstrel and other ragtime musics. Artists like Scott Joplin, James Reese Europe, and the Fisk Jubilee Singers sought to elevate and refine black music in ways they felt better reflected the circumstances and culture of black Americans.

The Fisk Jubilee Singers began as an outgrowth of Fisk University, one of the first historically black colleges to open its doors following the Civil War. From its inception, the group was dedicated to presenting black spirituals and standard classical music and the earliest tours of the group were intended to raise money to support the then fledgling university. Presenting black music as worthy of serious consideration on concert stages typically reserved for European classicism was not, as Eileen Southern states, "a decision lightly made." Southern continues, "The students were not minstrel

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[111] Ake, *Jazz Cultures*.

[112] Quoted in Shapiro, and Hentoff, *Hear Me Talking' to Ya: The Story of Jazz as Told By the Men Who Made it*, 36.

singers; their program included no jokes, no dances, no catchy tunes. The American public had not yet heard the religious music of the slaves and had given no indication that it was ready to hear it."[113] Nonetheless, concert tours of the Fisk Jubilee Singers eventually achieved enormous success, with audiences in American and European urban centers giving the black student singers rave reviews. The Fisk singers introduced new audiences to black religious music and by the end of the nineteenth century, some classical music stalwarts like Antonin Dvorak were prophesying that, "the future music of [the United States] must be founded upon what are called the negro melodies. This must be the real foundation of any serious and original school of composition to be developed in the United States."[114]

Scott Joplin also sought to elevate the status of black music by composing a form of highly refined ragtime. Joplin's rags demonstrated a classically minded sense for melody, harmonic development, and form, perhaps best exemplified by his opera *Treemonisha,* whose final chorus "A Real Slow Drag" is based on a southern black folk dance, features call and response elements, a highly classical operatic chorus, all combined with lilting ragtime syncopations.[115]

Joplin's rags, though now seemingly synonymous with the genre, were not representative of the late nineteenth century ragtime milieu, however. At that time, ragtime was best understood as synonymous with popular music, for which it also signified countless minstrel tunes. For example, Roy Carew, a ragtime enthusiast and

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[113] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans,* 227-228.

[114] Charles Hamm, "Dvorak, Stephen Foster, and American National Song," in *Dvorak in America*, ed. John C. Tibbetts (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1993), 151.

[115] Scott Joplin, *Treemonisha*, recorded by The Paragon Ragtime Orchestra, 2011, New World Records, compact disk.

researcher living and working in turn-of-the-twentieth century New Orleans recalled how, "many of the tunes played by the small marching bands were popular ragtime songs, not classic rags such as those composed by Joplin." In other words, these groups performed popular tunes with well-known lyrics.[116] As was often the case, however, owing to their origins in black minstrelsy, many of these popular tunes featured racist, sexually suggestive, or otherwise bawdy lyrics.

James Reese Europe founded the Clef Club, in part to promote a more positive vision of black American culture than the racist caricature presented by minstrels. Europe modelled his Clef Club Orchestra on the large orchestras of the European symphonic tradition, but also included multiple upright pianos, banjos, and mandolins. As he stated, this was to, "[give] that peculiar steady strumming accompaniment to our music. . . a kind of symphony [that] . . . lends itself to playing the peculiar compositions of our race."[117] As Europe noted on a separate occasion, "we colored people have our own music that is a part of us . . . It's us, it's the product of our souls; it's been created by the sufferings and miseries of our race."[118] Whatever that music may have sounded like, as a music director, Europe was not above imposing constraints on his musicians. As band director for the 369th Regiment's "Hellfighers" he stated,

> I have to call a daily rehearsal of my band to prevent the musicians from adding to their music more than I wish them to. Whenever possible they all embroider their parts in order to produce new, peculiar sounds. Some of these effects are excellent and some are not, and I have to be continually on the lookout to cut out the results of musicians' originality.[119]

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[116] Quoted in Berlin, *Ragtime: A Musical and Cultural History*, 8.
[117] Quoted in Reed, *James Reese Europe: A Life in Ragtime*, 96.
[118] Quoted in Reed, *James Reese Europe,* 98.
[119] Quoted in Reed, *James Reese Europe,* 195.

Regarding the ultimate emergence of jazz-word signified sound, however, the spirituals of the Fisk Singers, Joplin’s rags, and Europe’s Clef Club were not at the forefront of the musical innovations. That honor fell to the populist musicians playing hot music for dancing and revelry in clubs and brothels across the country.

Syncretisms: European (White) Music and The Spanish Tinge

Significant music making was happening throughout New Orleans immediately at the periphery of the black versus creole cultural dynamics. “Papa” Jack Laine’s Reliance Brass Band and numerous other groups he contracted, all New Orleans institutions in which many white New Orleans jazz musicians first cut their teeth, played in theaters for minstrel shows as well as in many other entertainment venues throughout the city.[120] New Orleans also boasted the presence of many itinerant musicians from Mexico and the Caribbean (Cuba in particular) that entertained audiences with their own versions of the popular musics of the day, including quadrilles and uniquely Latin American musical styles like the previously mentioned *habanera.*[121] As Morton later claimed, “it wouldn't make any difference that you just came from Paris or any part of England, Europe, or any place – whatever your tunes were over there, we played them in New Orleans.”[122]

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[120] Minstrel groups, a form of popular entertainment that lampooned African American culture, toured the country extensively during this time and, according to New Orleans guitarist Danny Barker, “all … used New Orleans musicians.” See chapter 11 in Stearns, *The Story of Jazz*, 89. Also, Bruce Raeburn, “Early New Orleans Jazz in Theaters,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Society* 43, no. 1 (2002).

[121] Díaz Ayala, “Influencias Recíprocas Entre El Jazz Y La Música Caribeña [Reciprocal Influences Between Jazz and Caribbean Music].”

[122] Lomax, *Mister Jelly Roll: The Fortunes of Jelly Roll Morton, New Orleans Creole and “Inventor of Jazz,”* 95.

New Orleans musicians, however, were quickly spreading across the country. For example, black cornetist Freddie Keppard settled in Chicago sometime following multiple successful coast-to-coast tours with the Original Creole Orchestra that began as early as 1910. Other New Orleans musicians followed, including a group of young white musicians that had honed their craft playing with the likes of “Papa Jack” Laine. This included cornetist Dominick “Nick” LaRocca, clarinetist Larry Shields, and trombonist Eddie Edwards. Many others would follow, particularly after the closure of “The District,” a New Orleans neighborhood where live music flourished among countless adult entertainment and vice entrepreneurs. Among these, black cornetist “King” Joe Oliver and a short time later, Louis Armstrong. The white alumni of “Papa” Jack Laine’s Reliance Brass Band, however, would achieve the most instantaneous fame. These musicians would soon be known throughout the world as “The Original Dixieland Jass Band” (OJDB).[123]

The OJDB, like many other New Orleans musicians, moved to Chicago in search of better opportunity. Immediate success there resulted in more lucrative offers to perform in New York City where they quickly began attracting large crowds of dancing revelers at the trendy Columbus Circle Reisenweber's Restaurant. This, in turn, spurred the interest of East Coast recording companies looking to capitalize on a potential new market. Though Columbia was first to record the band, they hesitated to release the recordings because record executives thought they were too “vulgar.” Columbia released

[123] Gioia, *The History of Jazz*.

their recordings only after a subsequent recording by Victor, “Livery Stable Blues,” saw enormous success.[124]

Members of the OJDB, like many of their musical contemporaries from New Orleans, absorbed their music through repeated exposure. Such was the skill of ODJB musicians at learning to play music and musical instruments by ear, that only trombonist Eddie Edwards could read printed music. When required, it appears that Edwards would play the melody of a given tune for the rest of his bandmates to learn.[125]

It is nearly impossible to precisely quantify the myriad of influences on these musicians given the aural nature of their learning. A list of their earliest influences would likely include African call-and-response work songs, European military band music, Caribbean rhythmic feel, French Creole popular dances, and black spirituals, blues songs. LaRocca, for example, worked as a stagehand at the local opera house and claimed later in his life to have been heavily influenced by the sounds of operatic melodies, countermelodies, and dynamic contrasts.[126]

What is certain is that musicians from a more privileged racial background financially profited more from the music than their black contemporaries. Many black musicians, Jelly Roll Morton and Sidney Bechet in particular, openly resented the fact that white musicians, like the members of the ODJB, more readily profited from the

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[124] Gioia, *The History of Jazz.*

[125] According to a description of the band in 1921 by Jack Weber quoted in Shapiro, and Hentoff, *Hear Me Talking' to Ya: The Story of Jazz as Told By the Men Who Made it*.

[126] Richard M. Sudhalter, *Lost Chords: White Musicians and Their Contributions to Jazz, 1915-1945* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1999).

emergence of jazz than they themselves.[127] Others, like Adolphus Anthony "Doc" Cheatham, however, sound a more conciliatory tone:

> "That stuff about black musicians being envious of the whites because of money and such, that's been kind of exaggerated. Some players might have felt that way, but most musicians I knew and worked with just accepted that society was that way. If musicians were good, we learned from them, and they learned from us."[128]

The first jazz musicians syncretized as many different musical influences as they required to create a musical culture; *our* musical culture. As jazz historian Ted Gioia observed, "certainly jazz remained an African-American contribution . . . to the nation's culture; but like all such contributions, once given, it no longer remained an exclusive province of the giver."[129] Nonetheless, the public nature of this music resulted in an internationally shared enthusiasm for a vibrant, shared, emergent musical culture. As a result, the earliest jazz musicians were socially aware enough to promote and help create something that countless people throughout the world gravitated towards, one that perhaps reflected their daily lives, experiences, joys, prejudices, and/or sorrows; music that people wanted to sing and move their bodies to; music that many of them wanted to learn to play themselves. What is more, these musicians were also content to direct and promote countless iterations of this music, insofar as they were able. As Gerald Horne states, "Attempts by Black artists and Black people generally to assume more control of the art form they created were not greeted with equanimity."[130] Accordingly, musicians

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[127] Ake, *Jazz Cultures*.

[128] Quoted in Sudhalter, *Lost Chords: White Musicians and Their Contributions to Jazz, 1915-1945*, 23.

[129] Gioia, *The History of Jazz*, 37.

[130] Horne, *Jazz Justice,* 23.

from the dominate social class and gender were able to appropriate and capitalize on this music more effectively than others.

The Jazz-Word: Coda

"Jazz is stupid. I mean, just play the right notes!" whines the character Angela Martin in a famous-among-jazz-musicians scene from the TV sitcom *The Office.*[131] The subtext to this quote is that, in this character's opinion, a key characteristic of jazz music is that its musicians, like the allegorical Jasbo Brown, fail to play a tune the way it was originally intended. Of course, there would be no comedic irony in Angela Martin's statement if it did not betray at least a grain of truth. As Gioia, states, "From the start, the jazz idiom was built on transgressing musical boundaries."[132]

Imagine, for example, the audacity of early jazz artist Jelly Roll Morton to suggest that the music he heard played by immigrant musicians living and working in New Orleans was not performed correctly. As Morton stated, "I heard a lot of Spanish [i.e., Cuban, Mexican, etc.] tunes and I tried to play them . . . but I personally didn't believe they were perfected in the tempos." One presumes that whatever music these "Spanish" musicians performed represented something authentic to their various musical cultures of origin. And yet, irrespective of such authenticity, Morton had different ideas for their music. When performed according to Morton's dictates, something about this music demonstrated the "Spanish tinge" that Morton believed separated jazz from its numerous precursors. How, then, does a musician like Morton presume to know a better,

[131] Graham Wagner, writer. *The Office,* season 9, episode 8, "The Target." Original air date, November 29. 2012, NBC Television.

[132] Ted Gioia, *Music: A Subversive History* (New York City, NY: Basic Books, 2019), 349.

more “perfected,” way to play the music of a foreign land, perhaps even disregarding the autochthonous traditions of that lands’ musical culture? [133]

Furthermore, the earliest jazz musicians, arising as they did on the heels of the minstrel and vaudeville eras, were also great entertainers. This led them to make musical decisions not necessarily based in deep, introspective, thoughtfulness, but to simply get a laugh or otherwise excite the public. As Gioia states, “So much respectability has been piled upon this music over the decades that we can easily lose sight of how jazz conquered the world through sheer joy and delight.”[134]

According to the people who knew him best, Buddy Bolden improvised extensively and, “played pretty much by ear . . . [making] up his own tunes.”[135] Bolden also had, “the whole of New Orleans real crazy and running wild behind” him.[136] I wonder what steps a musician of the twenty-first century to generate a similar degree of public excitement for their music? What might their music sound like? Who might their audience be?

Celebrated jazz composer and bandleader Duke Ellington once famously observed that, “rock and roll is the most raucous form of jazz . . . and no other form of jazz has ever been accepted so enthusiastically by so many.”[137] When the jazz-word of a musical luminary such as Ellington could apparently signify such a breadth of musical

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[133] Quoted in Alan Lomax, *Mister Jelly Roll: The Fortunes of Jelly Roll Morton, New Orleans Creole and “Inventor of Jazz”* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), 61.

[134] Gioia, *Music: A Subversive History,* 349.

[135] Bunk Johnson reflects on his former bandmate Bolton. Quoted in Lomax, *Mister Jelly Roll*, 36-37.

[136] Edmond hall reflects on Bolden. In Shapiro, and Hentoff, *Hear Me Talking’ to Ya: The Story of Jazz as Told By the Men Who Made it*, 22.

[137] Duke Ellington, “Where is Jazz Going?,” *Music Journal* 20, no. 3 (1962), 96.

sounds, I wonder why the eponymous jazz competition named in his honor *essentially* features so little rock and roll?

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

"Don't worry about names; the thing is in the meaning. Names are imposed by convention, not by nature."
Augustine of Hippo (391 CE)[1]
De Musica, IV

"All lies and jest, still a man [sic] hears what he wants to hear and disregards the rest."
Paul Simon (1968)
"The Boxer"[2]

Introduction: Euridice and Orfeo

The purported power of music and its attendant mathematical relationships was once commonly represented in Greco-Roman antiquity by an image of the lyre. The lyre was the instrument of Apollo and Orpheus whose sounds were said to both affect humans in various ways and reflect the methodical ordering of the cosmos.[3] European neo-classical tastes adopted the graceful U-shaped form of this instrument as a symbol, for which it was used prominently in the branding of many schools of music, music education organizations, music award trophies, and concert halls.[4] These same curves appear in the bell-lyre (i.e., glockenspiel) traditionally carried in many marching bands, as well as small instrument-mounted music desks often attached to marching instruments — which, coincidentally enough are also called lyres.

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[1] Augustine, "De Musica VI."

[2] Paul Simon, "The Boxer," (Audio Recording The Sound of Silence, Capitol Records)

[3] M.L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[4] Such lyres feature prominently in the statuary of Boston's Symphony Hall and Vienna's *Musikverein* and many similar concert halls built in a neoclassical style. A massive example of such a lyre adorns the top of Amsterdam's *Concertgebouw* and smaller examples adorn Philadelphia's Curtis Institute of Music. In addition, The Juilliard School, New England Conservatory, and San Francisco Conservatory all once used a lyre in their branding – the latter combing a lyre an image of the Golden Gate Bridge.

In a popular Italian version of the story, Orfeo uses the power of music embodied in his lyre to influence, charm, or otherwise exert power over those around him. Music appeases Caronte, the boatman of Hades, thus clearing the way for Orfeo's passage into the underworld. Music so appeases Proserpina, Queen of the Underworld, that she is moved with compassion for his plight and pleads with king Plutone, on his behalf. In this way, music secures the potential for Euridice to overcome death. During the long march out of the Underworld, however, Music also sows uncertainty in Orfeo's mind, causing him to doubt that Euridice still follows behind him. Looking back, Orfeo loses everything. Euridice remains dead, trapped forever in Hades' infernal doom.[5]

The story does not end here, though. Orfeo returns to the world of the living depressed, renouncing love for the rest of his days. In the sanitized Italian version of the story, the God Apollon, arrives and offers Orfeo an eternity of bliss, cavorting among the other manly-men gods in the duffy clouds of his domain.[6] In the oldest Greek versions of the myth, however, there is no Apollo *ex machina* to offer such homoerotic solace. Rather, a band of love-scorned Maenads, the ferocious female devotees of the wine-god Dionysius, tear the despondent Orpheus limb from limb for having spurned their amorous advances.[7]

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[5] Some readers may feel that I misrepresent the Monteverdi/Striggio version of the Orphic myth in the ways I disparage the role music plays in his downfall. Admittedly, it is a radical reinterpretation. Nonetheless, when Orpheus *sings* the words "Ma mentre io canto ohimé chi m' assicura ch'ella mi segua? (But as I sing how can I be sure she [Euridice] follows me?)" in the fourth act, I hear Music's treachery in the affair. See Claudio Gallico, ed. *L'orfeo* (Mainz: Schott & Co., 2004).

[6] Ibid.

[7]John Heath, "The Failure of Orpheus," *Transactions of the American Philological Association (1974-)* 124 (1994).

Whichever version of the Orphic myth you subscribe to (or have invented for yourself), the graceful lyre that so often represents music's power in the European tradition is anything but interpretationally simple. Does it represent Orpheus's failure to change and subsequent homoerotic cavorting? Perhaps the lyre is cast aside and forgotten, soaked in Orpheus's love-scorned blood? Regardless of the above, lyres remain governed by inalienable natural laws that constrain their frequencies of harmonic resonance according to the tension, composition, and linear mass of their strings, their associated resonant bodies, and their resulting timbral qualities. Of course, the hard frequencies of harmonic resonance of a lyre are meaningless without the gooier phenomenology inherent to individual and collective human experience.

The Eurydician Methodological Paradigm

Perhaps, you, the reader are now wondering what kind of research methodology begins with a fascination for lyres and real-world physics. If you began this chapter hoping to discover the clean-cut and straightforward method I used in my research and reporting of the Stan Kenton Clinics and philosophizing about change in music education, I am sorry to disappoint you. If anything, this burgeoning chapter is just as much a paean to the wondrous complexity of lyres as it is an obsessive diatribe against what I feel are bland statements of conformity found in most research methodologies. I am fascinated just enough with the human condition to reject such bland statements outright even as I find enough wonder in the biological mechanics that produce our understandings of the human condition to want to dig deeper.

Writing a history might seem straightforward: you construct a story about something from the past based on archival research and/or interviews with people. Unfortunately, for readers of this chapter, I am fascinated by the interpretational vagaries that underpin every step such a supposedly straightforward approach. For me, the demonstrably different ways that we all understand the world around us (including whatever we might have to say about its *past*) make any attempt at methodological simplicity in a study such as this intellectually dishonest. Significant discourses within the field of historiography have addressed these concerns for many years. In my opinion, these topics are not nearly as prominent as they should be.

In *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, physicist Thomas Kuhn writes, "The distinction between discovery and invention or between fact and theory . . . [is] exceedingly artificial."[8] Even that research which claims to be impartial, and objective is biased by the worldviews, preconceptions, understandings, and experiences of the researcher — what Kuhn calls "paradigms." Furthermore, and apropos to the theme of this study, paradigms change; people change; music education changes.

Kuhn's original meaning for the term paradigm represented a singular way of interpreting and understanding the world: as new information was encountered which "violate[d] deeply entrenched expectations," practitioners would construct a new paradigm through a process of additional observation, theorizing, and dialogue. [9] Kuhn observed that those who refused to accept new paradigms were doomed to be ignored and

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[8] Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 53.

[9] Ibid., 59.

"read out of the profession."[10] However, the term 'paradigm' has taken on broader meaning as it has been appropriated outside of Kuhn's own field. Paradigms, in the broader sense, can represent any epistemic culture and its related ontologies. In other words, paradigms are core understandings and values, based on the worldviews, preconceptions, and experiences of those who embrace them.[11]

An exploration of change in music, and by extension an education in music, is predicated on understanding an epistemic culture; both how people think about music as well as an education in the same. As music educators Austin Showen and Roger Mantie state,

> [Music] is an extraordinarily difficult word in English . . . [that quickly] reduces to a panoply of meanings and values situated in and reflective of context and location: randomly sample a hundred people in the population and one no doubt ends up with close to a hundred different interpretations and explanations of music.[12]

Furthermore, change with regard to music education might be read via an infinite number of possible texts and encompass similarly diverse ways of thinking. Change, however you define or experience it, exists in a place where, to borrow the words of music educator Sandra Stauffer, "ambiguity is the normal state of affairs."[13] As such, any investigation of change requires a research methodology that can adequately navigate this ambiguity.

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[10] Ibid., 16.

[11] Robert Donmoyer, "Take My Paradigm. Please! The Legacy of Kuhn's Construct in Educational Research," *International journal of qualitative studies in education* 19, no. 1 (2006).

[12] Austin Showen, and Roger Allan Mantie, "Playing in the Posthuman Band: Toward an Aesthetics of Intra-Action in Musical Leisure," *Leisure Sciences* 41, no. 5 (2019), 72.

[13] Sandra Stauffer, "Narrative Inquiry and the Uses of Narrative Inquiry in Music Education Research," in *Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research in American Music Education*, ed. Colleen Conway (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014), 181.

Methodological Boilerplate: Method vs Methodology

If a researcher wants to understand something they need a way of accomplishing that: a method. Methods are often thought of as processes that are predetermined and followed in order to produce a particular outcome. In a fundamental sense, however, a method is simply the way something gets done. A researcher may choose a method in advance that outlines the specific steps they will take at every moment of a research project. Alternatively, the specific steps of their research may only become clear in hindsight, as the chosen method allowed such details to emerge in an unpremeditated fashion. Though the word method is used often used interchangeably with the word methodology, the etymology of the latter refers to either the study or discussion of methods.[1] This chapter is a study or discussion of methods — a methodology.

You may choose to use a different word to communicate how something is to be accomplished. As Augstine reminds us from the distant past, "Don't worry about names; the thing is in the meaning."[2] As discussed previously, words are given their meanings through a received heritage, what Ricouer calls "the chains of interpretation and reinterpretation," and Derrida calls the "chains of signification" that span across history.[3]

Method

The method, process, sequence or whatever other word you prefer for the historical portions study was deceptively straightforward:

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[1] See "methodology" (n.d.) In Oxford Reference. http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100153801

[2] Augustine, "De Musica Vi."

[3] Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 221; Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, 330.

- Archival Research: I gathered data on the history of the Stan Kenton Clinics by reviewing extant primary documents, records, ephemera, and other manuscripts located in the following locales:
    - University of North Texas Libraries – the Leon Breeden Collection houses many original documents and ephemera associated with the earliest years of the Kenton Clinics.
    - L. Tom Perry Special Collections of Brigham Young University in Provo, UT. – The Carol Easton Papers includes unpublished interviews and ephemera associated with one of Kenton's biographers.
    - Arizona State University Library – possesses microform copies of pertinent periodicals including Downbeat, Metronome, and others that provided insight into the advertising operations of the National Stage Band Camps and Kenton Clinics.
    - Online archival sources:
        - The Indiana State Archives (IARA) – maintains court, incarceration, and parole documents for Ken Morris; articles of incorporation for business ventures related to the National Stage Band Camps. Archivist Keenan Salla was instrumental in providing thoughtful remote database guidance, as well as scanning original documents when required.

        - Stan Kenton Research Center in Staunton, VA – Kenton Clinic ephemera, brochures, and concert recordings. Many items are available online at http://www.stankenton.net
        - Ancestry.com – provided a wealth of genealogical data that helped connect people together and to various places. This was particularly important when sorting out the identities of individuals listed in business documents.
        - Newspapers.com – provided useful nationwide newspaper reports associated with the formation of the Kenton Clinics, Ken Morris, various faculty members, and many student participants from far-flung locales.
- Interviews: I conducted interviews with ten people who participated in the clinics as students, instructors, or other administrators and managers. Three such individuals were also available for follow up interviews. Whenever possible, interviews were conducted in person. The rest were evenly split between video conferencing (e.g., Zoom, Facetime) or phone calls. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. Initial interviews were transcribed by hand, while later interviews benefitted from the use of Temi online transcription software. Most interviews lasted approximately forty-five minutes to an hour and were based around a loosely structured interview protocol. These interviews were carried out with the approval Arizona State University's Institutional Review Board, an entity that exists to ensure participants in the research conducted by a

Tier One university are treated ethically, with all due care for the protection of their rights and welfare. Accordingly, all participants in this study were informed of its purpose prior to participating. All provided explicit consent of their agreement to participate.

- Data generated through these processes were subsequently winnowed, categorized, interpreted, reinterpreted, and assembled into narratives. In other words, I coded all data according to whatever narrative category, schema, or cognitive construct I felt best suited the emerging narratives I found among the data. For example, discovering that Ken Morris was imprisoned inspired a lengthy section focusing on the backgrounds of the primary protagonists in the formation of the clinics. Similarly, apart from early mention of the racial dynamics I placed my most ample discussion of race with regard to the Kenton Clinics in the context of statements by Donald Byrd, one of the first educators of color to participate in the clinics.
- Individuals who spoke with me about the clinics were given an opportunity to verify my interpretive redactions of our conversations to ensure due respect and empathy for those individuals for whom the Stan Kenton Clinics are a part of life as lived story as opposed to an object of researcherly fascination. As applicable, my interpretive data were then winnowed, categorized, and reinterpreted to better align with the interpretive, life-as-lived data of these individuals.

- Finally, I redacted my interpretations of all these data by encapsulating them within the lexically conscribed narrative that appears in the following chapter.

While the method just described may appear simple enough, the implications, ethics, and intentionalities that underpin each of its steps are complex and multifaceted. After all, just as different people are likely to have differing interpretations of what constitutes research we might say the same thing for a concept like change. For this reason, the remainder of this chapter is dedicated to a study or discussion of the methodological complexities associated with this study — a methodology.

As this is methodology is oriented towards an ambiguous and highly interpretive research endeavor, it is best conceived as a philosophical discussion. The epistemic philosophies that underpin this inquiry process can be found lurking within a variety of research disciplines. Hermeneutics explores the ways *texts* and their associated meanings are interpreted or understood.[4] Phenomenology inquires after individual, lived experiences and the inherent subjectivity associated with their study. Historiography contemplates the methods and means by which stories about the past are constituted. Narrative organizes our understanding of the world through the constructions of cognition; literally the stories we tell ourselves. Ethnography places its focus on the ways stories, whether histories or lived experiences, are embraced across groups of people at a broader, cultural level.

As I felt there was no single research paradigm which encapsulated each of these methodological orientations adequately, I have invented my own. The most pretentious

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[4] I use the word ‘texts’ in the expanded, postmodern sense, after Derrida and others.

description for this research endeavor would be a hermeneutic narrative phenomenological ethno-historiographic exploration of change in music education. For the sake of simplicity, however, I call this Eurydicean research — an investigation of the past, of consciousness, of culture, of music, and of change. After all, what better way to contemplate change in music education than by invoking philosopher Maxine Greene: "...imagining things [research methodologies] being otherwise may be a first step toward acting on the belief that they can be changed."[5] Eurydicean research represents change even as it examines change.

Eurydicean Research: Frameworks of Metaphor

Eurydicean music education research begins amidst the Bacchic carnage of Orpheus's bloody death, the failure of his quest, and music's betrayal. The death of Eurydice, while tragic, presented Orpheus with an opportunity to change, to reconceptualize, to move on. Orpheus failed, however, because he both loved the past too much to move on and allowed himself to be overcome by self-doubt. His lyre now stands as a symbol of his failure and Eurydice is one of his victims. Eurydicean research could just as easily be called Orphic research, after the cult of Orpheus. Placing the focus on Eurydice, however, serves as a reminder that women often suffer because men fail to change. In this way, Eurydicean music education methodology examines experiences of change even as it represents change.

Eurydicean research methodology is founded on empirical-objective reason: music plainly lives beyond any of its individual practicants — if in doubt, just try to prevent it from happening. Music will live beyond all efforts to constrain it. Of course, I

[5] Greene, *Releasing the Imagination: Essays on Education, the Arts, and Social Change*, 22.

write about Music with a capital "M," not as a lowercase genre. Eurydicean methodology honors the histories of past musical practicants even as, like the Muses did for Orpheus, it ceremonially and respectfully gathers and buries their bones. While Orpheus failed, music itself did not. Music continued to inspire Orpheus's severed head as it bobbled across the sea to the island of Lesbos, singing (presumably) gurgly tunes *en route*. The severed head became an important oracle at Lesbos to which many devotees adjourned until Apollo, jealous of its popularity, summarily silenced it. Thus, though rational observation sees music living beyond any individual practicant, Eurydicean methodology recognizes that many such practicants will continue to seek inspiration from ossuaries of the past, just as others may attempt to silence such oracles.

Eurydicean research methodology embraces pluralistic interpretations of every possible text. The Orpheus tale itself has been read, written, reread, and rewritten many times since its Greek origins. I understand Orpheus first and foremost through Monteverdi and only later through the more ancient writing of Ovid and Virgil. Nonetheless, I have rewritten the Orpheus myth myself. You may do so as well. There are no rules about these things. Perhaps your Eurydice will live again. Perhaps your Orpheus accepts Eurydice's death and moves on. Perhaps not. As I am of a disposition to seek inspiration from ossified oracles, I choose to rewrite the story according to very old sources, with only a few key alterations of my own. Eurydicean research is predicated on this very type of Authorship — writing, reading, rewriting, and rereading.

Eurydicean research methodology begins amid joyous musical experience before quickly progressing to a change event or — Euridice dies and Orpheus vows to rescue her from the depths of hell. In the Monteverdi/Striggio telling, Orfeo arrives at the gates

of Hell to see the words of Dante written prominently above the threshold: “abandon all hope ye who enter here.” Monteverdi interprets this moment as one of poignant farewell — hope, personified in Speranza, sings passionately to Orfeo about the travails that await him beyond that gate beginning with the words, “Here is the enormous quagmire” (*Ecco l’altra palude*). Eurydicean music education research, if it is anything, is just such a quagmire.[6]

Some might characterize Eurydicean research as a theoretical framework. A frame, however, is something that both constrains and gives support to something else; picture, house, etc. Admittedly, Eurydicean methodology could be conceptualized as such a frame. The house that this framework supports, however, is best conceived as limitless wilderness where one walks all day, scaling its many passes and admiring its grand views; a place where a honey bee dancing around a lone columbine — whose very presence defies an austere granite slab — is just as beautiful as a cold, early morning shit. This is a frame that gives structure to the unstructured thoughts one experiences as they lie awake, staring into space and contemplating the great bands of the Milky Way. Perhaps such thoughts dance with thoughts of astrophysicist Carl Sagan’s “pale blue dot.”[7] Then again, perhaps not. The frame that gives structure to all of these experiences is not one or the other, but something that exists beyond the omniscient comprehension that such a framing constraint implies. Even as a physicist, botanist, bee keeper, or biologist might explain each of these phenomena in different respective ways, there are

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[6] Gallico, *L’orfeo*.

[7] Carl Sagan, *Pale Blue Dot: A Vision of the Human Future in Space* (New York, NY: Random House, 1997).

infinite aesthetic explanations as well. Just as there are countless ways to interpret the Eurydicean myth, there are countless ways to conduct Eurydicean research.

What if we metaphorically tore apart whatever we thought we knew about music, music education, and research like an enraged group of Bacchic revelers? What might change if we ceremonially and respectfully placed the bones of the past into ossuaries? In what ways might music continue? Who might worship at the ossified oracles of the past? Who might move on? Who might be silenced? What happens when we rewrite the Eurydicean myth?

Possible readings of these questions exist at the intersections of numerous philosophical and research methodologies. Eurydicean research methodology descends into ambiguity as it revivifies the past through hermeneutic ethno-historiography; explores human consciousness, experience, and meaning making through narrative phenomenology; and embraces authorship by reading, writing, rereading, and rewriting. Eurydicean research makes its observations from this position of ambiguity, even as that which it should purportedly hold most dear is torn limb from limb, and music herself moves on in continuous emergence and eternal triumph. After all, no matter which version of the Orpheus tale you read, Music herself is never forced to remain in hell, only poor Eurydice. As the circus-ringleader-carny-poet-songwriter known as Monkeygrinder growls in a simultaneously charming yet disturbing bacchanale, “Welcome to hell, here’s your accordion!”[8]

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[8] Monkeygrinder was no doubt inspired by a similarly themed Gary Larson cartoon. Monkeygrinder, “Welcome to Hell, Here’s Your Accordion,” (2006).

Hermeneutic Narrative Phenomenological Ethno-Historiography

I once read a text written by two authors who proposed a proscriptive system of curriculum design in which the intended outcome to which students will ultimately converge is pre-determined, and then the steps necessary to achieve that outcome are laid into place. There is a certain logic to this paradigm. After all, there are often steps and benchmarks that need to be achieved as one progresses through life. If one wanted to traverse a vast wilderness on foot they would first need to learn to walk, for example.

As an art teacher, I read this text as a support of any type of predetermined curricular outcome, including those I might advocate in a creative classroom. What if the predetermined outcome was to inspire individual interpretive authorship in a group of students? Might the attitudes and behaviors of self-realized authors represent a type of behavioristic conformity, even if their creative output betrayed any sense of stylistic convergence. An instructor informed me that my reading of this text was not what these authors had in mind. I trust that this was likely the case. I insist, however, that my interpretation of their text was valid nonetheless.

This experience piqued my interest in the study of hermeneutics, which I will nominally defined as the interpretation of texts. The word, texts, however, must be expanded to include anything to which we might assign narrative value. Cultures are texts. Consciousness and embodiment are texts. Inanimate carbon rods, my indigestion, jugs of used motor oil, and the rock sitting on my desk are also texts. Each of these things, and countless others, are rich with narrative value in that they can be interpreted, and the act of interpretation creates a narrative.

Hermeneutic narrative phenomenological ethno-historiography, a.ka. "Eurydicean research," honors the interpretational perspectives of individuals even as it grapples with the complex psychology and embodiment of individual consciousness. The phenomenology of individual, embodied consciousness is further influenced by a sense of shared values and experiences; in other words, culture. Cultures, and the stories we tell about cultures – including the stories we tell about *how* we tell such stories – influence individual embodied consciousness and the diverse ways people interpret the worlds they inhabit. Thus, Eurydicean research embraces the fact that individual embodied consciousness, perspectives, readings, and writings are never entirely the purview of one individual. As Ricoeur states, "we are never in a position of being absolute innovators, but rather are always first of all in the situation of being heirs."[9]

Dasein (Part Two)

Dasein is a German term used in hermeneutic phenomenology that is usually translated as "existence "or the "act of being there." As Ricour and Heidegger note, hermeneutics demands that researchers be self-conscious of their bias.[10] Dasein formalizes the relationship of such bias to the interpretive act. According to Heidegger, the interpretation of lived experiences always takes place, "under the dominance of the prejudices of everyday life." Such prejudice must therefore be acknowledged, mitigated, and even "crossed out" via dasein.[11] Dasein is intended to help provide the critical perspective that continually seeks to evaluate and reevaluate what is assumed,

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[9] Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 221.
[10] Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*.
[11] Figal, "Hermeneutical Phenomenology," 527.

interpreted, and understood about a lived experience by maintaining an open relationship to the phenomenon, even from a negative place as if a type of "warning;"[12] what Ricouer also referred to as the "hermeneutics of suspicion."[13] In Heidegger's hermeneutic phenomenology, dasein is accomplished through journaling as well as formal explication in the final research report.[14] Though dasein is meant to help mitigate, or at least highlight, the subjectivity inherent to the interpretive process, the process of dasein can never be expected to be free of bias.[15]

My ideological orientation to the present study has been in the making for many years. I might begin with the change that a career-ending disability imposed on what was otherwise my flourishing career as a professional trumpet player. Since arriving in New York City at the age of seventeen to pursue a career in the music industry, all I had ever wanted was to be surrounded by music, creativity, and cultural diversity – in short, New York City itself. I imagined myself growing old, grumpy, and eccentric there. The onset of my disability, however, required a change of plans.

As I drove a heavily packed across the George Washington bridge towards an unknown future in Arizona, the final trio of Richard Strauss' sumptuous *Der Rosenkavalier* lingered in my ears. In the penultimate scene of this opera, the aristocratic Marschallin bids tender farewell to her much younger lover, Octavian, as he follows his heart into the arms of Sophie, a woman closer in age to himself. I had recently watched a

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[12] Ibid., 529.

[13] Paul Ricoeur, *Freud & Philosophy: An Essay on Interpretation,* trans. Denis Savage (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1970), 32.

[14] Sloan, and Bowe, "Phenomenology and Hermeneutic Phenomenology: The Philosophy, the Methodologies, and Using Hermeneutic Phenomenology to Investigate Lecturers‚äô Experiences of Curriculum Design."

[15] Figal, "Hermeneutical Phenomenology."

friend sing the role of Sophie at the Metropolitan Opera (just one of the many perks of living in New York) and, knowing that I was now in the twilight of my time as a very small cog in the city's music industry, the experience left me with a deep, metaphoric, connection with the Marschallin.

I first studied the opulent harmonies and clever counterpoint of this scene with a quirky music history professor during my undergraduate years in a music school of the Euro-centric or "classical," variety. Some years later I first saw the opera in person. This was also around the time when I learned that Mel Broiles, the late principal trumpet of the Metropolitan Opera – a man whose personality closely mirrored that of an operatic hero – suffered a stroke while playing the scene's stratospheric closing trumpet line. Ever the professional, Mel's primary concern after waking up in the hospital was to inquire whether he "got the note." Broiles reportedly blacked out and slumped into a colleagues' lap as the stroke occurred, inexplicable muscle memory and force of will enabling him to continue reaching for the high last note. Miraculously, however, he nailed the part![16] On this final occasion of hearing *Rosenkavalier*, however, I became transformed into the elegantly dressed woman accepting her life circumstances and bidding farewell to the young man she loved.

I have been acutely aware of the disconnect between my own musical preferences and those of society at large since high school. As a gifted young jazz trumpet player, I was selected as a member of the "Grammy-in-the-Schools National All-Star Jazz Ensemble," an educational program of the National Academy of Recording Arts and

[16] I've heard this story shared by numerous members of the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra during Broiles' tenure, including Mark Gould, Peter Bond, Patricia Rogers, Leigh Mesh, and others.

Sciences (NARAS). In the mid-1990s, NARAS's Grammy-in-the-Schools program sponsored student jazz bands and choirs in select metropolitan regions across the United States (New York, Los Angeles, Miami, San Francisco, etc.). After approximately a month of weekly rehearsals, these groups would perform in conjunction with a NARAS-sponsored "career day" featuring educational clinics and panel discussions about jobs in the music industry. Students from the regional groups were then selected by a panel of NARAS producers to travel to either New York or Los Angeles – depending on where the Grammy Awards were held that year – to participate in a National "All-Star" jazz band or choir. These prestigious groups performed at clubs and large music industry parties prior to the Grammy Awards, spent a day in a recording studio making an album, received backstage tours, and attended the awards ceremony itself (including the massive after party!), and participated in a variety of other cultural events. Leather jackets embroidered with the Grammy logo were another perk of the experience.

My experience with the Grammy-in-the-Schools program was the first time I remember feeling the stark disconnect between the kind of music education I had received in school, and the kind of music that was valued by the music industry. In particular, the relationship of jazz to the broader music industry in the mid-1990s continually hung over everything we did, a relationship that was exemplified by the relationship of jazz to the Grammy Awards themselves. As a young jazz musician, I struggled to appreciate panel discussions featuring singer-songwriters, rappers, their producers, and agents. I wanted to hang around with the jazz musicians who, as we were told, received their Grammy awards in an untelevised, perfunctory afternoon ceremony reserved for musical genres with less popular appeal (i.e., jazz, classical music, etc.).

Apparently, many of these artists did not even bother coming to get their awards in person.

A backstage tour of Los Angeles' storied Shrine Auditorium to see the Grammy Awards production was an amazing experience. The backstage logistics were like nothing I had ever seen. Personal assistants fluttered everywhere while jaded, bearded roadies tuned endless racks of guitars. Joan Osbourne's sound check featured endless rhetorical questions about God. I don't know that she was ever heard from again.[17] Despite a catchy riff and good songwriting, however, I struggled to find anything in her music that interested me. Briefly meeting Little Richard at the Grammy awards after party was a bit more interesting – but mostly because he was such a cultural icon; a clearly aging icon, but an icon nonetheless. Performing with Carlos Santana and Arturo Sandoval was far more exciting. Of course, we played jazz with them.

In the end, my experience with this wonderful program left me wondering why anyone would spend all this time, money, and effort to bring a bunch of young jazz musicians to experience all these industry events and meet-and-greets in an industry that so consistently does not value their music?

And then, I had an epiphany: "We're here because a student jazz band was the hippest thing they could get their hands on." I don't remember when this idea first crossed my mind. Perhaps it was while sitting in the lounge just outside the storied Studio B at Herb Alpert's A&M Records, mulling the countless famous musicians who had also made records where I was then recording – and very few jazz musicians I might add. Or

[17] Osbourne's recording of "One of Us" (1995) was an international hit, garnering three Grammy nominations in 1996. It was her only hit single.

it may have been while I devoured my third plate of lobster and fillet mignon at a fancy beachside Charthouse Restaurant. (I'll admit I'm a bit embarrassed about that now, but they invited us to order as much of and whatever we wanted, I was a teenage boy, and lobster and steak was the most expensive thing on the menu.) Perhaps the thought occurred to me as we got ready for our primary public performance, a mainstage gig at the flashy "pre" Grammy party, an industry-centered event most major artists and their retinues avoided.

One day I hope someone writes a history of NARAS's Grammy-in-the-Schools program as I would be fascinated to know the truth about the kinds of discussions that spurred its creation. In other words, I want to be clear that my interpretations my experiences in this program are mine alone. This hermeneutic limitation aside, I sensed that, given NARAS' apparent interest in doing more to support music education, a student group with a jazz flavor might have been the most "on-brand" programming they could reasonably get their hands on. As far as American school music programs were concerned, jazz programming was easily the most up-to-date option with a large built-in educational network and support system they could tap into. Never mind that jazz had already long-since departed mainstream popularity. Regardless, imagine the Grammys sponsoring an educational endeavor based around a similarly once-popular but now aging musical genre like the American wind bands or a string orchestra. Suddenly, a jazz band and choir seems like a pretty good fit.

My participation in the National Grammy-in-the-Schools All-Star Jazz Ensemble both opened my eyes to the broader music industry even as it opened doors of opportunity for me. It served as a de facto audition for an undergraduate jazz program in

New York City that I otherwise would have struggled to travel cross country to audition for. It also provided a wealth of perspective on the breadth of a music industry that did not particularly care for the same kinds of music as me.

After my experience with the Grammys, anytime I heard a musician complain about a lack of jazz gigs or a variety of related complaints, I readily contextualized such concerns within a broader music industry that was, and continues to be, full of opportunities for doing music. Most observers would understand intuitively that there are now less jazz gigs than there used to be. We could similarly observe that there are now less gigs for consorts of shawms, sackbuts, and drums – an amalgamation of instruments sometimes called a "loud" band that was once common during the European Renaissance.[18] There is, however, still music being performed all over the place. Whether we like or are willing to perform these styles of music is another matter entirely.

I was privileged to grow up in a stable family culture that encouraged the study and appreciation of music. I sang hymns in church and received a double tape deck boombox for Christmas one year along with a tape of Handel's *Music for the Royal Fireworks* and another of Prokofiev's *Peter and the Woolf.* I also used that boombox to groove to "Footloose" and "Axel F" in my room where nobody could see me. I made mix tapes from the radio of whatever was popular and whatever else I liked.

The soundtrack of some of my earliest memories, however, feature my older brother practicing the piano from the living room next door as I slowly came out of a deep slumber, still warmly snuggled on the bottom bunk of our shared bed. I soon

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[18] So-called "loud" bands, or *alta musica* once existed throughout Europe from the 14th to 17th centuries.

followed in his footsteps and learned to play the piano. I was the type of piano student who was typically less interested in learning the music my teachers wanted me to learn, preferring to make up my own songs. Some of my piano teachers supported this burgeoning creativity, others did not. To this day I still resent some of my teachers who attempted to shut down rather than support my musical creativity.

Hermeneutics and Narrative

The stories people tell about themselves, including the sounds they choose to call music, form a significant part of their culture. Slobin observes that these stories can include or exclude whatever information the people who tell them desire, including complete fabrication, noting that even fabrications can be rich with cultural meaning.[19] In other words, even lyres can be said to be powerful in certain circles. According to sociologist Edward Sapir, however, the most important aspect of such stories is the way they reflect how people see themselves in the world. As he states, "genuine culture is one that gives its bearers a sense of inner satisfaction."[20]

Musicologist Lawrence Kramer suggests that, "the cultural study of music is both the study of subjectivity and the exercise of it."[21] Part of the reason for this subjectivity is the fact that culture, including its myths, histories, dreams, and aspirations, is created by and among individuals with differing tastes and imaginations. Music educator Sandra Stauffer states, "like selves, culture is made and remade through narrative."[22]

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[19] Mark Slobin, *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1993).

[20] Edward Sapir, "Culture, Genuine and Spurious," *American Journal of Sociology* 29, no. 4 (1924), 420.

[21] Kramer, "Subjectivity Unbound: Music, Language, Culture," 397.

[22] Stauffer, "Narrative Inquiry and the Uses of Narrative Inquiry in Music Education Research," 167.

Using one of the world's oldest narratives as a metaphor for a research methodology smacks of narrative research methodology. Indeed, the pretentious name for Eurydicean research embraces the word narrative to signify just such a connection. Furthermore, as Stauffer observes, narrative research has been conducted in anthropology, psychology, sociology, literary theory, and historiography for many years. So why go to the trouble to delineate hermeneutic narrative phenomenological ethno-historiographic methodology? Narrative research, like all research, implicates some form of hermeneutics in the manner of its meaning making. Hermeneutics, however, is enormously complicated.

Philosophers have struggled to adequately encapsulate the vagaries of consciousness since antiquity.[23] My orientation towards this ambiguity is shaped by narrative. In the narrative worldview, lived experience is understood as a cognitive construction that we come to understand through the stories we tell ourselves. As Bruner states, narrative is a form of thought and a cognitive process that enables us to make sense of the "messy domain of human interaction."[24] Through consciousness we come to grasp the meaning of our lived experiences, whatever that may be, which in turn causes this meaning to become conscious to us.[25] As phenomenological researcher Clark Moustakas states, "What appears in consciousness is an absolute reality, while what appears in the world is a product of learning."[26] Narrative, as Jean Clandinin and Michael

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[23] Constantin V. Boundas, "General Introduction," in *The Edinburgh Companion to Twentieth-Century Philosophies*, ed. Constantin V. Boundas (Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

[24] Bruner, "The Narrative Construction of Reality," 4.

[25] Leonard Lawlor, "Phenomenology," in *The Edinburgh Companion to Twentieth-Century Philosophies*, ed. Constantin V. Boundas (Edinburgh, Scotland: University of Edinburgh Press, 2007).

[26] Moustakas, *Phenomenological Research Methods*, 27.

Connelly suggest, "is a portal through which a person enters the world and by which his or her experience of the world is interpreted…"[27]

Complicating matters further, however, a hermeneutic process underpins how such narratives are understood. This hermeneutic process is, as both Heidegger and Derrida would suggest, "always already occurring."[28] Attempting to understand or interpreting consciousness reduces its complexity to something communicable. For example, we are unable to communicate the substance of our lived experiences directly, but first need to reduce them to an expression that can be shared with others. In so doing, we interpret these experiences, searching for some means of communicating our experience to those around us. Musicologist Lawrence Kramer refers to this as the "genre of utterance" that unavoidably changes the things it describes through its "constructive description[s]" of those things. For Kramer, such constructive descriptions can be found in the metaphors, parables, and stories we "imagine a piece of music to tell and the story we tell about a piece of music."[29]

This is to say that consciousness cannot be explained directly, but only in a reflection. In so doing, however, it becomes reinterpreted and otherwise reduced by the opinions, tastes, and experiences of whoever attempts to understand it — both the person who describes their own consciousness, as well as the individual with whom that consciousness is shared. This is what we might call the hermeneutic complication of narrative consciousness.

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[27] Jean Clandinin, and Michael Connelly, *Handbook of Narrative Inquiry: Mapping a Methodology* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2006), 477.

[28] Quoted in Figal, "Hermeneutical Phenomenology"; Derrida, *Of Grammatology*.

[29] Kramer, "Subjectivity Unbound: Music, Language, Culture," 397.

What is the narrative and who controls it?

Most people have little control over the meanings other people choose to give to their words, despite their stomping, screaming, tweets, and/or academic papers. For example, whatever we might call art is reflective of a cultural context, and as such, its meaning will vary. We may disagree about whether urinals or urine-soaked crucifixes constitute art.[30] In this case, we are presented with something existing dichotomously as both "art" and "not art." Art becomes objectified for each of us in different ways, according to our own subjective whims, fancies, enculturation, or anything else we might think of. The fact that our meanings for a word like art differ is a proposition that is logical even as it is ambiguous. The different ways we all interpret what is purportedly the same "thing" (i.e., experience, emotion, object, etc.) is a hermeneutic (interpretational) complication.

The hermeneutic complication of narrative consciousness is the key difference between Eurydicean and narrative methodologies. Narrative researchers, as Stauffer states, "live and study *with* those who choose to allow researchers to talk with them, listen to them, and hold up their stories for others to hear."[31] Conversely, Eurydicean researchers, while embracing the narrative research ethos that seeks to honestly reflect the life-as-lived of a research participant, nonetheless embraces a philosophical ethic that the final ontology of *the story* can never be fully known. Thus, it would be dishonest for a

[30] Marcel Duchamp's Fountain (1917) features a standard porcelain urinal, and Andres Serrano's Piss Christ (1987) features a crucifix submerged in urine. Both well-known examples of provocative art from the 20th century Euro-American tradition.

[31] Sandra Stauffer, "Narrative Inquiry and the Uses of Narrative Inquiry in Music Education Research," in *Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research in Music Education*, ed. Colleen Conway (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014), 118.

Eurydicean researcher to claim to be holding up someone else's story for others to hear for they remain uncertain what the "story" is.

From a hermeneutic perspective, a storyteller loses control over the meaning of their story as soon as it is told. Actionable meaning making of any sort, including storytelling, does not produce stable entities. New meanings may be drawn from a text over the course of its reading and rereading. "Tradition [e.g., narrative] . . . only makes sense" states Ricouer, "through the exchange between the interpreted past and the interpreting present."[32] The final result, as Ricouer states, is "always something other than we expected."[33] As Roland Barthes similarly opined, "a text's unity lies not in its origin but its destination."[34] Thus, the constitution of any given narrative is not known until the moment at which it is read (interpreted) or reread. In this way, the only stories that remain under the full control of their authors, are those stories which are subject to only one consciousness, one interpretant; stories, in other words, which are never told.

Every conversation, observation, and interpretation that occurs over the course of a research endeavor is contingent on the messy domains of consciousness as well the ineffable socialization factors that influence that consciousness. As Stauffer notes, "Stories are not context free."[35] The destabilizing specter of subjectivity is implicated both in the way lived experiences are understood by those who live them firsthand, as

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[32] Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 221. For Ricouer, a narrative (e.g., history, tradition, etc.) is external to and only becomes constituted in consciousness itself: "The hermeneutical approach ... begins by acknowledging this exteriority of the past [i.e., history, narrative, story, etc.] in relation to every attempt centered upon a constituting consciousness, whether it be admitted, concealed, or simply not recognized as such." p. 228.

[33] Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 213.

[34] Roland Barthes, *Music, Image, Text,* trans. Steven Heath (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1977), 148.

[35] Stauffer, "Narrative Inquiry and the Uses of Narrative Inquiry in Music Education Research," 167.

well as how those experiences are interpreted and understood vicariously by the researcher. Anytime we reflect on an experience, recount an experience to someone else, write about an experience, transcribe an interview about someone else's experience, states van Manen, we are experiencing "*transformations* of those experiences."[36]

The hermeneutic complication results in, for example, urinals and urine-soaked crucifixes existing simultaneously as both "art" and "not-art" depending on whose consciousness is transforming the story. The story itself then transforms further each time it is written or read, often taking on meanings and forms that the originator of the story did not expect. I doubt the Greek authors of what eventually became written down as the Orpheus myth expected their stories would result a research method named after its primary female protagonist. In this spirit, Eurydicean researchers embrace the fact that narrative, whatever it is, is hermeneutically complicated and thus ultimately subject only to those individual consciousnesses that reads or otherwise experiences the narrative.

From a Eurydicean perspective then, the responsibility that narrative researchers express towards the individuals whose stories they share is less an epistemic and more an ethical consideration. It is an ethical obligation with which no qualitative researcher should express any misgivings as, while the concept of ownership is complicated, a person who shares a story that encapsulates their own experiences certainly owns more of that experience than an outside researcher. Nonetheless, when a Eurydicean researcher states an ethic of responsibility towards the originator of a story they feel guilty pangs of hermeneutic complication. For a Eurydicean researcher knows that, in the realm of

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[36] Van Manen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, 54.

human consciousness, they have no authority to make such a claim. Even as stories represent transformations of the events they claim to represent, they will be transformed further as they are subjected to diverse readings and rereadings; writings and rewritings. Artist Carrie Bloomston encapsulates this dynamic through metaphor, "each time someone tells you their story, you put it on like a coat. Many of those coats don't fit you and yet you are wearing them."[37]

Unconscious Authorial Accentuation

Narratives are subjected to ways of thinking that may not be germane to the narratives themselves when they are read (interpreted). Imagine you are listening to something that you have never heard before, and which you believe is a piece of music. As you listen, you hear structures and sounds that are familiar and, following years of aural acculturation, immediately begin mentally transcribing those sounds in the imaginary musical notebook of your consciousness. You identify what you believe are different melodic figures and assign them to different modes just as you were encultured to do in whatever music school you attended. You further characterize as "microtonal" those sounds that do not fit within whatever tuning system or temperament for which you have achieved some aural acuity.

Perhaps, knowing enough about music to know how little know about music, you recognize that everything you are doing is likely not germane to the musical culture you are experiencing. Maybe you recognize that your hegemonic perception of pitch, in which every sound must either fit into your rigid sense of temperament or be rounded up or down and forced to wear a patch on its breast that states your interpretation of its

[37] Carrie Bloomston, *The Big Book of Little Sparks* (Lafayette, CA: Stash Books, 2022), 36.

sound as something “less-than” — e.g., “microtonal” — is not an appropriate interpretational frame. Nonetheless, you unavoidably read the music your hear in this way, conscribing it to the interpretive chains of your own experience.

While I am fond of complaining about the barbarity of equal temperament, I do so here to illustrate a point. We all subject what we experience to the particularities of our own consciousness, which consciousness is a product of the vagaries of our own enculturation – a key tenet of constructivism.[38] As Bruner states, “[Constructivism] does not insist there is only one way of constructing meaning, or one right way.”[39] This phenomenon has been observed empirically by neuroscientists Nina Kraus and Jessica Slater. Kraus and Slater observed the different ways that individual neural networks reacted when listening to the same piece of music. Krauss hypothesized that different experiences result in, “distinct neural signatures.”[40] Kraus and Slater observed significant differences in the neural networks of musicians and nonmusicians, as well as unique differences among musicians themselves, “each with their own underlying neural signature.”[41]

Eurydicean researchers conceive of differing perceptions, neural signatures, readings, and writings of phenomena as a type of accentuation. Enculturation, particularly with language, leaves nearly everyone with a distinct accent as they seek new literacies. Ricouer might characterize such an accent as a “trace,” a type of maker that speaks of a

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[38] Glasserfeld, “Introduction: Aspects of Constructivism,” 3-4.

[39] Bruner, Jerome. *Acts of Meaning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990: 30

[40] Nina Kraus, and Jessica Slater, “Music and Language: Relations and Disconnections,” in *Handbook of Clinical Neurology: The Human Auditory System*, ed. G.G. Celesia, and G. Hickcok Elsevier, B.V., 2015), 213.

[41] Ibid., 214.

past that may even remain unconscious or unacknowledged.[42] This accent is plainly apparent when, for example, a highly trained orchestral musician attempts to "swing," or when a singer sings in a language in which they do not enjoy native fluency. In such cases, these individuals perform in such a way that betrays their foreign enculturation and otherness. In so doing, however, they change the substance of the experience, object, music, etc. that they perform.

Music educator Juliett Hess refers to much the same thing when she describes her concerns that, as music educators seek experience and literacy in new musical genres, particularly world music, these "encounters" may merely perpetuate traces (neural signatures, accents, etc.) of Euro-centric cultural imperialism, stereotypes, and cultural essentialization. The solution, Hess suggests, is to embrace the concept of creolization, where boundaries between cultures are blurred, and cultural categories "are no longer firm; rather they are fluid."[43]

Creolization as a metaphor, however, breaks down once the individuals to whom it might be conceptually applied become increasingly encultured to particular ways of being. In such cases, the accentuations of their enculturation will be harder to break. An adult language learner, for example, will most likely always retain a strong trace or accent of their mother tongue.[44] This isn't to suggest that fluency cannot be obtained in new ways of being, or that selves are not continually emergent, but rather emphasize that traces and accents of past enculturation may be very difficult, if not impossible to break.

[42] Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*.

[43] Juliet Hess, "Musically Creolizing Subjects: Re(envisioning) World Music Education," *Encounters on education* 11, no. Fall (2010), 161.

[44] Kraus, and Slater, "Music and Language: Relations and Disconnections."

Eurydicean research maintains that cultural accentuation can be an intangible cultural heritage that should be cherished and honored. It also recognizes that such accentuation can be offensive and derogatory. Fat drunken tourists enjoying their privileges of world travel write foreign languages with a different accent than that of a humble student studying in a foreign land. Nonetheless, Eurydicean researchers would that we all pursue continual cultural creolization, reading and experiencing foreign cultures, entering and leaving such places with our individual authorial accents. Such accents are a part of who we are, and a part of how we experience the world.

Whether we embrace creolization or not, however, Eurydicean research seeks to highlight the ways our enculturation creates hermeneutic complications in the narratives we construct about our experiences. For example, an individual may subject an experience to the only literacies they themselves know, which may subsequently constrain an object of that experience to a "genre of utterance" to which it is not germane.[45] While such a genre of utterance may not be germane to that object's origin, it is nonetheless the genre of utterance most accessible to the person who utters it. Perhaps such an utterance comes across with an impossibly thick accent or misconstrues or essentializes some aspect of what it seeks to encapsulate. Eurydicean research embraces this type of unique authorial accentuation, whether unconscious or not, even as it recognizes the inherent problems of such an embrace. As stated earlier, we all subject what we experience to the particularities of our own consciousness, which consciousness is a product of the vagaries of our own enculturation. The question of whether our authorship produces the writing of fat drunken tourists or humble students in a foreign

[45] Kramer, "Subjectivity Unbound: Music, Language, Culture," 397.

land is a moral question that is beyond the scope of the present discussion. Nonetheless, Eurydicean music education research methodology recognizes the hermeneutic complications that such authorial accentuation may present to the ways a narrative is understood or communicated — with resulting complications to the ontology of the narrative itself.

I am fond of saying that colonization begins in the mind. I colonize the musics of the world first and foremost as a jazz musician, then as conservatory trained musician of the European aristocratic tradition, and finally, as a humble student who relishes traveling the world, whether in person, or virtually. And while I may write the music of a foreign culture as a humble student, the trace and enculturation of the jazz musician imprints every sound, sonata, and song with a genre of utterance to which it is not germane.

Eurydicean research encourages us to embrace our own accented enculturations even as we seek to creolize ourselves with expanded literacies.

Phenomenology

Phenomenology is a product of European philosophical traditions. The Age of Enlightenment (roughly 17th-18th centuries) reified objective reasoning as the best source of knowledge (i.e. positivism). Reason was believed to exist independent of the sensory world yet was used to explain what was observed and experienced in the sensory world. Ironically this resulted in two mutually exclusive ideas: first, that pure reason could inspire "transcendental" knowledge that generalizes across time and space into every facet of daily life, regardless of our ability to specifically observe it; and second, that scientific observation of the ‘cause and effect’ mechanics of the natural world

through sensory means is possible (i.e. empiricism). Philosopher Emmanuel Kant (1724-1804) combined both viewpoints to suggest that the act of reasoning actively subjects sensory data to rational ways of thinking that categorize and otherwise situate sensory experience. Philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) developed this idea further to suggest that reason was a product of enculturation; the dynamic synthesis of ideas and information gained from sensory experience and a social-cultural milieu.[46]

Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1985) countered Hegel to suggest that a *false consciousness* related to economic class conflict and ideology could distort any sort of reason related to social-cultural knowledge. This line of thinking was developed further by Karl Mannheim (1887-1947) to include the multitudinous ways that knowledge in general can be distorted through social mechanisms. Marx, Engels, and Mannheim (together with their contemporaries too numerous to name here) represent the beginnings of what is sometimes referred to as critical theory; a system of thought that rejects Kant's rational empiricism and its universalist views as an ideology that dominant classes use to subjugate subordinate groups, whether or not such groups acquiesce. For critical theorists, the Enlightenment notion of rationality is only one of many historically and socially situated ways of understanding the world.[47] As music educator Thomas Regelski states, "True knowledge must take into account historical, social, subjective, contextual, personal, interpretative, collective, and situational factors..."[48]

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[46] George V. Coyne, and Michael Heller, *A Comprehensible Universe: The Interplay of Science and Theology* (New York, NY: Springer-Verlag, 2008); Boundas, "General Introduction"; Thomas Regelski, "On "methodolatry" and Music Teaching as Critical and Reflective Praxis," *Philosophy of Music Education Review* 10, no. 2 (2002).

[47] Coyne, and Heller, *A Comprehensible Universe: The Interplay of Science and Theology*; Boundas, "General Introduction"; Regelski, "On "methodolatry" and Music Teaching as Critical and Reflective Praxis."

[48] Regelski, "On "methodolatry" and Music Teaching as Critical and Reflective Praxis," 109.

Nonetheless, even as rational (i.e., positivistic, quantifiable) approaches to creating knowledge are criticized as being overly ideological and not acknowledging their subjective and interpretive aspects, observational (i.e., empirical; qualitative) approaches can be just as problematic.[49] The earth continues to be a sphere even if our sensory experience suggests it is flat.[50] The octaves in both a piano and Indonesian gamelan continue to be "stretched" regardless of our awareness of their particular tuning mechanics. Maillard reactions begin to occur above 140 degrees whether or not we understand the reasons why boiling bread fails to create brown toast.

Phenomenology traces its origins to the conflict between the rational and experiential lives of human beings.[51] On one hand, phenomenology embraces the sort of relativism that critical theory introduced to philosophy, including the rejection of Kant's experiential-rational theory for understanding the world in absolute and universal terms. In the phenomenological worldview, there is far too much subjectivity in the ways people live and understand their lives to embrace such universality. Phenomenology at its core, however, is a deeply logical means for accounting for this subjectivity that, as both a philosophical discipline as well means for thinking through research, represents what has been described as both "neo-Kantian"[52] and "post-Kantian"[53] orientation to the construction of knowledge.

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[49] Coyne, and Heller, *A Comprehensible Universe: The Interplay of Science and Theology*; Boundas, "General Introduction"; Regelski, "On "methodolatry" and Music Teaching as Critical and Reflective Praxis."

[50] Coyne, and Heller, *A Comprehensible Universe: The Interplay of Science and Theology*.

[51] Lawlor, "Phenomenology."

[52] Boundas, "General Introduction," 11.

[53] Dan Zahavi, "Introduction," in *The Oxford Handbook of Contemporary Phenomenology*, ed. Dan Zahavi (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 2012), 2.

Researchers who use phenomenological approaches are reluctant to prescribe specific methods. This is due at least in part to the impact an individual researcher will have on both the gathering and elucidation of phenomenological data.[54] Richard Hycner suggests further that there is a fear that the proscription of specific techniques will lead to such steps becoming "reified as they have in the natural sciences."[55] Nonetheless, as a philosophical orientation first and foremost, most phenomenological inquiry shares certain ways of thinking that exist in both quantitative and qualitative inquiry, even if it differs in the language used to describe them.

In a fundamental sense, phenomenological research is carried out through both observation, interviews, and researcher journaling. For this reason, phenomenology has been called the "essence of qualitative exploration."[56] Even as consciousness cannot be described directly, the world cannot be described without reference to the person who experiences it.[57] For this reason, phenomenological inquiry is extensively concerned with acknowledging subjectivity. Phenomenology is thus fundamentally concerned with exploring the rich diversity of ways that people experience life as well as the degree to which living is a shared phenomenon.[58]

Edmond Husserl is generally cited as the originator of phenomenology as a philosophical discipline, though earlier authors had used the term in rare and isolated

[54] Thomas Greenwald, "A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated," *International journal of qualitative methods* 3, no. 1 (2004); Moustakas, *Phenomenological Research Methods*; Richard Hycner, "Some Guidelines for the Phenomenological Analysis of Interview Data," *Human studies* 8, no. 3 (1985).

[55] Hycner, "Some Guidelines for the Phenomenological Analysis of Interview Data," 279.

[56] Ryan Hourigan, and Scott Edgar, "Phenomenological Research in American Music Education," in *Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research in Music Education*, ed. Colleen Conway (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[57] Van Manen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*.

[58] Lawlor, "Phenomenology."

instances. Husserl's interest was to use some semblance of logic to explore the psychology and metaphysics of lived experience, what he called the *life world*. Husserl proposed to do this with a specific type of reflection that is both personal as well as general — personal, because he was concerned first and foremost with the consciousness of the individual; and general, because he also sought to explore ways in which consciousness and experience may be common with others. Husserl described his phenomenology as descriptive or *transcendental* as he believed it provided a means to objectify lived experience in a way that transcends individual differences to arrive at some sort of generalizable essence of what a lived experience might be.[59]

Phenomenology as described by Husserl suggests knowledge, particularly of the quantifiable and positivistic type, can be assumed to be wrong.[60] This requires a complete reduction and redescription of everything upon which knowledge is based, a process Husserl called the *epoche*. Through the epoche a researcher engages in an ongoing and cyclical process to understand the variable and contingent nature upon which knowledge of lived experience is based, attempting to suspend judgement until all the evidence is in. Husserl believed it was possible to *bracket* or otherwise block out the subjectivity of such judgement and used the term *noema* to articulate the different ways in which both a researcher and research participant may understand aspects of lived experience being explored throughout the bracketing process. Through observation and bracketing Husserl believed a researcher could arrive at what he called *noesis,* or the meaning to which both mind and spirit awaken us about the lived experience. For Husserl, the contemplation of

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[59] Zahavi, "Introduction."
[60] Boundas, "General Introduction."

both noema and noesis provides *transcendental* knowledge of a lived experience, a type of generalizable essence that articulates the relationship between the consciousness of lived experience and the interactions of daily life. In this way, Husserl meant for phenomenological inquiry to maintain a semblance of objectivity even as it explored subjective lived experience.[61]

This "transcendental" phenomenology has come to be called descriptive phenomenology in more recent years, however, its emphasis on distilling lived experiences to a unifying and generalizable essence has not changed. Much like research in the physical sciences which seeks to provide a result that can be expected to obey universal laws, research in the transcendental phenomenological tradition embraces a more rigid approach to both data collection and analysis in which interviews and observations are subject to rigid protocols. Furthermore, in the transcendental phenomenological paradigm, analysis is accomplished within what is believed to be an objective, bias-free, framework.[62] As Moustakas states, the purpose of transcendental phenomenological research designs is to explore lived experiences in a way that is "completely open, receptive, and naive in listening to and hearing research participants describe their experience of the phenomenon being investigated."[63]

Martin Heidegger was a student of Husserl who criticized transcendental phenomenology for ignoring the influence of interpretation (hermeneutics) on lived experience. Hermeneutics is a term refers to the act of interpretation, traditionally literary

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[61] Constantin V. Boundas, "General Introduction;" Hourigan, and Edgar, "Phenomenological Research in American Music Education."

[62] Magnus Englander, "The Interview: Data Collection in Descriptive Phenomenological Human Scientific Research," *Journal of phenomenological psychology* 43 (2012); Hycner, "Some Guidelines for the Phenomenological Analysis of Interview Data"; Moustakas, *Phenomenological Research Methods*.

[63] Moustakas, *Phenomenological Research Methods*, 21.

or theological texts.[64] For Heidegger, lived experience can only be understood reflectively through the mechanisms of interpretation. Additionally, as an act of consciousness, Heidegger believed reflection was highly dependent on language.[65]

For Heidegger, this meant that words were important as they imbued lived experiences with meaning. As we reflect on an experience, we distill and synthesize it into a textual form that we can understand through our interpretation of that experience. Heidegger believed we give words to encapsulate an experience, and/or interpret the words used to describe such an experience. In addition, Heidegger believed that experiences could change as interpretation of the experience elicited new meanings. This emphasis on the importance of interpretation throughout the exploration of lived experience led to the development of the hermeneutic (interpretive) branch of phenomenology.[66]

van Manen describes hermeneutic phenomenological research as "systematic, explicit, self-critical, and intersubjective."[67] For van Manen, phenomenological research should employ methodological questioning, reflecting, focusing, and intuiting that self-critically examines its own goals, methods, and biases. Furthermore, the research should make the meanings it creates explicit through the use of a textual description of their

[64] See "hermeneutics" (n.d.) In Oxford Reference. http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095932785

[65] Art Sloan, and Brian Bowe, "Phenomenology and Hermeneutic Phenomenology: The Philosophy, the Methodologies, and Using Hermeneutic Phenomenology to Investigate Lecturers,äô Experiences of Curriculum Design," *Quality & Quantity* 48 (2014); Figal, "Hermeneutical Phenomenology."

[66] Sloan, and Bowe, "Phenomenology and Hermeneutic Phenomenology: The Philosophy, the Methodologies, and Using Hermeneutic Phenomenology to Investigate Lecturers,äô Experiences of Curriculum Design"; Figal, "Hermeneutical Phenomenology."

[67] Van Manen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, 11.

essence. Through such description, a reader may, "develop a dialogic relationship with phenomenon, and thus validate the phenomenon as described."[68] van Manen suggests that results cannot be severed from the means by which they were achieved, and conclusions or summaries need to be avoided:

> When a phenomenologist asks for the essence of a phenomenon-a lived experience-then the phenomenological inquiry is not unlike an artistic endeavor, a creative attempt to somehow capture a certain phenomenon of life in a linguistic description that is both holistic and analytical, evocative and precise, unique and universal, powerful and sensitive.[69]

For van Manen, the only way to truly understand phenomenology is by "actively doing it."[70]

Phenomenology aspires to understand what about lived experience constitutes a shared humanity. As Boundas states, the "central objective [of phenomenology] is the repudiation of … perspectivism, relativism, and incommensurability, … and the firm establishment of the conclusion that the world is one and ordered."[71] Despite its grandiose aspirations, however, phenomenological philosophy accepts that establishing a shared humanity of conscious experience with complete certainty is likely to be impossible. As Lawlor states, "the relativity of consciousness applies not just to the factual world in which we find ourselves, but to every conceivable world as such. [...] How could we as a possible subjectivity be the origin of any possible world whatsoever?"[72] The ineffable qualities of consciousness that constitute lived experience vary to such a degree that methodically circumscribing them to any kind of universal

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[68] Ibid., 11.
[69] Ibid., 40.
[70] Ibid., 8.
[71] Boundas, "General Introduction," 5.
[72] Lawlor, "Phenomenology," 393.

objectivity is best conceptualized as a continual aspiration, not an established fact. For this reason, Zahavi describes phenomenology as "perpetual critical (self-)reflection … a constant meditation."[73]

Many research methods aspire to represent something objectively, that is, free of the biases, prejudices, whims, and tastes that create individuality — or in other words, subjectivity. Phenomenology embraces and even highlights the effects that subjectivity may have on anything we may claim to understand objectively, like our own consciousness, or sense of the world. As Figal states, phenomenological thinking accepts that lived experiences are always understood, "under the dominance of the prejudices of everyday life."[74]

Phenomenological methods explore lived experiences as they intersect with variable and contingent efforts to interpret and understand them.[75] Phenomenological methods, like other qualitative research paradigms, seek to account for the researcher as a central figure in both the understanding and interpretation of the research as explicitly as possible. The overt impact of a researcher on both the type and quality of data that is generated in has been explored extensively in qualitative research. Jerome Bruner advises that researchers should be as aware as possible of the "values" that influence their perspectives and accept accountability for "how and what" they claim to know.[76] Music education researcher Patti Krueger has stated further that qualitative researchers, whether

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[73] Zahavi, "Phenomenology," 4.

[74] Figal, "Hermeneutical Phenomenology," 527.

[75] Moustakas, *Phenomenological Research Methods*; Greenwald, "A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated."

[76] Jerome Bruner, *Acts of Meaning* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 30.

they like it or not, "become a part of the context, and neutrality is not possible"[77] There is no dispassionate, objective analysis in the phenomenological exploration of lived experiences.[78]

As both a research and philosophical paradigm, phenomenology does not seek to establish a final understanding of anything. Rather, observation, theorizing, and dialogue are continuous processes that propose to illuminate how lived experiences are understood. As philosopher Dan Zahavi states, phenomenology enables the "structures of experience and understanding that permit different types of [lived experiences] to show themselves as what they are," and what exactly those lived experiences "are" is not necessarily a stable entity.[79] "No conceptual formulation or single statement," suggests social science researcher Max Van Manen, "can possibly capture the full mystery [of a lived experience]."[80]

Lived experiences are both understood and interpreted differently depending on context and circumstance. As philosopher Leonard Lawlor states, "the relativity of consciousness applies not just to the factual world in which we find ourselves, but to every conceivable world as such."[81] Music educators Hourigan and Edgar encapsulate this relativity well, "we can only know what we experience," and as many liability waivers proudly state, "experiences may vary."[82]

[77] Patti Krueger, "Doing Ethnography in Music Education," in *Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research in Music Education*, ed. Colleen Conway (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014), 138.

[78] Figal, "Hermeneutical Phenomenology."

[79] Zahavi, "Introduction," 4.

[80] Van Manen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, 92.

[81] Lawlor, "Phenomenology," 393.

[82] Hourigan, and Edgar, "Phenomenological Research in American Music Education," 149.

Phenomenology places an emphasis on the ways that people consciously experience the world through their thoughts and experiences. As van Manen states, "Anything that presents itself to the consciousness is potentially of interest to phenomenology, whether the object is real or imagined, empirically measurable or subjectively felt."[83] From a phenomenological perspective, the experience of the individual is what matters. And since from my perspective, a music education curriculum can be comprised of literally anything, anything that presents itself to consciousness with regard to change in whatever that curriculum might be is of potential phenomenological interest. In other words, your conception of toast can be whatever you want it to be. My interest is in regard to the experience of change with regard to that toast is whatever your experience is, whether you "toast" or "boil" it. As Geertz stated, ethnographic research must be, "cast in terms of the interpretations to which [the research participants] subject their experience."[84]

The logic of phenomenology, like the lived experiences it seeks to explore, is still subject to whether or not any one individual finds it logical. Furthermore, there are differences of opinion as to what exactly constitutes phenomenology.[85] In fact, Edmond Husserl and Martin Heidegger, two of the philosophers who laid the foundations of phenomenology in the early twentieth century, had an enormous falling out over their different understandings of it.[86] The result of all this subjectivity with regard to the meaning of phenomenology, is that phenomenology should not be interpreted as a

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[83] Van Manen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, 9.

[84] Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 15.

[85] Zahavi, "Introduction."

[86] Leonard Lawlor, *Early Twentieth-Century Continental Philosophy* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2012).

method in the rigid sense of precise steps to be followed. Accordingly, researchers who embrace phenomenological philosophy are reluctant to prescribe specific methods for accomplishing its aims.[87] Rather, phenomenology is perhaps best conceptualized as a method for thinking, intuiting, and interpreting that van Manen describes as, “not unlike an artistic endeavor.”[88]

Improvisational Ethno-Historiography

I don’t know what you might call music, or by extension, music education. Similarly, participants in this research project may have differing views of music, music education, or even (heaven forbid) “jazz.” Therefore, an exploration of change in music education within even the limited confines of the Stan Kenton Clinics could encompass a nearly infinite variety of ways of thinking. Music, as ethnomusicologists like John Blacking are fond of observing, is a cultural arbitrary in that it can be pretty much anything people say it is.[89] “Both language and subjectivity,” states Kramer, “are above all cultural agencies, each of which acts through the other.”[90] And a culture, like a work of art, can produce a wide variety of meanings which in turn, give rise to "ever new implications as cultural vistas open up.”[91]

Modern ethnography invites us to contemplate the differences that exist between the cultures most familiar to us, and those that may be less familiar; or as anthropologist

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[87] Hycner, “Some Guidelines for the Phenomenological Analysis of Interview Data”; Greenwald, “A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated.”

[88] Van Manen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, 40.

[89] John Blacking, *How Musical is Man?* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1974).

[90] Kramer, “Subjectivity Unbound: Music, Language, Culture,” 397.

[91] Slobin, *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West*, 88.

Michael Carrithers suggested, to "find and explain variation" among diverse cultures.[92] At the intersection of anthropology and the study of music exists the discipline of ethnomusicology which seeks to study music in its cultural context. A key tenet of modern ethnomusicology is an ethic that does not seek to establish hierarchies between musical cultures, but rather to observe and describe diverse musical cultures in an effort to understand their meanings to the people who are arguably closest to them.[93]

Ethnomusicologists often experience personal attachments with the "cultures that they study and with which they identify themselves," including obligations that might be felt towards "ethnic or family heritage."[94] As one becomes increasingly encultured, personal relationships work to create emotional attachments and an increasing sense of bonding or alienation. These emotional attachments are an essential part of the learning process as it is "neurobiologically impossible to think deeply about or remember information about which one has had no emotion because the healthy brain does not waste energy processing information that does not matter to the individual."[95] Nonetheless, cultural description is best accomplished in an unsentimental way. Otherwise, one may run the risk of pining for a reconstructed past that never actually existed.[96]

The danger of course, is that anyone wishing to construct an understanding of a particular culture may fall victim to what some have called "outgroup homogeneity," a

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[92] Carrithers*, et al.*, "Ontology is Just Another Word for Culture: Motion Tabled At the 2008 Meeting of the Group for Debates in Anthropological Theory, University of Manchester," 162.

[93] Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology*.

[94] Ibid., 18.

[95] National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, *How People Learn Ii: Learners, Contexts, and Cultures*, 30.

[96] Nieto, "Culture and Education."

term used to describe the ways that external groups will completely misconstrue, simplify, and essentialize the workings of one group, while insisting their own is full of depth and complexity.[97] In addition, the colonization of the other always begins with the mind — cognitive assimilation struggles to make something new fit into something we can understand. However, when we collectively accept that all cultural description is necessarily reductive, understanding inherently constrained, and certainty never absolute, then we will be able to treat one another with equity and respect as we continually seek to share, empathize, understand, and reflect.

Cultures are not precisely democratic, nor are they explicitly autocratic, and whatever a musical culture is, there are likely as many different experiences and meanings of it as there are people. Musicologist Ruth Finnegan states, the "experiencing of music, [is not] random but . . . molded through specific groups, genres, and contexts."[98] However, when our individual experiences with whatever we construe as "music" appear to overlap with the experiences of others, we discover we have a shared culture of musical experience, even a musical folklore. A key part of this folklore will be the ways in which teaching and learning music are experienced. Like any other cultural experience, teaching and learning are multifaceted and highly contextual.

A certain amount of reductive description is essential when attempting to understand a culture. Inherent to the study of culture then is a tension between generalizing, while simultaneously finding delight in "strange facts" that overturn such

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[97] Bowman, ""Open" Philosophy or Down the Rabbit Hole?"

[98] Ruth Finnegan, "Music, Experience, and the Anthropology of Emotion," in *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert, and Richard Middleton (New York, NY: Routledge, 2011), 358.

generalizations.[99] Slobin reminds scholars that meta-analysis and comparison can provide insights on a grand perspective but will run the risk of overgeneralization, but at the same time, an understanding of culture requires an impossible micro analysis of everything associated with it. As Slobin suggests, this creates a problem for researchers who want to tell a convincing cultural story without generalizing too much, or those who fear losing sight of the larger picture due to a narrow focus.[100]

When a descriptive focus expands outward to the collectively lived experiences of groups of people, the exponential increase in complexity demands that even more selective summation will be required. Though ethnographers seek to engage readers with a "thick description" of reliable data, as anthropologist Clifford Geertz suggests, the whole effort is nonetheless "our own constructions of other people's constructions… explicating explications: winks upon winks."[101] Much like the mechanics of cognition itself, a thick description is just another exercise in interpretive selection; just one more way in which we as individuals "routinely generate [our] own novel understanding of the information [we] are accumulating."[102]

Methodical predetermination is perfectly appropriate where a method is meant to explore phenomena that can easily be constrained by petri dishes, sterile environments, classifications, or various acts of arithmetic. Where phenomena cannot be so constrained however, a research method should be flexible enough to account for this lack of control. The study of culture is a domain that betrays easy containment, and as ethnomusicologist

[99] Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology*, 17-18.
[100] Slobin, *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West*, 23.
[101] Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 9.
[102] National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, *How People Learn Ii: Learners, Contexts, and Cultures*, 5.

Mark Slobin states, "to take account of [it], you need to match your vision to [its] multifaceted nature..."[103]

For example, creativity, like music, is an ambiguous term that is conceptualized differently throughout the world. Menger suggests that creativity, "is a rational behavior" that exists within a domain of uncertainty.[104] Stauffer understands creativity as a "mindset, a way of being" that also includes, "curiosity, questioning, wondering, exploration, problem-finding, problem-solving, and even making errors."[105] Webster understands creativity as ways of thinking that diverge from expectations or established norms.[106] Shapiro suggests that creativity is an act of freedom.[107] Negus focuses on how creativity is circumscribed by corporate power.[108] Reckwitz notes that the concepts we use to define creativity are, "culturally charged concepts" and that as a result, "creativity as a social and cultural phenomenon is to a certain degree an invention"[109]

I am fond of the statement by Bruner that, "Life in culture is perpetually open to improvisation."[110] Improvisation, however, must grapple with diverse and complicated meanings for the word improvisation. As a musician with extensive experience with

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[103] Slobin, *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West*, 23.

[104] Pierre-Michel Menger, and Steven Rendall, *The Economics of Creativity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 7.

[105] Sandra Stauffer, "Preparing to Engage Children in Musical Creating," in *Composing Our Future: Preparing Music Educators to Teach Composition*, ed. Michelle Kaschub, and Janice Smith (New York: Oxford, 2012), 87.

[106] Peter R. Webster, "Creativity as Creative Thinking," *Music Educators Journal* 76, no. 9 (1990).

[107] Alex Shapiro, "Releasing a Student's Inner Composer," in *Musicianship: Composing in Band and Orchestra*, ed. Clint Randles, and David Stringham (Chicago, IL: GIA, 2013), 107.

[108] Keith Negus, "Cultural Production and the Corporation: Musical Genres and the Strategic Management of Creativity in the Us Recording Industry," *Media, Culture & Society* 20, no. 3 (1998).

[109] Andreas Reckwitz, *The Invention of Creativity: Modern Society and the Culture of the New,* trans. Steven Black (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2017), 4-6.

[110] Jerome Bruner, "Narrative, Culture, and Mind," in *Telling Stories: Language, Narrative, and Social Life*, ed. Deborah Schiffrin, Anna de Fina, and Anastasia Nylund (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2010), 46.

improvisation, my understanding of its methods and meanings are rich and complex, ranging from mere embellishment and ornamentation to wholesale invention and composition. Regardless of the specific meaning, improvisation is often so culturally situated, that its methods can be neatly rationalized according to cultural expectations.

When Bach visited Frederick the Second of Prussia and was asked to improvise at the then modish Silbermann fortepiano, we can safely assume that his improvisations followed certain rules.[111] Similarly, jazz musicians who specialize in playing the now long-established pianoforte, like Oscar Peterson, Eliane Elias, or Keith Jarrett, follow certain rules in order to improvise in their respective styles. In Bach's case, rules of counterpoint and harmonic function dictated the melodic embellishments he was able to produce in the three voice fugue he improvised. Bach declined to improvise a six-voice fugue during his meeting with Frederick on the grounds that this would be too complex an undertaking to accomplish extemporaneously. Similarly, rules of harmonic function, voice leading, and rhythm constrain the improvisations of jazz pianists like Peterson, Elias, or Jarrett. Berliner describes such improvisers as trained, "in matters of musical logic and stylistic continuity."[112]

I do not think it is a coincidence that the titles of many 17th and 18th century treatises dedicated to the topic of improvisation (by which I mean musical embellishment, ornamentation, and/or wholesale invention) included the word "rules" (*regole*).[113] I am, however, bemused by the fact that many jazz musicians are fond of

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[111] James R. Gaines, *Evening in the Palace of Reason: Bach Meets Frederick the Great in the Age of Englightenment* (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 2006).

[112] Berliner, *Thinking in Jazz: The Infinite Art of Improvisation*, 145.

[113] Imogene Horsley, "Improvised Embellishment in the Performance of Renaissance Polyphonic Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 4, no. 1 (1951).

complaining about the establishment of such "rules" for jazz improvisation. For example, Prouty complains that students with real individuality get discouraged by being forced to make music in specifically delineated ways, particularly when pedantic improvisational exercises based on chords and scales are "intended to ingrain the concepts of harmonic structure and related scalar material so deeply that it becomes almost second nature."[114] Of course, such discontent has a long and influential history in the jazz canon.

Sawyer explores the meaning of improvisation as compared to the use of language and suggests that genres dominated by improvisation will exhibit more variability in their form and substance. Sawyer employs an indexical framework of "contrast dimensions" that situate expressive musical acts on a scale between the ritualized and the improvisational. Ritual is characterized by ossification, resistance to novelty, narrow genre definitions, and low creative involvement, while improvisation is characterized by revivalism, broad genre definitions, reception to novelty, and high creative involvement.

It remains, then, to describe what sort of "improvisation" is implicated for Eurydicean ethno-historiography.

After Ricouer and phenomenological philosophy, all writing and reflection is an act of writing history in that it circumscribes something which is already in the past into a present form. van Manen describes how lived experience can never be understood in real time but only through reflection on its past presence.[115] Ricouer describes how historiography is always mitigated by the unyielding movement of time.

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[114] Kenneth E Prouty, "Canons in Harmony, or Canons in Conflict: A Cultural Perspective on the Curriculum and Pedagogy of Jazz Improvization," *Research and Issues in Music Education* 2, no. 1 (2004), 8.

[115] Van Manen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*.

> On the one hand, the historical present is, in each era, the final term of a completed history, which itself completes and ends history. On the other hand, the present is, again in every era, or at least it may become, the inaugural force of a history that is yet to be made. The present, in the first sense, speaks of the aging of the youth of history and establishes us as "firstcomers."[116]

Thus, the improvisatory method of Eurydicean research exists at the interplay between the present (where we read and write) and the past (where we only read). As Ricouer states, "we are affected by history [and] we affect ourselves by the history we make."[117]

Ricouer wants to free people from what he calls "the burden of the past" that prevents new openings and change. Eurydicean research embraces Ricouer's view of historiography that encourages us to "escape from [our] perverse relationship with the past [by becoming] capable again of forgetting." For Ricouer, this forgetfulness enables us to begin anew, to reread and rewrite, to continue, to chart a new course.[118] Thus the historiographic orientation of Eurydicean research is to not ossify the past, rather to explore its oracles for the inspiration to change the future.

It is not enough, however, to simply read and then rewrite the past. For, as Ricoeur states, the intentionality of writing history becomes a type of promise or social contract that binds meanings within certain cultural parameters.[119] In this way, then, ethnographic description becomes a crucial methodological frame in which Eurydicean historiography proceeds. For within the domains of culture we find the traditions, paradigms, or methodologies that give "research" its form, substance, and meaning. As Ricouer states, "Research . . . is the obligatory partner of tradition inasmuch as the latter

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[116] Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 240.
[117] Ibid., 219
[118] Ibid., 230, 236, 246.
[119] Ibid., 232.

presents truth claims."[120] On this matter I am sure Kuhn would agree, but perhaps signified by the word "paradigm."

"[Historical] research is careful, systematic, reflective, and objective…" state music educators George Heller and Bruce Wilson.[121] I could say the same thing about improvisation, particularly regarding how a narrative becomes constructed following all this careful, systematic reflection and objectivity. As Heller and Wilson states, "The best solutions [i.e., historical narratives] are idiosyncratic, based on themes inherent in the material."[122] Even as they adhere to culturally established norms, improvisations are regularly highly individual. "[Real history] presents a real picture of the past, not some sentimental portrait," states music educator Ken Phillips.[123] Phillips points to historical research as a type of hard science, which, like improvisation, it can be. In the same sense that Bach did not equivocate in his improvisational prowess, historical research does not mince words where historical data are unequivocal. Like a hard science, original documents can be verified by others and aspects of their data corroborated. This does not mean, however, that such documents present us with any semblance of a "real" picture of the past. As music education historian Carol Pemberton states, "history is not the sum of its parts" and "we are all revisionist historians."[124]

What do we do, however, when the only texts of a culture are those which have been written in the continuous dawn of its auroral traditions? Oral historians Barbara

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[120] Ibid., 223.

[121] George Heller, and Bruce Wilson, "Historical Research," in *Handbook of Research on Music Teaching and Learning*, ed. R. Colwell (New York, NY: Schirmer, 1992), 102.

[122] Ibid., 107.

[123] Kenneth Phillips, "Historical Research," in *Exploring Research in Music Education and Music Therapy*, ed. Kenneth Phillips (New York: Oxford, 2007).

[124] Pemberton, "Research in Music Education History: One Historian's Experiences, Perspectives, and Suggestions," 91, 93.

Sommer and Mary Quinlan suggest that oral history, as they understand it, is constrained by specific benchmarks. Namely, a clear structure that is planned with due diligence to ethical and copyright issues, according to a clear research protocol, with clearly defined research participants, using high quality recording equipment, that produces a record for preservation in a designated repository.[125] James Fogerty agrees, complaining further that the mistaken belief that anyone can conduct an oral history interview has resulted in, "an abundance of poorly planned and executed interviews that have little residual value for research." Fogerty believes that "lack of attention to context" is generally the problem in such instances.[126] Unfortunately, when historical research is mitigated by phenomenological philosophy we discover that a clear research protocol is not necessarily in the best interest. After all, as van Manen suggests, "no conceptual formulation or single statement can possibly capture the full mystery of a phenomenon."[127] van Manen suggests further that some sources of data are richer than others but regardless, "when a person shares with us a certain experience then there will always be something there for [a researcher] to gather."[128] Thus, while historiography may appear share some similarities with the clear protocols and rigor of the hard sciences, its interpretational aspects soften such methodological hardness.

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[125] Sommer, and Quinlan, *The Oral History Manual*.

[126] Fogerty, James E. "Oral History and Archives: Documenting Context." *History of Oral History: Foundations and Methodology* (2007): 208.

[127] Van Manen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, 93.

[128] Ibid., 93.

CHAPTER 4

THE STAN KENTON CLINICS

> No art form will ever be satisfied with the status quo because when it is, it is no longer creative art, it is simply an artistic fossil.
> Stan Kenton (circa 1970 CE)[1]

Introduction

The Stan Kenton Clinics occurred at a time when the sounds of American public-school music education were rapidly changing. The youthful populism of big band jazz had matured alongside its initial audiences and the popular music landscape became dominated by newer sounds and younger fans. Through the clinics, Kenton and many others promoted the maturing sounds of big band jazz to a younger generation. As such, the clinics represent a form of resistance to cultural change, a bulwark against the vicissitudes of American youth-centered popular music.

In 1962, prominent jazz critic, lecturer, and author Ralph Gleason observed how many traditional mechanisms for learning had all but disappeared. He stated,

> Dance bands, in which jazz musicians starred as featured soloists, were the training ground for some of the best musicians of America, as well as experimental laboratories for young composers. The decline of the dance band business, which has caused all but a handful of the big bands to disappear, removed this natural school for jazz. Jazz' elder statesmen have mourned ever since.

Gleason subsequently praised the then-burgeoning stage band movement occurring in schools across the country. This movement, taking place from the late 1950s through the 60s, saw jazz band programs proliferate exponentially in American secondary

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[1] "Kenton Comments on the Challenge of Change (Press Release)," n.d., MSS 1824, Box 5, Folio 26. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

schools and universities.[2] Gleason observed that, "as the big bands departed from the music scene, an estimated 6000 high school bands have been formed." And according to Gleason, the Kenton Clinics were an integral part of the stage band movement.[3]

Tens of thousands of music learners, both adult educators and young students, attended the clinics over their near twenty-year history. The adult educators used their experiences at the clinics to improve jazz programs and teaching back home. For example, following the first year of the Kenton Clinics in 1959, Mrs. Frances Tapert, then a 44-year-old music teacher from Detroit, departed happily grinning, stating she had been "determined to learn about what this modern jazz was all about."[4] As might be expected of a mid-century American educational endeavor, however, most of the participants were of then-dominant racial and gender categories. In other words, select quotations from women and people of color featured in this history notwithstanding, the overwhelming majority of the participants were white males. Across the nearly twenty-year lifespan of the clinics, a staggering number of student participants went on to successful careers in nearly all aspects of the music industry, as members of chart-topping rock and pop bands, film composers, songwriters, producers, and last but certainly not least, jazz musicians. More student participants undoubtedly pursued interests less centered on music.[5]

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[2] Walter Barr, "The Jazz Studies Curriculum," (Ed.D Music Department, Arizona State University, 1974). and Frank Ferriano, "A Study of the School Jazz Ensemble in American Music Education," (PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 1974).

[3] Ralph Gleason, "Jazz Goes to High School," *Scholastic Roto* April (1962), 10.

[4] Menees, Charles, "Jazz Music Camp on Indiana U. Campus." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 21, 1959.

[5] Kenton clinic participants not otherwise mentioned in this text include drummer Steve Smith of the rock band Journey; keyboardist David Paich and bassist David Hungate, both of pop-rock band Toto; Dee Barton, composer for many Clint Eastwood films; Tom Hensley, music director for Neil Diamond; the list could go on and on.

Trumpeter Linda Craugh described the Stan Kenton Clinics as, "the greatest week of [her] life."[6] Vibraphonist Gary Burton felt "totally captivated" by the experience.[7] Nightclub manager and drummer Richie Okon described the Kenton Clinics as a "real highlight of [his] life up to that point."[8] Saxophonist Mary Fettig called her experiences at the clinics "earth changing."[9]Aeronautical engineer and trumpeter Doug Hughes recalled he was, "on an adrenaline high all week."[10] Saxophonist Lou Marini, reflecting on his growth as a young musician, described how "the clinics meant a lot to [him]."[11] Trumpeter Mike Vax stated that attending the clinics, "changed [his] life."[12] Drummer Peter Erskine, who attended the clinics beginning at age seven, loved the time he spent with Kenton and his band so much that he recalled the final day of the clinics each summer as a "traumatizing and tearful" event.[13]

The Clinics began modestly in 1959 with a single week and 157 students at Indiana University, expanding within just a few years to include over a month of continuous summertime Clinic operations in locations spread across the country.[14] By the 1970s, Kenton was facilitating and performing in over 100 clinics per year, some pared down to a one or two-day experience he branded the "Jazz Orchestra in Residence."[15]

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[6] Quoted in Menees.

[7] Quoted in Gary Burton, *Learning to Listen: The Jazz Journey of Gary Burton* (Boston, MA: Berklee Press, 2013), 22.

[8] Leitch, Sylvia Levine, "Richie Okon: Respect for the Jazz Club." *Jazztimes*, April 26, 2019. https://jazztimes.com/features/interviews/richie-okon-respect-for-the-jazz-club/

[9] Mary Fettig, "Interview," January 3, 2019.

[10] Doug Hughes, "Interview," November 6, 2019.

[11] Lou Marini, "Interview," October 28, 2019.

[12] Mike Vax, "Interview," September 9, 2016.

[13] Quoted in Steven Harris, *The Kenton Kronicles - a Biography of Modern America's Man of Music, Stan Kenton* (Saline, MI: McNaughton & Gunn, Inc., 2000), 280.

[14] Attendance in 1959 was 157. Average attendance for a week-long Kenton Clinic thereafter was reportedly between 250 and 300 students.

[15] "The Jazz Orchestra in Residence," N.D., MSS 1824, Box 5, Folio 26. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

Obituaries written following Kenton's death in 1979 were just as likely to mention his devotion to jazz education during the second half of his career as his early artistic successes.[16]

In the beginning, Kenton volunteered his time at his eponymous Clinics and paid the weekly salaries of his bandmembers who participated as faculty. By the 1970s, however, his financial circumstances had changed dramatically. As a result, at a time when similarly sized big bands had all but disappeared from year-round touring, Kenton relied more heavily on educational clinics to keep his band and its touring operations financially solvent. As Mike Vax, a road manager for Kenton during this period emphatically recalled, "The band wasn't making any money!" [17] Though the clinics were reportedly "physically draining and rarely [broke] even,"[18] Kenton often continued to underwrite the costs associated with the clinics personally, saying something to the effect of, "Music's been good to me. . . This is something I can do to pay back the fact that I have been successful in this business."[19]

The following chapter relates histories of change in the sound of the American music education landscape via the experiences of participants of the Stan Kenton Clinics during its first five years (1959-1963). If the founding of the clinics is in any way

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[16] An obituary by Leonard Feather is representative: "The rest [i.e., post 1960s] of Stan Kenton's career was notable less for his orchestras, which for the most part seemed to echo past glories, than for his admirable efforts to stimulate jazz education. He was a pioneer in the concept of holding clinics and seminars on school and college campuses." See, Leonard Feather, *The Passion for Jazz* (New York, NY: Horizon Press, 1980), 74.

[17] The disappearance of big bands from full-time touring is well documented. Mike Vax, Kenton's road manager during the early 1970s, states further that Kenton's musicians were paid the same salaries in 1970 as they were in the late 1950s. Vax, "Interview."

[18] Carol Easton, *Straight Ahead: The Story of Stan Kenton* (New York, NY: William Morrow, 1973), 22.

[19] This is Eugene Hall reminiscing about the many times Kenton personally covered cost overruns at his clinics. Quoted in Lillian Arganian, *Stan Kenton: The Man and His Music* (East Lansing, MI: Artistry Press, 1989), 162.

indicative of larger trends, it demonstrates that change in such sound was often gradual, requiring the creativity, determination, and sacrifice of many people. In the case of the Kenton Clinics this certainly includes music educator Dr. Morris Eugene Hall, entrepreneur Ken Morris, bandleader Stan Kenton, the faculty and student participants of the clinics, and countless others who supported the clinics or eased the way for its founding. The voices of many of these individuals interweave throughout the following narrative, both from interviews conducted during the present research, as well as those connected to previously documented accounts, both archival and published.

Names, Entrepreneurs, and Pedagogues

Kenton was within a few hours of going on stage for a 1958 student dance at Texas Tech College when he sent the following telegram to Ken Morris of South Bend, Indiana:

> THIS IS TO CONFIRM OUR AGREEMENT TO BE
> TOGETHER FROM JULY 26 TO AUG 1 THE DETAILS
> TO BE MUTUALLY WORKED OUT LATER
> REGARDS = STAN KENTON[20]

Like many telegrams, it does not seem like much. Beneath its stilted language, however, are creative and resistive currents that would eventually superimpose on one another, in the process irrevocably helping change the sounds of American music education. For better or worse, jazz music – and by extension an education in jazz music – was becoming more mainstream. Within a decade, public school jazz programs would increase from only a few hundred, to over ten thousand. Many teachers and students of

[20] Western Union Telegram dated October 14, 1958. Facsimile in the possession of the author courtesy of Mike Vax.

music were thrilled with this development. Others, less so.[21] Nonetheless, for now, this telegram merely confirmed that Kenton agreed to participate in a summer music camp devoted to jazz education from July 26 to August 1, 1959.

The official name of the venture would be The National Stage Band Camps Presenting the Stan Kenton Clinics, the billing reflecting the promotional acumen of two of its three leading protagonists. The name "National Stage Band Camps" (formally incorporated as National Band Camp, Inc.) were the brainchild of Ken Morris, a band leader, ballroom operator, and concert promoter with a singular background from the American Midwest.[22] The name "Stan Kenton Clinics" reflected the support and influence of the eponymous and internationally renowned jazz musician, band leader, and recording artist. As early as 1953, Morris reportedly approached Kenton about participating in an educational summer camp focused on stage band music.[23] Kenton talked about the subject with his musicians while on tour increasingly from around 1957.[24] Very little happened, however, until Morris also enlisted the help of an experienced music pedagogue with an extensive jazz background, Gene Hall.[25]

Morris Eugene ("Gene") Hall, Ed.D., (1913-1993) was at the forefront of introducing formalized jazz instruction into the American academe.[26] As a graduate

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[21] Barr, "The Jazz Studies Curriculum." Barr notes that from the 1940s to mid-60s, many music educators were primarily concerned with whether jazz was worthy of being accepted into mainstream public music education. As a result, only 34% of the 89 educators Barr surveyed in 1974 had ever played in a jazz band themselves.

[22] "Musician-Bandit is Captured." *The Indianapolis News*, November 9, 1940.

[23] Kenton, Stan, "Why the Band Clinic." *International Musician*, 1961.

[24] Kenton trombonist Archie LeCoque provides this detail in Harris, *The Kenton Kronicles - a Biography of Modern America's Man of Music, Stan Kenton*, 169.

[25] Peter Welding, "Big Band Jazz: Look to the Colleges," *DownBeat* (September 27, 1962).

[26] Hall would be instrumental in the founding of the National Association of Jazz Educators, drafting its first bylaws, and serving as its first president. See David Herefort, "A History of the National Association of Jazz Educators and a Description of Its Role in American Music Education, 1968-1978," (Doctor of Education Dissertation, University of Houston, 1979).

student at North Texas State (NTS)Teachers College, Hall was tasked with teaching a music arrangement class that coincided with the formation of the first credit-granting jazz ensemble class at the school. He was also encouraged by then-dean of NTS, Wilfred Bain, to devote his master's thesis to the creation of a proposed curriculum for teaching jazz and popular music.[27] Following his graduation in 1944, Hall went to work as a performer and arranger with various bands and radio shows in Texas. He was invited back to NTS to head the school's fledgling stage band degree program in 1947.[28] In the meantime, Hall spent his summers working towards his doctorate at New York University, ultimately writing a dissertation on the history of NTS, from its early days as a normal school up until its transition to a state college in 1949.[29] Over the next decade, Hall would build the NTS jazz program into one of the most preeminent of such programs in the mid-century United States.[30]

Hall was already an experienced jazz pedagogue and educational administrator by the time Morris enlisted his help with the National Stage Band Camps. As a result, the curriculum of the camps very closely adhered to that proposed by Hall in his 1944 thesis, and which he had further developed at NTS.[31] Guitarist Jack Petersen, an instructor at the second National Stage Band Camp stated that, "the clinics fulfilled Gene Hall's vision of

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[27] Morris Eugene Hall, "The Development of a Curriculum for the Teaching of Dance Music At a College Level," (Master of Arts North Texas State Teachers College, 1944).

[28] Hall reminisced many years later that they called it "stage band" to avoid using the more socially unacceptable term "jazz band." See Morris Eugene Hall, and Leon Breeden, "Interview," *Video Recording* (1976).

[29] Morris Eugene Hall, "The Development of North Texas State College, 1890-1949," (Doctoral Dissertation, New York University, 1954).

[30] Marisella Feustle, "Blow the Curtain Open: How Gene Hall and Leon Breeden Advanced the Legitimacy of Jazz in Music Education," *Jazz Education Network 5th Annual Conference* (January 8-11, 2014).

[31] An example of this can be observed in clinics' mix practical music classes, including theory, performance, workshops, and a strong emphasis on student composition/arranging.

what jazz education should be. He coordinated it all."[32] For his own part, Hall identified Morris as, "the moving force behind the whole thing." According to Hall, Morris convinced Kenton to be a part of it "primarily for [his] name."[33]

Stanley ("Stan") Newcomb Kenton (1911-1979) made his name through a combination of grit, entrepreneurialism, family support, and luck – among many other things. Kenton's career began in the 1930s with dues-paying experiences , such as playing the banjo in Arizona mining camps, being stranded in remote towns by check-bouncing bandleaders and suffering the guileful avarice of agents of the General Artists Corporation. This was also a time when Kenton stated he "based all [his] concepts of jazz" on the work of pianist Earl Hines and trumpeter Louis Armstrong.[34] Early in his career, Kenton and his first wife could only afford to eat canned beans -- which they reportedly ate until they both became sick. He also relied on his father-in-law to refill his car with gasoline each weekend and the musician's union to loan him forty dollars to help pay for the birth of his first child.[35]

Nonetheless, assiduous study, sacrifice, and shrewd entrepreneurial skill eventually paid off. During the 1940s, Kenton's creative interests coalesced around the nucleus of a big band – the jazz ensemble comprising saxophones, trombones, trumpets, and a rhythm section. After betting absolutely everything he owned on the success of his band, a string of hit records brought Kenton considerable fame and a respectable fortune

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[32] Jack Petersen, "Interview," October 1, 2016.

[33] Quoted in Arganian, *Stan Kenton: The Man and His Music*, 162.

[34] Quoted in William F. Lee, *Stan Kenton: Artistry in Rhythm* (Los Angeles, CA: Creative Press, 1980), 10.

[35] Easton, *Straight Ahead: The Story of Stan Kenton*, 47.

in the mid-to-late 1940s.[36] By the mid-to-late 1950s, Kenton was an internationally renowned and highly respected musician. During this time, Kenton first crossed paths with Ken Morris, a promoter and booking agent for a variety of midwestern ballrooms, clubs, and other live music venues. [37]

Kenneth Raymond Morris (1909 – 1993) was born in East Palestine, Ohio, the youngest son of a grocery clerk.[38] According to his high school yearbook, Morris was "naturally inclined to music" and played alto saxophone in his high schools' small orchestra – an eclectic ensemble that featured nearly as many saxophones as violins and mandolins,[39] reflecting in many respects the small dance and theater orchestras that once plied entertainment venues across the United States.[40] By the 1930s, Morris was touring extensively throughout the Midwest with a variety of well-regarded regional dance bands, including Lew Platt and His Playboys as well as his own Ken Morris Orchestra – once billed as "Ohio's finest dance orchestra."[41] Morris never appears to performed extensively outside of the Midwest and it does not appear that any of these groups

[36] Michael Sparke, *Stan Kenton: This is an Orchestra!* (Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press, 2010).

[37] Including the Erskine Club in South Bend, IN; the Tippacanoe Ballroom in, "Kenneth R. Morris [Obituary]." *South Bend Tribune*, November 6, 1993. www.newspapers.com

[38] United States Census Bureau. Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920. www.ancestry.com

[39] *Ephanian* (East Palestine, OH: The Senior Class of the East Palestine High School, 1927), 50-51.

[40] For additional discussion of early 20th-century American theater orchestras see, Rick Benjamin, "liner notes," *Black Manhattan: Theater and Dance Music of James Reese Europe, Will Marion Cook, and Members of the Legendary Clef Club.* The Paragon Ragtime Orchestra, Rick Benjamin, director. 2003. New World Records 80611-2.

[41] The first appearance of Ken Morris's name in newsprint of which I am familiar is from 1931. Throughout the mid-to-late 1930s, his name features regularly in Ohio and Indiana newspapers in association with the Ken Morris Orchestra, Ken Morris University Club Band, or Ken Morris Band. For representative samples, see "Rock Springs Park Presents Lew Platt and His Playboys." *Salem News*, September 01, 1931. https://www.newspapers.com/image/87427425/; "Dance! Tonight! Ken Morris and His University Club Band." *Evening Review*, January 6, 1936. https://www.newspapers.com/image/61720135/

produced recordings.[42] Nonetheless, the variety of venues in which he performed, as well as his apparently close associations with prominent people and social clubs, all bespeak the talents of a capable and entrepreneurial young musician.[43]

The degree of these successes notwithstanding, Morris gained infamy after being convicted of armed robbery on February 12, 1940.[44] He had run up some gambling debts and, with a wife and two children to support, robbed two banks at gunpoint over a five-month period to cover his losses. [45] The details of the crime were too scandalous for midwestern newspapers to pass over them. Morris, the "musician bandit" was captured in a bullet-ridden getaway car by two local citizens after a long, wintry chase.[46] He nearly plowed over a local music teacher on the way to his getaway car. Markings on a twenty-dollar bill found sealing the head joint of his clarinet immediately connected him to one of the robberies.[47]

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[42] I include western NY and PA as nominally "midwestern." For example, Morris was broadcast over WESG-CBS Elmira, NY on July 12, 1939. See "CBS to Carry 3rd Term Discussion." *Star-Gazette*, July 11, 1939. https://www.newspapers.com/image/276542991/ According to John Landry, formerly of CBS Radio in NYC, and an enthusiast for the history of radio in the 20th century, there is little chance a recording exists of this program.

[43] For example, the following newspaper announcement places Morris is association with local civic leaders and a booster club. See "Boosters, Foremen Dance Tonight." *Salem News*, February 21, 1936. https://www.newspapers.com/image/85711496/

[44] "Incarceration and Parole Records for Kenneth Ray Morris," 1940-1943, Prisoner 20538, MS/DOC032326. Indiana State Archives and Records Administration, Indianapolis, IN.

[45] Some readers may recognize a familiar trope in the timeline of Morris's law troubles – entertainer with gambling debts robs a bank, has a run-in with the law, and receives a rather prompt pardon. It is possible that organized crime was connected in some way to these events. This is not to suggest that Morris himself was a part of such a syndicate. Nonetheless, like many other entertainers of this era, he may have needed to navigate less than desirable power politics to achieve success. For further context, see Mark H. Haller, "Organized Crime in Urban Society: Chicago in the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Social History* 5, no. 2 (1971).

[46] "Musician-Bandit is Captured By Trust Teller After $738 Holdup." *Indianapolis News*, February 9, 1940. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/52327409/musician-bandit-is-captured/

[47] "Grand Jury Indict Winchester Bandit for Auburn Holdup." *Palladium-Item*, February 16, 1940. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/52195850/20-used-to-tighten-the-headjoint-of/

Morris plead guilty and served three years of his ten-year sentence, securing a Governor's parole in 1943. While Morris remained on probation until 1947,[48] this did not prevent him from returning to work as a bandleader in many of the same high society haunts as before, suggesting he enjoyed useful social connections.[49] Morris continued performing and/or booking bands under his own name in many of the finest clubs and dance halls in South Bend and the greater Midwest well into the 1970s.[50]

Ironies Amid Changing Landscapes

American consumers of popular music have always been fickle, subjecting those who would supply their taste to near constant boom and bust cycles in which one music trend supplants another.[51] By the mid-1950s, the big bands and dance halls that had helped propel Stan Kenton to fame, and for which Ken Morris was acting as a promoter and booking agent, were already in decline and the halcyon days that jazz once enjoyed as America's popular music were quickly coming to an end.[52] Saxophonist Sam Donahue openly asked, "Is Jazz OK?" [53] Pianist Jon Lewis observed that musicians gathered, "crying on each other's shoulders, talking about no gigs and no money," while band leader Buddy Morrow warned that without significant change, big bands would become

[48] Corrections, 1940-1943 "Incarceration and Parole Records for Kenneth Ray Morris."

[49] Morris's appearance at the upscale Indiana Club in South Bend while on parole is suggestive of this entrepreneurial savvy. See "Helen Toth Chairman for Sorority Benefit Dance." *South Bend Tribune*, March 20, 1945.

[50] Morris' Orchestra appears regularly in South Bend newspapers well into the 1970s, typically in association with high society weddings, dances, private parties, and other events. He retired as concessionaire of the South Bend's Erskine Club in June of 1980.

[51] Russel Sanjek, *American Popular Music and Its Business: The First Four Hundred Years* (New York, NY: Oxford, 1988).

[52] Sociologist David Riesman conducted an interesting study that reflects this trend. Among his study participants in the late 1940s, only one identified as a jazz fan. See David Riesman, "Listening to Popular Music," *American Quarterly* 2, no. 4 (1950).

[53] "Is Jazz Ok?," *Downbeat* (April 18, 1957).

nothing more than a "curio."[54] As Kenton noted, "Jazz today is in a precarious state. It needs box office."[55] On the other hand, amid the nervous wringing of many jazz-hands, the hips of Elvis Presley continued to gyrate, and Chuck Berry promenaded in his signature one-legged hop.[56]

By the 1950s, the swing dancing fad that had propelled jazz's popularity in previous decades was already surprisingly old. For example, singer Billie Holliday critiqued the naivety of those swing dancers who, in the 1940s, thought they were engaging in something new: "They could get away with calling it new because millions of squares [i.e., whites] hadn't taken a trip to 131st Street [in New York City's predominantly black Harlem]. If they had, they could have dug swing for twenty years [i.e., since the 1920s]. Similarly, bandleader Benny Goodman referred to the height of the swing dancing craze of the 1940s as a "resurgence." [57]

As the crazed swing dancers of 1930s and 40s aged, their preferred music transitioned from the rhythmic pulse of youthful rebellion to the soothing embrace of genteel society. Thus, in the 1950s, jazz recordings featuring sentimental love songs and elegantly swinging arrangements sold better than those featuring the complex harmonies, seemingly interminable improvised solos, and angular melodies associated with the newer jazz styles of bebop and its diverse progeny.[58] Singers like Ella Fitzgerald and

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[54] "Jazz At the Lenox Music Barn," *Downbeat* (1956 August 21); Nat Hentoff, "We'Re in Trouble -- Buddy Morrow Warns Campaign is Neccessary to Keep Band Biz From Becoming a Curio," *Downbeat* (1957 April 18).

[55] "Stan Kenton." *Downbeat*, June 25, 1957.

[56] Elvis's famous first appearance on the Ed Sullivan show occurred in 1957. Berry's performance antics are well documented.

[57] Quoted in Sherrie Tucker, *Swing Shift: "All Girl" Bands of the 1940s* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 16.

[58] Ted Gioia, *The History of Jazz* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Frank Sinatra sold hundreds of thousands of records backed by various ensembles, including the Count Basie and Duke Ellington Orchestras, while Lawrence Welk and Nat King Cole enjoyed enormous success broadcasting the same into television sets across the country.[59] Meanwhile, bandleader Ken Morris continued to provide similarly genteel music to the country clubs, resorts, and ballrooms of the American Midwest, now having traded his clarinet for the saxophone and vibraphone.[60]

At the same time, the music of youth maintained its thumping rhythmic pulse. As jazz clarinetist Buddy De Franco recalled, "rock overthrew the music empire and became king."[61] *DownBeat Magazine*, the premiere publication dedicated to all things jazz, nervously acknowledged the popularity of the new musical trend: "Can Fifty Million Americans Be Wrong?"[62]

Ironically, rock music of the 1950s exhibited many of the same harmonies and rhythms performed by jazz and blues musicians during the previous two decades. Perhaps the most significant difference was that these were now performed on electronically amplified instruments. Thus, where a jazz big band once filled a dance hall with minimal amplification, electrified jump blues, rhythm and blues, and rock-and-roll ensembles – or however else you prefer to describe the ensemble consisting of a rhythm section plus electric guitar and perhaps a saxophone or two – could do much the same, albeit with far

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[59] Space does not permit a full discussion of the complexities surrounding the forays of various artists into television. In particular, given the racially charged tenor of the time, success in the case of the *Nat King Cole Show* is complex. Albert Auster, "Frank Sinatra: The Television Years–1950–1960," *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 26, no. 4 (1999); Gary Burns, "Visualising 1950s Hits on Your Hit Parade," *Popular Music* 17, no. 2 (1998); Donald Bogle, *Primetime Blues: African Americans on Network Television* (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2015).

[60] "Rochester." *The Logansport Press*, March 4, 1958.

[61] Quoted in Lee, *Stan Kenton: Artistry in Rhythm*, 239.

[62] Les Brown, "Can Fifty Million Americans be Wrong?," *Downbeat* (1956 September 19).

fewer musicians. Moving into the 1950s then, timbral differences alone largely demarcated the hazy line between the popular music of an older generation and the younger, particularly where the latter was often led by an electric guitar.[63]

Apparently unaware of the irony, many jazz aficionados bemoaned the "jack-hammer rhythms" of the newer "rock-and-roll" with the same vehemence that critics some two generations earlier had once attacked the "peculiar accent and syncopated time" of early jazz, together with its concomitant "disintegrating effect . . . on moral integrity."[64] Not all jazz enthusiasts seemed so ignorant of their own history, however. Jazz pianist and bandleader Vincent Lopez was quick to observe that, "…history [was] repeating itself. . . Rock 'n' roll [was] getting the same parental, police, and church going-over that the early jazz dances received."[65]

Meanwhile, musicians like Duke Ellington and Stan Kenton clamored for a new and grandiose type of jazz for the concert hall, based largely on then-current European orchestral traditions.[66] Beginning in 1943 with *Black, Brown, and Beige: A Duke Ellington Tone Parallel to the American Negro,* Billy Strayhorn and Ellington began

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[63] This is an admittedly broad musicological statement. Nonetheless, it can be readily substantiated by observing the prevalence of the twelve-bar blues form across the jazz and rhythm and blues divide, as well as swinging rhythmic elements. Thus, we could observe that the most salient differences between Chuck Berry's 1958 rock-and-roll hit "Johnny B. Goode," Louis Jordan's 1945 jump blues hit "Caldonia," and early jazz icon King Oliver's 1923 "Dipper Mouth Blues" is one of timbre.

[64] "Record Whirl," *Downbeat* (September 19, 1956); Halbert H Britan, "Music and Morality," *International Journal of Ethics* 15, no. 1 (1904).

[65] Vincent Lopez, "There Was Always a Rock 'n' Roll or Its Equivalent," *Music Journal* 14, no. 9 (1956), 41.

[66] Some jazz historians have characterized jazz of this period as bifurcated between an audience- and musician-centered intentionality, where audience-centered musicians embrace populism and strive for economic success, whilst those who are musician-centered turn inward and produce the music that is most appealing to them personally. While this is a useful heuristic for describing the relationship of, for example, bebop to the broader musical milieu, in my opinion it breaks down upon closer analysis. See Randy Snyder, "College Jazz Education During the 1960s: Its Development and Acceptance," (DMA Dissertation, University of Houston, 1999).

composing large-scale "suites" for jazz band intended for presentation on the concert hall stage. Their efforts received mixed reviews and subsequent recordings sold poorly. Too many people in Ellington's audiences wanted to hear the danceable tunes that had made him famous.[67] Stan Kenton expressed a similar interest, going so far in 1950-1951 as to commission new compositions for his newest creative venture titled "Innovations in Modern Music." Innovations in Modern Music featured a massively expanded, forty-piece big band with strings based on models of 20th century European musical classicism as much as American jazz. Unfortunately, as with Ellington's earlier efforts, Kenton's "Innovations" were not well-received. He lost nearly $250,000 paying musicians' salaries during the two brief tours of the ensemble and the record sales floundered. To add insult to injury, Kenton alienated many of his fans.[68] As he commented at the time,

> What a baffling thing this music business! It's based upon public affection. We all are working for their favor, and without their favor, we cannot exist. You know, insecurity in this field is something worse than a green-eyed monster. You can have seven successful records, and the eighth one will miss. Already you become afraid. . . Maybe this reign of popularity that we've enjoyed has exhausted itself[?] And this panic will prevail until another successful date comes along to start bolstering this thing we call ego again. What a wonderful business – the music business.[69]

While jazz was no longer a dominant force in American youth music culture, many of those youth were increasingly interested in learning to play it. Pianist Dave Brubeck capitalized on this growing interest, touring university concert halls just as much as jazz clubs.[70] Student-led jazz ensembles were a regular feature of many communities

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[67] Duke Ellington, *Music is My Mistress* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1973).

[68] This equates to nearly two and a half million dollars in 2020. Sparke, *Stan Kenton: This is an Orchestra!*

[69] Quoted in Easton, *Straight Ahead: The Story of Stan Kenton*, 161.

[70] Michael Spencer, "Jazz-Mad Collegiennes:' Dave Brubeck, Cultural Convergence, and the College Jazz Renaissance in California," *Jazz Perspectives* 6, no. 3 (2013).

across the United States. Such groups met in basements, garages, school band rooms, or anywhere else they could to listen to records and rehearse. Many performed semi-professionally providing music for various social functions in their local communities.[71]

Unsurprisingly, the savvy entrepreneurs of the musical instrument industry were quick to notice. Publications geared towards music teachers and their students like *The School Musician* had no shortage of advertisements clearly intended for emerging jazz enthusiasts. Amid advertisements for the trappings of traditional band and orchestra programs – shako masters, tympani, and militaristic marching band regalia – advertisements for saxophone reeds presented pictures of jazz luminaries such as Zoot Simms, Lucky Thompson, or Tex Beneke.[72] Advertisements for trumpets capitalized on "famous recording artists;" namely jazz musicians Dizzy Gillespie, Roy Eldridge, and Chet Baker.[73] The Conn Corporation sponsored Stan Kenton's entire trombone section.[74]

In addition to these advertisements, musical instrument manufacturers sponsored "clinicians" that travelled across the country performing with and providing instructional sessions for student groups, as well as advertising the products of their sponsors. Many such clinicians boasted extensive experience as crossover artists that performed in genres that could be nominally classified as jazz, popular, or "classical" depending on the

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[71] Notre Dame had its "Lettermen," MIT the "Techtonians," directed for a time in the late 1940s by my grandfather, Herb Sontag, while he was a student. Nonetheless, an epistemologically academic snapshot is provided by Vinal's fabulous survey of student dance bands in 1950s Montana. Most groups were less than ten players, all were extra-curricular, many were student-run. See Dean Lewis Vinal, "Montana High School Dance Bands: A Survey of Student Dance Bands in Sixty-Three High Schools in Montana," (Masters Thesis, Montana State University, 1950).

[72] "First with Top Musicians – Vibrator Reeds," advertisement, *The School Musician* 28, no. 1, 59; "Controllable Power," advertisement, *The School Musician* 28*,* no. 2, 8; "…for jazz … or Symphony…[sic]," advertisement, *The School Musician* 28, no. 1, 26.

[73] "Top Recording Artists Play Martin," advertisement, *The School Musician* 28, no. 6, 67;

[74] "Only a Conn will do . . . For Stan Kenton's trombone section [sic]," advertisement, *The School Musician* 28, no. 4, 2.

occasion. Trumpeters Don Jacoby and Rafael Mendez represented the Conn and F.E. Olds corporations respectively.[75] Saxophonist multi-instrumentalists Lawrence Bill Page of the Lawrence Welk Orchestra, and Bud Doty, formerly of Stan Kenton, represented the Conn Corporation, performing with high school concert bands on as many as fourteen different instruments.[76] Clinicians such as these had been a mainstay of the musical instrument manufacturing industry since the so-called "band movement" of the early 20th century, a movement that helped supplant many American public-school choirs and orchestras with military-style wind bands.[77] In 1958, The National Association of Music Merchants (NAMM) encouraged music educators to recognize and embrace the historically symbiotic relationship they had with the broader music industry, the manufacturers that supplied that industry, and the evolving musical interests of America's youth.[78] Though Max Targ of NAMM did not comment on the subject directly, I imagine the explosively compounding sales of electric guitars that began in the mid-1950s were likely on his mind.[79]

The irony in all this, of course, is that officially sanctioned jazz programs in American public schools during the 1950s were few and far between. Furthermore,

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[75] For example, Jacoby recorded *Have Conns Will Travel* for Conn's aptly named Connstellation Records in 1959. In addition, *School Musician* presented an advertisement with the following copy in February of 1955: "Throughout the country, youthful players their teachers too, benefit from the knowledge and inspiration of Rafael Mendez and his school clinics. This unusual artist enriches the talents and lives of these aspiring young musicians and helps them to appreciate the standards of quality in performance... and in instruments. Quality is an *essential* in every instrument bearing the OLDS name -- to be reflected in the performances of a virtuoso like Rafael Mendez, as well as the proud student owners of OLDS."

[76] Lilla Anderson, "Modern Music Man Comes to Town," *Radio Mirror* September (1958).

[77] Mark Fonder, "The Instrument Manufacturing Industry and the School Band Movement: A Look At the "holton School Band Plan"," *Journal of Band Research* 24, no. 1 (1988).

[78] Max Targ, "The Music Industry and the Music Educator: A Team," *The School Musician* 29, no. 10 (1958).

[79] Steve Waksman, *Instruments of Desire: The Electric Guitar and the Shaping of Musical Experience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

resistance to welcoming such programs into the educative domain of the classroom was stiff.

Mid-Century Jazz Education in the United States

In 1939, Floyd Hart, director of school music for a public school district in a suburb of Philadelphia, PA attempted to help readers of the Music Educator's Journal better appreciate the importance and value of the popular music that students listened to outside of school, as compared to the traditional choirs, orchestras, and wind bands that featured heavily in public schools at the time. He wrote,

> It will be little short of a calamity if we who are responsible for the guidance of Young America ignore these manifestations of a tremendous mass interest in a music [i.e., jazz] which suddenly has forged to the center of the stage. . . We can do nothing for [these students] by insisting on this division between the in school and the out-of-school music.[80]

It should be obvious that "out-of-school music" was already very different in the 1950s from what it had been in 1939. As *DownBeat* observed, "If with regret, we've no choice but to admit rock'n'roll [sic] is part of our national culture . . . To eradicate it, or at least demote it, seems to be a matter of urgency."[81] Of course, two generations earlier, critics of another era once suggested that early jazz be treated similarly; in the words of one critic, "namely, with a dose of lead."[82]

A small number of forward-thinking music educators had openly advocated the inclusion of jazz into their programs since at least the 1930s, particularly at the

[80] Floyd T. Hart, "The Relation of Jazz Music to Art," *Music Educators Journal* 26, no. 1 (1939), 24.

[81] "Record Whirl," 39.

[82] Carr, Paul. "Abuses of Music," *Musician* 6 (October, 1901): 299. Quoted in Edward Berlin, *Ragtime: A Musical and Cultural History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980), 44.

community college level. Many of these educators recognized the economic opportunity which, at the time, was available to musicians with the necessary skills. [83] This was particularly true for musicians of color for whom an ability to play popular styles of music presented much-needed economic opportunity. This was true in the earliest days of whatever we might call the "jazz age," and it remained so in the 1950s. Accordingly, many historically black colleges, such as the Tuskegee Institute and Prairie View College, boasted highly successful, if extra-curricular, jazz band programs. [84]

In addition, to maintain morale and ensure an adequate supply of bands to perform at its dances, various branches of the United States Armed Forces sponsored certain forms of jazz education within their ranks. For example, bands associated with the Women's Army Corps (WAC) and the Great Lakes Naval Academy both featured contingents of musicians capable of playing popular music for dancers.[85] Many of these servicemen and women would become public music educators in later years and play a significant role in the proliferation of public-school jazz band programs throughout the 1960s.[86]

[83] Andrew Krikun, "Popular Music and Jazz in the American Junior College Music Curriculum During the Swing Era (1935 - 1945)," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education* 30, no. 1 (2008).

[84] Racial inequity abounded throughout the 1950s, as it had at the beginning of the century, just as it continues to this day. In the 1950s, however, schools in many parts of the country remained heavily segregated, despite the Supreme Court's landmark ruling in *Brown vs. Board of Education.* Kenneth E Prouty, "Canons in Harmony, or Canons in Conflict: A Cultural Perspective on the Curriculum and Pedagogy of Jazz Improvization," *Research and Issues in Music Education* 2, no. 1 (2004).; Tucker, *Swing Shift: "All Girl" Bands of the 1940s*, 98.

[85] WAC bands were particularly prominent throughout World War II and often boasted a dance band component as well as small jazz combos. In addition, over 5000 black musicians were recruited and trained at the Great Lakes facility, many of whom went on to notable jazz careers. Jill Sullivan, *U.s. Women's Military Bands During World War Ii* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011); Samuel Floyd, "An Oral History: The Great Lakes Experience," *The Black Perspective in Music* 11, no. 1 (1983).

[86] Jack Wheaton, "Jazz in Higher Education," *National Association of Jazz Education* 2, no. 3 (1970).

North Texas Teachers College (later renamed University of North Texas) started its stage band degree program in 1947 under the direction of Gene Hall. Over the next decade, Hall would grow this program into one of the strongest of such programs in the country, as measured by alumni who went on to have careers as both jazz performers and educators.[87] Both the Schillinger House in Boston (later renamed Berklee School of Music) and the Westlake College in Hollywood also offered coursework leading to degrees or certificates in jazz-related studies.[88] In addition, pianist Oscar Peterson started the Advanced School of Contemporary music in his native Toronto, Ontario with bandmembers Ray Brown and Ed Thigpen also on faculty.[89] Finally, the Lenox School of Jazz began its operations in the summer of 1957. Over the next four years, a total of 158 accomplished students would travel to the idyllic Berkshire mountains in western Massachusetts to study with some of jazz's greatest luminaries, all within earshot of the Tanglewood Music Festival – one of the premiere summer venues for American "classical" music.[90]

Unfortunately, mid-century jazz programs at the grade-school level were harder to come by. What few jazz programs that did exist for younger students were often, but not always, part of extra-curricular, after- or before-school clubs. This was the case with the award-winning "Dalers," an afterschool stage band club directed by Marshall Brown at

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[87] Briana Leigh Rhodes, "An Historical Investigation of the Development of Successful Jazz Studies Programs At Indiana University and University of North Texas," (Master of Music in Music Education University of Texas at Arlington, 2005).

[88] M. T. Spencer, "Jazz Education At the Westlake College of Music, 1945-61," *Journal of historical research in music education* 35, no. 1 (2013).

[89] Leonard Feather, "Jazz Goes to School: The Story of the Growth of Jazz Teaching," *International Musician* June (1961).

[90] Jeremy Yudkin, *The Lenox School of Jazz* (South Egremont, MA: Farshaw Publishing, 2006).

Farmingdale High School on Long Island, NY.[91] The Dalers won numerous competitions and made a television debut in 1955 – for which they too received a sponsorship from the music industry – this time from the Holton Company.[92] In 1957, *DownBeat* magazine ran a feature highlighting the increasing numbers of competitions dedicated to these high school groups nationwide.[93]

Despite nearly a half century to become acquainted with and embrace jazz (to say nothing of the more recent "nerve jangling piano" of rock-and-roll!), American public school music educators continued to resist it.[94] The Music Educator's National Conference (MENC) waited until 1955 to finally publish the question "What is Jazz?" in its quarterly journal.[95] Three years later, in 1958, the MENC invited both Stan Kenton and pianist Billy Taylor to present at its national conference. Taylor describes how both he and Kenton felt excited to take their knowledge of jazz "straight to the jugular vein" of the country's largest association of music educators, in the hope that their efforts might help introduce "serious jazz-studies" initiatives throughout the country. Unfortunately, both he and Kenton reportedly left that meeting feeling appalled at the condescending and prejudicial attitudes they felt while there – largely, they believed, owing to their lack of formal academic degrees.[96] As Taylor stated, "It turned out we had been invited … to merely decorate an agenda that had no intentions of doing things any differently than

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[91] The Dalers won numerous stage band competitions during this time, for which they too received

[92] "Farmingdale's Talented Teenagers," advertisement, *The School Musician* 28, no. 12, 23.

[93] "How High the Schools." *Downbeat*, December 12, 1957.

[94] "Record Whirl," 39.

[95] William H. Talmage, "What is Jazz," *Music Educators Journal* 42, no. 1 (1955). This was the first use of the word "jazz" in a title in the *Music Educators Journal* since 1939.

[96] While Taylor at the time had a Bachelors (and would soon go on to receive a doctorate), Kenton never attended college.

they'd always been done."[97] Kenton and Taylor could have saved their time. In a retrospective of the fifty years of MENC published a year before their attendance at the conference, the executive secretary of MENC proudly proclaimed that American music educators would, "keep right on doing many of the same things in the same way. Some patterns do not change. Some do not need to change." Ironically, this article was to be a "look to the future." [98]

Risky Innovations: The 1957 National Dance Band Camp and Rendezvous Ballroom Reopening

As lifelong entrepreneurs, both Ken Morris and Stan Kenton embraced the inherent risk associated with new endeavors. Kenton regularly pursued new ventures associated with music, some of which resulted in spectacular financial failure. Nonetheless, Kenton was regularly praised for his uncommon grit in the face of such adversity. As former Kenton trombonist and road manager Jim Amlotte stated, "One thing I learned from [Kenton]: yesterday is yesterday; it's over . . . Never be defeated, never look back."[99] Morris was also unafraid to try new endeavors. For example, as jazz educator Jamey Abersold praised Morris's efforts to "bring jazz ed to the world," he described him as "a gambler who enjoyed taking risks . . . Vegas, horses, you name it."[100] Getting the National Stage Band Camps off the ground was certainly a gamble that required Morris, like Kenton, to persevere amid middling success.

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[97] Billy Taylor, *The Jazz Life of Dr. Billy Taylor* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2013), 41.

[98] Vanett Lawler, "50 Years 1907-1957 Look to the Future," *Music Educators Journal* 43, no. 5 (1957), 33.

[99] Quoted in Arganian, *Stan Kenton: The Man and His Music*, 77.

[100] Jamey Aebersold, "Email to the Author," September 26, 2018.

In late 1956, Morris was working to fulfil a goal already many years in the making: that of a summer educational music camp dedicated to dance band music modelled on the finest then-extant camps for classical music, such Aspen or Tanglewood.[101] In January of 1957 Morris finalized the incorporation of National Dance Band Camp, Inc., a stock issuing, for-profit venture based in the state of Indiana. According to its corporate charter, the primary business purposes of the National Dance Band Camps, Inc. were to, "Conduct a school of music and/other educational purposes; To operate a camp and to carry on the business of a hotel, restaurant, café, and recreational enterprise; and to act as an agent for musical organizations of all kinds; and to carry on all activities kindred thereto." The corporation began with $1000 in investment capital, presumably from its three-person board of directors.[102]

Morris subsequently signed a five-year lease on the Colonial Hotel on scenic Lake Manitou, Indiana for the purposes of operating his dance band camp.[103] The 1957 National Dance Band Camp received extensive press coverage, including write-ups in newspapers from Indiana to Oregon.[104] *DownBeat* provided advertising and limited editorial space to the camp, observing that it was, "designed to meet the needs of young students interested in utilizing summer vacation months to further ambitions in the dance

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[101] "Midwest: A Camp for Learning," *DownBeat* (September 3, 1959).

[102] The three members of the National Dance Band Camp, Inc. board were Theodore Myers, Ken Morris, and Mildred Millman. Millman was an aide at the law offices of William E. Voor. These were the same offices that prepared the incorporation documents (Voor would also eventually become South Bend's district attorney). Unfortunately, I was unable to find any conclusive biographical details of Theodore Myers. Indiana State Archives and Records Administration. "Articles of Incorporation of National Dance Band Camp, Inc.," January 3, 1957. Indiana State Archives and Records Administration, Indianapolis, IN.

[103] "Colonial Hotel At Lake Manitou to be a Dance Band Camp." *The Culver Citizen*, February 6, 1957.

[104] "Band Leaders to be Teachers At Music Camp." *The Kokomo Tribune*, February 13, 1957.

band field."[105] The *School Musician* devoted a two-page spread to the camp, describing in detail the resort-like amenities, costs, and learning opportunities. For $250, students aged fourteen to twenty-two would receive four weeks of instrumental instruction, classes in theory and arranging, full access to the resort's recreational facilities (e.g., water skiing, golf, sports area, soda bar, etc.), as well as the opportunity to experience weekly performances by numerous well-known big bands.[106] A slew of different bands would pass through the camp each week, then tentatively scheduled to include Buddy Marrow, Ralph Marterie, Les Brown, Sam Donahue, and Stan Kenton.[107] As *Downbeat* reported, these bandleaders would, "instruct the students daily, using [their] bands' manuscripts."[108] Music Educator Matt Betton would be the camp's dean and the full-time instructors would include many well-known band clinicians from the time, including Don "Jake" Jacoby.[109]

Unfortunately, Ken Morris cancelled his five-year lease for the Colonial Hotel a few months later in April of 1957 and stated the camp would not occur during the coming summer.[110] It seems reasonable to suspect financial challenges were the reason for the

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[105] "Student Band Camp Slated," *Downbeat* (January 9, 1957). – I could find no comparable advertising in the Music Educator's Journal. The first advertisement of which I am aware appeared in *The School Musician.* See "National Dance Band Camp Plans Being Formulated — May be Limited to 200," *The School Musician* (December, 1956).

[106] $250 dollars in 1957 is roughly $2300 in 2020 dollars.

[107] L.J. Cooley, "The National Dance Band Camp," *The School Musician* 28, no. 8 (1957). Ferriano (1976) mistakenly cites the first year of the National Stage Band Camps as 1956 and cites this article as well as an interview with Morris as his source. Likely a typographical error. I could find no comparable advertising for the failed 1957 camp in the Music Educators Journal, American Music Educator, or Metronome Magazine.

[108] "Student Band Camp Slated," 50.

[109] The Manhattan Mercury presents the first press mention of the National Dance Band Camp. From this article, it seems likely that Ken Morris was in attendance at the 1956 Midwest Band Clinic that year, perhaps recruiting faculty and advertising for his new dance band camp. "Local News Briefs." *Manhattan Mercury*, Dec 10, 1956. ; "National Dance Band Camp Engages Noted Instructor," *The School Musician* 28, no. 7 (1957).

[110] "Rochester." *Logansport Press*, April 30, 1957.

cancellation, though no specific data has arisen to substantiate this.[111] Whatever the reason, the fallout between Morris and the resort does not appear to have been too adverse. Local newspapers continued to advertise his name in association with the operations of the Colonial Hotel's semi-outdoor dance pavilion for the next two years.[112]

Kenton also experienced a significant entrepreneurial failure during this time. In 1957, at enormous personal expense, Kenton renovated and reopened the Rendezvous Ballroom. The Rendezvous was a cavernous seaside venue in Balboa, CA where over a decade earlier Kenton enjoyed his first great successes as a bandleader, primarily playing for college-aged dancers. As Kenton explained to *DownBeat*, "I have a theory about the band business. Any band of importance has to have a home base of operation, a place where it can call attention to its music via radio and television and just by being established in a specific location." [113] The expenses were considerable; between the lease, necessary renovations, and sound system upgrades, he spent over $230,000.[114] But as Kenton stated regarding the endeavor, "When there's nothing else left for [big] bands, tell me what the bands can try?"[115] Despite the challenges that big bands were facing in the 1950s, Kenton was not willing to give up and allow his preferred art form to slip into obsolescence without a fight. He would resist.

Kenton's venture at the Rendezvous opened to the public in December of 1957. The crowds were decent for the first couple weeks but quickly tapered off. By April of

[111] A marginally similar educational endeavor at the time, The Lenox School of Jazz, was heavily dependent on industry sponsorship to maintain its operations over its four-year existence. See Yudkin, *The Lenox School of Jazz*.

[112] "Advertisement." *The Culver Citizen*, Jun 19, 1957; "Rochester."

[113] "Kenton to Reopen Rendezvous Ballroom." *DownBeat*, (February 20, 1958), 16.

[114] Harris, *The Kenton Kronicles - a Biography of Modern America's Man of Music, Stan Kenton*, 160.

[115] "Kenton to Reopen Rendezvous Ballroom," 16.

1958 Kenton shut everything down. As Kenton saxophonist Bill Perkins later reminisced, "You can never go back, but [in 1957] Stan tried to do just that . . . at the Rendezvous Ballroom. But by that time rock & roll was too prevalent."[116] In the end, Kenton lost $125,000 on the Rendezvous venture and wound up heavily in debt.[117] Ironically enough, he would eventually discover a type of "home base of operation" for his band and the music he preferred, but perhaps not where he quite expected.

The Summer of 1959

The summer of 1959 is often lauded as something of an auspicious turning point for jazz education in the United States.[118] It was the first year of the Midwest Collegiate Jazz Festival at Notre Dame University, a competition-based format that would be repeated in other regions of the country during the coming decades.[119] The Newport Jazz Festival convened an all-star jazz band directed by Marshall Brown, band director of the famous Farmingdale "Dalers," helping elevate the visibility of jazz education across the

[116] Quoted in Harris, *The Kenton Kronicles - a Biography of Modern America's Man of Music, Stan Kenton*, 162.

[117] Sparke, *Stan Kenton: This is an Orchestra!*

[118] Daniel Murphy, "Jazz Studies in American Schools and Colleges: A Brief History," *Jazz Educators Journal* 26, no. 3 (1994); Yudkin, *The Lenox School of Jazz*; David Baker, *Jazz Pedagogy: A Comprehensive Method of Jazz Education for Teacher and Student* (New York, NY: Maher Publications, 1979).

[119] Baker, *Jazz Pedagogy: A Comprehensive Method of Jazz Education for Teacher and Student*.

country.[120] 1959 was also the year that Miles Davis released his downtempo masterpiece, *Kind of Blue,* often cited as the best-selling jazz recording of all time.[121]

The Lenox School of Jazz, under the direction of pianist Jon Lewis, was now in its third, and reportedly most divisive season. Future jazz pedagogue David Baker, together with some colleagues from Indianapolis, were students along with avant-garde musicians Ornette Coleman and Don Cherry who had just recorded their freely improvisatory album *The Shape of Jazz to Come.* Coleman, Cherry, and their followers caused a schism at Lenox between those who agreed with the discordant timbres of their "jazz to come" and those who resisted such musical aesthetics. For his own part, Baker, already a highly accomplished jazz musician at this point, admitted that he had "some antipathy to [Coleman's] new sounds." As he stated further, "…our group [from Indianapolis] hadn't even been discovered yet, and here we were finding out that we were already old-fashioned."[122] Meanwhile, rock and roll continued its meteoric climb in popularity, as the jazz afficionados debated the future of their own music.

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[120] "Sixth Annual Newport Jazz Festival." *Hartford Courant*, June 28, 1959. https://www.newspapers.com/image/370763840 428 students from all over the country auditioned for one of the nineteen spots, including two young women (reportedly, one of whom – a bass player – was "almost" good enough to make the cut). Participants were limited to those residing in the New York City metro area due to rehearsal logistics. See

[121] In 2019 the Recording Industry Association of American (RIAA) awarded *Kind of Blue* quintuple platinum status indicating it had sold over five million copies worldwide. See http://www.RIAA.com/gold-platinum.

[122] David Johnson, "The Basics of David Baker: A Conversation." *Nightlights Class Jazz* (August 28, 2007): accessed December 12, 2016, https://indianapublicmedia.org/nightlights/the-basics-of-david-baker-a-conversation.php.

The National Stage Band Camps Presenting the Stan Kenton Clinics (1959-1963)

The First Year: 1959

Ken Morris retooled and initiated a new non-profit corporate charter under which to operate his educational dance band camps following the failure of the 1957 National Dance Band Camp. The official name of his new venture was the "National Band Camp, Inc."[123] Regardless, beginning in 1959, most newspapers reported the camp as simply the "Stan Kenton Clinics."[124] Morris, however, typically promoted his camps during this time as the "National *Stage* Band Camps" [emphasis mine], with the subheading it was "Presenting the Stan Kenton Clinics."[125] The first such camp-clinic took place from July 26 to August 1, 1959. A month later, the state of Indiana formally issued Morris the corporate charter for his new venture.[126]

The stated purposes of the National Band Camp, Inc. included the operation of schools of music and "other educational projects," including "music camps in the United States and elsewhere." In addition, the organization would act as "agent for musical organizations of all kinds; and carry on all activities kindred thereto." The National Band Camp, Inc. would further provide for the "musical education of worthy students in necessitous circumstances" and help defray the costs of maintaining, feeding, clothing,

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[123] "Articles of Incorporation of the National Band Camp, Inc.," September 1, 1959. Indiana State Archives and Records Administration, Indianapolis, IN.

[124] For example, "Kenton Clinic Set." *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 16, 1959. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/54468447/kenton-clinic-1959/

[125] For example, see "They Came to Learn At the Band Camp," 1959, promotional mailer. As a brand name, "National Stage Band Camp" in inarguably clearer than the more general "National Band Camp." It is possible, however, that the name was too similar in both name and purpose to the failed "National Dance Band Camp" for Morris to be able to formally incorporate as such.

[126] Archives, September 1, 1959 "Articles of Incorporation of the National Band Camp, Inc."

and housing such students. Perhaps most crucially, however, operating as a non-profit, Morris' organization would also, "receive donations, gifts, devises, and bequests consisting of money and other personal property or real estate," and using income derived from the preceding, conduct its business operations.[127]

Unlike the four weeks of resort-like amenities in a lakeside hotel associated with the failed 1957 endeavor, the single week of the 1959 camp featured the more proletariat dormitories and music buildings at Indiana University, Bloomington (IU). IU was an interesting choice for the first camp because Morris enjoyed a close association with his home-town Notre Dame University (ND), located in South Bend, Indiana, that dated back decades, as evidenced by numerous newspaper reports of his activities there.[128] He organized youth events at ND, most famously, perhaps, America's Youth on Parade, a large competition for baton twirling that continues to this day. Furthermore, in 1959 ND inaugurated its first stage band competition, which quickly grew to become one of the most prestigious of such events in the country. Thus, it is perplexing that ND was not used for the inaugural stage band camp.

Educator Gene Hall, however, had a direct connection to the dean of IU's school of music, Wilfred Bain. Bain was the same dean who encouraged Hall to write a proposed stage band curriculum for his master's thesis over a decade earlier while directing the program at North Texas. It seems likely that Hall's connection to Bain

[127] "Articles of Incorporation."

[128] For a representative example, see "Helen Toth Chairman for Sorority Benefit Dance.". In addition, John Verne Joseph, "Interview With Ken Morris," *The School Musician* 41, no. 2 (1969). fills in numerous details.

opened the opportunity for Morris's stage band camps to be held at IU.[129] Regardless, Morris still reportedly encountered some resistance from IU's administration when he first inquired about hosting his stage camp on the campus.[130] He did not, however, contact or collaborate with Buddy Baker, then co-director of IU's fledging stage band program.[131]

Morris secured promotional support for the camp from Charles Suber of *DownBeat*, and ran regular advertisements in *The School Musician, Metronome,* and in select newspapers around the country. [132] Advertising in *DownBeat* began on December 11, 1958 and continued through August. 600 inquiries followed, of which 157 students ultimately enrolled.[133] Newspapers across the country reported on local students who would attend.[134] Though the camp was officially integrated, most of the participants were white. Six participants were women.[135] Students came from twenty-seven states and three Canadian provinces.

[129] Bain's codex-sized memoirs, however, are silent on the subject, only mentioning jazz two times. Ironically, despite his significant impact on jazz education as a school administrator due to his decades-long service at Indiana University, Bain was famously most concerned with European opera. See Wilfred C. Bain, *Indiana School of Music, the Bain Regime, 1947-1973* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 1980)

[130] Menees, "Jazz Music Camp on Indiana U. Campus."

[131] Buddy Baker, "Interview," July 6, 2020.

[132] "Send Your Son to Camp." *DownBeat*, December 11,1958; "Kenton Clinic Set"; "Stan Kenton to Direct I. U. Summer Clinic." *The Indianapolis Star*, May 14, 1959.

[133] In the first summer alone, the National Stage Band Camps nearly exceeded the four-year total attendance for the Lenox School of Jazz. While Lenox arguably enjoyed the company of jazz musicians of more lasting renown (e.g., Dizzy Gillespie), it was also geared towards a much smaller and musically advanced group of students.

[134] For example, "Burton Plays With Selected Jazz Orchestra." *Princeton Daily Clarion*, August 3, 1959. https://www.newspapers.com/image/438261547; "Chuck Dodge Wins Music Scholarship." *Ames Daily Tribune*, November 3, 1959.

[135] "including a drummer, guitarist, and trumpet player." Quoted in Menees, "Jazz Music Camp on Indiana U. Campus."

Tuition for the week was set at sixty-five dollars, which included room and board. Limited scholarships were available. The average age of attendees was seventeen years old. The youngest, was a fourteen-year-old drummer from Tulsa, OK named Gary "Pee Wee" Johnson. The oldest, Mrs. Francis Tapert, was a forty-four-year-old music teacher from Detroit, MI. Among the participants, there were forty-seven drummers, thirty trumpet players, slightly less saxophonists, a handful of pianists and guitarists, few trombones, and only one bass player. As a result, the lone bass player, one Bob Mathews of the Fifth Army Band of Chicago, played with every student band and in every jam session. In addition, seven students attended with the sole purpose of studying jazz arranging and composition.[136]

Kenton used his personal connections to help secure a formidable staff of well-known jazz musicians as instructors. All of them reportedly donated their time, Kenton included. As Kenton stated, "It's the wildest. None of these great bandmen [sic] wants a cent!"[137] The camp covered their travel costs and provided them with room and board in campus dormitories.[138]

The full-time faculty for the 1959 camp included:

- Laurindo Almeida, an accomplished Brazilian-American classical and jazz guitarist formerly of the Stan Kenton Orchestra. Also, a pioneer in the

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[136] Menees, "Jazz Music Camp on Indiana U. Campus."

[137] Quoted in Battelle, Phyllis, "Assignment America." *Daily Courier*, July 2, 1959. https://www.newspapers.com/image/42445140 Some of the faculty at the camps in subsequent years would be compensated.

[138] Lee, *Stan Kenton: Artistry in Rhythm*.

development of “samba jazz,” a precursor to the bossa nova craze of the 1960s.[139]

- Russ Garcia, prolific jazz arranger, film score composer, and conductor at Universal Studios, Hollywood. Garcia’s book *The Professional Arranger Composer,* first published in 1954, was an early text devoted to jazz arranging that was reportedly used as a music theory textbook during the first years of the clinics.[140]
- Greg “Chubby” Jackson, bassist, formerly of the Woody Herman Orchestra and a regular presence in Los Angeles recording studios.[141]
- Shelly Manne, drummer, formerly of the Stan Kenton Orchestra and a well-known presence in the so-called “West Coast” jazz scene of Los Angeles, CA. Also, a regular winner of the *DownBeat* “best drummer in America” poll.[142]
- Dick Marx, pianist and vocalist. Marx is perhaps now best-known for his career in advertising, writing jingles for large national brands, as well as scoring music for the movie *A League of their Own.*[143]

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[139] Sparke, *Stan Kenton: This is an Orchestra!*

[140] McClellan, Dennis, “Russel Garcia Dies At 95; Arranger, Composer, and Conductor.” *Los Angeles Times*, November 24, 2011. https://www.latimes.com/local/obituaries/la-xpm-2011-nov-24-la-me-russell-garcia-20111124-story.html

[141] Gioia, *The History of Jazz*.

[142] Harris, *The Kenton Kronicles - a Biography of Modern America’s Man of Music, Stan Kenton*.

[143] “Stan Kenton and Staff [Advertisement].” *Downbeat*, May 14, 1959.

- John LaPorta, saxophone-clarinetist and composer, famously associated with New York City's avant-garde jazz, and increasingly, jazz education scenes.[144]
- Tommy Shepard, trombonist, formerly of the Kenton Orchestra and prolific studio musician in Los Angeles, recording for film, television, and others.[145]

In addition, the Conn Corporation sponsored the camp, resulting in the participation of two of its well-known clinicians with extensive jazz experience:[146]

- Don "Jake" Jacoby, crossover jazz-classical trumpet soloist, recording artist, and pedagogue. Jacoby was one of the few instructors whose contract was publicly announced for the failed 1957 camp.[147]
- Bud Doty, saxophonist and arranger, formerly of the Stan Kenton Orchestra. Doty was also the director of educational services for Conn.[148]

College educators Gene Hall, and Matt Betton assisted with instruction. Both Hall and Betton had administrative duties as the dean and assistant dean of the camp, respectively. Hall also led an arranging class, likely based on the one he had taught at North Texas for many years. Betton, an experienced professional bandleader and college music teacher from Kansas State, helped with saxophone classes, in addition to directing

[144] John LaPorta, *Playing it By Ear* (Redwood, NY: Cadence Jazz Books, 2001).
[145] Lee, *Stan Kenton: Artistry in Rhythm*.
[146] Reported in "Midwest: A Camp for Learning."
[147] Arganian, *Stan Kenton: The Man and His Music*.
[148] Anderson, "Modern Music Man Comes to Town."

one of the camp bands.[149] In addition, Dalton Smith, then a student at Southern Mississippi State in Hattiesburg, assisted Jacoby with the trumpets.[150]

Kenton arranged his affairs to be performing within a 300-mile radius of IU during the week of the first camp. Morris reportedly helped in this regard, personally booking and/or promoting the Kenton Orchestra to regional venues. Unfortunately, the resulting schedule presented a formidable logistical challenge. Kenton would perform a concert and then drive back to Bloomington, arriving with just enough time to catch a couple hours sleep before, as one newspaper described, "striding in with his traditional energy to camp rehearsals, lectures, and bull sessions."[151] Travel challenges aside, Kenton reportedly attended the clinics "daily in the multiple capacity of lecturer, advisor, and long-time friend to aspiring jazz musicians.[152]

Both Gene Hall and Dalton Smith recalled Kenton's circumstances that week in more intimate detail:

> That first year, at Indiana University, [Kenton would] be with his band playing a job within a couple hundred miles, and when it was over, he'd drive on in to be at the camp. He'd come in and he'd be dead on his feet. Then he'd go around and hear these little kids trying to play. He'd been dealing with professional musicians all his life; he didn't really understand what it [i.e., working with young students] was all about, for a while. But he stayed with it . . . and began to get into it.[153]

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[149] Menees, "Jazz Music Camp on Indiana U. Campus."

[150] "Midwest: A Camp for Learning." Jacoby mentored Smith for a time while the latter was a student in Hattiesburg, MS. Smith would later join the Kenton Band at the recommendation of Jacoby. When Kenton called, however, Smith thought it was someone playing a prank on him and promptly hung up. Kenton called back and invited him to be on the band, which Smith declined stating he did not feel ready. Kenton reported all of this back to Jacoby, to which Jacoby reportedly replied, "You hang up. He'll get back to you in five minutes. I'm gonna call that sonofabitch." See Arganian, *Stan Kenton: The Man and His Music*.

[151] "Midwest: A Camp for Learning."

[152] Menees, "Jazz Music Camp on Indiana U. Campus."

[153] Quoted in Arganian, 89.

In addition, contrary to published reports, Smith suggested that Kenton was not present for every day of the first year of his clinics: “That first year [1959] they just used [Kenton’s] name, and he showed up for a couple of days. It was the National Stage Band Camp and it was run by Gene Hall and Matt Betton . . . Stan came for a few days and talked to the students . . .”[154] It is reasonable to suspect Smith’s recollection was accurate given the performance schedule of the Kenton Orchestra the last week of July in 1959.[155]

Schedule Snapshot: The First Year

The 1959 camp schedule began at 8 a.m. with music theory. Instrumental group lessons and other special topics classes followed at nine, reportedly including Laurindo Almeida demonstrating “concert guitar” work and John LaPorta discussing improvisation. Stage band rehearsals commenced at 10 a.m. and ran until noon. Following a noon lunch, band rehearsals continued until 2:30 p.m. when a camp-wide general meeting convened. These camp-wide meetings, often dubbed “The Kenton Hour,” would remain a part of the Kenton Clinics in the ensuing years.[156]

Hall explained:

> We used to have a great general meeting every day . . . when we'd discuss issues. Rhythmic aspects, melodic aspects, styles, whatever. At least twenty-five of the leading jazz people in the United States would be there, and we'd pick four to be panelists. I'd dream up some question -- about the difference between European

[154] Quoted in Arganian, 91.

[155] For example, on July 26, 1959, the first day of the camp, Kenton helped kick things off before travelling approximately 130 miles east to an afternoon concert at the Burnett Woods Bandstand in Cincinnati, OH. He then travelled another 130 miles north for an evening concert in Celina, OH. His return to Bloomington would have added an additional 178 miles. A concert in Fruitport, MI two days later would have resulted in a round trip of over 600 miles! As it was, Kenton was reportedly only able to arrive back to Bloomington by seven in the morning, just enough time for a couple hours of rest before engaging with the students all day. Fortunately, performances later in the week were closer to the clinic: Indianapolis and French Lick, IN are both within approximately fifty miles of Bloomington.

[156] Gene Lees, “Kenton Clinics,” *Downbeat* 28, no. 20 (September 28, 1961).

> rhythms and jazz rhythms . . . and let all these guys talk about it. The kids would listen and were free to ask questions, and there'd be an interchange of ideas there . . . It was very stimulating, because these twenty-five jazz musicians are creative people in themselves, and they have brains that go like this [*gestures quick snapping motions*] . . . and are very creative and intense about their work. . . And when they get started on ideas, you're listening to some really interesting thoughts.[157]

Hall remarked with some regret that nothing of these sessions was ever written down. Nonetheless, he described how Kenton would get "really wound up" in these discussions, listening, asking questions, and debating topics. As Hall stated, "[Kenton] had an inquiring mind. . . [He was] an intellect."[158]

As a prominent individual in the music business, Kenton was also uniquely positioned to influence the students. In a 1959 "Kenton Hour" discussion about the music business, he reportedly expressed his opinion that "beards are not a trademark of the jazz musician." The following day, all but one of the students previously sporting facial hair had shaved their faces clean.[159]

Following these camp-wide meetings, band and/or sectional rehearsals would continue until 5:00 p.m., when dinner was served. Following dinner, students and faculty were reportedly on their own. In later years of the National Stage Band Camps, evenings would be filled with concerts presented by the faculty, performing in different configurations. This does not appear to have been the case the first year in 1959, however. Even in the absence of formally scheduled evening activities, however, *Downbeat* reported that, "Students continued to hover around teachers seeking more and

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[157] Quoted in Arganian, *Stan Kenton: The Man and His Music*, 161.

[158] Arganian.

[159] Menees, "Jazz Music Camp on Indiana U. Campus." Kenton clearly softened his stance against beards in the coming years, as evidenced by the many bearded musicians he hired to play on his band in the 1960s and 70s. Nonetheless, this anecdote situates Kenton within conservative 1950s American social mores.

more information, late into the evening."[160] Student instrumentalists jammed anywhere they could find space, and Russ Garcia "kept the midnight oil burning" as his arranging students arrived at his room eagerly awaiting his meticulous review and critical analysis of their work.[161]

Buddy Baker, then a member of IU's music faculty, was also on campus the summer of 1959 rehearsing his small jazz trombone group and contributing to din of jamming and rehearsing caused by the National Stage Band Camp. Baker's group consisted of multiple trombones and rhythm section for which he had created numerous original arrangements. Baker invited camp faculty Tommy Shepherd to come to one of his rehearsals "as a courtesy," to which Shepherd graciously agreed and even sat in with the group. Later that week a call came back to Shepherd that Kenton needed a trombone player to finish out his current tour. As Shepherd was tied up with the camp, he recommended Baker for the spot. This resulted in Baker finishing the tour with Kenton and subsequently being invited to teach trombone at subsequent camps.[162]

Students at the National Stage Band Camp were auditioned at the beginning of the week to better understand their general ability level. Students were subsequently assigned to one of six different big bands, designated in 1959 by color. LaPorta led the "red" ensemble, widely considered to be the best band; Jacoby the "white" ensemble, considered a close second. Arranging classes met during the band rehearsals and

[160] "Midwest: A Camp for Learning," 11.
[161] Menees, "Jazz Music Camp on Indiana U. Campus."
[162] Baker recalls being able to finish the tour with Kenton just before resuming his teaching duties at IU that fall.

seemingly, at all other times as well. Student compositions developed from the arranging classes were performed by student groups, "as time permitted." [163]

LaPorta's "red" band enjoyed the additional privilege of performing at the nearby French Lick Jazz Festival where it reportedly, "drew some stout rounds of applause as they ripped through [its] Kenton-like arrangements."[164] The band's repertoire that afternoon included "Cinnamon Kisses" and "Solid Blue" by Marshall Brown, and "Music City" by Russ Garcia.[165] Performing at the French Lick festival was the "highlight" of the week for a sixteen-year-old Gary Burton. Burton is now most well known as a vibraphonist but attended the Kenton Clinics as a pianist. Burton recounts being backstage at the French Lick festival and excitedly taking an uninvited picture of Miles Davis with his rudimentary Brownie camera. The annoyance of a flash right in Davis's face occasioned a singularly irritated response from the famous jazz musician: "Thanks, kid."[166]

"…the greatest week of my life!"[167]

In the end, the camp was a complete success. The staff at Indiana University observed that the students were among the most well-behaved they had ever seen,[168] an

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[163] Baker, "Interview;" "Jazz Music Camp on Indiana U. Campus." *Saint Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 21, 1959. https://www.newspapers.com/image/140588057

[164] Power, Fremont, "Leg Slappin' Jazz Rocks French Lick." *Indianapolis News*, August 1, 1959. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/55085194/french-lick-jazz-festival-laporta/; "Burton Plays With Selected Jazz Orchestra."

[165] Patrick, Corbin, "Fresh Talent Rouses Festival." *Indianapolis Star*, August 1, 1959. https://www.newspapers.com/image/105686080 Marshall Brown was a jazz educator from NY, famously associated with the Farmingdale High School "Dalers" as well as the Newport Jazz Festival Youth Band.

[166] This was likely on July 31st, the date Davis performed at French Lick. Quoted in Marc Meyers, "Interview: Gary Burton (Part 1)." *Blog* (July 26, 2010): accessed February 01, 2020. https://www.jazzwax.com/2010/07/interview-gary-burton-part-1.html.

[167] Quoting trumpeter Linda Craugh, in Menees, "Jazz Music Camp on Indiana U. Campus," 45.

[168] "Stan Kenton and the 2nd Annual Band Camp," *DownBeat* (September 29, 1960).

important takeaway given the prejudice often directed towards jazz and its musicians at the time. The Kenton Clinic faculty were impressed with how quickly the students assimilated new information. Said one, “Amazing! [The students] were playing and learning things in a few days that usually take months to accomplish.” Another stated, “We gave the kids a high standard to hit, no condescension, no compromise with performance . . . and they loved it!”[169]

It has been reported that the success of the Kenton Clinics provided Wilfred Bain, then dean of the IU school of music, the impetus he needed to further enhance IU’s jazz course offerings.[170] Buddy Baker, IU faculty in 1959 disagrees, however. He points out that IU’s stage band program was already planned for the fall of 1959, long before the first Kenton Clinic occurred.[171]

Parents present for the final concert were thrilled. Some reportedly vowed to return the next summer with “carloads of kids.” One even offered to sponsor scholarships for the next year’s camp.[172]

For their own part, the students were ecstatic and many vowed to make jazz their careers. Gary Burton stated he was “in heaven” and that the week at the camp, “totally

[169] Quoted in “Midwest: A Camp for Learning.”

[170] For example, this claim first appeared in “Stan Kenton and the 2nd Annual Band Camp.” as well as “Stan Kenton Receives $1000 From AFM.” *International Musician*, 1960; Ferriano, “A Study of the School Jazz Ensemble in American Music Education," 1974.

[171] Baker, “Interview.” According to Baker, he and Roger Pemberton initiated IU’s first university-credited stage band and arranging classes in the fall of 1959. It is possible, of course, that planning discussions for the Kenton Clinics, presumably occurring during the Spring of 1959, provided additional impetus to the IU administration. Unfortunately, no documentation to support this claim has of yet come to light. Nonetheless, given the sequence of events, claims that the success of the Kenton Clinics inspired the formation of IU’s jazz program seem fictitious.

In addition, Monika Herzig and Nathan Davis state the university-sponsored jazz program at IU began in 1960, a detail I was unable to verify with their listed source, a website hosted by the IU Jacobs School of Music. See Monika Herzig, *David Baker: A Legacy in Music* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2011), 52.

[172] Menees, “Jazz Music Camp on Indiana U. Campus.”

captivated [him].” Though Burton planned to attend medical school, his time at the Kenton Clinics made him realize that, “in [his] heart, [he] wanted to be a jazz musician.” It was, as he stated, his “first big epiphany.”[173] Linda Craugh, a skilled young trumpeter from Fort Worth, TX described the camp as “the greatest week of [her] life.”[174]

The Second Year: 1960

The second National Stage Band Camp Presenting the Stan Kenton Clinics ran two weeks at Indiana University from August 7 through 20, 1960. Organizationally speaking, communication with the faculty in preparation for the camp appears to have been minimal at best. For example, Conti Candoli, a Los Angeles-based trumpeter replacing Jacoby on the faculty, mistakenly traveled to Bloomington, Illinois instead of the city of the same name in Indiana![175] With less than six weeks before the camp started, Leon Breeden, the young band director at North Texas State who would serve on faculty at the camp for the first time, pleaded in a letter with Gene Hall for more information about what was going on: “when should I arrive and what should I bring? Any help on this will be appreciated…” Breeden empathized with Hall’s administrative burden, however, writing, “…but I do not want to burden you with more worries than you probably have already, getting the thing set up.”[176] Guitarist Jack Petersen remembered

[173] Burton, *Learning to Listen: The Jazz Journey of Gary Burton*, 22. Burton’s autobiography mentions further how impressed he was with George Wein, producer of the French Lick Jazz Festival. Burton was surprised to see Wein taking such an active role in what was happening on stage, fraternizing with all the performers, and even yelling sudden repertoire change requests from the stage wings.

[174] Quoted in Menees. Linda (Craugh) Roberts passed away in 1996 while living in Reno, NV where she was a well-known local musician, music teacher, and women’s activist.

[175] The story about Candoli was related by Jack Petersen.

[176] “Leon Breeden Scrapbook, 1960~,” 1960, Archival Material. University of North Texas Libraries, Denton, TX, 108.

how little he knew about what he would be doing before arriving to teach at the 1960 camp: “I had no earthly idea what was going on – no clue.”[177]

The second week of the 1960 camp added a special workshop for music educators during its second week. Topics of this session, facilitated by Hall, Betton, and Leon Breeden, were geared towards educators just beginning to contemplate adding a new ensemble to their educational offerings. The workshop began with a session titled, “Why have a school dance band?” before delving into a variety of topics related to organizing and scheduling a new school dance band, setting up a basic library, phrasing, rehearsal techniques, mouthpieces, PA systems, uniforms, etc.[178]

In all, attendance nearly doubled from the first year with 276 students from 34 states and two Canadian provinces, together with fifteen educators. *Downbeat,* musical instrument manufacturers, musicians’ unions, and private foundations awarded scholarships through a variety of competitions across the country.[179]

As before, auditions were held on the first Sunday afternoon of the camp to help place students in different bands. Camp bands in 1960 were headed by Richards, Doty, LaPorta, Donahue, Betton, Candoli, and Breeden, however the color-coding scheme used in 1959 was now apparently abandoned. In addition, 1960 was the first year that LaPorta

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[177] Petersen, “Interview.”

[178] “Special Music Educators’ Course…” [advertisement] in Breeden, 1960 “Leon Breeden Scrapbook, 1960~,” 120.

[179] Examples of these scholarships were often noted in local newspapers. For example, Jefferson City High School musicians Nike Thompson (bass) and Jerry Wager (alto) received scholarships from the Enid Stage Band Competition. Jerry Wagers earned a purple heart and bronze star in Vietnam before passing in 2014. Nike Thompson may have gone into business selling motorcycles in MO. “Jefferson City Band in Contest is Young Group,” *St. Joseph News-Press,* October 11, 1960, 6. The article specifically mentions “this past summer.”

directed his "head band," a band in which no printed music was used and all arrangements were learned by ear.[180]

Students were further organized into appropriate music theory or arranging classes based on a written exam. Beginning theory and arranging classes were taught by Rizzo while Garcia took the more advanced students. Johnny Richards covered all the arranging classes during the second week.[181]

Kenton took advantage of a rare hiatus in his bands' typically incessant touring schedule to be present for the full two weeks of the clinics, staying in the dormitories with the rest of the camp faculty and staff. He reportedly appreciated the camp's regular schedule, particularly when compared with the grind of being on the road. Nonetheless, the regular schedule of the camps was not without its challenges. As he stated, "It's not so bad having breakfast at seven every morning. It's having dinner at five o'clock that kills me!"[182]

Faculty and Students: Inexperienced and Enthusiastic

Buddy Baker, trombone instructor in 1960 and cofounder of the jazz program at IU. recalled there was, "a lot of enthusiasm" among the faculty and kids that came to the stage band camps. Nonetheless, as Jack Petersen, guitar instructor in the 1960 camp observed, "Many of the students had very little experience." They were not alone. Baker recalled further that many of the camp instructors had limited experience: "[Teaching

[180] This is corroborated by the repertoire LaPorta's band played at the French Lick Jazz Festival at the conclusion of the 1959 clinic.
[181] "Stan Kenton and the 2nd Annual Band Camp."
[182] "Stan Kenton and the 2nd Annual Band Camp."

jazz] was new for most of them, too." Petersen concurs and states that prior to his experience teaching at the Kenton Clinics, "[he] had never taught before, really."[183]

Perhaps in recognition of this fact, the composition of the 1960 faculty differed from that of the previous year. Where the 1959 faculty were all highly regarded performers, the 1960 clinic featured many instructors who were at the time were increasingly associated with jazz education. Kenton commented that he and Hall had intentionally filled one half of the camp faculty with, "nationally recognized music educators, from conservatories and universities around the country," whilst the other half of the faculty were, "musicians active in their field as professional performers." For Kenton, this blend of professional performers and educators struck the right balance between what he called "theory and practice."[184]

Camp faculty increasingly associated with jazz education present at the 1960 camp included:

- Buddy Baker, trombonist, formerly of the Stan Kenton Orchestra and co-founder of IU's stage band program.[185]
- Leon Breeden, saxophonist, arranger, and director of the jazz program at the University of North Texas.[186]
- Clem DeRosa, jazz drummer, arranger, pedagogue, and public-school band director from Huntington, NY.[187]

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[183] Baker, "Interview;" Petersen, "Interview."
[184] Welding, "Big Band Jazz: Look to the Colleges."
[185] Baker, "Interview."
[186] Feustle, "Blow the Curtain Open: How Gene Hall and Leon Breeden Advanced the Legitimacy of Jazz in Music Education."
[187] Clem DeRosa, "The Little League of Jazz," *Downbeat* (October 2,1958).

- Charlie Perry, prolific jazz drummer and, increasingly in the 1960s, drum pedagogue from Rockville Center, NY.[188]
- Phil Rizzo, pianist, arranger, and early publisher of jazz theory texts. Rizzo operated the Modern Music School in Cleveland, OH which offered both in-person and correspondence courses in jazz harmony and arranging. Rizzo's text, *First Step to Improvisation: A Modern Music Workbook Supplement,* first published in 1960, may have formed part of his music theory classes this year.[189]
- Ray Santisi, jazz pianist, arranger, and educator from the Berklee School of Music in Boston, MA.

In addition, educators Gene Hall (Michigan State), Matt Betton (Kansas State), John LaPorta (Long Island Public Schools), and Bud Doty (Conn Corporation) returned from the 1959 camp.

Musicians primarily active as performers and recording artists in the 1960 camp included:

- Conte Candoli, trumpeter, formerly of the Stan Kenton Orchestra and regular session player in Los Angeles recording studios.
- Sam Donahue, current (1960) saxophonist with the Stan Kenton Orchestra.

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[188] Jack DeJonette, and Charlie Perry, *The Art of Modern Jazz Drumming* (New York, NY: Drum Center Publications, 1988).

[189] Advertisements for Rizzo's correspondence courses are a mainstay of *DownBeat* from the late 1950s onwards.

- Jimmy Maxwell, lead trumpet with the New Glen Miller and Ralph Marterie Orchestras.[190]
- Jack Petersen, guitarist, pianist, arranger, session musician, and producer in Dallas, TX recording studios. Petersen was also graduate of North Texas State.
- Johnny Richards (né Juan Manuel Cascales in Mexico), prolific arranger famously associated with Stan Kenton. Richards' arrangements would earn Kenton his first Grammy Award.[191]
- Eddie Safranski, bassist, formerly of the Stan Kenton Orchestra and regular winner of the *DownBeat* poll for best bassist.[192]
- Sal Salvador, guitar, formerly of the Stan Kenton Orchestra. Salvador was a highly regarded bebop guitarist featured on many such recordings in the late 1950s. After transitioning into teaching, Salvador published *Single String Studies* for guitar, which at the time of this writing continues to be a mainstay of jazz guitar pedagogy.[193]

Russ Garcia returned from the 1959 camp to teach music theory and advanced arranging classes. Don Jacoby was set to return as well until oral surgery prevented him from doing so.[194]

[190] James Elwyn Maxwell of Kansas – not to be confused with the Jimmy Maxwell, also a lead trumpeter, closely associated with Benny Goodman and NBC New York.

[191] Lee, *Stan Kenton: Artistry in Rhythm*.

[192] Harris, *The Kenton Kronicles - a Biography of Modern America's Man of Music, Stan Kenton*.

[193] Originally released in 1962. The current edition is published by Hal Leonard.

[194] "They Came to Learn At the Band Camp."

Petersen observed that "back in those years, great players didn't always know how to project what they knew." For example, Petersen took over for Sal Salvador during the second week of the 1960 camp. This circumstance presented a variety of challenges not least of which was that Petersen felt that Salvador "had not shown [the students] some things he should have" during the first week of the camp.[195] For Petersen, this included "how to build chords" on the guitar as well as some basic chord progressions.[196] Petersen himself, however, admitted that he, "didn't know what [he] was doing until [he] started doing it," with regards to teaching young students how to play jazz. Nonetheless, he had been working out some pedagogical ideas in this regard at home that the clinics helped him further develop. Petersen further discovered that he "had a knack for [teaching] and was able to communicate things to students in a way that they would learn something."[197] Petersen subsequently published many of the guitar pedagogies he first developed at the Kenton Clinics in *Chords Galore.* He also shared many of these pedagogical ideas with Kenton, something he believes helped ensure he received return invitations to teach at the clinics. [198]

Like Petersen, Stan Kenton was a similarly inexperienced at working with young musicians during the first years of his clinics. At one point during the 1960 clinic, Gene Hall related that Kenton was standing around without anything to do and began to feel bored. Hall suggested that Kenton go and rehearse one of the bands, stating how much it

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[195] It should be noted that Sal Salvador became a highly respected guitar pedagogue, teaching at two different colleges in Connecticut, and publishing widely. Salvador passed away in 1999.

[196] For example, I vi ii V, etc.

[197] Jack Petersen, "Interview," July 21, 2018.

[198] Petersen, Jack, *Chords Galore,* (Saint Louis, MO: Mel Bay, 2003). Petersen states that his inspiration for the title came from the name of an infamous protagonist in the James Bond franchise of films.

would mean to the students. In 1960, the Olney High School Dance Band of Philadelphia, PA travelled *en masse* to Bloomington for the clinic. The group was a reportedly "a relatively new addition" to Olney and was organized as student-run, faculty-sponsored club whose purpose was "to bring modern music to the students."[199] The Olney students attended the camp in part to get a leg up on other student-run Philadelphia dance bands in an upcoming high school stage band competition where they had previously placed third place.[200] After walking in on their rehearsal, Hall relates that Kenton,

> reached down into the book [i.e., music folio] and said, 'Let's play this one.' Well, [the students] had never played it before, and they couldn't do it. So, [Kenton] came back into the office a little later and was talking about it. I said, 'What'd you do? He said, 'I didn't know what to do. I didn't know what to tell 'em. If it had been my band, I'd have said, "You guys play it or I'll get somebody else!"'[201]

Hall expressed surprise at Kenton's honesty about his inexperience working with students because his impression of many other well-known bandleaders with whom he had worked was that they would never admit they did not know something in the way Kenton would.[202]

The relative "newness" of teaching jazz for many of the faculty led many Kenton Clinic instructors to gather for informal discussions about pedagogy and curriculum. Buddy Baker explains that the instructors would gather with those whom they were

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[199] *Olney High School Yearbook* (Philadelphia, PA: 1960), 38, 137. The school reportedly provided the group with $1000 to help defray travel and other costs. See "Stan Kenton and the 2nd Annual Band Camp."

[200] "Stan Kenton Receives $1000 From AFM." I could find no further details on this Philadelphia competition. Some of Olney's prime competitors, however, may have been students associated with Philadelphia's Mastbaum Technical High School. By the late 1950s, the still classically oriented program at Mastbaum had already produced many top-notch musicians including John Coltrane, Jimmy Heath, Lee Morgan, Buddy Defranco, McCoy Tyner, Archie Shepp, Wilmer Wise, Joe Wilder, and others. See Jeffrey McMillan, "A Musical Education: Lee Morgan and the Philadelphia Jazz Scene of the 1950s," *Current Musicology* 71 (2002).

[201] Quoted in Arganian, *Stan Kenton: The Man and His Music*, 162.

[202] Arganian, *Stan Kenton: The Man and His Music*, 162.

working with throughout the day at three or four different bars in Bloomington to review and share their teaching experiences, strategies, and "what they were going through."

Jack Petersen elaborated on these nightly meetings of Kenton Clinic instructors, "As we were hanging, we'd talk about what we taught the kids that day and we'd pass ideas around. . . and [the ideas] were all great! Nobody would say, 'It's this way only.' That was what was great about it." Petersen's voice lowered and softened as he reminisced further, "Those guys had some really great ideas, man." Petersen elaborated that he felt particularly in awe as many of the instructors he now found himself conversing with as colleagues had been his "idols from a very young age." Furthermore, some of the instructors had advanced academic training while Petersen never graduated from college and learned to play, as he states, "in the street."[203]

The skill and professional stature of many of the faculty notwithstanding, Baker recalled all the faculty, "were very pleased with being able to impart some of [their knowledge and experience] to kids that were really eager to learn – You can't believe how eager to learn the kids were!"[204] Many of the students were reportedly so enthusiastic about their learning that they had to be, "forced to put down their instruments at midnight."[205]

[203] Petersen, "Interview."
[204] Baker, "Interview."
[205] Quoted in "Stan Kenton Receives $1000 From AFM."

A Model Stage Band for the Stage Band Camp and North Texas State

There were enough faculty on the expanded 1960 clinic to significantly fill out a faculty big band.[206] This band was an important addition to the 1960 clinic as the previous clinic only featured faculty sufficient to perform in small groups. The faculty band read through much of the music that students were rehearsing in their own bands during daytime "reading workshops" attended by the entire camp. According to LaPorta, the purpose of these reading workshops was to provide students a "clearer picture" of how they should go about performing the music themselves.[207] The faculty band also performed an evening concert at the beginning of the week.[208]

The faculty band also served the student arranging classes, reading through all the music that had been written over the course of the week in a Friday afternoon "Composer's Workshop." According to LaPorta, there was "no greater learning device for the potential composer."[209] The "Composer's Workshop" was also tangibly profitable to the students in the arranging classes. In addition to having an opportunity to hear their creative efforts interpreted by some of the finest musicians in the country, they also gained exposure for their creative efforts. And such exposure occasionally had an immediate financial benefit. In 1960, Sandra Shelly, a seventeen-year-old pianist and French horn player, sold three of her arrangements on the last day of camp. A few students who led their own bands heard some of her arrangements and liked them enough

[206] When required, talented students were invited to fill missing spots. Trumpeter Mike Vax filled the bottom of the trumpet section. Petersen, "Interview."

[207] John LaPorta, "The National Stage Band Camp 1960," *Selmer Bandwagon*, April (1961), 9.

[208] Vax, "Interview."

[209] LaPorta, "The National Stage Band Camp 1960," 9.

to want to perform them. As a result, Shelly made forty-five dollars, enough to inspire her to declare that she wanted to pursue music arranging as a career.[210]

During the second week of the clinics, the North Texas One o' Clock Band filled the role of the faculty band, providing demonstrations and reading through student arrangements.[211] Kenton first heard the students from North Texas the previous year at the first Notre Dame Midwest Collegiate Jazz Festival where their superb musicianship handily won the competition. Kenton, who presided as one of the judges, ran to the stage immediately following their performance, embraced Leon Breeden their director, and tearfully declared that they had restored his faith in the future of big band jazz. Subsequent conversations between Breeden and Kenton later that evening precipitated the invitation for North Texas to attend the clinics.[212] In addition, by the time of the 1960 clinics, many of the North Texas students were already music professionals, performing and touring with many well-known outfits.[213]

The participation of the North Texas students was not confirmed until a month prior to the 1960 clinic, however. Letters between Breeden and Hall provide insight into

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[210] This would be over $375 dollars in 2020. "Stan Kenton and the 2nd Annual Band Camp." Shelly graduated in top ten percent of her class, won a civic award for her essay "What Can I Do About Communism," a Betty Crocker Future Homemaker award, and reportedly attended Ohio State University as a music education student. Unfortunately, I could not verifiably track her career any further than this. "'Miss Music' Wins College Scholarship." *Akron Beacon Journal*, May 21, 1961.

[211] "Lab Band to be Featured At Stan Kenton Band Camp." *Denton Record-Chronicle*, July 20, 1960.

[212] Breeden described this experience in Arganian, *Stan Kenton: The Man and His Music*. In a letter to Gene Hall dated May 23, 1960, Breeden imlied Hall's influence helped secure the North Texas win: "Again, thanks for all your help at Notre Dame – we are convinced that comments made by you at the right time to the right people (Kenton, particularly!) helped swing the pendulum in our direction." See Breeden, 1960 "Leon Breeden Scrapbook, 1960~," 104.

[213] Breeden's letters to Hall are filled with the career trajectories of students, both those who took music teaching positions in Texas public schools, as well as those who joined touring bands. At the time of the 1960 clinic, Marvin Stamm (trumpet) had already played briefly with the Kenton Orchestra. Stamm and many other North Texas alumni would follow.

the effort required to get the North Texas students to Bloomington, in addition to the private grievances of pioneering jazz educators working against enormous institutional prejudice with limited resources.[214] Breeden wrote to Morris in mid-to-late May about the possibility of the North Texas students attending the clinic. Initially, Breeden was trying to work the clinic into a performance opportunity the North Texas students had been offered in Detroit in connection with their win at the Notre Dame festival. Detroit was offering very little money for travel but represented enormous promotional potential for a still-growing program that continually needed to be conscious of attracting students.[215]

In the end, however, financial pressure forced Breeden to turn down the Detroit opportunity. The Associated Booking Corporation was offering $700 for a performance that would cost over $2000 when travel expenses were factored in! Undoubtedly aware of the potential public relations fallout, Breeden plead with his North Texas students to, "please hold off on any letters to Downbeat, etc. giving them your gripes about the awards at Notre Dame." Fortunately, Breeden could now count on an appearance at the Kenton Clinic to help soften the blow. As he wrote to his students, "I feel that the Kenton Camp appearance can mean a great deal to the band and to you personally. Many college bands would give their right arm to appear at the camp as a special feature. . . There will be no charge for us and we will have the opportunity to play for the camp each day."[216]

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[214] A significant portion of Breeden's 1960 letters with Hall are devoted to obtaining new musical arrangements for his student bands, as well as complaints levied against the North Texas administration.

[215] These data are noted in a letter from Breeden to Hall dated May 23, 1960 and found in "Leon Breeden Scrapbook, 1960~," 1960, Archival Material. University of North Texas Libraries, Denton, TX.

[216] Quoted in a letter from Breeden to the students of the North Texas band dated July 5, 1960 confirming their participation in the Kenton Clinics. In "Leon Breeden Scrapbook, 1960~," 118.

The financial details of North Texas' participation in the 1960 Kenton Clinic were more complex. First, there was an opportunity cost in lost income from summer jobs – a critical consideration at a school that was still largely responsible for preparing future music teachers. As Breeden commented to Hall, "the boys [in the band] have to quit their summer jobs early to [participate in the clinic], so it will cost them to do it."[217]

Second, while Morris was content to allow the North Texas students as, "camp members" with "full rights" to attend the various classes,[218] he still needed to charge them for their room and board, a cost he incurred from IU over which he presumably had no control. To remedy the situation, Morris offered to present the North Texas students fronted by Stan Kenton at the Tippacanoe Ballroom the Sunday following the clinic, the one-night performance covering the cost of their week of room and board.[219] Following the Tippacanoe performance, Breeden noted the following in his scrapbook: "August 21, 1960 – 1:00 band performed at Ken Morris' resort ballroom, Tippacanoe, Indiana with Stan Kenton as guest conductor, Johnny Richards was also a guest & conducted a number or two at Stan's invitation. A fantastic night for our band (and me!!)."[220]

Third, the educational opportunities and experiences of participation in the clinics notwithstanding, the North Texas students had to pay their own travel expenses both to and from the clinics. Most carpooled from Denton, TX, splitting gasoline and other costs.

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[217] Quoted in a letter from Breeden to Hall dated May 23, 1980, In "Leon Breeden Scrapbook 1960~," 104.

[218] Letter from Breeden to North Texas Students, July 5, 1960. In "Leon Breeden Scrapbook 1960~."

[219] According to Breeden, Morris' cost for use of the IU dormitories and dining facilities was $4.00 per person, per day (approximately $36 in 2020). Morris offered the students $500.00 (approx. $4500 in 2020) for their performance at Tippacanoe. See Letter from Breeden, 118.

[220] Breeden's shorthand for his "One o' Clock" band should not be mistaken as the time the band performed. "Leon Breeden Scrapbook 1960~."

Those who had had secured work with professional bands during the summer of 1960 met their classmates there.[221]

Schedule Snapshot: John LaPorta Walks Through the Second Camp

As the camps expanded in size, scheduling became a herculean task that largely fell on the shoulders of Gene Hall and Matt Betton. LaPorta provided an intimate view of the 1960 schedule in an article for the April 1961 issue of the *Selmer Bandwagon.* This is one of the most detailed descriptions of the camp schedule written by a member of the faculty at the time the camps occurred. It is reprinted here at length as it is now only available in an obscure magazine that has long ceased publication.

> The swinging starts at 8:00 a.m.! . . . Teacher Sam Donahue, a dance band leader himself since the golden 30's, has already finished breakfast, and at Studio B he is rehearsing one of the Student Bands. Sometimes Sam will explain, sometimes demonstrate on his tenor saxophone. He does it every morning until 10:00 a.m. By the end of the week these two-hour sessions will have molded the group into a swinging unit with a singular regard for time. Let's drop in on Hollywood conductor and arranger Johnny Richard's rehearsal, going on at the same time as Sam Donahue's. Never a matter of fact, Johnny pleads and exhorts his students in his efforts to achieve the proper musical results. And achieve them he will.
>
> At 10:00 a.m. we can follow some students either to Bud Doty's clinic or Matt Betton's state band rehearsal to watch one of the stage bands' real pioneers in action They've already started when we arrive; these eager youngsters are enthusiastic, and faster, and – younger. The band is working on a lovely Gil Evans arrangement. Dynamics are stressed here and it quickly becomes obvious that this group of students will go back home with a much greater awareness of tonal balances and instrumental blends. Bud Doty's rehearsal is charged with the electricity of competitive enthusiasm. In just one week, he will cajole and berate his group into an intensely unified, fighting musical machine.
>
> It's 10:45 a.m. – We have just enough time to walk up four flights to the roof garden and catch the end of two brass section rehearsals. As we reach the top, our ears are assaulted by a screaming trumpet chord. Down on the campus it must

[221] Stamm toured with Buddy Morrow the summer of 1960. Bass trombonist Dave Wheeler was in Las Vegas with Lee Castle.

> sound like Gabriel gone progressive with all his heavenly cohorts. Jim Maxwell, a Kenton alumnus, is giving one of the trumpet sections a good workout, while on the other side of the roof garden, four trombones are going through their paces with Buddy Baker, trombone instructor at Indiana University, who shows them how to achieve balance and attack.[222]

In general, the 1960 clinic was organized such that if you attended an ensemble rehearsal in the morning, you would attend a music theory class and instrumental sectional in the afternoon, or vice versa.[223] Between ensemble rehearsals, sectionals, camp-wide workshops, ongoing theory and arranging classes, and lecture sessions, there was likely little room to spare in the IU facilities. Placing the brass sectionals outdoors on the roof during humid Indiana summers was likely a casualty of such space limitations. Mike Vax, a trumpet student at the 1960 clinic vividly remembered the oppressive humidity – it was his only complaint about the two weeks.[224]

LaPorta continues,

> 11:00 a.m. – The Faculty Workshop, attended by the entire study body, hears John LaPorta's lecture on Jazz Improvisation today. I will demonstrate and explain the basic requirements for learning to improvise. During the camp session other workshops will be held at this hour, among them a reading workshop, composer's workshop, and one on the function of the instruments in the rhythm section.[225]

LaPorta, together with fellow faculty member Phil Rizzo, were at the forefront of contemplating the most effective ways to help students learn to improvise. Rizzo published *First Step to Improvisation* in 1960, a method that stresses the construction of melody through an understanding of chords or chordal harmony. In *First Step, s*cales are deemphasized. Rather, chord tones and their inversions, followed by the various types of

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[222] LaPorta, "The National Stage Band Camp 1960," 8.
[223] "Stan Kenton and the 2nd Annual Band Camp."
[224] Vax, "Interview."
[225] LaPorta, "The National Stage Band Camp 1960," 8.

passing tones that may be used to move between such chord tones, are stressed – an arrangement that coincidentally produces a sequence of musical pitches or "scale" unto itself.[226]

Other than Rizzo and LaPorta, Jack Petersen recalls that few other faculty members, "had really developed any theories about teaching improv." [227] As a result, instruction in improvisation was a small part of 1960 camp. This is illustrated by LaPorta's description of his own beginning improvisation class, an "innovation" featuring only twenty students during the 1960 camp (presented here outside the chronology of his original narrative):

> 4:00 p.m. – Time for my own class in elementary improvisation. This is an innovation at this year's camp. I have a group of approximately 20 students and teach a combination of jazz theory and instrumental application. The theory section consists of scales, intervals, chords, and phrasing techniques. The playing section deals with the applications of these materials to setting standard songs and jazz tunes.[228]

With such a small percentage of students attending classes explicitly devoted to jazz improvisation, Petersen, recalled that most such instruction took place on an individual basis. He stated, "If a student had a solo, he'd [sic] come up to the [band] leader and say, 'what do I do?,'" whereupon the Petersen stated the bandleaders would give the students something based on their own experiences to help them improvise.

LaPorta continues,

> 1:00 p.m. – Lunch is over and it is time for the lecture hour. This is often a panel discussion, with Stan Kenton acting as moderator. Stan and the panel members drawn from the camp faculty discuss such subjects as the recording industry,

[226] Phil Rizzo, *First Step to Improvisation: A Modern Music Workbook Supplement* (Cleveland, OH: Modern Music School, 1960). Readers familiar with Western classical harmony should recognize the fundamental similarities in Rizzo's approach to that espoused by Jean-Phillipe Rameau in his 1722 *Treatise on Harmony.*

[227] Petersen, "Interview"; Vax, "Interview."

[228] LaPorta, "The National Stage Band Camp 1960," 9.

> social and economic conditions for the aspiring musician – virtually anything relevant to the past, present, and future of dance band music.
>
> This is the "Kenton Hour" described previously by Hall.
>
> 2:00 p.m. Two bands are rehearsing. One is under Jim Maxwell and the other under Leon Breeden of the North Texas State College faculty. We saw Jim earlier today conducting a trumpet section rehearsal. Breeden is the head of the North Texas State College band, one of two attending the camp as a unit. (The other is the Olney High School band from Philadelphia.)
>
> 3:00 p.m. Let's go over to the theory and arranging classes. They have been going on all day but this is our first opportunity to look in on them. Phil Rizzo teaches the theory and basic arranging classes, which are open to all the instrumental students at the camp. The advanced arranging courses are given by Russ Garcia and Johnny Richards. It's a revelation to see them give an assignment and then illustrate it with a stream of musical possibilities than can't help making the student blossom into creative activity.

The hands-on manner by which the Kenton Clinics supported studies in composition and arranging would become a hallmark of the clinics for years to come. And in the years before computer-based notation systems, students were responsible for copying out all the individual parts for their compositions by hand![229]

LaPorta continues,

> 5:30 p.m. is dinner time, followed by extra-curricular activities – faculty and student jam sessions, performances by the Olney High School stage band or the North Texas State College band, and the nightly rehearsal of my "Head" band. This consists of eight brass, five saxes, and four rhythm section and is a cross-section of the student body. As an experiment, started just this year, most of the music is made up at the rehearsals, with very little written music on hand.

LaPorta's "Head" band – named for the way musicians commonly refer to the melodies or "heads" of jazz tunes – would become a hallmark of the clinics in the years to come. The aural skills such an ensemble helps develop would also become an important part of LaPorta's pedagogical style, where listening and doing come before

[229] Shab Wirtel, "Interview," *Zoom Recording* (July 9, 2021).

theoretical concerns.[230] Vax recalled his experiences playing in LaPorta's 1960 "Head" band fondly: "It was a big band and there was no music. We just made everything up!"[231]

LaPorta concludes his walkthrough of the 1960 Kenton Clinic with an acknowledgement of the camp administrators, as well as an explicit reference to the role the camps played in the preservation of big band jazz.

> Of course, there are countless activities here we have not been able to watch – above all the tireless efforts of Dr. Hall of Michigan State University, dean of the camp; Matt Betton, his assistant; Ken Morris, the founder of the camp; and Stan Kenton, its enthusiastic spirit. Their intelligent supervision makes possible the final concerts, when each performance as the bands take their turn on stage is a thrilling assurance that the big band tradition is still alive and swinging.[232]

Student Experiences 1960: Mike Vax and Shab (formerly Tom) Wirtel

One of the eager 1960 Kenton Clinic students was Mike Vax, a seventeen-year-old trumpet player who a decade later would play lead trumpet in the Kenton Band as well as function as the band's road manager. Vax grew up in Oakland, CA where he attended Oakland High School and played in the school's dance band.[233] Don Jacoby, trumpet faculty on the 1959 Kenton Clinic, came to Oakland for a performance during which he met Vax and discovered his interest in the Stan Kenton Orchestra. As a result, Jacoby insisted Vax attend the Kenton Clinic. As Vax stated, "I didn't know anything about the Kenton Clinics. They were new and they weren't on the west coast."

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[230] LaPorta, by his own admission in the forward to his 1967 *A Guide to Improvisation,* changed his approach to teaching improvisation. Where he once states he stressed music theory, he later realized the more effective approach was to stress playing. As a result, *A Guide* begins with more easily accessible pentatonic scales. See John LaPorta, *A Guide to Improvisation* (Boston, MA: Berklee Press, 1968).

[231] Vax, "Interview."

[232] John LaPorta, "The National Stage Band Camp 1960," *Selmer Bandwagon* 1961, no. April (1961): 9.

[233] Vax describes his HS dance band as "a regular class" that met every day.

Accordingly, Jacoby arranged to have the National Stage Band Camps send Vax all the pertinent information.

As Vax relates,

> [We] didn't have a lot of money back then, and to get back there [to Bloomington, IN], to pay the tuition, to do all this -- it was going to be too much. So, I actually called Don Jacoby and said ‘Mr. Jacoby, I don't think I can do it.’ And of course, anyone that knows Don Jacoby – [Vax laughs], he said [loudly, gruffly] ‘Just get there, kid!!’ So, I said, ‘Yes sir!’

Vax recalls that an uncle provided him with the necessary train ticket to travel from Oakland, CA to Bloomington, Indiana.[234]

Jacoby had a gum infection that prevented him from attending the 1960 Kenton. For this reason, trumpeter Conti Candoli was called to replace him. Vax relates that when he walked into his audition at the beginning of the camp and introduced himself, Candoli responded, “Oh, you’re Jake’s kid.” Jacoby had apparently called Candoli to ask that he look out for Vax. This was not all. Vax relates that he had always assumed that Jacoby arranged a scholarship for him to attend the Kenton Clinics. Many years later, however, after Vax had joined the Kenton Orchestra, he learned from Jacoby’s wife that his tuition the summer of 1960 had been paid by Jacoby himself. Apparently, in 1960 Jacoby called Ken Morris to enquire about scholarships and, upon hearing that there were no more available, agreed to pay Vax’s tuition.[235]

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[234] Vax, “Interview.”

[235] Vax elaborates on Jacoby’s generosity further:

> I hadn't talked to [Jacoby] in a while because I had been with the Navy Showband, and out of the country traveling. I finally called him up – and I always called him Mr. Jacoby until he forced me to call him Jake – so I called him up and I said, “Mr. Jacoby this is Mike Vax.” “Mike Vax, I haven't from you in a long time. What the hell's going on?" and I said, “Well, I'm in town,” and he said "You're in town? Well, what are you doing?" And I said, “I'm playing lead with Stan.” And you could tell he got choked up on the other end because he knew what a Kenton fan I was, you know. And he couldn't come to the concert, but he said, “Bring the trumpets over to the club afterwards and we'll hang.” So,

Over the course of the two weeks of the Kenton Clinic, Vax played lead trumpet in the "third band" directed the first week by Bud Doty and the second week by Matt Betton. He also played in the "head band" directed by John LaPorta. He remembered little of his theory classes, other than that the textbook was Russ Garcia's *The Professional Arranger Composer.*[236]

In addition to the preceding, Candoli and Maxwell asked Vax to play fourth trumpet in the faculty band during the first week of the camp – a band Vax describes as full of the "who's who of Kenton alumni from the 1940s and 50s."[237] Vax's interactions with the faculty were some of his most significant memories: "They were all very giving people. They would spend extra time with you." This included being invited eat lunch off campus with Candoli and Maxwell, something that was technically against the rules.[238] Bud Doty even hired Vax to perform with his own professional big band on the Saturday before the start of the second week of camp, driving him to wherever the performance took place. Vax spent so much time with the faculty that, in many cases, it was not until

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> we went and sat in [with his band at the club], and then went over to his condo and partied all night long – I mean, we almost missed the bus the next day! So, at one point, Dori his wife . . . grabs me and she pulls me into this extra bedroom, and she says, "I'm gonna tell you something and if you ever tell Jake I told you this, I'll never speak to you again! You know when you went to the camp, he called up Ken Morris and there was no more scholarship money left, so he paid your tuition." And so, to his dying day, [Jacoby] didn't know that I knew that. But yeah, that's the kind of guy he was. He paid for me to go. And you know, my joke [when I'm leading] clinics sometimes is that Don Jacoby really ruined my life. Man, I could have got a degree in classical performance, I could 'a had a gig all these years in a symphony and not had to be a freelance player! [laughter]

[236] Russel Garcia, *The Professional Arranger Composer* (Criterion Music Corporation, 1954). Vax recalled Garcia's text was sold "for a very cheap price" at the camp. As of this writing, it is still in print by Hal Leonard.

[237] Vax, "Interview."

[238] As Vax states further, "We were not supposed to leave campus. That was part of the deal. Well, Conti [Candoli] and Jimmy [Maxwell] went to this bar at lunchtime every day. And a few of the days they snuck me off... now they wouldn't let me – I had a hamburger and a coke while they were boozing. But they snuck me off to go with them a couple of times. So, I was hanging with them."

years later that he and some of his 1960 Kenton Clinic bandmates realized they had played together as students. This included drummer John von Ohlen who also played in LaPorta's "head band" during the summer of 1960. Vax and von Ohlen only discovered their shared history a decade later when both were leading the clinics themselves as members of the Kenton's band.

The two weeks Vax spend at the 1960 Kenton Clinic were life changing. As Vax describes,

> When I went [to the Kenton Clinic] I was planning on getting a degree in symphonic playing and getting an orchestral job. And that whole two weeks just changed everything, and I said, 'no I want to play with Stan Kenton.' I still got my degree in classical performance, but I knew what I wanted to do was to play with Stan. And at the end of the two weeks, I actually went up to Stan and – I mean you can imagine how tall he was and I was even shorter – I went up to him, and I looked at him and said, 'Mr. Kenton, I'm going to play in your band someday.' And what he said was, 'If you want to bad enough, you probably will.' But what I heard was 'Mr. Kenton said I could play in his band!' So that became the driving force for what I've got to do with my life -- to play on Stan Kenton's band. . . Those two weeks changed my life. It changed everything that I had planned out for my life.[239]

Shab Wirtel (formerly Tom Wirtel – or to his college bandmates, simply "Turtle") attended the Kenton Clinics in both 1960 and 61 as a trumpeter in the North Texas State One o'Clock band. Wirtel described the clinics as a "continuous classroom" from the time he woke up until he finally went to bed. And the personal interactions he experienced with the faculty had a lasting impact. Even the simple act of walking from one class to another was an opportunity to interact with the faculty, whether to ask a question or "talk about anything and everything." For Wirtel, these interactions made a lasting impression, both due to the generosity of the faculty with their time, as well as the

[239] Vax, "Interview."

intimacy of the experience. For the first time, Wirtle was interacting with musicians who he had long respected, even idolized.

As he stated,

> The vibe that I got is that [the clinics] were as much fun as for them as it was for us. You could tell that [the faculty] had lowered their shields and could relax and be completely themselves. No role playing just real people talking to real people. And it was just so intimate and unfiltered. And that's why everybody liked it so much.

Wirtel and his North Texas bandmates had nominal responsibilities as "camp counselors," in addition to performing as a "model" band during the second week of the camp. Wirtel described the situation as follows: "We were supposed to make sure that the kids went to bed on time, but we always blew all that off. I was sort of like, f*** that, man, I wanna go talk to Johnny [Richards]! None of us took [being counselors] seriously. . . we just kind of rolled our eyes and said 'whatever.'"[240]

Wirtel reflected further that, at the time, he and his North Texas bandmates were all still young enough to be in what he termed their "indestructible phase," meaning, they would "play all morning, all afternoon, on into the evening, and then go out to a jam session after that," all with no negative repercussions. Wirtel recalled, however, that among the North Texas students, only trumpeter Marvin Stamm had, "enough chops to play more than one or two tunes." In addition, Wirtel felt that the young Stamm reportedly gave both Conti Candoli and Donald Byrd "a run for their money."[241]

Wirtel and his North Texas classmates were also directed by both Kenton and Johnny Richards over the course of the week. Kenton was pedagogically much better

[240] Wirtel, "Interview."
[241] Wirtel, "Interview."

equipped to work with the professional caliber students from North Texas State than he was the younger students from Olney High School. Wirtel fondly recalled Kenton's rehearsal style as a unique blend of collegiality, professionalism, and humor. Kenton bantered with the young players from North Texas even as serious concerns of style and form were rehearsed. Many of these students were quickly becoming formidable composers and arrangers. As a result, the band primarily played original music and student-created arrangements. Kenton offered effulgent to praise to the student composers coupled with shrewd criticisms and insight.[242] For Wirtel, this was, "the looseness, the naturalness of what goes on in a Stan Kenton rehearsal. Here, academic seriousness was being transformed. Seriousness was replaced by a playful vibe, which in turn promoted a vital attitude of sincerity." Wirtel wrote about his experiences with Kenton at length,

> Stan was the best conductor I had ever worked with. His conducting skills were unorthodox, but he had a way of getting you to play better than you ever thought you could. It was his eyes. He would just look at you, and suddenly you would be filled with a mysterious confidence, and desire to give it all you had, only to find out that you had more than you thought you had! His insights were shrewd, and his rehearsal technique was precise and to the point. He would listen to a piece once, make a few changes here and there, and presto, your piece would take on renewed life in a new dimension. Stan had transformed it somehow. The changes

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[242] Leon Breeden transcribed a recording of Kenton rehearsing the One O'Clock Band during the 1960 Clinic. His transcription was reprinted by Lilian Arganian in *Stan Kenton: The Man and His Music.* A portion of that transcription is as follows:

> (Kenton has just [the North Texas students] through several opening bars of a student composition.) "When'd you start writing, Bob?" The question is addressed to Bob Pickering, a lab band student and writer of the piece. "Well, this is my first work. So—it's only been about six months." What? It's what! It's your first arrangement?" The band breaks up in laughter. "If you didn't know all the same people I know, I would never believe you. It really is your first arrangement?" Yah." (Laughter.) Well, I'll tell you—everything I tell you guys, you're gonna wind up with egos. You're gonna be unmanageable. But I feel like I should become a used-car peddler, I really do. That's beautiful." There is a pause, then a voice. "Marv [Stamm] says if you wanna sell cars his dad would ...... "A big laugh erupts from the band. "Marv said what?" Another voice picks it up. "He said if you want to sell cars his dad'll help you out." Everyone laughs.

> he made were usually very simple. Very often he would advise the rhythm section to alter its approach to a certain passage, and this would completely change the way a passage would feel to the listener. I can remember thinking, "This is so right. I wonder why we didn't think of it before!"[243]

As Johnny Richards took over the conducting duties, Wirtel recalled him, "hopping around, looking at [the North Texas students] with these big wide eyes, giggling, and shouting, 'More, more, more!'" Wirtel states that he understood intuitively that Richards did not mean for them to play louder. Rather, he believed Richards was encouraging the band to play, "with more joy." [244]

For Wirtel, the Kenton Clinics were, "a dream come true." They were his first opportunity to rub elbows with experienced professional jazz musicians, who according to Wirtel, "gave generously of their time, not only during and between classes, but on into the evening as well."[245] Wirtel continued,

> Johnny Richards was particularly generous in this way. I can remember several late-night sessions in Johnny's room, with 5 or 6 writers, scores in hand, waiting for Johnny's comments. He would look at everything very carefully, and then go through a score with its writer and explain how to make the music more convincing. I had brought an orchestral score *Concertino for Orchestra*, and Johnny quickly zeroed in on some fuzzy orchestration in the piece, noting that the oboe and bassoon were going to get covered up by the trombones here, and flute would be lost there if I didn't put it up an octave . . . stuff like that. Johnny was a tireless, and continuously overflowing with insights into music composition. He spent time with us. More than that, he was conversant with all styles of music, not just jazz. We all learned a lot from him."[246]

A few months after the 1960 clinic, Kenton invited Noor to record some new music on the infamous mellophonium at Capitol Records Studios in Los Angeles.[247]

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[243] Wirtel, "The Stan Kenton Clinics: A View From the Inside," *[Unpublished Report]* n.d, 45.

[244] Wirtel, "Interview."

[245] Wirtel, "Interview."

[246] Wirtel, "The Stan Kenton Clinics: A View From the Inside," 63.

[247] Kenton and Johnny Richards added a section of four mellophoniums to the Kenton Band in the early 1960s to add unique harmonic texture to their arrangements. Though mellophone-like in nature

The Third Year through Fifth Years: 1961 to 1963

From 1961 through 1963 the National Stage Band Camps Presenting the Stan Kenton Clinics increased in both location as well as number of days. In 1961 the camps expanded to three weeks spread across three different campuses: July 23 to 29 at Southern Methodist University in Dallas, TX; July 30 to August 5 at Michigan State University in East Lansing; and from August 6 to 12 at Indiana State University. The 1962 camp was also presented in three locations: Michigan State from August 5 to 11, Indiana University from August 12 to 19, and University of Nevada, Reno from August 26 to September 1. For 1963, the camp expanded to five locations: July 29 to August 3 at University of Connecticut, August 4 to 10 at Michigan State, August 11 to 17 at Indiana University, August 18 to 24 at University of Denver, and finally from August 25 to 31 at University of Nevada, Reno.[248]

Tuition in 1961 was $78.00 dollars, raising to $88 the following year. The 1961 Southern Methodist clinic initially had trouble attracting students, [249] possibly a reason its

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(sometimes equated with the Wagner tuba), it was primarily played by trumpet players, most of whom loathed the instrument. See Sparke, *Stan Kenton: This is an Orchestra!*

Like Dalton Smith, Noor was incredulous when he was offered the opportunity to fly to Los Angeles and record with Kenton. As he described,

> Something unexpected happened to me at the start of the semester. I was hanging out one afternoon when one of my housemates called me over to the phone saying, "Turtle, it's for you — somebody saying he's Stan Kenton!" I said, "Sure, yeah man." But when I answered the phone, I recognized Stan's voice, and he was asking if I could come to LA and make some test recordings on a new instrument called a Mellophonium. I mumbled in agreement, and Stan said, "Let me put Richards on the phone, and he'll give you the details." Very soon after that, Johnny Richards was picking me up at LAX, and driving me to a motel across the street from Capital Records Tower. . . Of course I was thrilled, and Stan was very helpful and put me at ease when I arrived. See Wirtel, "The Stan Kenton Clinics: A View From the Inside," 50.

[248] Harris, *The Kenton Kronicles - a Biography of Modern America's Man of Music, Stan Kenton*.
[249] Letter from Hall to Breeden dated

tuition was later advertised as only $50 dollars.[250] Tuition in 1963 had risen to $95 dollars.[251] Special educator-only sessions that year were free, however, the costs absorbed by the National Stage Band Camp, "with the help of percussion instrument manufacturers and music publishers."[252] Many adult educators attending the camps reportedly preferred to participate in the student classes rather than the special educatory-only sessions. The combined 1962 camps reportedly served over 800 students.[253] As in past camps, bass players seemed to be in relatively short supply while drummers were superabundant. For example, only seven bass players attended the 1962 Clinic in East Lansing, MI. Meanwhile, there were so many drummers that week – reportedly forty-two, each arriving with their own complete drum kit! – that the staff, not knowing what else to do with them, assigned them to accompany the instrumental sectionals.[254]

As in previous years, general advertisements ran in *Downbeat* starting in the spring, albeit now featuring only the branding of the "Stan Kenton Clinics" dropping mention of Morris' National Stage Band Camps.[255] Advertisements geared toward band directors in the *Music Educators Journal* more accurately portrayed the role of Morris' NSBC as the presenter for the SKC .[256] Many newspapers, however, continued to refer to

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[250] "Lab Band Will Aid Jazz Camp." *Denton Record-Chronicle*, July 23, 1961. Perhaps fifty dollars was a special rate for SMU students.

[251] $78.00 dollars in 1961 would be approximately $700 dollars in 2020. $95.00 dollars in 1963 would be approximately $830 dollars in 2020.

[252] Klauth, Robert, "Record Roundup." *Reno Gazette-Journal*, August 16, 1963. www.newspapers.com, 26.

[253] Charles Suber, "The National Stage Band Camp," *Music Journal* 20, no. 7 (1962).

[254] Hughes, "Interview."

[255] "Advertisement - the Stan Kenton Clinics." *DownBeat*, January 5, 1961.

[256] Advertising in *Music Educator's Journal* started slowly. For example, in 1961, volume *43*(5), p. 18 mentions the "Stan Kenton Clinic" only association with other more classically oriented IU School of Music summer courses for teachers. In 1963, volume *43*(5), p. 126, the National Stage Band Camps took out an advertisement that began with the words "Stage Band Directors…"

the clinics with Ken Morris's original 1957 "dance band" title.[257] By this point, newspaper reports for the clinics was largely devoted to promoting ticket sales for the evening concerts. In addition, as in previous years, local newspapers highlighted individual students who had won scholarships to the clinics at various regionally adjudicated stage band competitions.[258] In 1961, such scholarships were increasingly sponsored by well-known jazz artists (including Louis Armstrong, George Shearing, Dave Brubeck, and Maynard Ferguson) as well as artist booking agencies. Musical instrument manufacturers and *Downbeat* magazine continued to sponsor scholarships as they had previously.[259]

Jazz Festivals and the Kenton Band Come to Camp

In 1962, the North Texas State band once again function as the model band for the Kenton Clinics, playing student arrangements and occasional evening concerts. Their participation was likely eased by the fact that the entire band had won scholarships to the clinics as the first prize winners of the 1961 Intercollegiate Jazz Festival at Notre Dame.[260]

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[257] There are many instances of this in contemporary newspapers. For example, The Lansing State Journal refers the Kenton Clinics operating, "under the auspices of the National *Dance* Band Camps" (emphasis mine). See "Kenton Clinic Previewed on Tape." *Lansing State Journal*, June 9, 1962. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/54332166/national-dance-band-camp/

[258] For example, Rod Zahniser of Yuma, AZ won a scholarship to the 1961 IU clinic. See "Yuma Hi Student Has Busy Summer Ahead." *Yuma Daily Sun*, June 7, 1961. www.newspapers.com.

[259] A report from the 1961 Notre Dame Intercollegiate Jazz Festival provides a glimpse of the individuals and organizations sponsoring scholarships, including the number of scholarships sponsored: "Associated Booking Corp. Artists – Dukes of Dixieland (3), Les Brown (2), Louis Armstrong (2), Al Hirt (2), Maynard Ferguson (2), George Shearing (2), Dave Brubeck (2), Gene Krupa (2), John Levy Enterprises (2)." Other scholarship sponsors included, Broadcast Music Inc., Willard Alexander, Inc., and *Downbeat.* See Don DiMichael, "Collegiate Jazz Festival 1961," *Downbeat* June (1961).

[260] DiMichael, "Collegiate Jazz Festival 1961."

Beginning in 1962, however, the entire Stan Kenton Orchestra filled this role. Jim Amlotte, road manager for Kenton at the time, explained:

> Every musician in Kenton's band would have a teaching role at the camp, doing a sectional, leading a band, or whatever, so these kids could rub elbows with them. I set up a rehearsal for the Kenton band every day from 3 to 5, and [told] anybody who had new arrangement 'bring them in, we'll play them.' . . . I wanted that as an incentive for them to write. To show those kids that we're not machines, we do make mistakes. And when we stumble over something they see, hey, we're human. But I stipulated that every kid at camp *had* to attend a rehearsal. One hour, every day. From 3 to 4, or from 4 to 5. They had to come in and take that as a class.[261]

Kenton trumpeter Dalton Smith remarked further that, during this era, the band would, "come in and out [of the camps], working in the area," adding, "Stan would have lost a lot of money if he didn't work."[262]

As in 1959, Kenton's band was booked into nearby venues, permitting Kenton and his musicians to participate in the camps during mornings and afternoons, and perform in the evening. These bookings were never sufficient to cover the full cost of keeping the band at the clinics as the Kenton musicians were paid a weekly salary. Kenton reportedly made up the difference himself. In 1963, for example, Kenton reportedly paid $3000 dollars to keep his band at the clinics.[263] Kenton further subsidized the overall operations of the clinics. Gene Hall, then dean of the camps elaborated:

> Stan was really, really sold on [the clinics]; he'd bring his whole band in and keep them there for a week, just playing concerts and being with the kids, so the kids would get an idea of what it's like to be professional musicians. Bring in his guys, pay their salaries, and if there was a deficit in the camp, cover it. I saw him sit down and write out a check for five thousand dollars one afternoon. I said, 'Stan, you don't have to do this.' He says, 'Well, I owe it. Music's been good to me. I owe these kids a chance to get into this field if they want to do it. This is something I can do to pay back the fact that I have been successful in this

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[261] Quoted in Arganian, 80.
[262] Arganian, *Stan Kenton: The Man and His Music*, 91.
[263] "Kenton Withdraws From Stage Band Camps," *DownBeat* (October 24, 1963).

> business. If I'd get off my butt and put out another record, I wouldn't have any problems anyway.' So he was, in my opinion, a very altruistic man.[264]

Many of Kenton's musicians relished the ability to sleep in the same place for a week, despite the otherwise rigorous schedule. Nonetheless, facilitating five weeks of clinics over the course of the summer was not without its challenges. As Kenton trombonist Bob Curnow recalled, "We were burned out with camps by September, but it beat the hell out of one-nighters."[265]

In 1962, the Indiana clinic was further supplemented by the presence of the Midwest Jazz Festival for three nights on August 17-19. The festival was a commercial venture of Morris's that overlapped with the educational clinics and provided a means to promote ticket sales to the public sales for evening concerts, and likely helped subsidize the presence of Kenton's band at the clinics. Kenton was billed as the festival's director and, depending on the newspaper, either saxophonist Cannonball Adderley or the Four Freshman headlined. [266] In addition, Franz Jackson and his Dixieland Band, as well as Kenton Clinic faculty Johnny Smith, Donald Byrd, Johnny Richards, and entire the Kenton Orchestra performed. Richards reportedly premiered a new composition titled

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[264] Quoted in Arganian, *Stan Kenton: The Man and His Music*, 162.

[265] Bob Curnow, "Stan Kenton Appreciation Group," July 13, 2019. https://www.facebook.com/groups/1148659878586716.

[266] For example, "Jazz Festival to be in IU Auditorium." *Columbus Herald*, August 3, 1962. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/55464837/1962-midwest-jazz-festival/ lists Adderly as the headliner while "Midwest Jazz Festival At I.u. Will Feature "the Four Freshmen"." *Times-Mail*, July 20, 1962. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/55464722/1962-midwest-jazz-festival/ lists the Four Freshman. I presume these differences are an example of targeted marketing on behalf of the newspapers and/or the festival itself. This seems particularly apparent given the racial makeup of the performers, Adderley being black and the Four Freshman white.

“Midwest Festival,”[267] undoubtedly a pseudonym for music he had composed for Kenton’s upcoming “Adventures in Time: A Concerto for Orchestra” record.[268]

Participants of the 1962 Indiana clinic relished opportunities to interact with musicians from the Midwest Jazz Festival.[269] Adderley’s quintet performed an afternoon workshop,[270] and bandmembers Nat Adderley (trumpet), Yusuf Lateef (tenor saxophone), Sam Jones (bass), Louis Hayes (drums), and Joe Zawinal (keyboards) provided instruction on their individual instruments. An eight-year-old Peter Erskine played for drummer Louis Hayes.[271]

In addition, participants of the 1962 clinic watched Richards rehearse the Kenton Band in the newly composed music for the “Adventures in Time” record. Morgan Powell, a member of the 1962 faculty, remembered the cacophony of these first rehearsals as Kenton’s musicians stumbled all over the complex rhythms and time signatures of Richards’ music. At one point, Powell recalls Richards imploring the band to feel the 7/4 time signature in one composition more naturally, like dancers. The musicians jokingly responded, “Johnny, why don’t *you* dance in 7/4!” According to

[267] “Midwest Festival to Premiere Richards’ Work.” *South Bend Tribune*, July 3, 1962. Kenton recorded “Adventures in Time” in September of 1962.

[268] The festival reportedly drew a crowd of 5000, less than Morris had hoped, and did not turn a profit. Morris suggested he would attempt the festival again, though with a shortened run. After 1962, however, I could find no further information about this festival.

[269] Peter Erskine mistakenly reports that Adderley, Zawinal, and Hayes were present during the 1961 clinic in Andrew Ledet, “Kenton’s Campers,” *Downbeat* 75, no. 3 (2008). Precious photos and memories are often undated, and Erskine was, after all, only seven years old then! Nonetheless, the confluence of Morris’ 1962 Midwest Jazz Festival provided the mechanism by which Adderley et. al could be present at the clinics. Further evidence of this dating is provided by the fact that during the week of the 1961 clinic, Adderley’s quintet was booked at both the American Festival of Music and Baker’s Keyboard Lounge in Detroit, MI. See “Cannonball Adderley and His Quintet [Advertisement].” *Detroit Free Press*, August 7, 1961. www.newspapers.com

[270] Randy Brecker, “Interview,” August 29, 2018.

[271] Ledet’s “Kenton’s Campers” features a priceless photograph of this encounter.

Morgan, Richards immediately began dancing across the stage in front of the band in a graceful and perfectly natural dance in 7/4 time.[272]

A Growing and Diversifying Operation

The clinics featured a remarkably consistent faculty group during the 1961-1963 period, the addition of the members of the Stan Kenton Orchestra notwithstanding. As Buddy Baker recalled, "It was a lot of the same folks and we would simply travel to different places."[273] Among the veteran faculty for the now expanding Kenton Clinics were Buddy Baker, Russ Garcia, Clem DeRosa, Sam Donahue, Bud Doty, Don Jacoby (1961-62), John LaPorta, Jimmie Maxwell, Charlie Perry, Jack Petersen, Johnny Richards, Phil Rizzo, Eddie Safranski, and Ray Santisi.[274]

Many of the faculty continued to donate their time to the clinics. As Richards remarked to the *Lansing State Journal* in 1963, "These men are top musicians. Most of them take a loss in pay to participate in the clinics, some of them forfeiting as much as $8000 or $10,000 for the time spent away from their work."[275] Those faculty who were

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[272] Morgan Powell, "Interview," June 21, 2021. For musicians more experienced with the evenly divisible pulse of straight-ahead jazz in 4/4 time, feeling the comparatively less evenly divisible pulse of music in 7/8 requires some acclimation.

[273] Baker, "Interview."

[274] I am aware of no comprehensive Kenton Clinic faculty lists from this period. Breeden's papers housed in the North Texas Archives often contain lists of official faculty and staff for the sessions he attended but are not comprehensive. For example, students at the 1962 IU clinic recalled Cannonball Adderley, Joe Zawinal, Yusef Lateef, Sam Jones, and Louis Hayes as being on faculty. While Adderley's group provided clinics and was present during the week in association with their residency at the previously mentioned Midwest Jazz Festival, they were not officially on the faculty. Other clinicians sponsored by musical instrument companies were also regularly present. Thus, to provide as comprehensive view of everyone who was present teaching in some capacity, I include data here compiled from various sources, including numerous newspaper reports and photographs. Unfortunately, however, comprehensive data reflecting every camp location was not available. It is therefore possible that the present data contains inadvertent omissions.

[275] "New Rhythms Called Music's Bright Future." *Lansing State Journal*, August 9, 1963. $10,000 in 1963 would have the purchasing power of over $70,000 in 2020. If Richards' figures are

just starting out on their careers, or who worked in less profitable segments of the music business, however, were verifiably compensated. As Jack Petersen, then one of the younger members of the faculty insisted, "I got paid!"[276] Nonetheless, compensation appears to have been meager. As Leon Breeden wrote to Gene Hall, "I'm really going to have to cut corners to make it but am convinced it will be worth it in the long run.[277]

The clinics required an even larger faculty and administrative staff as they expanded to new locations. Sparse records complicate efforts to create a comprehensive list of Kenton Clinic faculty during this period. Complicating matters further, the precise makeup of the faculty often changed according to the camp location and faculty availability.[278] For example, a close examination of newspaper reports and clinic schedules preserved by Breeden suggest that locations in the eastern part of the United States featured more musicians from New York City and Boston, while locations in the West featured more musicians from Los Angeles.[279] Thus, even official Kenton Clinic photographs of the faculty taken at Indiana University each year represent only a small portion of the complete faculty participating in the clinics.

A final complication for determining the complete faculty of the clinics lies in the role of the musicians in Kenton's own bands during the summers of 1962-63, as well as

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accurate, they likely only applied to him and Garcia, both of whom were highly paid Hollywood composers with extensive resumes. Garcia made enough on royalties alone to retire in 1966.

[276] Petersen, "Interview."

[277] Letter dated May 23, 1960. In Breeden, 1960 "Leon Breeden Scrapbook, 1960~," 105. Though Breeden's comments were in relation to his participation in the 1960 clinic, it seems appropriate to include them here.

[278] For example, accordionist Art Van Damme only appeared at the Indiana and Michigan State camps in 1961, while in 1963, he appeared only at the Reno and Indiana camps.

[279] See Russell, Fred H., "Gossip of the Rialto." *Bridgeport Post*, June 2, 1963. https://www.newspapers.com/image/60203658, and "Second Annual Kenton Clinic to Open Sunday." *Reno Gazette-Journal*, August 22, 1963.

the highly talented student musicians from North Texas during the summer of 1961. As described previously, students from North Texas attended the camps ostensibly as "counselors," their tuition paid by scholarships won at the Intercollegiate Jazz Festival. Meanwhile, all the musicians on Kenton's band reportedly had teaching roles at the camp, yet seldom feature in published lists of faculty, and rarely appear in faculty photographs. Ironically, however, many North Texas students do appear in such photographs,[280] but never appear in faculty lists produced by the National Stage Band Camps administration at the time.[281] Finally, in the eyes of many student participants at the clinics, performers for the 1962 Midwest Jazz Festival (e.g., Cannonball Adderley) were all on the faculty as they provided workshops and masterclasses to camp students, despite never featuring as faculty in published lists. Historiographic fussiness associated with these complications aside, the apparently hazy line between student, performer, and educator at the clinics is a potent reminder that, in a certain way of speaking, all are teachers, and all are learners.

Nonetheless, the following individuals can be identified as having taught at the Kenton Clinics from 1961 to 1963. This list excludes members of the Kenton Orchestra that were never listed separately as part of the camp faculty during this period, even though they may have been involved in the clinics along with the rest of the band as described previously. This list also excludes those musicians whose association with the

[280] For example, the 1961 photo features both Marvin Stamm and Paul Guerrero, both of whom had recently graduated but were nonetheless attending the camps also as members of the North Texas State band.

[281] A document in Breeden, "Leon Breeden Scrapbook – 1961~" titled "LIST OF INSTRUCTORS AT THE NATIONAL STAGE BAND CAMP – 1961" omits the names of both Stamm and Guerrero, both of whom appear in the faculty photograph taken at IU that year.

clinics was primarily the result of the 1962 Midwest Jazz Festival, including Cannonball Adderley's musicians. This list includes, however, those North Texas students who appear in the 1961 photograph of faculty taken at IU. All names are first grouped chronologically according to the length of their tenure in the clinics, from one to three years, and then alphabetically.[282]

- Donald Byrd (1961-1963), trumpeter, famously associated with many of the most prestigious bebop groups of the 1950s, and later, a key protagonist in many progressive movements in jazz during the 1960s and 70s. Byrd eventually earned two doctorates and become a highly influential jazz educator.[283]
- Bob Siebert (1961-1963), pianist and composer from in Dallas, TX who wrote and recorded music for the Liberty Broadcasting Service, Barnum and Bailey, and many touring Broadway shows. He also founded the KSM Publishing Company, an early publisher of music for student jazz bands.[284]
- Tommy Gumina (1961-1963) accordionist, formerly of the Lawrence Welk Orchestra and later founder of the Polytone Musical Instrument company. Kenton was not reportedly convinced that the accordion was an appropriate instrument for

[282] In the absence of official camp records, these data were compiled and corroborated from a variety of sources, including newspaper reports, dated photographs, and personal reminiscences. No one resource contained a comprehensive list. For further details see: August 22, 1963., "Tour Band Staff Has Area Teacher." *Troy Record*, August 23, 1963. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/55398904/1963-thomas-brown-kenton-clinics/, Lees, "Kenton Clinics.", "Kenton Clinic Previewed on Tape.", "Hot Music At Summer Band Camp." *Times Recorder*, June 9, 1962. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/55400663/1962-kenton-clinic-faculty-list/, "Cool Music Flows Through Hot Wichita." *Hays Daily News*, July 23, 1963. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/55399838/1963-kenton-clinics-jim-starkey/, Dotson, Janie, "Guys & Dolls." *Emporia Gazette*, September 9, 1963. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/55399941/1963-kenton-clinics-indiana-jack/, and Russell, "Gossip of the Rialto."

[283] Byrd only appears to have taught at the Storr's CT clinic in 1963. See Russell, "Gossip of the Rialto." Also, Schudel, Matt, "Ever-Evolving Trumpet Player Was a Lasting Force in Jazz." *Washington Post*, February 12, 2013. www.washingtonpost.com

[284] "Robert "Bob" Siebert - Obituary." *Dallas Morning News*, August 25, 2013. obits.dallasnews.com

jazz and invited Gumina to participate in the clinics as "an experiment." Nonetheless, Gumina's playing reportedly convinced Kenton otherwise.[285]

- Phil Moore (1961-1962) prolific jazz pianist, bandleader, arranger, and film composer. In later years, Moore became famous as a voice coach for countless celebrities including Frank Sinatra, Lena Horne, and Marilyn Monroe. Moore also published a book geared to help aspiring vocalists called "For Singers Only" that also included an LP backing track.[286]
- Dee Barton (1962-1963) trombonist, drummer, and composer, Kenton alum, and graduate of North Texas. Following a brief tenure with Kenton, Barton quickly established himself as a first-rate composer in Hollywood, creating music for numerous films by Clint Eastwood, among others.[287]
- Lane Emery (1962-1963), saxophonist, pianist and educator at Chicago's Roosevelt University where he helped initiate the university's first jazz studies program in 1962.[288] Emery also started teaching a jazz piano course for the National Stage Band Camps beginning in 1962.
- Ralph Mutchler (1962-1963), arranger and educator from Olympic College. Mutchler, like Kenton and Garcia, was one of the faculty volunteered his time. Jack Petersen recalled that, as Mutchler had published numerous arrangements for

[285] Lees, "Kenton Clinics."
[286] "The Star Maker." *Ebony*, November 1960.
[287] Voce, Steve, "Dee Barton." *Independent*, December 22, 2001. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/dee-barton-9172580.html
[288] Lane Emery, "Jazz in Chicago," *Music Journal* 22, no. 9 (1964).

school-aged jazz ensembles, his volunteerism was in part an effort of self-promotion, "to get his charts out there."[289]

- Morgan Powell (1962 - 1963), trombonist and composer. Powell attended the clinics as a member of the North Texas State band in 1960 and 61 and was invited to be on faculty the following year. Powell was on the faculty of both North Texas and the Berklee School of Music in the early 1960s and enjoyed a 28-year career teaching composition and music theory at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.
- Marvin Stamm (1961-1963), jazz trumpeter and Kenton Alum. Stamm's first experience with the camps was as a member of the North Texas Lab Band in both 1960, with whom he returned in 1961. Stamm is also the unnamed trumpeter that Byrd refers to in *Downbeat* who "showed [him] some things on the horn [he] didn't know about."[290] Stamm appears in the 1961 photograph of camp faculty though he was still a student at the time.[291]
- Art Van Damme (1962-1963), virtuoso accordionist, closely associated with the Chicago jazz scene throughout the 1940s and 50s.
- Paul Guerrero (1961), Mexican American drummer and graduate of North Texas. Following the Kenton Clinic, Guerrero went on the road with the Buddy

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[289] Petersen, "Interview."
[290] Quoted in Lees, "Kenton Clinics," 22.
[291] Marvin Stamm, "Interview," *Zoom* (July 15, 2020).

DeFranco and Tommy Gumina combo. Guerrero, as a member of the North Texas band, appears in the 1961 photograph of camp faculty.[292]

- Buddy DeFranco (1962) internationally renowned jazz clarinetist and close friend of Stan Kenton.[293]
- Terry Gibbs (1962) vibraphonist and bandleader closely associated with film and television work in the Los Angeles recording studios.
- Johnny Smith (1962) amply recorded jazz guitarist, former staff arranger for NBC in NYC, and music store owner/operator in Colorado Springs, CO.[294]
- Buddy Morrow (1962) trombonist and bandleader throughout the 1950s.
- Jim Starkey (1963), trombonist, educator, bandleader, and proprietor of a music store in Wichita, KS. Starkey played in dance bands while in the Navy and attended Wichita State on the GI Bill, majoring in music education. Conflicts over the propriety of having a schoolteacher who played in dance and circus bands on the weekends led Starkey to open his own music store where he began teaching jazz to students in the local community after-hours. Starkey attended the clinics for the first time in 1962 as a student and reportedly so impressed Kenton with his acumen as an arranger, that Kenton invited him to be on faculty the following year.[295]

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[292] Guerrero is shown in an official photo of the 1961 IU faculty in "Leon Breeden Scrapbook, 1961~," 1961, Archival Material. University of North Texas Libraries, Denton, TX, 137. and listed in an unattributed newspaper clipping in ibid, p. 145.

[293] "Hot Music At Summer Band Camp."

[294] Vitello, Paul, "Johnny Smith, Venerable Jazz Guitarist, Dies At 90." *New York Times*, June 18, 2013.

[295] Dee Starkey, "Interview," (October 12, 2020). "Cool Music Flows Through Hot Wichita."

- Herb Pomeroy (1963), trumpeter, Kenton alum, and one of the founding jazz educators at the Berklee School of Music in Boston, MA.[296]
- Gary Slavo (1963), trumpeter and Kenton alum. After retiring from Kenton's band, Slavo made his career in the Chicago area recording commercial work, playing in various jazz groups, as well teaching both privately and at a variety of local colleges.
- Bob Fitzpatrick (1963), trombonist and Kenton alum. Following his tenure with Kenton, Fitzpatrick was a regular presence in the Los Angeles recording studio scene and is regularly credited with helping create what is now often thought of as the Kenton-style trombone sound.[297]
- Keith LaMotte (1963), trumpeter and mellophonist, Kenton alum. After leaving Stan Kenton, LaMotte eventually made his way to Spokane Washington where he became an integral part of the local jazz and music education scene.[298]
- Derryl Goes (1963) drummer and music educator. Goes performed and recorded in Kenton's Neophonic Orchestra, as well as with CO jazz musician Johnny Smith. Goes also helped found the jazz program at Northern Colorado University in the late 1960s, where he taught until his retirement.[299]
- Neil Hefti (1963) composer and arranger. Hefti is perhaps most famously associated with his numerous compositions for the Count Basie Orchestra, the

[296] Dotson, "Guys & Dolls."

[297] Sparke, *Stan Kenton: This is an Orchestra!*

[298] "Obituary: Keith Lloyd Lamotte (1938-2020)." *Spokesman Review*, August 16, 2020. https://www.legacy.com/obituaries/spokesman/obituary.aspx?n=keith-lloyd-lamotte&pid=196646335

[299] "Obituary: Derryl Faber Goes." *Denver Post*, April 11, 2012. https://memorials.adamsonchapels.com/derryl-goes/1173001/obituary.php

score for 1968 comedic film *The Odd Couple,* and the theme song to the original Batman television show.[300]

- Alan Dawson (1963) drummer and educator. Dawson was a famous drum teacher associated with the Berklee School of Music in Boston who stressed the fundamental technical skill and independence of movement required of drum set players, as well as the overall musicianship required to be a great jazz musician. For drummers, this included learning harmony, either by learning to play the piano or vibraphone.[301]
- John Carrico (1963) director of bands at University of Nevada, Reno. Carrico was an early proponent of jazz education and founded Nevada's first educational jazz festival in 1962. Of jazz education, Carrico once stated, "School authorities recognize that stage band music is good, contemporary to the age of those who play it. Stage bands have been responsible for many younger musicians staying with their music longer and with greater dedication." [302]
- Al Beitler (1963). Beitler is listed in association with the 1963 clinic in Storrs, CT. I could not, however, find any information about an individual of that name, or any of its possible variants, that clearly associated them with Kenton, music, or education.[303]
- Joel Kaye (1963) saxophonist, composer, and Kenton alum. Kay is a prodigious saxophonist and composer. At the time of the Kenton Clinics, Kaye was in his

[300] Weber, Bruce, "Neal Hefts, 85, Jazz and Hollywood Composer, Dies." *New York Times*, October 15, 2008. https://www.nytimes.com/2008/10/16/arts/music/16hefti.html
[301] "G. Alan Dawson, Noted Drummer." *Lancaster New Era*, February 26, 1996.
[302] Kauth, Robert, "Record Roundup." *Nevada State Journal*, February 16, 1963.
[303] Russell, "Gossip of the Rialto."

early twenties and had already toured with bands led by Billy May, Ralph Marterie, the Dorsey Brothers, and Woody Herman, in addition to playing with Stan Kenton.

- Ray Florian (1963) saxophone and Kenton alum. Following Florian's tenure with Kenton he enjoyed a long and successful career with the US Postal Service.[304]
- Gabe Balthazar (1963) saxophonist and Kenton alum. Balthazar was a pioneering Asian American jazz musician from Hawaii who enjoyed an enormously successful career in Los Angeles recording studios before returning to Hawaii for the second half of his career.[305]
- Darryl Goes (1963) drummer, arranger, and Kenton alum. Following his tenure with Kenton, Goes was on the faculty of the University of Northern Colorado for many years.
- Dave Wheeler (1963) saxophonist, pianist, arranger, and Kenton alum. Following his tenure with Kenton, Wheeler taught at Capital University, Bexley for many years.[306]
- Bob Behrendt (1963) trumpeter, composer, and Kenton alum. Following his tenure with Kenton, Behrendt eventually settled in rural Bishop, CA where he taught elementary school music for twenty-one years.[307]

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[304] "Raymond V. Florian." *Republican*, April 22, 2012. https://obits.masslive.com/us/obituaries/masslive/name/raymond-florian-obituary?pid=157189672

[305] Gabe Balthazar, and Theo Garneau, *If it Swings it's Music: The Autobiography of Hawaii's Gabe Balthazar Jr.* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2012).

[306] "Jazz Musician Taught At Capitol University." *Columbus Dispatch*, March 8, 2008. https://www.dispatch.com/article/20080308/entertainment/303089934

[307] "Robert Donald Behrendt, Jr." *Valley Independent*, April 5, 2012. https://www.legacy.com/obituaries/triblive-valley-independent/obituary.aspx?n=robert-ronald-behrendt&pid=180682058

- Tom Ringo (1963) trombonist and Kenton alum. Ringo was one of the many students from North Texas State that transitioned into the Kenton band immediately following graduation.
- Bucky Calabrese (1963) bassist and Kenton alum. Following his tenure with Kenton, Calabrese enjoyed a long and successful career in NYC as a work-a-day bassist, mentoring up-and-coming musicians and performing in a variety of contexts.[308]
- Thomas Brown (1963) vibraphone – instrumental music teacher at Watervliet Junior-Senior High School, outside of Albany, NY. At the time, Brown was also percussion chairman of the New York State School Music Association.[309]
- Robert Share (1963), music theorist and composer most famously associated with the Berklee School of Music in Boston, MA.[310]

Beginning in 1961, the Kenton Clinics also hired Robert Erickson, an instrument repair technician, to be on site during the Michigan State and Indiana University sessions.[311] In addition, further instructional support was provided at the 1962 clinics by jazz drummer Remo Belli, representing his newly founded Remo Corporation, synthetic drumhead manufacturers; as well as Boss Wessburg, representative of the J.C. Deagan Company, vibraphone manufacturers.[312]

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[308] "Remembering Bucky Calabrese." *Website* (2011): accessed June 23, 2021, https://www.talkbass.com/threads/remembering-bucky-calabrese.833120/.

[309] "Tour Band Staff Has Area Teacher."

[310] "Berklee Faculty Pioneers." *Website* accessed June 23, 2021, https://college.berklee.edu/alumni-reunion/berklee-pioneers.

[311] "Marion Man Will Aid At Stan Kenton Clinics." *Marion Star*, April 13, 1961. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/54963473/robert-erickson-instrument-repair-for/

[312] Suber, "The National Stage Band Camp."

Mid-Century American Racism

The clinics were always officially racially integrated, though most of the faculty and students, like the players on Kenton's own bands, were white.[313] Nonetheless, as a white-led organization the clinics mostly reflected rather than resisted the racist society from which they emerged.

Many critics of the racial makeup of the faculty of the Kenton Clinics (and its many outgrowths, including the National Association of Jazz Education, precursor of the International Association of Jazz Educators and later the Jazz Education Network), felt that white educators were "ripping off" black musicians by not allowing them sufficient opportunities to share in the monetary gains of the jazz education industry.[314] Such resentment was understandable. Throughout the stage band movement of the 1960s, significant economic benefits (e.g., steady paychecks, fees from music education publications, retirement benefits, etc.) revolved around the entrance of jazz into academia, including public grade schools. Public schools and universities are social-educational institutions that have been amply criticized for preferring traditionally white cultural norms including homogeneity, clearly codified styles, and formal research

[313] According to Aebersold, Morris was "very open-minded with regard to race." In addition, it is true that two Kenton Clinic faculty members had international backgrounds: Johnny Richards was a bilingual Mexican American, born Juan Manuel Cascales in Toluca, Mexico. Laurindo Almeida was a Brazilian American who spoke hardly any English when first hired by Stan Kenton in the late 1940s. Despite their ethnically diverse backgrounds, however, both musicians would have passed for white in the mid-twentieth century racial dynamics of the United States. Furthermore, both Brazil and Mexico have white-hegemonic histories of their own. As Olivia Gall has stated with respect to the two countries, "Racism has been and continues to be a structural phenomenon that has placed more people, ethnic groups, itinerant minorities, and nations in situations of profound suffering" [translation mine]. See, Olivia Gall, "Hilando El Filo De Las Identidades, El Racismo Y La Xenofobia En México Y Brasil [Threading Finely Between Identities, Racism, and Xenophobia in Mexico and Brazil].," *Destacados* 51, no. mayo-agosto (2016).

[314] Quoting Gunther Schuller, in Warrick Carter, "An Assessment," *National Association of Jazz Education* 3 (March 1978), 12.

practices.[315] While a handful of preeminent musicians of color successfully became prominent jazz educators during this time, jazz educators of the "stage band movement," like the rest of the American music education juggernaut, were overwhelmingly white.[316] And in the 21st Century, these lopsided demographics have changed very little.[317]

Racism, however, was also at the heart of many societal objections to allowing students to play or learn jazz.[318] Undoubtedly, this was at least one reason why Morris' camp was called the National *Stage* (and not *Jazz*) Band Camps. Meanings for the word 'jazz' were too tied up in racist and musically prejudiced notions dating back to the earliest days of the music.[319] As Hall once remarked in relation to such racism, "we couldn't use the term 'jazz' in those days."[320]

In addition to not being able to use the word 'jazz,' racism also prevented some educators at the clinics from promoting people of color. For example, institutional and societal pressure prevented capable and deserving students from participating in the early 1960s successes of the North Texas One O' Clock band. As Morgan Powell remarked, Breeden was expending enough political capital growing the still fledging North Texas program in the face of stiff institutional resistance, that he did not feel he could risk the additional complications of touring the 1960s south with a mixed-race band. [321] Prior to

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[315] John F. Szwed, "Musical Style and Racial Conflict," *Phylon (1960-)* 27, no. 4 (1966). provides one example that is contemporaneous to the stage band movement. There are plenty more besides him.

[316] Snyder, "College Jazz Education During the 1960s: Its Development and Acceptance."

[317] See Kenneth Elpus, "Music Teacher Licensure Candidates in the United States: A Demographic Profile and Analysis of Licensure Examination Scores," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 63, no. 3 (2015).

[318] Herzig, *David Baker: A Legacy in Music*.

[319] Nat Shapiro, and Nat Hentoff, eds. *Hear Me Talking' to Ya: The Story of Jazz as Told By the Men Who Made it* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1955).

[320] Hall, and Breeden, "Interview."

[321] Powell, "Interview." Powell mentioned saxophonist Claude Johnson in association with this comment. Johnson graduated from North Texas in 1962, majoring in trumpet, saxophone, and orchestration. He worked for the USPS in Dallas for a few years before transitioning to FAA in Arkansas.

the Civil Rights Act of 1964, racial segregation created hassles for many mixed-race bands, including Stan Kenton during the brief periods when his band featured musicians of color.[322]

The first musicians of color employed by the Kenton Clinics were trumpeter Donald Byrd and vocal coach Phil Moore. Byrd seemed to embrace the complex racial dynamics of his minority status on the faculty in stride. After speaking for a short time with then-North Texas trumpeter Marvin Stamm (and discerning his unmistakably southern accent), Byrd razzed him with the question, "And by the way, where the n*****s hanging out here? [sic]"[323] Following his first year on faculty, Byrd was effulgent in his praise of the Kenton Clinics stating that teaching at the clinics, "turned [his] musical thinking around" and, "were maybe the most inspiring [two weeks] of his life."[324]

The student body of the clinics, like the faculty, was also mostly white. Student participants recalled a handful of students of color present at the clinics beginning as early as 1960 and examinations of photographs of camp participants supports this observation. Sadly, however, the identities of these once-young musicians have not yet materialized. The silence of these Kenton Clinic students of color, as well as the silence of all those other people of color whose circumstances in the racially charged mid-

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Johnson passed away in 2011. See "Obituary for Claude Coble Johnson." *Arkansas Democrat Gazette*, April 9, 2011. https://www.arkansasonline.com/obituaries/2011/apr/09/claude-johnson-2011-04-09/ Breeden's experience hardly seems unique.

[322] Sparke, *Stan Kenton: This is an Orchestra!*

[323] Stamm, "Interview."

[324] Quoted in Lees, "Kenton Clinics."

twentieth century United States never permitted their participation in the first place, should serve as a cogent reminder of the need to build more equitable futures.

A full critical analysis of the racial politics of the National Stage Band Camps and Stan Kenton Clinics is beyond the scope of the present narrative. Furthermore, a historical narrative of the clinics overwhelmingly elevates white voices due to racial makeup of both its founders and most of its faculty. It therefore seems apt to conclude this portion of the narrative by highlighting the words of one of the Clinics' few participants of color, that of trumpeter Donald Byrd. As Byrd wrote in a letter to *Downbeat* following the 1961 clinics,

> My experience with the Stan Kenton Clinic at the National Band Camp [sic] has left me in complete ecstasy. I would like to speak solely from the standpoint of a human being—for once, not from the standpoint of race—because you must remember that jazz was based on European harmony and melodic concepts and didn't come from the Martians, as a good many people think. Contrary to the views of many people in jazz, it is time we joined with other musicians, classical and otherwise, to create music purely for the joy of creating it. It should be remembered that bigots exist because of ignorance.
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> The camp was interracial, both in the teaching faculty and the student body, contrary to my own previous conception. For the benefit of the bigots, let me say that I stole as many or more things (ideas) from the white musicians with whom I worked than they did from me.[325]

"It Was Really a Panic!"

The administrative burden of running the camps increased dramatically as the clinics expanded their operations to more and more locations. The clinics officially

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[325] Byrd is referring in part to advanced trumpet techniques that he learned from a young Marvin Stamm while Stamm was still a student at North Texas. Quoted in Donald Byrd, "Message From Byrd," *Downbeat* December (December 7, 1961), 16.

concluded on Saturday mornings with a graduation assembly. By 1961, this also included a replay of recordings made of student performances the night before. Many of the faculty, however, would have already boarded busses following the Friday evening concert so they could arrive at the next clinic location on time.[326] At least two of the bus trips on the 1962 clinic circuit were over 1000 miles: Bloomington to Denver, and Denver to Reno! The onerous travel notwithstanding, Baker marveled at the organization of the whole affair: “Everywhere we [i.e., the faculty] went it was really well set up.”[327]

The sheer numbers of students attending the clinics, however, posed another unique challenge: everyone needed to be assigned into appropriate theory, improvisation, and/or arranging classes as well as big bands following the brief Sunday afternoon audition period. Compounding issues, the clinics were now attracting younger and younger students, many with the bare minimum of six months experience on their instruments.[328] Powell recalled the strain of making all these assignments happen over as many as five consecutive weeks: “it was really a panic!”[329]

For this reason, while the students attended the opening concert on Sunday night, the rest of the faculty gathered until late in the evening creating band assignments and filling up the theory and other classes. Pomeroy described this experience at length for the Berklee Oral History Project:

> When you were done with the auditioning, you’d make up bands for the five days of rehearsal with a concert on Friday night before you get in a bus and go to another campus. So, we’d sit around there, all of us with hip

[326] Herb Pomeroy, “Berklee Oral History Project,” *Video Recording & Transcript* (August 25, 2005).

[327] Baker, “Interview.”

[328] The most beginning students were reportedly assigned to special sectionals so that by the end of the week they would all be capable of playing in some sort of ensemble. See Suber, “The National Stage Band Camp.”

[329] Powell, “Interview.”

> arrangements, hoping we could get some half-decent students who would boost our own ego. . . It would be the good bands and the not so good bands. You didn't put the fifteen best kids in one band and then on down to the fifteen worst. You'd try to put some spacing of decent quality. But there was clearly a first band and a second band down to the tenth band. So, we'd get done and it'd be about one o'clock in the morning and we'd all be dead from auditioning and making up these bands. [330]

Pomeroy also revealed that, despite the ways some of the faculty would jockey to be able to lead bands filled with more skilled students, LaPorta was content to do the exact opposite. As Pomeroy explained in continuation,

> John [LaPorta] would have sat there for hours sort of just off to the side and we'd get to the end and whoever was in charge would say, "Well, we made up ten bands and we got twelve people left here." Nobody wanted them: it'd be like three banjos and a harp and a tenor cymbal or something like that. Just ludicrous instrumentation and ludicrous abilities and John would say, "I'll take 'em." Which he would. He would get together with them Monday the first day of the five-day rehearsals with the concert on Friday night. And he would have each kid play for him to see what they could do – what their strengths what their weaknesses were – if they were capable of anything. He would go home at night – and I know this because we were rooming together summer after summer – and he would stay up until three or four in the morning and write music that fit the abilities [of his students], what little they may have had, and their strengths. Friday night at the concert, week after week after week after week, year after year, the best band at the concert would be these dregs that nobody wanted with no sense of balance of instrumentation. The rest of us would just sit there and get used to it and say, "Well, he's done it again." [331]

Schedule Snapshot: Michigan State 1962

The basic schedule of the National Stage Band Camps Presenting the Stan Kenton Clinics changed in subtle ways as the program matured. These changes were likely necessitated by the increasingly diverse offerings of the clinics, as they provided more

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[330] Pomeroy, "Berklee Oral History Project."

Pomeroy's comments about specific instrumentation of LaPorta's bands should not be interpreted literally. Pomeroy, "Berklee Oral History Project."

opportunities to feature the talents of the increasingly diverse faculty, as well as the entire Kenton Band.

There was also, however, the consideration of the space affordances and limitations of different music facilities. For example, differences between the schedules of the 1962 MSU clinic presented here, and that of the IU clinic of 1960, seem to revolve entirely around classroom and rehearsal studio usage. Where IU needed to have theory classes and band rehearsals running concurrently to fit everyone in the building – with brass sectionals still relegated to the rooftop! Conversely, the MSU clinic appears to have had enough space for five big bands to rehearse concurrently, even if it meant taking over lobby, lounge, and other non-traditional classroom spaces.

Regardless, scheduling the classes, clinics, rehearsals, workshops, and concerts for each clinic, on each different campus (in 1963 as many as five!), would have been a herculean task requiring an intimate knowledge of all the different facilities on each campus. Past Kenton Clinic faculty regaled at how well Matt Betton handled this undoubtedly onerous task.[332]

A schedule from the Michigan State Clinic in 1962 provides insight into Betton's detailed planning.[333] As before, Sundays were devoted to auditioning the various instruments for ensembles, as well as testing for placement in theory, improvisation, or arranging classes. In 1962, these auditions began at 2 p.m., with the trumpets beginning a half-hour earlier.[334] The theory test was conducted from 3:00 to 5:00 p.m. Following a dinner at 5:30 p.m., a general meeting of all students and staff convened at 8:00 p.m.

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[332] Baker, "Interview"; Petersen, "Interview."
[333] The 1962 schedule in my possession is courtesy of Doug Hughes.
[334] This was likely in response to enrollment numbers.

Classes started on the hour and ended ten minutes before the hour. Students were to be in their rooms by 11:00 p.m. with lights out by midnight. Spelled out in all caps and double underlined, the schedule declared "NO BLOWING AFTER 10:00 P.M."

Theory, improvisation, and arranging classes began the day at 8:00 a.m. and ran for two hours, a one-hour increase from the 1959 schedule. The first rehearsal rotation for the big bands (the 1962 Michigan clinic featured ten!) and sectionals followed at 10:00 a.m. and also ran for two hours. Lunch was served at noon. A camp wide "workshop" convened at 1:00 p.m. and the second rotation of big band and sectional rehearsals followed at 2:00, again running for two hours. At 4:00pm, LaPorta rehearsed his "Head Band," a second arranging class convened, and music educators attending the clinics enjoyed a special meeting. As before, dinner was served at 5:30 p.m. followed by the previously mentioned "Kenton Hour" at 7:00. Evening concerts began at 8:00 p.m.

Concert lineups for the 1962 Michigan clinic were as follows: A sextet featuring LaPorta, Santisi, Goes, Petersen, and Calabrese on Monday night; A quintet featuring Byrd, Mariano, Santisi, Perry, and Calabrese opened for the Starling Group on Tuesday; and the Van Damme Group on Wednesday. Thursday night the Baker Bones opened for the entire Stan Kenton Orchestra. Friday night, all ten of the student bands performed.[335]

Saturday morning featured an 8:00 a.m. graduation assembly. Immediately following, recordings of student performances from the prior evening were played for all to hear.

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[335] Marvin Stamm recalled that Matt Betton was in charge of scheduling all the different groups for the evening concerts, ensuring there was a variety of different performances and that the faculty were not always stuck playing with the same people.

The most significant change to the 1962 schedule from either the 1959 or 60 clinics was moving the “Kenton Hour” to 7 p.m. from its prior time immediately following lunch. As the 1959-60 clinics primarily featured concerts in the evenings, this change served to add more structure to the schedule following dinner. It also opened more opportunities for the faculty to engage the students in diverse and interesting ways. And according to the topics represented on 1962 Michigan schedule, there appears to have been minimal difference in the types of things presented during the 1:00 p.m. workshops versus the 7:00 p.m. Kenton Hour.

Workshops at the 1962 Michigan State clinic included a general scheduling meeting on Monday, instrument-specific clinics on Tuesday,[336] “Big Band Analysis” with the Kenton Band on Wednesday, instrument-specific clinics again on Thursday albeit now facilitated by different faculty,[337] and on Friday the Kenton Band performed the music written by students in the arranging classes.

Evening Kenton Hour presentations at the 1962 Michigan State clinic included a general discussion facilitated by both Garcia and Kenton on Monday, a presentation titled “Taste in Jazz” facilitated by Byrd and LaPorta on Tuesday, “Musicianship” presented by Van Damme and Richards on Wednesday, and a presentation by Moore on Thursday followed by a camp evaluation. Friday’s Kenton Hour was supplanted by the final concert presented by all ten of the student bands.

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[336] Faculty assignments Tuesday were as follows: LaPorta – reeds, Smith – trumpets, Baker – trombones, Perry – rhythm section (with Santisi, Petersen, and Calabrese assisting). Presumably the accordionists and vocalists went with Van Damme and Moore respectively.

[337] Assignments here were as follows: Mariano – reeds, Stamm – trumpets, Fitzpatrick – trombones, Santisi – rhythm section (with DeRosa, Petersen, and Calabrese assisting).

Evolving Curricula: Content and Definitions; Disputes

The curricula of the Kenton Clinics evolved beginning in 1961 to incorporate instruction in new instruments, specifically the accordion as well as jazz vocals, as well as formalized instruction in new ensembles, that of small group jazz. Kenton described the decision to include the accordion in his clinics as an experiment, stating, “I had my doubts, but Tommy [Gumina] proved that accordion [sic] can swing and has a place as a jazz instrument.”[338] Instruction in jazz vocals came from Phil Moore, a NYC-based vocal coach famous for having worked to develop the voices of many mid-century singers and movie stars, including Frank Sinatra and Marilyn Monroe. Perhaps most importantly, Moore had also recently published a jazz/pop vocal textbook called *For Singers Only* that featured an LP recording of various vocal backing tracks with which singers could hone their skills.[339] Jazz curricula based on “play-along” backing tracks would later become a mainstay of jazz education, in particular due to the efforts of Jamey Aebersold who participated in the Kenton Clinics as a student during this period.[340]

In addition, Petersen recalls that John LaPorta, at Gene Hall’s urging, began offering a workshop on popular and commercial music. This workshop focused on the unique requirements of playing popular music as compared to jazz, because, as Petersen emphasized, “Elvis had hit by that time. . . [*pauses, then mutters*] the bastard! [*laughs*]” The purpose of the workshop was to help students understand the ins and outs of making a living as a professional musician, because, as Petersen states, “if you wanted to make a

[338] Lees, “Kenton Clinics.”
[339] “The Star Maker.”
[340] Aebersold, “Email to the Author.”

living, you had to be able to do it all." Being capable of playing in any style of music and wanting to play in such styles was a different matter, however. Petersen recalls with wonder that he filled in on piano during these workshops as Ray Santisi, who was more than capable of playing anything he wanted, did not want to. As Petersen recalls, "[Santisi] didn't like playing commercial music."[341]

A second curricular evolution of the Kenton Clinics was the introduction of formalized opportunities to play in small jazz combos. Informal jam sessions featuring small groups of players were a feature of the camps since the beginning. Formal instruction in jazz combo playing, however, was not. As Jack Petersen recalled, "it was all geared towards big bands."[342] During the period of 1961-63, however, opportunities to play in jazz combos were formally added to the curriculum. Not all students participated in such groups, however, and it does not appear that opportunities to play in jazz combos were offered at all camp locations. For example, the 1962 Indiana camp featured a septet directed by Donald Byrd, featuring Randy Brecker, Don Grolnick, Richie Okon, and others.[343] According to a printed schedule in my possession, however, the Michigan State camp that same year does not appear to have featured a similar group.[344]

According to Petersen, the addition of instruction in small groups combos caused some discord among the faculty regarding the instructional focus of the camps. As Petersen stated, "The guys teaching the combos didn't want to have anything to do with

[341] Petersen, "Interview."

[342] Petersen, "Interview."

[343] Brecker, "Interview." Brecker sent me a recording of this group. Even as teenagers, the talents of these musicians was prodigious.

[344] A facsimile of this schedule was shared with me by Doug Hughes, a participant in the 1962 Michigan clinic. Hughes, "Interview."

the big bands. The big band guys didn't want to have anything to do with the combos." When asked to elaborate on suspected reasons for the discord, Peterson responded, "Musicians' egos, I guess." In the end, however, Petersen recalls that the discord over jazz small groups and big bands was short lived, "it got kind of leveled out."[345]

A third curricular evolution of the Kenton Clinics during this period involved increasing efforts to standardize various aspects of jazz pedagogy. Such standardization was, at least in part, a natural outgrowth of having so many jazz educators in one place discussing how to teach their music to students.

The faculty of the Stan Kenton Clinics were in a significant position to promote their own viewpoints on matters of jazz education by virtue of their increasingly prominent roles in the music industry (including institutions of higher education and music publishing), as well as the sheer numbers of students and music educators with whom they interacted at the clinics. It is worth remembering that at the time of the clinics in the early sixties, whether in music, business, or society at large, such positions were mostly reserved for white men. This places Kenton Clinic efforts to define jazz education in counterpoint to similar discussions taking place at, for example, the Lenox School of Jazz, where many more of the faculty were black.[346]

As described previously, faculty of the Kenton clinics would regularly gather both formally and informally. Daily "Kenton Hour" meetings of the entire camp often featured panel discussions devoted to variety of music- or jazz-related topics. In addition, the

[345] Petersen, "Interview."

[346] The students at Lenox appear to have been another matter. Despite a few very notable outliers, like those of the Kenton Clinics, the students at Lenox were also overwhelmingly white. Yudkin, *The Lenox School of Jazz*.

faculty gathered informally in afterhours meetings at local bars where discussions often revolved around teaching techniques and pedagogy.

In addition to the informal after-hours meetings of Kenton Clinic faculty, as well as the camp-wide "Kenton Hour" demonstrations and discussions, official faculty meetings were convened so that pedagogical and other discussions could be carried out behind closed doors. Faculty meetings at the clinics were generally remembered as convivial affairs, their pedantic importance to helping the clinics run smoothly notwithstanding. For example, Petersen recalled an instance at one clinic in which some students had expressed concern about the smell of alcohol accompanying certain faculty members to early morning classes, no doubt an unfortunate corollary to the informal meetings of faculty in local bars already discussed. Many of the professional musicians teaching at the Stan Kenton Clinics were road-hardened jazz musicians among whom late nights and alcohol were common cultural signifiers. This likely presented problems for some of these individuals who were now dragging themselves out of bed early in the morning to teach young students. Petersen recalled Kenton acknowledging the concerns of the students during a faculty meeting and jokingly asking the faculty to, "switch to smoking shit [i.e., marijuana] for the week."[347] In any case, Kenton, likely in recognition of the difficulty of these early morning classes, presented the entire faculty with personally monogrammed alarm clocks.[348]

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[347] Petersen, "Interview."

[348] Petersen's alarm clock was not dated, making it impossible to know when exactly these may have been awarded to the faculty. The alarm clock reads, "Jack Petersen in appreciation STAN KENTON CLINICS." Petersen was also gifted a monogrammed ash tray which he has since lost.

The conviviality of the faculty meetings aside, both Morgan Powell and Jack Petersen, two of the younger members of the Kenton Clinic faculty, remembered a meeting devoted to standardizing "chord symbols" (i.e., the notational scheme used for jazz harmonies) as a singularly intense affair. Such were the differences of opinion that Petersen stated it, "got pretty hairy . . . [and] almost turned into a fight!" Powell concurred, recalling additionally that LaPorta, "seemed to have the most to say" during the debate. [349] Petersen recalled with laughter how Tommy Gummina's effort to help his colleagues understand the unique ways of creating chords on the accordion was summarily shut down. Neither Powell nor Petersen remembered specific details of the disagreements about chord symbols. Powell did recall, however, wondering to himself why the faculty should bother standardizing chord symbols in the first place. His feeling that was that trained musicians understand the meaning of chord symbols in all their diversity without the need for doctrinaire standardization. As it is, despite some basic conformity, jazz musicians continue to use a variety of systems for notating chord symbols.[350]

The discord surrounding jazz combo playing and the standardization of chord changes notwithstanding, the faculty of the Kenton Clinics is overwhelmingly

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[349] Powell, "Interview."

[350] Regretfully, it is also my experience that the proliferation of computer-based music notation programs has largely eliminated much of this notational diversity. Chord symbols in handwritten manuscript, however, are another matter entirely. I am aware of systems that attempt to specify as much as possible with abbreviated text (e.g., "dim" or "maj") and/or the flat and sharp signs common to traditional music notation. Conversely, other systems rely more on shapes to symbolize chord quality (e.g., circles or triangles), and dashes and/or asterisks for flat and sharp signs. Some musicians place chord extensions (i.e., harmonies based on the 9th through 15th chord tones) inside parenthetical brackets, others do not. Diversity in chord notation becomes more pronounced as musicians strive to create symbols that represent upper tertiary and quartal harmonies. Here, options abound for symbolizing unique harmonies as any number of different polychords in a variety of inversions.

remembered for their kindness and generosity, particularly towards junior members of the faculty. As Marvin Stamm recalled,

> These guys [i.e., the other faculty] were anywhere from ten to thirty years older than I was. And they had been around. The younger guys [on the faculty] would be the ones that would think about grousing more than anyone because we all had our idealistic things. I know there were a couple of times if I think back on it now, when once or twice somebody had to kind of put their arm around my shoulder and say, 'Hey, chill out.'

It appears, however, that the attempt to standardize chord symbols was an outlier in this respect.

On another occasion the faculty met to standardize notation for the expressive elements of jazz, including its phrasing and other unique idiomatic details. Petersen did not recall the same excitement accompanied this meeting as that about chord changes. Trumpeter Dalton Smith described this meeting in *Stan Kenton: The Man and His Music* further:

> We actually rewrote all the musical markings in jazz music. They were using old Italian opera-type markings, and I said 'This doesn't make sense.' We had a committee and we sat down and redid the whole thing. Dee Barton was very, very instrumental in pulling that one off. Came up with all sorts of ideas. I came up with new markings for the brass section. We did it so you could see real quick what the man [sic] wanted when he wrote it, and you'd know how to play jazz. We revamped it to make it fit jazz more.[351]

Petersen's recollection of the basic details were humorously perfunctory: "dots, slashes, squiggly lines – all standardized."[352]

In 1962 the National Stage Band Camps published a textbook written by Phil Rizzo titled *Theory: Method and Workbook*. Rizzo's text is an introductory theory

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[351] Quoted in Arganian, *Stan Kenton: The Man and His Music*, 92. Smith attributed these discussions to "that second clinic we did." He did not participate in the second summer of Kenton Clinics in 1960, however. It is likely that his recollection of a second clinic referred to the second clinic in which he himself participated in 1961.

[352] Petersen, "Interview."

textbook, beginning with diatonic scales and the circle of fifths, basic chord constructions, harmony, voice leading, form, and concluding with introductory sections on composition and arranging. Previously described faculty discussions were likely in preparation for the publication of this text. For instance, Rizzo thanks, "the entire National Stage Band Camp faculty and especially Stan Kenton and Ken Morris" on the acknowledgements page for their assistance with the project. On page 31 of the text Rizzo discusses "Altered Chord Symbols," and lists a few of the many variations by which such alterations are often notated, perhaps an afterglow of a once contentious faculty meeting. Meetings devoted to standardizing expressive markings in jazz, however, had a more easily definable impact on Rizzo's book. On page 117 the text begins with the title, "The Standardization of Stage Band Articulations" before proceeding to exhibit 23 different combinations of dots, dashes, and squiggly lines together with their intended meanings.[353] *Theory: Method and Workbook* became the textbook for the National Stage Band Camp theory classes in beginning in 1962. Owing to its dark red cover, it was more commonly known simply as "the red book."[354]

In addition, Matt Betton, on behalf of the National Stage Band Camps, sent the newly standardized stage band articulation markings to "all publishers of stage band music." As Betton commented to these publishers, "I guarantee that if you will conscientiously use these markings (especially the first four or five) and notate your rhythmic patterns as simply as you can, the stage bands in this country will improve in

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[353] Phil Rizzo, *Theory: Method and Workbook* (South Bend, IN: National Stage Band Camps, 1962).

[354] Hughes, "Interview."

interpretation at least twenty-five percent overnight. After all, interpretation is the essence of all forms of music."[355]

Student Experiences 1961 – 1963: Lou Marini (1961-62), Randy Brecker (1962), and Doug Hughes (1962)

More than fifty years later, Doug Hughes recalled his experiences at the Kenton Clinics as a week-long adrenaline high. Lou Marini remembered feeling "awestruck" upon hearing Kenton saxophonist Sam Donahue solo the opening night. Randy Brecker echoed similar experiences, but first remembered that as an impressionable teenager he thought, "everybody on Kenton's band had the hippest shoes."[356]

Trumpeter Doug Hughes arrived at the 1962 Kenton Clinic in East Lansing, MI after a lengthy ride on a Greyhound bus. Hughes was then between his junior and senior years of an engineering program at the Missouri University of Science and Technology in Rolle, MO and learned of the clinics from an advertisement on the back of a printed program for a concert Kenton gave there in 1961. Though Hughes states his family had limited financial means ("we were dirt poor"), he convinced his parents to help him make the trip owing to his long fascination and enthusiasm for jazz music, and Stan Kenton in particular.

Hughes first fell in love with Kenton's music as a young ham radio operator in the rural Arkansas Ozarks. Tuning to a nightly jazz broadcast, he heard *Artistry in Rhythm* for the first time and remembered feeling fascinated by the richly orchestrated sound of

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[355] "Letter From Matt Betton to Leon Breeden," May 18, 1963, Leon Breeden Scrapbook, 1963~. University of North Texas Special Collections,

[356] Hughes, "Interview"; Marini, "Interview"; Brecker, "Interview."

the ensemble. From then on, Hughes was "hooked" and began buying Kenton's records whenever he had the opportunity. As he states, "I didn't realize it at the time, but I was a sucker for [the sound of] ninth and eleventh chords. And naturally, I became hooked on the chord progressions too." Hughes' sister, however, preferred to leave the room whenever Kenton's music was played. [357]

Hughes vividly recalled his daily activities at the Kenton Clinics. He was particularly fond of his daily trumpet sectionals led by Kenton trumpeter Dalton Smith. Hughes described these as intimate, highly focused, hour-long classes in which Smith showed the small group of young trumpeters how to "breathe together at exactly the same time [and] swell and decrescendo in exactly the same way," as well as "mark up a chart [i.e., printed music]" and finally "build a chord from the bottom to get that Kenton pyramid of sound . . . [in other words] making sure the section players blow louder than the lead." As Hughes reminisced, "Dalton was an excellent teacher. You'll hear that from everybody." In addition, Hughes loved his daily music theory classes, taught by Phil Rizzo stating, "It was fascinating stuff for an engineer!"[358]

Hughes was amazed at the quality of the evening concerts, particularly the skill of accordionist Art Van Damm who "could make the accordion do things [he] had never heard anyone do before." Hughes was also in awe of how loud bassist Bucky Calabrese could play an acoustic upright bass stating, "he could get more sound out of that thing than any bass player I think I've ever heard."[359]

[357] Hughes, "Interview."
[358] Hughes, "Interview."
[359] Hughes, "Interview."

Hughes also expressed wonder at hearing the then brand-new music Johnny Richards was rehearsing with the Kenton band in preparation for their upcoming recording. Hughes stated, "I couldn't believe that stuff!" Hughes raced downstairs at the conclusion of his own rehearsals to snag a front row seat for these Kenton rehearsals, held in the auditorium. According to Hughes, the band roared through these complex compositions with uncommon ease, with Johnny Richards at the helm listening intently and singling out minute harmonic errors occasioned by mistakes written into the hand-copied parts. As Hughes stated, anytime Richards heard such a mistake, "he'd stop the band and ask something like 'third trumpet, bar 71, third note, what do ya got? An E natural? Flag it. It should be an E flat.' . . . [Richards] could hear that stuff." For Hughes, it was just as enlightening, however, to witness these skilled professionals make mistakes during these rehearsals. This included Dalton Smith reportedly shouting, "Oh shit, I blew it!" while running through a particularly complex passage.[360]

For Hughes, the presence of Stan Kenton was one of the clinics' most impactful and motivating features. Hughes described Kenton as "omnipresent" for the duration of the weeklong experience, impeccably dressed, with words of motivation and praise for the students, no matter their level of experience. For example, though Hughes admitted he was far from playing in one of the more experienced bands, he recalled Kenton walking into his various rehearsals, asking whether he was hearing the "first" or most experienced band, and then proceeding to comment on how great everyone sounded. On another occasion, Hughes described how Kenton found a means for praising an inexperienced student in one of Johnny Richards' arranging classes. During the Friday

[360] Hughes, "Interview."

afternoon showcase Kenton's band sightread the music written during the week by student arrangers. Kenton's mellophonium players struggled to play a "nearly impossible" passage on one such arrangement. According to Hughes, Kenton told the student in front of the combined audience of camp students something to the effect of, "This is a great arrangement! I apologize that my players just aren't good enough to play it." Finally, Hughes felt encouraged that during the final concert of the camp, Kenton sat and listened to every one of the student bands.[361]

The first thing fifteen-year-old trumpeter Randy Brecker did at the conclusion of the 1962 Kenton Clinic in Bloomington, IN was, "go out and buy some – what [he] thought at the time were – hip shoes," just like those he had seen the musicians performing on Stan Kenton's band wearing. Regarding this singular memory of the Kenton Clinics, Brecker chuckles, "it's funny, but it's true." Brecker described feeling enthralled with "everything [about the clinics;] the way everyone dressed, the camaraderie between the students and the Kenton's musicians, the music, everything."[362]

Many of Brecker's memories of the clinics include the outgoing and obliging behavior of many of Kenton's musicians towards the enthusiastic students at the clinics. For example, Brecker followed Kenton saxophonist Joel Kaye around as the latter went shopping for new shirts. Brecker also remembered following around and becoming close to saxophonist Cannonball Adderley as well, who he remembered as, "a very open and loving man." Brecker's relationship with Adderley paid off four years later when Brecker

[361] Hughes, "Interview."
[362] Brecker, "Interview."

performed at the International Jazz Competition in Vienna at which Adderley, who still remembered the young trumpeter from the Kenton Clinics, was a judge.[363]

The clinics helped Brecker form a close attachment to trumpeter Donald Byrd, as well. This relationship lasted long after the camp when both Brecker and Byrd were living and working in New York. In 1962, Byrd served as the coach for the student jazz quartet in which Brecker played for the week. Brecker recalled that as a teacher, Byrd was, "ahead of his time because he had studied so much . . . [and was] a really professional teacher." According to Brecker, "[Byrd] always offered really great advice, not only for the trumpets, but for all the other instruments as well." This included, for example, showing a young Don Grolnick how to use the piano's expression pedals in a jazz context and drummer Richie Okon how to better hold a drumstick and strike a ride cymbal to achieve a more satisfactory sound.[364]

Brecker remembered the performances he heard while at the clinics as "unforgettable," which in 1962 including Cannonball Adderley's quintet in addition to the Kenton band. Brecker also described a "mind boggling" concert of a unique drummer-less quartet performing almost entirely improvised music, featuring Charlie Mariano on clarinet, Marvin Stamm on trumpet, Jack Petersen on guitar, and Bucky Calabrese on Bass.[365]

For Brecker, however, many of the most impactful performances took place less formally during the day as a part of the various seminars and clinics conducted by faculty. Brecker appreciated opportunities to both hear these musicians perform, as well

[363] Brecker, "Interview."
[364] Brecker, "Interview."
[365] Brecker, "Interview."

as interact with and ask them questions in the more intimate confines of the IU rehearsal studios and practice rooms. During one such event, Brecker recalled someone asking trumpeters Jimmy Maxwell and Donald Byrd about the prospect of making a living as a jazz musician. Both trumpeters were amply proportioned, a feature they jokingly pointed out to the assembled students saying, “Look at us. We’re not starving!”[366]

Brecker’s memories of the clinics are filled with similar experiences of banter and playfulness. For example, both the faculty and students of the clinics ate lunch at the same time in the same IU cafeteria. During one of these lunches Brecker was seated near pianist Joe Zawinal, who was touring at the time with Cannonball Adderley’s group. Brecker recalls someone stole Zawinal’s hat, “as a joke.” Zawinal reportedly left lunch in a very sour mood as a result. Brecker also remembered a very bleary-eyed Marvin Stamm arriving in the morning to conduct his jazz ensemble, Stamm’s bloodshot eyes undoubtedly the result of the prolific late-night jamming described previously. Similarly, pianist Tom Hensley (who would later tour with Neal Diamond), arrived at one early morning rehearsal so tired that he just laid his head down on the piano to rest. As Brecker noted, “there were shenanigans going on all the time. It was just great!”[367]

Brecker met numerous young musicians at the clinics with whom he would cross paths regularly later in his career. Like Brecker, many of these musicians would eventually settle in New York City, including saxophonists David Sanborn and Lou Marini, pianist Don Grolnick, saxophonist/composer/producer Mitch Farber, and drummer/night club promoter Richie Okon. Brecker also played with then seven-year-old

[366] Brecker, “Interview.”
[367] Brecker, “Interview.”

drummer Peter Erskine in LaPorta's "head" band Brecker also "palled around" with Mexican American trumpeter Louis Gasca, who would later perform and record extensively with many Latin jazz, pop, and rock artists.[368]

Brecker often reminisces about the Kenton Clinics with the other musicians with whom he attended, noting in stride that they were all "pretty well behaved" while there. Brecker is amazed, however, to observe even as teenagers, the individual styles of these musicians were already well on their way to being established. As Brecker states, "Everyone was pretty well formed. Even at that age, Sanborn sounded like Sanborn."[369]

Saxophonist Lou Marini remembers the performances and his interactions with the performers more vividly than anything else from the Kenton Clinics. In total, Marini attended the clinics three times, twice in one year at different locations, and once a second year, often attending with his father, who was an Ohio-based high school band director. Recalling these experiences cumulatively, Marini states, "the clinics meant a lot to me. . . they were an important thing."[370]

At the 1962 clinic in Bloomington, Marini recalls auditioning for Kenton saxophonist Sam Donahue, who expressed displeasure with his playing. As Marini states, "he wanted me to fill up the horn more" [i.e., play with more breath support]. Sometime following the audition, Donahue was a featured soloist with the Kenton Band during one of the evening concerts. It was then that an "awestruck" Marini understood what Donahue had meant earlier.

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[368] Brecker, "Interview."

[369] A recording Brecker shared with me of the quintet he played in with Grolnick, Marini, and Okon bears out this observation. Though all sounded unmistakably like talented student musicians, hints of their unique sounds were clearly evident.

[370] Marini, "Interview."

Marini also remembers auditioning for John LaPorta for placement into a jazz improvisation class. According to Marini, LaPorta was, "fierce, gruff, and imposing,' but also "a wonderful musician and distinct cat; sharp, unapologetic, and inspiring." LaPorta reportedly asked Marini – who had learned to improvise entirely by ear – to name the notes in a D minor seven chord. He could not do it.

Perhaps because of a lackluster audition, Marini was not initially placed into John LaPorta's "head band." As a result, Marini recalls watching one of the first rehearsals of this band with his father and, upon hearing the other students play, feeling strongly that he should, in fact, have been placed in that band. At the encouragement of his father, he approached LaPorta to tell him as much. Marini remembers that LaPorta was busily auditioning drummers, railing against one for trying to play with too much extraneous complexity; "What are you doing!? Just give me time. Just time! I don't want to hear all of that!!" Marini stood patiently next to LaPorta, who eventually looked down at the diminutive young saxophone player and asked "What?" Marini continues, "I said, uh, I belong in this band. And [LaPorta] sort of cocked his head and looked at me and said, 'Oh, you do, do ya?' And I said, 'Yeah.' And so, he said, 'Well, go sit down, then.' And it was me and [saxophonist David] Sanborn sitting next to each other. We were also roommates. We've known each other since we were fifteen!"[371]

Marini also recalls a clinic presented by trumpeter Don 'Jake' Jacoby during his first week at the Kenton Clinics that was "probably the most inspirational clinic [he] ever

[371] Marini, "Interview." Many years later, shortly after Marini left Blood, Sweat, and Tears, he once again attended the Kenton Clinics, then as a member of the faculty. During a scheduling meeting, LaPorta ceded control of the infamous "head band" to Marini. As Marini reflected, "That was a singular moment in my career. That really meant a lot to me because I respected [LaPorta] so much."

saw." Years later, Jacoby became somewhat of a surrogate father for Marini while he was enrolled at North Texas State. As Marini states, "I loved the guy. He was a wonderful man, super generous guy, and virtuoso trumpet player. . . [and] such a warm and natural teacher." According to Marini, Jacoby was particularly adept at encouraging the individuality of young musicians. "He didn't impose his own thing on you, but tried to bring what you had out, including your way of playing."[372]

Marini felt that working with Johnny Richards as a student at the clinics was an intimidating experience. As Marini relates, "I wouldn't say I was scared of him, but he was fierce, you know – and that bald head! –[Richards] was demanding, never mean, just like 'that's not right and here's the way it is now. You've got to do it.' But he helped us play better than we were."

Conversely, Marini remembers that clarinetist Charlie Mariano was "super sweet." Marini observed that Mariano had a distinct habit of rubbing his reed against the table of his mouthpiece just after moistening it, a habit Marini picked up as well. Years later a colleague told Marini he was liable to mess up his mouthpiece if he kept doing that. Marini disagreed, but the experience did force him to reflect on where he picked up the habit: "Charlie Mariano did it, so naturally, I did it."[373]

Tearful Farewells and Kenton and Morris Part Ways

Students at the clinics often gathered as Stan Kenton and his musicians loaded their tour bus and drove off to their next engagement. Tears were reportedly common,

[372] Marini, "Interview."
[373] Marini, "Interview."

both among camp participants as well as other onlookers, including girlfriends of some of the musicians. Randy Brecker described the scene he witnessed in 1962:

> That last day I was at the curb when everybody got on the band bus leaving for the next gig. There was this woman at the curb crying and [one of Kenton's musicians] was looking out the window of the bus and waving at her with a puppy dog look on his face. Then the bus pulled away and she was left crying at the curb. And I thought to myself: 'Boy, this is really what I want to do!'[374]

On another occasion, the bus reportedly made a quick U-turn. A very young drummer named Peter Erskine had stowed away onboard, hoping to remain with the musicians who befriended and inspired him so much over the course of the clinic.[375]

The success of the summer educational experiences among students notwithstanding, Kenton, together with Hall and Betton, severed their professional relationship with Morris and the National Stage Band Camps on September 5, 1963. This was only four days after the conclusion the final of five coast-to-coast clinics that summer.[376] The exact reasons for the dissolution will likely never be known as all the key protagonists are now deceased and written documentation of the camps is sparse. As Jim Widner, a Kenton Clinic director in the 1970s stated regarding the issue, "I've heard a couple of stories, you know, but I wasn't there. So, I don't know."[377]

As one might expect, unverifiable statements repeated by musicians once closely associated with Kenton primarily vilify Morris. Furthermore, I am unaware of any commentary from either Hall or Betton on the matter. Unfortunately, people once closely

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[374] Brecker, "Interview."

[375] This anecdote is related by Erskine in Harris, *The Kenton Kronicles - a Biography of Modern America's Man of Music, Stan Kenton*.

[376] This date comes from a letter dated September 5, 1963 from Stan Kenton to Leon Breeden. See "Leon Breeden Scrapbook, 1963~," 1963, Archival Material. University of North Texas Special Collections, 148..

[377] Jim Widner, "Interview," May 20, 2020.

associated with Morris seem considerably fewer in number. All this conspires to create a Kenton-centric view of the situation. To provide as balanced an analysis of the circumstances as possible, the following narrative focusses primarily on a report published in *Downbeat* at the time of the split that featured interviews conducted with both Kenton and Morris. Additional contemporaneous documents and commentaries are triangulated to these published interviews in order to provide as much insight to the administration of the camps, as well as the professional relationships of Kenton, Morris, Hall, and Betton.

Kenton stated that the dissolution of his relationship with Morris was predicated on the "ethics and practices" of the National Stage Band Camps.[378] Kenton's concerns were threefold. First, he objected to not having an "official vote in the administration or business" of the camps. Kenton stated his lack of an official vote in the operations of the National Stage Band camps was the result of Morris denying him a seat on the board of trustees for the organization. This was true, at least initially.

Morris countered Kenton's assertions by relating a history of the incorporation of the camps to *Downbeat*. According to Morris, the camps were first incorporated in early 1958 with his wife and lawyer as trustees, after which he engaged the staff for the first camp.[379] There were two problems with this assertation. First, the incorporation of Morris' National Band Camp, Inc. (doing business as the National Stage Band Camps) was not formally incorporated until 1959, not 1958 as reported in *Downbeat,* incorporation documents being finalized a month after the first clinic on September 1st,

[378] "Kenton Withdraws From Stage Band Camps," 14.
[379] "Kenton Withdraws From Stage Band Camps."

1959.[380] Second, Morris falsely represented the composition of the original trustees for the camps. Where Morris claimed the original trustees, other than himself, included his wife and a lawyer, the trustees listed on the original incorporation documents are Morris' daughter from his first marriage and son-in-law, Sandra and Don Gray.[381] No records have thus far come to light suggesting that Morris' son-in-law, Don Gray, was a lawyer. Rather, it seems more likely that he was the bandleader of the same name who regularly appeared in advertisements for dances and similar entertainments in the *South Bend Tribune* throughout the 1950s, possibly aided by a father-in-law working as a promoter and booking agent.[382]

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[380] The date of incorporation reported in *Downbeat* does not seem to be a significant issue and could possibly even represent a typographical error. The process to incorporate as a non-profit presumably took some time and it is not unreasonable to suspect Morris may have been referring to his initial efforts to incorporate, possibly in early 1958 as reported. It is also possible that Morris may have mistakenly referred to the incorporation of the failed 1957 "National *Dance* Band Camp, Inc." [emphasis mine] which was indeed incorporated early in the year, though not in 1958 as reported by *Downbeat.* See "Articles of Incorporation of National Dance Band Camp, Inc.;" and "Articles of Incorporation of the National Band Camp, Inc."

[381]"Indiana Marriages, 1811-2016," Database. FamilySearch; "Articles of Incorporation of the National Band Camp, Inc."

[382] Donald Gray is a rather common name. Nonetheless, there are enough records to positively identify the Gray listed on the incorporation documents as Morris' son-in-law.

Sandra Rae Morris (1932-2002) and Donald Noel Gray, Jr. (1919-1998) married on November 3, 1951, in South Bend, IN. Gray lived at 911 and later 918 Marietta Street in South Bend. His 1940 draft card and subsequent WWII service records show he was a musician and played the drums. A 1957 directory for Elkhart, IN lists a Donald Gray, Jr. in the employ of the C.G. Conn Corporation (a once prominent musical instrument manufacturer) as an "inspector." A later Elkhart directory from 1959 maintains the aforementioned Gray's association with C.G. Conn but now gives his address as "Granger, IN." The preceding data, taken together with the 1959 National Band Camp, Inc. incorporation documents listing the Grays at 13598 State Route 23 in Granger, are enough to positively identify the Don Gray listed on the incorporation documents as the same Don Gray who married Morris' daughter Sandra. It seems likely that the preceding Don Gray may have been the bandleader of the same name performing around South Bend from the early 1950s into the mid 1960s. Based on the limitations of the present research, however, this final connection must be considered strictly circumstantial.

By the mid-1960s, the names of Sandra (Morris) and Don Gray, Jr. can no longer be positively identified with any public notices in either South Bend or Elkhart. They reappear in a variety of public documents, including voter registration lists and directories in and around Orange County, CA in the late 1960s, by the early 1970s settling in Tustin. A memorial in the Los Angeles Times on May 11, 1999, states, "In loving memory, Donald Noel Gray . . . Loving Father, Husband, Friend, Sgt. WWII Second Armored Division. Musician – Drummer. We miss you." I was unsuccessful in locating the Grays' adult children in relation to the present research. These data were gathered from a variety of common genealogical sources

While the initial board of trustees for the 1959 National Band Camp, Inc. never included a lawyer, such a lawyer was connected to the failed 1957 National Dance Band Camp, Inc. The South Bend, IN law offices of William Voor helped Morris prepare incorporation documents for the 1957 venture and Mildred Millman, a legal secretary with Voor's offices, was listed as part of the 1957 board of directors.[383] The same Millman served as the notary for the incorporation of the 1959 venture, as well as many of its subsequent amendments. It is possible, then, that Voor's offices may have been involved in the incorporation of the 1959 venture as well. If so, this still does not place a lawyer on the 1959 board of trustees, as Morris claimed. It does, however, provide insight into how Morris may have misspoken with regards to the role such a lawyer may have played in helping incorporate the camps.

Morris claims he invited Kenton to participate after the first incorporating (or at least beginning the process to incorporate) his camps, whereupon the venture was advertised as "The National Stage Band Camps featuring the Stan Kenton Clinics."[384] Morris' stated intention was always that, "subsequent camps would feature other prominent bandleaders as clinicians, but to [his] happy surprise, Stan [Kenton] was so taken with the camps that he decided to return the following year."[385] Morris' intent to present many different band leaders at his camp is corroborated by his documented

including Ancestry.com, FamilySearch, Newspapers.com, The Indiana State Archives, and the archives of the Los Angeles Times.

[383] "Articles of Incorporation of National Dance Band Camp, Inc."

[384] As reviewed previously, the official title used in the first 1959 camp used the word "presenting" instead of "featuring."

[385] "Kenton Withdraws from Stage Band Camps," 14.

history with the endeavor, particularly the failed 1957 National Dance Band Camp, Inc. in which multiple band leaders, Kenton included, were scheduled to appear.[386]

Morris represents Kenton's involvement in the clinics leading up to the 1959 camp as something initially planned as a one-time endeavor. As discussed earlier in this document, Kenton was known throughout the 1950s as a bandleader who supported many initiatives both loosely and explicitly connected to jazz education, including *Jazz International,* Westlake, and the countless stage band competitions occurring across the country. According to Gene Hall, he first met Kenton in association with the 1959 camps, at which time Hall remarked that Kenton "didn't know what it was [i.e., what the camps were about] and wasn't enthusiastic about it at all." According to Hall, "Morris was really the moving force behind the whole thing" and convinced Kenton to be involved, "primarily for [his] name."[387]

Kenton's name was invaluable to Morris' fledging camp. As discussed previously, most of the faculty of the 1959 camp were close contacts of Kenton who, as a favor to Kenton, agreed to teach at the camp for free. In addition, Kenton's name was immeasurably useful in helping advertise the camps. Morris' "National Band Camp, Inc." letterhead from 1960 prominently featured Kenton's smiling face in the top left corner, listing "Presenting the Stan Kenton Clinics."[388] Beginning in 1961, many advertisements branded the camps solely as the "Stan Kenton Clinics."[389] Beginning in 1962, the camps also included the presence of Kenton's entire band, a significant appeal for many of the

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[386] Cooley, "The National Dance Band Camp."
[387] Quoted in Arganian, *Stan Kenton: The Man and His Music*, 162.
[388] For example, see letter from Morris to Breeden dated December 7, 1960 in Breeden, 1960 "Leon Breeden Scrapbook, 1960~," 195.
[389] For example, "Advertisement - the Stan Kenton Clinics."

camp participants. Finally, Kenton reportedly financially subsidized the operations of the camps as described by Gene Hall.[390]

Nonetheless, if Morris' original plan was to invite another bandleader to headline the stage band camp in 1960, it is understandable that Morris may not have initially wanted Kenton on the board of trustees. The initial exclusion of both Betton and Hall from such a board, however, seems is more difficult to understand. As two educators well-versed in starting stage band programs, both were ideally suited to helping an organization like Morris' National Band Camp, Inc. succeed. Perhaps Morris felt their unofficial advisory role was sufficient.

Whether Kenton knew that the board of trustees for the National Band Camp Inc., at least in the beginning, was comprised solely of members of the Morris family may never be known. By 1963, Morris' wife Alice was listed as the organization's secretary. Nonetheless, the fact that Morris initially denied Kenton, Hall, and Betton seats on a board that was comprised solely of members of his own family, suggests that he was intent on maintaining complete control over the organization he had founded. Jamey Aebersold worked with Morris extensively during the late 1960s in the direction of the stage band camps following their split from Kenton's operations. According to Aebersold, Morris was very hands off regarding the musical and educational sides of the camps. Nonetheless, when it came to the business aspects of the camp, Aebersold was unequivocal: "[Morris] liked to be in charge."[391]

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[390] Arganian, *Stan Kenton: The Man and His Music*.
[391] Aebersold, "Email to the Author."

Morris explained in his letter to *Downbeat* that, as the chief trustee of the National Stage Band Camps, it was "solely [his] decision" to appoint a "non-official advisory board to assist in policy formation, make suggestions, and help set up camp programs." Morris then stated that he appointed Kenton, Hall, and Betton to such a board when the camps first began and continued to confirm them in these roles thereafter.[392] According to Morris' stationary, this advisory board also included John Maher, publisher of *Downbeat.*[393] Morris also claimed that Kenton, Hall, and Betton's recommendations were always followed, and that the camps never suffered from any "administrative difficulty in this regard."[394]

Morris then claimed that in February of 1963 he made, "the voluntary step" to formalize Kenton, Hall, and Betton's roles as an official board of directors for the camps. According to an amendment to the original incorporation documents of the National Band Camp, Inc. filed and approved by the state of Indiana on May 17, 1963, the advisory board to the camps was indeed formalized as described by Morris on February 15, 1963. According to the amendment, the vote to formalize the advisory board was unanimous.[395] Whatever initial objections Morris may have harbored to placing Kenton, Hall, and Morris on the board of his camps, this amendment to the original incorporation documents suggests he was eventually willing to compromise. Thus, Kenton, Morris, and

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[392] "Kenton Withdraws From Stage Band Camps."

[393] Letter from Morris to Breeden dated December 7, 1960. In Breeden, 1961 "Leon Breeden Scrapbook, 1961~," 195. According to the incorporation documents, this advisory board was likely the "Sustaining Members" of the corporation who, after paying a $100 membership fee, could "vote on all questions, and the right to elect the directors of the corporation." See Archives, September 1, 1959 "Articles of Incorporation of the National Band Camp, Inc."

[394] "Kenton Withdraws From Stage Band Camps," 14.

[395] "Articles of Incorporation of the National Band Camp, Inc."

Hall eventually received official votes in the administration of Morris' camps, contrary to Kenton's statement in *Downbeat.*

From the vantage point of the present, it is easy enough to be suspicious of Morris' misrepresentations of the founding and administration of the National Stage Band Camp organization. Nonetheless, as the revised incorporation documents filed with the state of Indiana in 1963 suggest, Morris was willing to compromise, ceding some control of his organization to an official advisory board that would presumably include Kenton, Hall, and Betton and not members of his immediate family.

Kenton's stated second and third reasons for dissolving his relationship with Morris had to do with the financial operations of the National Band Camps, Inc., including the disbursement of scholarship funds. Kenton implied that Morris was unethical in the financial operations of the camps, stating that he had requested to see itemized financial statements for the camps from Morris during the past five years but was "put off for some reason or another." In addition, Kenton reportedly disliked not having any control over the distribution of the camp's scholarship funds.[396]

Kenton was understandably concerned for the overall finances of the organization. As he stated to *Downbeat,* "I continued throughout the five years to pay my own expenses while at the camps because I wanted this to be a 'giving' thing on my part – I believed so strongly in what we were achieving." This including paying the salaries of his own musicians so that his bands could also be at the camps, "because it meant so

[396] "Kenton Withdraws From Stage Band Camps."

much to the students," as well as using his professional connections to secure many of the faculty.[397]

Morris responded to Kenton's allegations by insisting to *Downbeat* that the financial administration of the camp had always been public and overseen by the camp's advisory board which included Kenton. Morris further stated that Kenton had signed off on the most recent financial statement for the camps eleven months prior in November of 1962. As Morris stated, "[Kenton] looked it over, accepted it, and suggested that future reports be broken down in greater detail, a suggestion that was agreed upon at the time."[398]

Morris responded to Kenton's concerns about the disbursement of scholarship funds by commenting that scholarship funds to the camps were largely funded through music industry sponsorships and awarded at various stage band competitions held across the country. As a result, Morris claimed to not have direct control over the disbursement of those funds.[399] Morris' claim about camp scholarships is at least partially substantiated by numerous prize lists for stage band competitions during the early sixties. Full tuition scholarships to the National Stage Band Camps were a common first or grand prize at such events.[400] The present research has not uncovered whether there were other scholarship funds administered directly by the camp.

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[397] "Kenton Withdraws From Stage Band Camps."

[398] "Kenton Withdraws From Stage Band Camps."

[399] "Kenton Withdraws From Stage Band Camps."

[400] A report from the 1961 Notre Dame Intercollegiate Jazz Festival provides a glimpse of the individuals and organizations sponsoring scholarships, including the number of scholarships sponsored: "Associated Booking Corp. Artists – Dukes of Dixieland (3), Les Brown (2), Louis Armstrong (2), Al Hirt (2), Maynard Ferguson (2), George Shearing (2), Dave Brubeck (2), Gene Krupa (2), John Levy Enterprises (2)." Other scholarship sponsors included Broadcast Music Inc., Willard Alexander, Inc., and *Downbeat.* See DiMichael, "Collegiate Jazz Festival 1961."

Kenton concluded his letter to *Downbeat* lamenting his "dreaded" decision to resign from the camps, given the "magnificent staff" he felt had been assembled in association with the Kenton Clinics, as well as "the great good being done in music." Nonetheless, Kenton objected enough to what he called "Morris' practices" that he stepped back from the National Stage Band Camp organization. Morris reported that he reached out to Kenton on multiple occasions after receiving word the bandleader would no longer take part in his stage band camps but received no response.[401]

Documentation that substantiates Kenton's allegations of financial impropriety on the part of Morris has not yet come to light. It seems worth considering, however, that Kenton's personal circumstances in 1963 would have complicated his continued participation in the camps. Kenton divorced his second wife, Anne Richards, in 1962. A stipulation of the ensuing custody battle for the pair's children required Kenton to remain in Los Angeles and not tour.[402] In addition, Kenton's financial situation had become more precarious during this period, certainly due in part to the divorce, but also flagging sales of his records and tickets to his concerts.[403] As a result, Kenton's noteworthy largesse towards the camps may have become unsustainable.

Kenton's personal circumstances cannot, however, account for the reasons why both Hall and Betton also chose to abandon Ken Morris and the National Stage Band Camp organization at this same time. Both Hall and Betton remained highly respected

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[401] "Kenton Withdraws From Stage Band Camps," 14.

[402] Ever the entrepreneurial optimist, however, Kenton used his time in Los Angeles to initiate a new creative musical endeavor, the Neophonic Orchestra, a symphony orchestra-sized ensemble dedicated to performing modern music written by living composers.

[403] Sparke, *Stan Kenton: This is an Orchestra!*

jazz educators,[404] eventually helping found the National Association of Jazz Educators (NAJE), an organization that later became the international association of the same name (IAJE). [405] Their departure from the National Stage Band Camp organization at the same time as Kenton complicates the story of the founding of both the National Stage Band Camps and the Kenton Clinics in ways that cannot be readily resolved by the present research.

Jazz educator Jamey Aebersold, who first attended the Kenton Clinics as a student, took an increasingly prominent role in Morris' camp operations following Kenton's departure. Aebersold's professional relationship with Morris was arguably the longest of anyone associated with the original stage band camps, lasting from the late 1960s into the early 1990s. According to Aebersold, Morris was an old-fashioned businessman who, "ran the camps out of a cigar box!" Aebersold additionally noted that Morris, "liked to gamble and bet in Vegas and the horses and you name it."[406] Based on conversations with many alumni of the Kenton organization, it seems probable that Morris' continued penchant for gambling, as well the bank robberies he committed earlier in life in association with such gambling, were significant issues in the dissolution of the relationship between Morris and Kenton, Hall, and Betton.[407]

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[404] These data come from cumulative comments about both Betton and Hall made by most of the participants in this study. For ample examples of Hall's activities following his participation in the stage band camps, see Feustle, "Blow the Curtain Open: How Gene Hall and Leon Breeden Advanced the Legitimacy of Jazz in Music Education."

[405] Russel Carlson, "IAJE Founder Matt Betton Dies," *JazzTimes* (April 15, 2019).

[406] Aebersold, "Email to the Author." On another occasion Aebersold stated of Morris' penchant for gambling, "We'd go to Vegas all the time." See Aebersold, "NEA Jazz Master," [interview] (December 16, 2013), 18.

[407] Though unaware of Morris' earlier bank robberies, Mike Vax mentioned that Kenton had concerns about Morris' gambling. Other Kenton alumni not formally involved in this study made similar comments.

The National Stage Band Camps (Minus Kenton)

Whatever concerns Kenton, Hall, and Betton may have had as administrators of the National Stage Band Camps Presenting the Stan Kenton Clinics, such concerns do not appear to have been widespread amongst the rest of the faculty. For example, Jack Petersen recalled interactions with Morris with fondness, noting further that his salary and other expenses were always paid as expected.[408] The stability of the camp faculty following the departure of Kenton, Hall, and Betton suggests that Petersen was likely not alone in his overall contentment with the camp operations. For example, in 1964 the faculty included such longtime stalwarts as Buddy Baker, Leon Breeden, Donald Byrd, Alan Dawson, Russ Garcia, John LaPorta, Phil Rizzo, and Ray Santisi.[409]

In 1964, Leon Breeden assumed Hall's previous responsibilities as camp director, a position he would hold for the next two years. Camp schedules and other documents preserved by Breeden suggest that little changed from Hall's original curricular program for the camps following his and Kenton's departure, perhaps due in part to the overall stability of the faculty. For example, LaPorta continued to direct his "head" band and Rizzo taught the theory classes.[410] Woody Herman and his band headlined the 1964 Reno camp, together with famed arranger Neal Hefti and jazz critic Leonard Feather.[411]

Kenton's absence from the camps was certainly felt, however. Doug Hughes returned to the National Stage Band Camps in 1964, attending the camp in Enid, OK that

[408] Petersen, "Interview."

[409] Breeden saved many documents associated with his directorship of the National Stage Band Camps. See Breeden, 1963 "Leon Breeden Scrapbook, 1963~."

[410] "Leon Breeden Scrapbook, 1963~."

[411] "Woody Herman to Headline at Jazz Clinic." *Reno Gazette-Journal* (June 19, 1964). www.newspapers.com

year. Though Hughes was already employed as an engineer, he chose to attend the camps again because we wanted another taste of the "adrenaline high" he first experienced in 1962 in conjunction with the Kenton Clinics. Hughes recalled being thrilled with his 1964 experiences. Nonetheless, he recalled feeling Kenton's absence most acutely when his arranging classes began. Without a professional big band on site to play through all the student compositions and arrangements, the focus of the arranging classes took a less practical and more theoretical turn. As Hughes reminisced, "The thing that really disappointed me was that Marty [Paich – the arranging instructor that summer] didn't have us write anything. He didn't push us like Johnny Richards did. He basically had it as a clinic where he talked about what he did."[412]

As the years progressed, Morris' stage band camps would move away from their original focus on stage bands. This trend was accelerated due in part to the influence of jazz educator Jamey Aebersold on the camps. Aebersold was a skilled saxophonist and Bloomington local when the first National Stage Band Camps presenting the Kenton Clinics began. Aebersold eventually joined the faculty himself, which precipitated the creation of his very first play-along recordings in 1967, an educational concept meant to help jazz students learn to improvise. Aebersold developed his play-along offerings into massive catalogue over the ensuing decades.

In the early 1970s, Morris, at Aebersold's urging, offered the first jazz combo camp. As Aebersold described it, "everyone got to solo on the Friday concerts, and everyone was treated the same. . . Everyone was there to learn how to solo and learn theory, harmony, etc. and become a well-rounded musician. All ages were welcome. All

[412] Hughes, "Interview."

instruments were welcome." Aebersold contrasted this arrangement with the format of the stage band camps where, by contrast, only a select few students would perform improvised solos on the final concert, while everyone else performed from printed parts of varying importance – a phenomenon he described as "fifth trumpet mentality."[413] According to Aebersold, Morris disbanded the stage band camps once he began the combo camps because, "everyone wanted to learn to solo."[414] Aebersold eventually took over Morris' jazz education operations and Aebersold's *Summer Jazz Workshop* ran for nearly fifty years before ceasing operations in 2019.

Kenton's Jazz Orchestra in Residence

> "I think that any school that just teaches traditional music, and is not teaching jazz music, is not building a musician who can face the playing problems, or teaching problems, in today's world of music. They've got to know both."
>
> Stan Kenton (circa 1972 CE)[415]

Stan Kenton, Gene Hall, and Matt Betton initiated a new "Kenton Clinic" in 1966, three years after severing ties with Ken Morris' National Stage Band Camps. These rebooted clinics mirrored much of the overall format of the prior National Stage Band Camps venture, including many of the same faculty. The first of these clinics was held at Redlands University in Southern California, later expanding to many other locations over the ensuing decade.[416] Within a few years Kenton was conducting well over 100 such clinics each year. Vax stated that by the 1970s, the Kenton organization had been

[413] Aebersold, "Email to the Author."
[414] Aebersold, "Email to the Author."
[415] Stan Kenton, "Interview," (July 1972).
[416] "Stan Kenton Re-Enters Summer Clinic Field," *DownBeat* (June 30, 1966).

conducting clinics for so long that everything “ran like clockwork,” and “every clinic had the same schedule.”[417]

Kenton’s rebooted clinics were administered by Kenton’s Creative World (later “Creative World Enterprises”). Creative World was first started by Kenton in the early 1960s to help promote his recordings at a time when Capitol Records, Kenton’s longtime record label, was increasingly disinterested in promoting his music. As a result, Kenton became one of the first musical artists to use self-managed direct-to-consumer marketing, independent of a large record label, to promote their music. Creative World operated a monthly newsletter that advertised Kenton’s recordings, upcoming concerts, and other creative activities, including the Kenton Clinics. After Kenton severed his relationship with Capitol, Creative World took over as his record label, producing all his new recordings, as well as reissuing many of his old ones. Vax recalled there was a large push to encourage clinic participants to sign up for the Creative World newsletter. There, they could purchase recordings and other materials, all of which contributed to the bottom line of Kenton’s operations.[418]

Creative World also expanded into music publishing, offering music educators and others easy access to high quality compositions and arrangements for jazz bands of a variety of ability levels. Creative World’s catalogue included copies of many of the same arrangements performed by Kenton and other professional bands. Creative World also published instructional texts for use at the clinics, including a tutor geared towards

[417] Vax, “Interview.”
[418] Vax "Interview."

beginning improvisers titled *ABCs of Jazz Improvisation* and written by Kenton saxophonist Richard Torres.[419]

Kenton understood that the jazz education landscape had changed significantly since he had initiated his clinics a decade earlier in conjunction with Ken Morris. Many leading colleges and universities now boasted fully accredited jazz programs and countless secondary schools featured jazz band programs, even if, as one Kenton Clinic participant during this era recalled, such programs were all, "still new." As Kenton stated,

> There really isn't the need that there once was for the Kenton Clinics. But there's still a lot of ground to be covered in the field of music education. It's my theory that you can't just teach classical music (traditional music) or jazz. You've got to teach them both. And I think that any school that just teaches traditional music, and is not teaching jazz music, is not building a musician who can face the playing problems, or teaching problems, in today's world of music. They've got to know both."[420]

Kenton rebranded his clinic operations as "The Jazz Orchestra in Residence" in the early 1970s, likely to help promote this more expansive view of the importance of jazz education.[421] Kenton's new program offered an expanded pallet of educational experiences from which high schools and colleges across the country could choose.[422] This included clinic programs of various lengths, ranging from a single day to a full week. The single day option included an afternoon clinic and evening concert and options and costs expanded from there in a somewhat a la carte fashion. Costs for the program

[419] Lee, *Stan Kenton: Artistry in Rhythm*; Richard Torres, *1001 Nights with Stan Kenton* (Las Vegas, NV: Setacia Ink, 2020). Torres' *ABCs* was first advertised in the October 1973 Creative World Magazine. Unfortunately, I was not able to locate a copy to review in association with the present research.

[420] Kenton, "Interview."

[421] The original Kenton Clinic branding seems to have been used interchangeably with the Jazz Orchestra in Residency branding on official Creative World publications. Colloquially, however, Kenton Clinics seems to be the preferred moniker.

[422] Despite Kenton's change in branding, it seems that most of the students attending these "Jazz Orchestra in Residence" experiences continued to refer to them simply as The Kenton Clinics.

ranged between $2500 to $3000 dollars depending on the day of the week. Ticket sales to the evening concert presented by the Stan Kenton Orchestra were intended to help defray the cost of the experience to the sponsoring schools.[423]

Kenton's Jazz Orchestra in Residence program might feature classes in improvisation, composition, instrumental technique, rehearsal technique, demonstration performances of student-composed music, and lectures on various subjects. One lecture topic was advertised as "Jazz and Modern Man." The program also boasted two films, produced by Kenton himself: *The Substance of Jazz*, a relatively short educational film subtitled "why and how Jazz is different from all other music;" and *Crusade for Jazz,* a one-hour documentary about life on the road as a big band jazz musician. According to Kenton trombonist Dick Shearer, *Crusade for Jazz* featured at the clinics for only a brief time because "the kids [didn't'] relate to it."[424]

Building a Newer, Younger Audience

At least one reason why student at the Kenton Clinics could not relate to a documentary about touring jazz musicians, was that touring jazz bands were exceedingly rare by the 1970s. Kenton's educational activities during this time took place in a society that was increasingly far removed from that which surrounded his first clinics nearly a decade earlier, to say nothing of the origins of the jazz itself. After all, the crazed teens

[423] Undated advertisement for Kenton's new "Jazz Orchestra in Residence" program. Two pages. Carol Easton Papers, N.D. "The Jazz Orchestra in Residence."

[424] *Crusade for Jazz* was originally intended for the television market with the title *Bound to be Heard and r*eportedly cost Kenton approximately $75,000 to produce. Unfortunately, no networks were interested in airing it as they did not think a documentary featuring extensive narrated footage of sleep deprived musicians getting on and off tour busses was entertaining television. Sparke, *Stan Kenton: This is an Orchestra!*, 212.

who once purchased hundreds of thousands of Kenton records and danced all night at the Rendezvous Ballroom throughout the 1940s had long since grown up and settled down. Jazz had become the music of adults.

As a result, what few jazz-centered ensembles and artists that remained on the road during 1970s had also begun offering educational clinics. This included the likes of Woody Herman, Buddy Rich, Maynard Fergusson, Louie Bellson, and others. For these bandleaders, like Kenton, educational activities like clinics necessarily bolstered rapidly diminishing incomes from performance-based sources like concerts, clubs, or dances. [425]

According to Carol Easton, a Kenton biographer, most of the teenagers she spoke with attending a 1971 clinic did not know who Kenton was. Easton imagined Kenton was someone too old to have much musical relevance in the lives of these students, "Someone whose music their parents once listened to in a Neanderthal, pre-TV world totally outside their never-look-back frame of reference."[426] Mike Vax concurred, stating he felt that many students attended the clinics, at least initially, not because they were interested in jazz or knew much about Stan Kenton, but because their "band director talked them into going."[427]

Kenton, however, understood that an important function of his educational clinics was to build a new audience for his band.

Kenton's success with a younger generation was due, at least in part, to his willingness to adopt newer musical styles likely to appeal to a younger audience, including rock. Albums such as *Kenton Plays Chicago,* a recording of hit tunes by the

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[425] Feather, *The Passion for Jazz*.
[426] Easton, *Straight Ahead: The Story of Stan Kenton*, 4.
[427] Vax, "Interview."

rock bands Chicago and Blood Sweat and Tears; and *7.1 on the Richter Scale,* an album featuring similarly high energy arrangements of popular movie and television music are emblematic of this trend. Such arrangements helped close the gap between the musical sounds clinic participants were likely most familiar with, and the comparatively much older sounds of saxophones, trumpets, trombones, and a jazz-oriented rhythm section.[428] Kenton, however, reportedly only made these changes somewhat begrudgingly, even though these were some of his best-selling records of all time.[429]

Kenton did not, however, completely abandon his musical roots and adopt these newer styles wholesale. Rather, he sought to balance his versions of this newer, highly accessible, and audience-pleasing music with the features that had distinguished his band from the beginning, including lushly orchestrated jazz ballads, a certain fascination with some of the musical traditions of European classicism, and a certain amount of sonic bombast – a phenomenon described by Kenton afficionados as the "wall of sound." Additionally, Kenton continued to promote the creation of new music throughout the 1970s by commissioning a new generation of jazz composers to write for his ensemble. For example, the album *Kenton Plays Chicago* features two compositions that speak to Kenton's long-time interests in jazz settings of musical forms drawn from European

[428] Without getting too bogged down in musical and orchestrational analysis, it should be readily apparent that playing a piece of music on different instruments than originally used in its creation inexorably changes whatever the sound of the original piece of music may have been. Furthermore, if someone primarily associates the sound of an instrument like the saxophone with jazz, or jazz-derived musics – perhaps owing to a lifetime of experience and enculturation with such an association – anything played on that instrument is likely to retain some aspect of that original association. Thus, it is not a stretch to imagine a rock melody played by a big band saxophone section to retain certain aspects of both the rock and roll musical source material, as well as the jazz-associative saxophone material.

[429] Michael Sparke, *Stan Kenton: This is an Orchestra!* (Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press, 2010), 259.

classicism. This includes “Canon” by composer James Pankow, and “Rise and Fall of a Short Fugue” by Robert Curnow.

Kenton’s embrace of newer musical styles, deep connection to the history of jazz, recording activities, and educational productions and publications helped shape his clinics into a monumentally inspiring event for the thousands of students who participated. After hearing the Kenton band perform, Easton witnessed many of the previously ambivalent students she described earlier, “levitate out of [their] collective seat[s] . . . cheering, whistling, and exchanging hushed ‘wows.’”[430] Saxophonist Mary Fettig, who attended clinics beginning in 1969 stated she “couldn’t get enough,” and took to sitting on the stage floor in the midst of Kenton’s saxophone section as they rehearsed, just so she could more easily watch everything.[431] As Vax recalled, “Every kid that went to those clinics became a Kenton fanatic.”[432]

Coda: More Ironies Amid Changing Landscapes

Carol Easton adopted a cynical view of Kenton’s clinic operations when she witnessed the budding fanaticism of his new young audience. Characterizing Kenton as an “adulation junkie,” she described the clinics she witnessed in the early 1970s as a “rarefied” environment:

> . . . reality gracefully withdraws. Surrounded by eager students who approach him with just the proper mixture of respect and adoration, [Kenton] feels young. He gives, they take. There is much exchanging of bits and pieces of evidence indicating a resurgence of jazz, maybe even of big bands! Rapport is expedited by a vocabulary with built in exclusivity: embouchures, charts, chord progressions,

[430] Easton, *Straight Ahead*, 4-6.
[431] Fettig, “Interview.”
[432] Vax, “Interview.”

phrasing, triplets, time signatures, section work, intonation, improvisation, chops. For this brief time, music is all there is.[433]

Ironies abounded in the details of Kenton's clinic-supported operations of the 1970s. Beyond creating a new audience for Kenton's music whose ticket and album purchases would improve the bands' various income streams, Kenton's preferred musical style lived on both because of and for the educational operations that increasingly provided its lifeline. For example, amid clinic sessions devoted to progressive jazz and the music business, it remained that Kenton's musicians in the 1970s were paid the same weekly salary, dollar for dollar, as Kenton's musicians of the late 1950s, not adjusting for inflation.[434] Moreover, by the 1970s, Kenton's band was comprised of a significant number of young musicians who had attended the clinics themselves. Kenton observed this irony himself, declaring to the audience at the opening of his 1970 clinic at Redlands University that the clinics would ensure both a future audience and future musicians for his band. Finally, Kenton and many of his musicians were reportedly less enthusiastic about many of the rock-oriented arrangements they were playing to appeal to a younger generation of musicians. Case in point, after enough of Kenton's musicians had tired of playing the band's arrangement of "Hey Jude," – the hit song by the Beatles and favorite of many clinic participants – it was reportedly mutinously buried near an unnamed highway rest stop.[435]

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[433] Easton, *Straight Ahead,* 7.
[434] Vax, "Interview." As Kenton's former road manager, Vax is a reliable source for such details.
[435] Richard Torres, *1001 Nights with Stan Kenton*.

Irony, however, does not diminish the value of a 1970s-era Kenton Clinic for its many participants. Even the reliably cynical Easton recognized as much when she described the interactions of Kenton's musicians and the clinic participants:

> …the interaction between Kenton and kids is an ideal teacher-student relationship, in which Stan and all the members of his band willingly share everything they know about technique, theory, composition, arranging, improvisation and, basic to all of this, professionalism of approach. To both teachers and students, the experience is rewarding.[436]

If it were not for the tens of thousands of students whose lives were impacted by a Kenton Clinic between 1966 and the end of Kenton's career, then, it would be all too easy to dismiss his entire educational program due to its many ironies. Nonetheless, through his unceasing determination to keep his band on the road performing new music, Kenton demonstrated that resistance to cultural change in the guise of an educational program can yield impactful results.

It seems appropriate to close this history of change in the sounds of music education by observing one final irony. Kenton had wanted a "home base of operation" for his creative musical initiatives since the time of his failed reopening of the Rendezvous Ballroom in 1957.[437] The reopened Rendezvous was to be a place where Kenton could advance his creative vision, commissioning new music, producing recordings, and broadcasting performances. Sadly, as related previously, this initiative was a failure and like so many other creative, entrepreneurial endeavors in Kenton's career resulted in a large financial loss.

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[436] Easton, *Straight Ahead,* 7.
[437] "Kenton to Reopen Rendezvous Ballroom."

It seems ironic, then, that the educational initiative just beginning to take shape in Kenton's mind at the time of the failed Rendezvous opening would ultimately provide this very 'home base of operation' that Kenton had so long desired. The clinics provided a venue in which Kenton could produce new recordings, promote new music, and otherwise provide some semblance of stability to the notoriously unstable business of creating and performing music. Due to the overwhelming success of Kenton's educational operations, following his death in 1979 Kenton was as likely to be eulogized for his involvement in music education as for the popularity of his early recordings. As Leonard Feather wrote: "for all his weaknesses, the music world of [the twentieth] century is certainly substantially better off for having produced a Stan Kenton, about whom we can argue angrily or reminisce fondly, according to our personal predilections."[438]

[438] Leonard Feather, *The Passion for Jazz* (New York, NY: Horizon Press, 1980), 75.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Until now, this dissertation has been largely obsessed with the past. The first chapter began in an obtusely bygone age where concepts of cultural reproduction and resistance could be contemplated in a distantiated, even philosophical way amid the ruins of Sumerian culture. A reader might be forgiven for exasperatedly declaring, "Of course the sounds of the music we teach have changed during the past four millennia!" And yet, we continue to teach in systematic and hierarchical ways that our ancient forebears would likely have recognized.

Reorienting the discussion towards nineteenth century American popular music in the second chapter helped drive the discussion towards the early twentieth century precipice of jazz-word signified sound – that age where differences between racist minstrel music, ragtime, and early jazz were semantic more than they were musical. In other words, certain sounds were around long before the jazz-word came to signify them. Is it any wonder that many of the earliest musicians devoted to creating these sounds expressed ambivalence about the "jazz-word?"

Of course, once the word garnered its international cache and money-making brand potential, everyone, it seems, was eager to cash in – except for many American music educators, of course. Too many of them, it seems, found little to recommend in the popularity of these jazz-word signified sounds. Among the noteworthy proponents of an education in jazz-word signified sounds while they were still popular music were William Arms Fisher, the former student of Antonín Dvorak at New York City's "National

Conservatory."[1] In a forthcoming and groundbreaking survey of bands and orchestras associated with American "Normal Schools," Keith Kelly has rediscovered a plethora of what are clearly jazz-oriented musical ensembles. Why these groups, once enormously popular in local communities from Flagstaff, AZ to Northern Louisiana, and typically directed by women, have been ignored in jazz history discourse demands further reflection.[2] Understanding early twentieth century jazz-word signified sounds as a popular music requires broadening our conception of what jazz-word signified sound actually is. Looking to the future, it seems we might also be wise to broaden and diversify our understandings of what currently constitutes popular music.

Finally, I narrated a history of the Stan Kenton Clinics, a jazz teaching and learning event that helped carve out a larger space for jazz-word signified sound within the oftentimes stubborn American "pedagogical music world."[3]

The past, by virtue of being past, cannot be changed. Though our understanding of the past may evolve, we can no sooner alter its particulars than go back in time and rewrite the Orpheus myth. For this reason, my primary interest while obsessing over the past has always been with the present and future. In particular, when people say the sounds we call music are changing (as well as an education in the same), I am interested in examining the locus (loci) of that change. I am also interested in exploring what is replicated and resisted amid such purported change.

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[1] William Arms Fisher, "Music in a Changing World," *Music Supervisors Journal* 19, no. 4 (1933).

[2] Keith Kelly, "Remapping Jazz Teaching and Learning in Postsecondary Schools: Normal School Jazz Groups from the 1920s to the 1940s," in *Music in America's Public Normal Schools: An Early History of Music Teacher Education,* ed. Jill Sullivan (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books/Rowman & Littlefield Press) [in publication].

[3] Austin Showen, and Roger Allan Mantie, "Playing in the Posthuman Band: Toward an Aesthetics of Intra-Action in Musical Leisure," *Leisure Sciences* 41, no. 5 (2019).

The present chapter is divided into two principal sections. The first presents a philosophical orientation towards change that centers those sounds called music (as well as an education in the same) on a phenomenological plane in which individual experiences-as-ontologies of music (as well as an education in the same) interact with socially situated experiences of the same. I label these phenomena *your* and *our music,* respectively, and place them within a continually evolving, embodied conceptual frame I term "Auroral." With the tension between *your* and *our* music established, I proceed to examine the Kenton Clinics for various loci of change. This includes cultural reproduction and the establishment of new musico-pedagogical ontologies, including field building; diversity, equity, and inclusion; resisting populism; embracing the figurative 'fuck you' of musico-cultural reproduction; centering students versus ensembles; and finally, the grief and joy associated with change in those sounds we call music (as well as an education in the same).

Auroral Traditions and *Your* and *Our* Music: Towards a Philosophy of Change

Imagine all of the music that has existed throughout the history of the world that you and I will never have any access to — music that cheered the winter's night, honored ancestors, gave rhythm to the hunt, mirth to the dance, praised divine beings, soothed the cries of a child, or merely enlivened the afternoon of a group of adolescents during something like the Stan Kenton Clinics. The experience of this music belonged to those people, and despite our curiosity, we have no claim to it. While we may be able to somewhat reliably reconstruct a semblance of the original sounds produced by paleolithic

bird bone whistles,[4] or Neolithic clay flutes,[5] or a Kenton Clinic faculty jazz band, absent high fidelity recordings we will never know what specific sequences of sounds were heard of such occasions. Nor will we ever fully understand the meanings that people gave to those sounds. This is due in large part to the nature of music itself.

Music, unlike a sculpture, painting, or other solid objects, occurs over time. This temporality has complicated efforts to record, notate, or accurately document it for centuries.[6] Arguably the oldest written music is experienced through oral, corporeal, olfactory, visual, tactile, aural, and visual means. *Oracorpolvistactaural* traditions are those which are understood through the mediums of orality, embodiment, sight, smell, touch, and hearing. As you might imagine, it is also a word that I just made up.

Cultures are just as often visual as they are vocalized and likely incorporate smells, sounds, and other phenomena. Cultures may include artifacts, rituals, traditions, products, processes, and people, interacting in complicated, multi-layered, highly contextual, and profoundly subjective ways.[7] Given this complexity, construing culture through any sort of interpretively reductive practice will likely misconstrue that which it proposes to represent, particularly if this construal is attempted by an external observer.[8]

Given the fleeting temporality of musical experience then, as well as the impossibility of fully construing such experiences by outside observers, I wonder what

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[4] Ludmilla Lbova, "The Upper Palaeolithic of Northeast Asia," in *The Cambridge World Prehistory Volume 5: East Asia*, ed. Colin Renfrew, and Paul Bahn (London, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[5] Beate-Maria Pomberger, Nadezhda Kotova, and Peter Stadler, "Flutes of the First European Farmers," *Annalen des Naturhistorichen Museums in Wien* 120, no. January (2018).

[6] Thomas Forrest Kelly, *Capturing Music: The Story of Notation* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2015).

[7] Nieto, "Culture and Education"; Kramer, "Subjectivity Unbound: Music, Language, Culture."

[8] Solis, "Teaching What Cannot be Taught: An Optimistic Overview."

might happen if the focus of musically educative experiences gave primacy to the localized present. That is, the students in the classroom and their meanings for the accompanying sounds called music. Rather than ceding this primacy of this experience to something external to the classroom, whether one foreign culture or another, or even a composer (assuming such a concept is even autochthonous to the music in question), what if the embodiment, sights, sounds, smells, and touch of the immediate present were the most important part of a musically educative experience? As Geertz once suggested for the meaning of the word "culture," what if educators embraced a similarly widening, broadening, and expansion of the meaning of experience with those sounds called music (as well as an education in the same)?[9]

Inspired by this question, and to playfully antagonize music educator Randall Allsup,[10] I have assumed the rights of an Author and established a rule: "*Oracorpolvistactaural"* — a lexical conjunction of oral, corporeal, olfactory, visual, tactile, and aural that replaces the word "oral" in the context of "oral traditions" and is pronounced as if the mouth is full of *Schlagobers*.[11] Despite Allsup's concern with dogmatic, even dictatorial authorship, I suspect he would approve of oracorpolvistactaurality. The word itself, however, is another matter entirely. For the sake of simplicity, I will replace oracorpolvistactaural with a simpler conjunction, still gooey, by which I symbolize the same meaning: *auroral* (i.e., aural-oral). Like the electromagnetic phenomenon that produces the northern lights or the sunrises that

[9] Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, ed. Michael Banton (New York, NY: Routledge, 1966/2004), 63.

[10] Allsup, *Remixing the Classroom*.

[11] Not that it matters, but *Schlagobers* is the German word for "whipped cream;" also a delightfully campy ballet by Richard Strauss.

inspired the Roman goddess of the same name, auroral music is both timeless and continuously emerging.

The important feature of an auroral musical tradition is the aural/oral-ness of the tradition, not necessarily the tradition itself.[12] Time and imperfect memory conspire to obfuscate the detailed origins of the many influences that slowly shape some auroral musics. However, those who might insist auroral traditions are unstable miss the point entirely — the means of transmitting the tradition is just as important as the tradition itself. An understanding of an auroral tradition is thus, like the tradition itself, an understanding of the present. Auroral traditions encapsulate an entire phenomenology of lived experience and the narratives that "locate such experience in time and place."[13] Some auroral traditions may eventually become codified and even assigned origin myths.[14] In this sense, despite their presentness, auroral traditions may represent knowledge that is centuries old.[15]

Auroral traditions are living traditions in that they continue to grow, evolve, change, and even die. Reproducing a musical culture through strictly auroral mechanisms embraces and even celebrates this fact. Such traditions, however, can never be fully reconstructed by others outside of their original context. Thus, the nexus of these cultures lies in what folklorist Regina Bendix calls the "fleeting moment of enactment," where

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[12] Ronald J. Mason, *Inconstant Companions: Archeology and North American Indian Oral Traditions* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2006).
[13] Jerome Bruner, *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 13.
[14] West, *Ancient Greek Music*.
[15] Barbara W. Sommer, and Mary Kay Quinlan, *The Oral History Manual* (New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018).

authenticity should be "recognized as experiential, rather than static and lasting."[16] The aging Khmer musicians who teach strictly by rote with very little verbalization, in much the same way they were taught, understand this well. Sam Sam-Ang, et al. describe how the most important source for learning Khmer music are aging Khmer musicians themselves, "but they prefer . . . to play music rather than verbalize about it." These musicians feel acutely aware that, "if they do not pass their knowledge to the younger musicians before death, a segment of the country's cultural treasure will disappear."[17] We could say the same about musical experiences and meanings surrounding Stan Kenton or his educational clinics.

In extolling the virtues of auroral traditions, however, I must also reckon with those traditions that continue to promote divisive ideologies enjoined by hatred, racism, xenophobia, anti-science, etc. For example, while the sublime creative aurora of American Black Music evolved amid the stench of enslavement, so too did the racism that justified that enslavement. Similarly, though Aurora the Roman goddess greeted every dawn of the ancient Mediterranean world with her warmth, in certain quarters of that ancient world she was also certainly an unwelcome colonial imposition amid some of the greatest colonial horrors the world has ever known.[18]

Nonetheless, reorienting ourselves toward the local present, rather than ceding this honor to some external body, gives pride of place to the people most immediately

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[16] Regina Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 198.

[17] Sam-Ang Sam, Panya Roongruang, and Phong T. Nguyen, "The Khmer People," in *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music Volume 4 - Southeast Asia*, ed. Terry Miller (New York, NY: Routledge, 1998), 184.

[18] I expect the Dacians, whose subjugation is celebrated on Trajan's column, likely resented Aurora and the rest of the Roman pantheon. To them we could easily add the Carthaginians, Gauls, Boudica and her clan of British warriors, and many others.

impacted by those sounds we call music (as well as an education in the same). This also raises philosophical questions surrounding the ontology of that music that interest me.

Your Music

Your music belongs to you. It is true that legal copyright or a sense of cultural patrimony may grant someone else claim over certain forms of your music – for example, its origin myths; video, audio, or print recordings; their distribution and/or dissemination through various sundry means including performance, broadcast, online streaming, etcetera. Regardless, the *experience* of that music belongs only to you. How could anyone make a claim over the music that electrifies the space between your two ears or makes your butt cheeks wiggle? This is music that exists only for you, in your breath of life, in the thump of your heartbeat. To claim ownership over your music, as you experience it, would be to claim ownership over you. Though some may try, no one can claim ownership over you.

My orientation towards your music, whatever your music may be, is based in constructivist theories of cognition and phenomenological philosophy. Constructivism maintains that your experiences of the world are unique to you and highly dependent on the ways that you reflect on your past experiences – in other words, the ways you *interpret* those experiences. As psychologist Ernst von Glasserfeld states, "what we see, hear and feel – that is, our sensory world – is the result of our own perceptual activities and therefore specific to our ways of perceiving and conceiving."[19] Similarly,

[19] Ernst von Glasserfeld, "Introduction: Aspects of Constructivism," in *Constructivism: Theory, Perspectives, and Practice*, ed. C.T. Fosnot (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 2005), 3.

phenomenological philosophy explores, as psychologist Susan Laverty states, "the world as lived by the person, not the world or reality as something separate from the person."[20] Thus, the ontology of your music is ultimately subject to you.

My orientation towards your music is a corollary to my sense of ownership over my own musical experiences. This is certainly influenced by such factors as the family culture in which I was raised, the educational attainment of my parents, their socioeconomic status and beliefs; our whiteness; my gender, innate stubbornness, penis; and the musicians who cared for and mentored me, including their music, shared with me through sound, story, and assignment. My orientation towards your music is also bolstered by the countless stories revolving around the Kenton Clinics that were shared with me in the course of this study.

Your music is the product of your unique experiences and memories and represents a self-literacy whose meanings, symbols, and associated lexicons are of your own making. Your music may be a repository for the cherished sounds of family or cultural traditions, together with other sounds discovered or developed during your life. Alternatively, your music may be a rejection of such sounds. Sound is likely only one aspect of your music, however. Your music likely exists in your other senses as well – sights, smells, flavors, touch, texture, embodiment, emotions, etc. As psychologists Andy Clark and David Chalmers observe, there are no limits to the ways your experiences may be embodied or otherwise externalized from your consciousness.[21] Philosopher Dan

[20] Susan Laverty, "Hermeneutic Phenomenology and Phenomenology: A Comparison of Historical and Methodological Considerations," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 2, no. 3 (2003), 22.

[21] Andy Clark, and David Chalmers, "The Extended Mind," *Analysis* 58, no. 1 (1998).

Zahavi puts the same idea another way, "The mind is tied to the world, but the world is also tied to the mind."[22] Thus, your music, as it exists in the world of your experience, may comprise a panoply of different forms. Only you can know for sure. This is, after all, *your* music.

Stan Kenton once commented that, "Thinking that everyone can ever enjoy the same musical experience is an emotional impossibility."[23] The individuality of conscious musical experience has been observed by neuroscientists Nina Kraus and Jessica Slater. Kraus and Slater discovered unique "neural signatures" in the brain activity of individuals listening to the same musical recordings.[24] Their research suggests that, though we may sit next to one another listening to what we assume are the same sounds, individual brains will interpret these sounds differently. Thus, your experiences of music are quite literally yours, and yours alone. From the vantage of phenomenological philosophy, then, the only music that exists in the world is music as you yourself experience it – in other words, *your* music. As psychologist Clark Moustakas states, "what appears in consciousness is an absolute reality…"[25]

Despite your ownership over your music, there may be some who, for any variety of reasons, seek to deny you access to certain parts of it. Examples of such malfeasance abound. For example, in the short story "Of the Coming of John," W.E.B. Du Bois relates

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[22] Dan Zahavi, "Phenomenology," in *The Routledge Companion to Twentieth Century Philosophy*, ed. Dermot Moran (London, UK: Routledge, 2008), 12.

[23] Press release from Stan Kenton's *Creative World Industries.* "KENTON QUOTES," date not specified, Carol Easton Papers, MSS 1824-Box 5, L. Tom Perry Special Collections at Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

[24] Nina Kraus, and Jessica Slater, "Beyond Words: How Humans Communicate Through Sound," *Annual Review of Psychology* 67 (2016), 95.

[25] Clark Moustakas, *Phenomenological Research Methods* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 1994), 25.

how the music of Richard Wagner entranced a black man named John. Du Bois captures the complexities of the moment in vivid detail:

> … [John] sat in a half-maze minding the scene about him; the delicate beauty of the [concert] hall, the rich clothing and low hum of the talking seemed all a part of a world so different from his, so strangely more beautiful than anything he had known, that he sat in dreamland, and started, when, after a hush, rose high and clear the music of Lohengrin's swan. The infinite beauty of the wail lingered and swept through every muscle of his frame, and put it all a-tune. . . . A deep longing swelled within his heart to rise with that clear music out of the dirt and dust of that low life that held him prisoned and befouled. . . . [The music] left John sitting so silent and rapt that he did not for some time notice the usher tapping him lightly on the shoulder and saying politely, "Will you step this way, sir?"[26]

Though John's antagonists sought to prevent him from enjoying full access to the "classical" musical-cultural patrimony of European aristocrats (or their aspiring American bourgeoisie analogs) on account of his dark skin, the sounds of that music became the music between John's two ears – in other words, John's music. The fact that John was forced from his seat in the concert hall due to racial prejudice notwithstanding, the music of Wagner so mesmerized him that it even formed the soundtrack of his eventual lynching at the hands of an enraged mob. The way Du Bois portrays this disturbing moment is as instructive as it is horrifying:

> [John] leaned back and smiled toward the sea, whence rose the strange melody, away from the dark shadows where lay the noise of horses galloping, galloping on [i.e., the lynch squad]. With an effort he roused himself, bent forward, and looked steadily down the pathway, softly humming the "Song of the Bride."[27]

John's white antagonists resented what they characterized as his "uppity" participation in cultural domains they considered exclusively theirs; those of professional attire, university education, "classical" music, etcetera. Nonetheless, "Of the Coming of John"

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[26] Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 147.
[27] Du Bois, *Souls,* 154.

suggests a certain futility to such objections, particularly when they involve your music. The futility of these objections does not, however, protect you or others from the kinds of violence inflicted upon people because of cultural beliefs and prejudices against certain skin colors.[28]

There is an additional point with regard to your music that requires emphasis at this point: the individuality of musical experience. For example, in the above interpretation of Du Bois's "Of the Coming of John," I have taken the liberty to assume that John hummed the Wagnerian bridal chorus at the moment of his murder in much the same spirit as he first experienced those sounds in the concert hall – that is, with a sense of rapture and awe. It is just as likely, however, that John's final experience of that music was one of disgust. Of course, only John (or Du Bois) could know for sure. It was, after all, *his* music.

Our Music

The trouble with conceptualizing *your* music as existing solely in *your* consciousness, is that you are not entirely your own. We are social beings and, as psychologists Andy Clark and David Chalmers observe, our mental states may be "partly constituted" by the thinking of others.[29] Similarly, Jerome Bruner suggests that numerous external factors, including our friends, reference books, cultural milieu, and computer programs all "place their stamp on our representations of reality."[30] Thus, whatever your music may be, it is likely that other people, spirits, ancestors, gods, entities, dominions,

[28] Du Bois, *Souls*, 151-152.
[29] Clark, and Chalmers, "The Extended Mind," 10.
[30] Jerome Bruner, "The Narrative Construction of Reality," *Critical inquiry* 18, no. 1 (1991), 3.

publicists, technologies, influencers, etcetera, had a hand in helping you construct it. As sociologist Scott Appelrouth suggests, “autonomy . . . is never absolute.”[31]

The extent to which some semblance of shared musical experience exists between *your* music and that of another person creates a type of common musical experience that could be described as a literacy. Unlike the experiential self-literacy that comprises your music, however, a common literacy is, by definition, shared. As literacy scholars Elizabeth Moje and Allan Luke observe, “people’s identities mediate and are mediated by [their literacies].”[32] Literacy scholar Eugenec Provenzo states further that “[literacies] operate within the social and cultural realm.”[33] Partly for this reason, no single individual enjoys complete control over them. The shared experiences that produce such literacies are implicated only in those aspects of the experiences that are shared, what Ricoeur calls the “reciprocal and interconnected constitution of individual [experience] and collective [experience].[34] In an effort to promote broad inclusivity, and in the absence of a better plural possessive pronoun in English, I will refer to this type of shared musical experience somewhat presumptuously as *our* music.

Given the socially situated nature of *our* music, a sense of ethical and intellectual honesty demands we at least try to contemplate the confluence of influences to which our

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[31] Appelrouth’s work focusses on the emergence of jazz into the American cultural mainstream. See Scott Appelrouth, “Boundaries and Early Jazz: Defining a New Music,” *Cultural Sociology* 5, no. 2 (2011), 226.

[32] Moje, and Luke, “Literacy and Identity: Examining the Metaphors in History and Contemporary Research,” 416.

[33] Provenzo*, et al.*, *Multiliteracies: Beyond Text and the Written Word*, xvii.

[34] Ricoeur is speaking of memory here, from the standpoint of both an individual phenomenology and collective sociology. In Ricoeur’s context, however, memory is tantamount to any type of conscious awareness, which includes literacy. For further detail, see Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 96.

music may owe its origins. Such a contemplation will likely reveal important ways that our music connects, intersects, or even impinges on the music of one another.

Numerous authors have examined the social bonding that occurs around music. It is therefore not a stretch to characterize what psychologist David Hargreaves has called the "conscious, patterned values and preferences of different social groups" as a type of literacy that is shared among such a group.[35] In particular, the types of emotional bonding that characterize the music of adolescents are deep and long lasting. This bonding is a form of social music literacy.[36] For this reason, few people will argue with statements expressing a possessive smells-like-teen spirit for the music of one's adolescence.[37]

Our music need not be confined merely to the music of adolescence, however. Anywhere we find a shared musical experience, in any form, we find our music. Our music includes whatever we hear in the elevator together, the music we experience as your car drives by with its windows down, the music we share when you have a dance party downstairs from me to which I am not invited, the music that we experience when seated in a performance space like a concert hall or church together, the music we hear when we each listen to the same recording at different times and on different continents. Our music is comprised of any sounds that one of us might call music and which induces any type of physical manifestation in us, positive or negative.

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[35] David Hargreaves, *The Developmental Psychology of Music* (London, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 185.

[36] K. S. Thomas, "Music Preferences and the Adolescent Brain: A Review of Literature," *Update: Applications of Research in Music Education* X (2015).

[37] During my adolescence, the grunge rock band *Nirvana* was an important part of *our* music. Nirvana, "Smells Like Teen Spirit," *Nevermind* (DGC Records, 1993) Audio Recording.

The tricky thing about our music, however, is that it is ultimately comprised of a multitude of individual musical experiences. Consequently, the final word on the degree to which our music fits into *your* music (and vice versa) is subject to you and you alone. You always have the final word about your music. How could it possibly be otherwise? This is, after all, still the music that exists in the wiggle of your own butt, in your breath of life, or the electrified space between your two ears. It may be that your music forms a part of our music from a place of resentment, oppression, or even anger. Alternatively, your music may join our music from a place of inspiration, love, and joy. While only you can know for sure, you nonetheless share in some part of our music. For this reason, the shared experience that constitutes our music remains inextricably intertwined in a complex dialectic with your music. From this dialectic, whatever *the* music actually is continually emerges.

There are glaring ethical challenges associated with the shared experience of our music as described above, its dialectical relationship to *your* music, and whatever emergent ontology of *the* music that results. For example, the prominent role that men typically play in the stories we tell about our music traditions suggests that gender is often a significant ethical challenge present in *our* music. For example, jazz scholar Sherrie Tucker observes that hegemonic discourses surrounding jazz history have systematically excluded women since the earliest days of jazz. As Tucker states, "we have no good way of talking about all-*woman* jazz and swing bands until we find new ways of talking about *all* jazz and swing bands.[38] When we explore the musical

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[38] Sherrie Tucker, *Swing Shift: "All Girl" Bands of the 1940s* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 4.

experiences of such women, we will likely discover that our music is highly differentiated by gender. If we are in pursuit of intellectual and ethical honesty, we must then acknowledge that the collective nature of *our* music may systematically exclude or marginalize according to gender, as well as the assumptions behind such exclusion or marginalization. In this way, we see that the emerging ontology of *the* music changes as we take these concerns into account and (hopefully) act upon them.

Another ethical challenge present in our music may be found in the ways it represents or caricatures different groups, genders, cultures, people, etc. For example, continuing along with W.E.B. Du Bois's Wagnerian theme, the female protagonist of the opera *Lohengrin* provides an apt example. Not only does Elsa require rescuing at Lohengrin's hand, her rescuer cajoles her into marrying him under the command that she never ask him his name or where he is from.[39] Finally, when Elsa comes to her senses and realizes she really ought to know her husband's name, he immediately abandons her, sailing away on the back of a swan. Elsa, the literal embodiment of the proverbial "maiden in distress," then dies of a broken heart. Hardly a positive female role model by today's standards! The previously discussed caricature of black culture lampooned in American minstrelsy presents another ethical challenge to our music. In the dialectic between *your* music and *our* music there could certainly be numerous other problematic representations and/or essentializations.

Another ethical challenge to our music is implicated in the representation, exclusion, and marginalization factors described above. Here is where the complex

[39] According to Lohengrin, this anonymity is apparently part of being a knight of the Holy Grail – similar to a Mandalorian, but not quite so long ago or far away.

dialectic between our individual experiences creates the shared experience of our music. For this discussion I return to the work of neurologists Nina Kraus and Jessica Slater. I have already reviewed the distinct "neural signatures" that Kraus and Slater observe in people listening to the same audio recordings. The implications for a collectively shared musical experience in their work are profound. If *our* music can produce such distinctive brainwave patterns, despite being objectively the same (that is, from the same recording, etc.), then the collective nature of our music must account for our individual experiences of that music – in other words, your music.

To illustrate the one of these ethical problems, I return to Du Bois's "Of the Coming of John" I have described how John's first hearing of Wagner inspires and fills him with wonder. As a Black man living in a society in which racism is systemic, listening to music in what is otherwise a white cultural space, his experience of that music is unique to him. As Du Bois describes,

> [John] looked thoughtfully across the hall, and wondered why the beautiful gray-haired woman looked so listless, and what the little man could be whispering about. He would not like to be listless and idle, he thought, for he felt within the music the movement of power within him. If he but had some master-work [sic], some life-service, hard, – aye, bitter hard, but without the cringing and sickening servility, without the cruel hurt that hardened his heart and soul. When at last a soft sorrow crept across the violins, there came to him the vision of a far-off home, – the great eyes of his sister, and the dark drawn face of his mother. And his heart sank below the waters, even as the sea-sand sinks by the shores of [his hometown], only to be lifted aloft again with that last ethereal wail of the swan that quivered and faded away into the sky.

And as you already know,

> It left John sitting so silent and rapt that he did not for some time notice the usher tapping him lightly on the shoulder and saying politely, "Will you step this way, please, sir?"[40]

[40] Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 147.

Du Bois's "John" demonstrates that, though the sounds of our music exist within a shared space, individual experiences of that music may differ. For John, this experience revolved closely around the systemic racism that impinged on nearly every aspect of his life, including the experience of paying for a concert ticket in a place where segregation purportedly did not exist, only to be removed from that concert on account of the color of his skin. The ethical challenge posed by John's music as it intersects with our music is that we acknowledge and work to rectify the ways social power and racism impinge on emerging ontologies of *the* music.

The final ethical challenge which I address is implicated in the very attribution and ownership of our music. While it may be that certain legal protections or a sense of cultural patrimony grant someone else claim over certain forms our music, the experience of that music remains a shared phenomenon. We cannot deny one another our music as it exists simultaneously within *our* individual spheres of experience. As Ricoeur states, "to remember, we need others . . . [and] we are indebted to those who have gone before us for part of what we are."[41] For this reason, in emphasizing the shared aspect of our music, I also acknowledge the complicated history of colonialism, appropriation, cultural hierarchies, and or other power struggles, atrocities, and injustices that impinge on our music.

Nonetheless, these challenges do not address the topic of attribution and ownership, particularly where individual experience (i.e., your music) is concerned. Where we are indebted to those who have gone before us for the heritage we have received from them, and where we are similarly indebted to those around us for

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[41] Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 120, 87.

supplying the fodder for many of the constructs that we hold dear, attributing a singular owner to our music seems to be a dishonest course of action. I could no sooner deny the privilege associated with certain aspects of my own heritage as I can deny the influence that heritage exerts on my ways of experiencing the world. For example, following years of acculturating my senses to certain auroral music traditions, I now find it impossible to not circumscribe most everything I hear within that tradition, colonizing those sounds I experience within the space between my two ears according to the various schemas that most readily help me understand them. This I do, of course, knowing full well that my understanding of what I hear may not be germane to those persons who create these sounds. Partly for this reason, I find the philosophical underpinning of choreographer Liz Lerman's *Critical Response Process* to be so useful. In Lerman's mediated method for providing creative feedback, the artist is given priority to establish the meaning of their work, as they see fit.[42] In other words, Lerman is advocating for a type of narrative research that holds up other people's stories, much like Geertz advocates for a similar indigenous reading of cultural phenomena.

Of course, honoring the intended meaning of the artist need not impinge on our own meanings for their work. There will always be those who, like John, transgress what we feel are the cultural boundaries associated with our music. It may be that our music electrifies the space between their two ears in a manner entirely foreign to us. This, however, is music that exists only for them, in their breath of life, in the thump of their heartbeat, or wiggle (or not!) of their butt cheeks. In this way, the ownership of our music

[42] Liz Lerman, *Critical Response Process: A Method for Getting Useful Feedback on Anything You Make, From Dance to Dessert* (Takoma Park, MD: Dance Exchange, Inc, 2003).

quickly expands to embrace all such individuals. We may assert our sense of cultural patrimony and promote the origin myths we feel most appropriately evince our experiences. We may even seek legal protection for video, audio, or print recordings of those sounds we call our music, including the control of their distribution and/or dissemination through various sundry means including performance, broadcast, online streaming, etcetera. Regardless, the experiences of individuals like John or anyone else form part of the experience of our music, with corresponding implications for the continually emergent ontology of *the* music. It remains our choice whether we embrace these Johns as what Ricoeur calls "fellow beings [and] privileged others," or cast them out.[43]

When I speak of our music, I do not do so from an inclination to possess, but rather a desire to share. Sharing is complex, however. I conceive two distinct types of sharing in regard to our music. The first is signified by the concept "share in." Sharing in musical experiences lies at the heart of the "unconditional hospitality" and "welcome without reservation" associated with the community music endeavors of Lee Higgins. Here, as Higgins states, "being-for-the-other takes precedence over being-for-itself" and every effort is made to invite, accommodate, and facilitate meaningful musical experiences shared among variety of potential participants.[44]

I conceive of a second type of sharing that is perhaps best signified by the concept "share of." This is the type of sharing occurs whether we like it or not, when interlopers, perhaps like me, you, John, or anyone else receives a share of something that others

[43] Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 132.

[44] Lee Higgins, *Community Music: In Theory and Practice* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012), 138-39.

would just assume withhold. We hear the stories of others and draw our own meanings from them. Power, privilege, a sense of cultural patrimony, or legal copyright may all negatively influence this type of sharing. Nonetheless, the radical liberty that exists within *your* music can overcome all such objections with ensuing complications for the ongoing dialectic between it and *our* music.

Loci of Change

Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion

I am interested in musical futures in which *our music* is inclusive of musicians from diverse backgrounds. For this reason, I hope that examining the Kenton Clinics for this locus of change might educate, inspire, and inform future efforts at promoting equity, diversity, and inclusion. The history of nineteenth century American popular music outlined in Chapter Two, including the prominence of white fascination with black music during that century, represents a direct musical precursor to those sounds that came to be signified by the jazz-word. The origin of jazz-word signified sounds, emerging as they did from the racist squalor of a populist, comedic entertainment known as minstrelsy, is deeply problematic. Like a wildflower emerging from a pile of defecant, however, it is also beautiful. As part of the pedagogical progeny of jazz-word signified sound, the Kenton Clinics is a part of this problematic history.

As addressed previously, the clinics were officially racially integrated. Nonetheless, it is clear from student reminiscences and camp photographs that few students of color participated, particularly in the earliest days in the clinics. For example, I can strain to identify at least two but perhaps as many as six students of color in a 1961

photograph of the combined Kenton Clinic students and faculty taken at Indiana University. This is between one and three percent of the approximately one hundred seventy-five students visible in the photograph.[45] It is possible that other Kenton Clinic venues from this time may have enjoyed more participation of black students, but I would imagine it was not significantly more. I further wonder if there were any students of color who evaded my count because, at least in my limited view, they appeared to pass as white?

The Kenton Clinics occurred on the heels of some of the most tumultuous racial reckonings of the twentieth century. Though *Brown vs the Board of Education* ended the segregation of schools in 1954, withering racial animosity persisted, together with significant white-on-black violence. Two years before the first Kenton Clinic the United States Federal Government intervened to ensure nine students of color could attend a newly racially desegregated high school in Little Rock, AR. Furthermore, the decision in *Brown* was narrowly limited to schooling. Interstate bussing remained segregated until the third year of the clinics in 1961. Other official, "Jim Crow" forms of racial segregation, predominantly in the south, persisted until the passing of the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts in 1964 and 1965, respectively. These acts of the court and congress, however, did not end American racism nor the myriad of discriminations that people of color continued to face. As Claybourne Carson states, "During the decades after *Brown,* most Southern black children continued the suffer the psychological

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[45] This is a fraught, but nonetheless, well-intentioned attempt to describe racial demographics in the absence of more solidly verifiable data. Examining the 1961 photo of Kenton Clinic faculty and students taken at the Indiana University, nearly all of whom are dressed in white shirts and neckties, it is not always clear who is a student and who is on faculty. This distinction becomes more difficult for the rearmost rows of the photo.

consequences of segregation, while a small minority assumed the often considerable psychological and physical risks of attending newly integrated public schools."[46]

An understanding of the broader racial dynamics in the United States in the early 1960s helps inform why so few students of color may have participated in the clinics, despite their "official" status as integrated. The clinics began at a time when circumstances surrounding integrated schooling, segregated transportation, dining rooms, employment opportunities, drinking fountains, and even a persistent the fear of racially motivated violence would have militated against black student participation. For this reason, when one of the few Kenton Clinic faculty members of color, trumpeter Donald Byrd, publicly praised the clinics for being "fully integrated," we must understand his enthusiasm against a cultural context where the assumption was that the clinics would be segregated. Byrd makes this clear himself when he stated to *DownBeat*, "The camp was interracial, both in the teaching faculty and the student body, *contrary to my own previous conception*" [emphasis mine].[47] In other words, Byrd assumed the Kenton Clinics were not integrated. At the risk of speaking more for Byrd than he spoke for himself with respect to the racial demographics of the clinics, it seems possible even the presence of a handful of students of color might have been reason to celebrate where the social-historical momentum against their participation would have been so acute.

The silence of students of color in this narrative is a potent reminder of the race issues that have menaced jazz since its inception. There is no avoiding the fact that the particulars of the Stan Kenton Clinics are heavily steeped in white privilege. This

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[46] Claybourne Carson, "Two Cheers for Brown v. Board of Education," *The Journal of American History* 91, No. 1 (2004), 28.

[47] Donald Byrd, "Message from Byrd," *DownBeat* (December 7, 1961), 16.

privilege is evident enough in the withering disparities faced by white and black students in the first years of the clinics. Privilege was further evident in the earliest years of jazz-word signified sound explored in Chapter Two. Groups like the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, comprised of white musicians, more readily capitalized on the popularity of jazz music than their black counterparts. This privilege extends back to the nineteenth century when black musicians and entertainers found there was a market for "authentic minstrels;" in other words, blacks willing to engage in a type of racial self-mockery for the entertainment of predominantly white audiences.[48]

White privilege and the Kenton Clinics is perhaps best exemplified in the experience of one student of color who was reportedly excluded from the clinics due to circumstances beyond his control. According to his classmates, black saxophonist Claude Johnson should have been a member of the top jazz band at then North Texas State. This is the band that won the Notre Dame Jazz Festival, attended the Kenton Clinics as camp counselors, and otherwise toured and performed throughout the United States elevating the stature of the still fledging jazz program from a semi-rural Texas school. Unfortunately, Claude Johnson's tenure at North Texas in the early 1960s coincided with some of the most violent opposition to racial integration in the history of the United States.[49] There was also localized opposition at North Texas to the value of such a thing as studying jazz in a college setting. This confluence of factors reportedly led Leon Breeden, the school's famed director, to exclude Johnson from a position his musical skill reportedly more than qualified him for. Johnson graduated from North Texas in

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[48] Lynn Abbott, and Doug Seroff, *Ragged but Right: Black Traveling Shows, "Coon Songs," and Dark Pathway to Blues and Jazz* (Oxford, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 2012).

[49] The bombing of an integrated "Freedom Riders" bus in May of 1961 is a sobering example.

1962, majoring in trumpet, saxophone, and orchestration. He worked for the USPS in Dallas for a few years before transitioning to FAA in Arkansas. Johnson passed away in 2011.[50] I wonder how many other students like Claude Johnson might have attended the Kenton Clinics if it were not for the racist circumstances in which they had been born?

Moving towards a future, then, where access to an education in those sounds we call music is more equitable, the historical example presented by Kenton Clinics demonstrates the importance of examining the types of structural inequities that might exclude certain students. For example, white students continue to outnumber students of color by wide margins in traditional school music programs.[51] Furthermore, students of color living in urban areas often lack access to such programs.[52] In view of such data, educators would be well-served to examine the barriers that might prevent students from engaging in the study of music and whether those barriers might be mitigated by adjusting whose music and experiences their curricula celebrates.

A lack of racial inclusion is a persistent menace in American, and by extension jazz, history. The pursuit of greater diversity, equity, and inclusion, however, demands a consideration of disparities in the representation of gender and sexuality as well. Like the jazz bands and broader music business it represented, The Kenton Clinics were a male-dominated arena. This was true in the earliest days of the clinics and remained true

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[50] "Obituary for Claude Coble Johnson." Arkansas Democrat Gazette, April 9, 2011. https://www.arkansasonline.com/obituaries/2011/apr/09/claude-johnson-2011-04-09/

[51] Kenneth Elpus, and Carlos R. Abril, "High School Music Ensemble Students in the United States: A Demographic Profile," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 59, no. 2 (2011).

[52] Karen Salvador, and Kristen Allegood, "Access to Music Education with Regard to Race in Two Urban Areas," *Arts Education Policy Review* 115 (2014).

throughout the 1970s.[53] Unlike the silence surrounding the students of color, however, women participants in the clinics were often highlighted in newspaper reports, thus giving voice to their experiences.

Bands and jazz music were then, and in many cases continue to be, a male-dominated arena. In the case of the women, this is likely due to social values and pressures. Nonetheless, pursuing musical futures in which women appear on equal footing with men will require educators to be mindful of the role models and examples they provide for students.[54] Compared against the sheer number of male students, the Kenton Clinics presents limited examples of such role models for women.

Women were present at the clinics from its first year. Linda Craugh described the 1959 clinic as the "best week of her life!"[55] Linda (Craugh) Roberts passed away in 1996 while living in Reno, NV where she was a well-known local musician, music teacher, and women's activist. In addition, Sandra Shelly, a seventeen-year-old pianist and French horn player attending the 1960 camp, was so successful in her arranging classes that she sold three to male students on the last day of camp. Shelly graduated in top ten percent of her class, won a civic award for her essay "What Can I Do About Communism," a Betty Crocker Future Homemaker award, and reportedly attended Ohio State University as a music education student.[56] Finally, saxophonist Mary Fettig described her experiences at

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[53] For example, Kenton biographer Carol Easton described the early 1970s clinics she witnessed as a family, "an almost exclusively male family, to be sure." *Straight Ahead: The Story of Stan Kenton* (New York, NY: William Morrow, 1973), 7.

[54] Deborah Sheldon, and Linda Hartley, "What Color is Your Baton, Girl? Gender and Ethnicity in Band Conducting," *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education* 192, no. Spring (2012).

[55] Menees, Charles, "Jazz Music Camp on Indiana U. Campus." *Saint Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 21, 1959. https://www.newspapers.com/image/140588057

[56] "'Miss Music' Wins College Scholarship." *Akron Beacon Journal*, May 21, 1961. Unfortunately, I could not track Shelly's career any further than her reported acceptance to Ohio State.

the clinics as "earth changing" and, following a stint touring as a member of Kenton's band in the 1970s, continues to enjoy an enormously successful career as a jazz saxophonist in the San Francisco Bay Area.[57]

In the pursuit of greater diversity, equity, and inclusion, it seems appropriate to close this exploration of Kenton Clinic-related role models with an example of non-heteronormativity. Homosexuals have received an unjust share of prejudice and violence in American history. Like the population at large, however, gays have been an integral part of that history, even when their sexuality has been unrecognized, deemphasized, or even unspoken. Though vibraphonist Gary Burton had not fully embraced his sexuality at the time he attended the Kenton Clinics in 1959, he nonetheless felt conflicted by his attraction to men at that time. As he states in his autobiography,

> Starting my musical life in rural Indiana, growing up in the 1950s, launching my career in the '60s, the idea of homosexuality was simply off the table for me. (The word "gay" hadn't yet come into use.) I was a smart kid; I had a talent that opened doors for me almost from the moment I picked up the mallets. I wanted to avoid anything that might jeopardize that, no matter what the cost. Still, I always knew I was different, somehow. I knew that I experienced the usual boyhood trials and epiphanies differently from my peers. . . I believed I liked girls, yet I couldn't turn off my attraction to boys.[58]

I am not aware of any data specifying the ways the Kenton Clinics actively supported or not its women and gay students. That they were present is evident enough. And at least in the cases of Burton and the previously mentioned women, it seems that the Clinics supported their musical interests and aspirations. Conversely, I am aware of

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[57] Mary Fettig, "Interview," January 3, 2019.

[58] Gary Burton, *Learning to Listen: The Jazz Journey of Gary Burton* (Boston, MA: Berklee Press, 2013), 308-309. Burton's story of coming out for the first time to a draft officer as well as his subsequent dismissal ("All you faggots get out of here!") are jarring. Burton came out publicly in middle age and was fortunate to experience immediate acceptance and understanding musician colleagues. Reportedly their most common response was something to the effect of "Oh, I already knew that." I would that we all might find such support and acceptance.

no data that describes the experiences the few black students who attended the Kenton Clinics.

As music educators contemplate loci of change that might encompass race, gender, and sexuality in relation to our music, it seems logical that an eye for the experiences of underrepresented students, as well as promoting the examples of appropriate role models for such students, will become increasingly important.

New Musico-Pedagogical Ontologies and Field Building

Stories of Kenton Clinic teachers gathering after hours to share pedagogical ideas, as well as formal faculty discussions about such matters, provide interesting insight into efforts to learn how to teach what may have been for some a new musical style more effectively. On the one hand, these stories demonstrate first and foremost the obvious skill and experience the faculty possessed in the performance of these musical styles. If this were not so, these discussions would not likely have become so animated, as in the case of the discussion about standardizing the notation of chord symbols or the types of notational markings used to indicate differences in articulation, timbre, and other expressive elements in jazz band music. In other words, this was *their music,* and these Kenton Clinic faculty were intent on communicating its details as clearly and successfully to a new generation of both music students and music educators as possible.

Learning how to teach a new musical style more effectively required these musician educators to think critically about what skills are required to successfully perform their music, as well as contemplate strategies for helping students learn these skills. Rizzo's *Theory: Method and Workbook,* published by the National Stage Band

Camps and used in its theory classes, is notable in this regard. Most of the book stresses material that was long a staple of an education in music of the European-classical variety, including diatonicism (circle of fourths, scales, tertial harmony).[59] The small section reviewing the chord alterations once unique to mid-century jazz music (and their famously argumentative chord symbols!) as well as the incredibly detailed scheme for notating stage band articulations can thus be said to be the most unique parts of the book.

The lack of racial diversity among the Kenton Clinic faculty as they sought to establish standards for teaching their music deserves a special look. With few (notable) exceptions, this was a group of white men. Norman Michael Goecke explores the challenges faced by twenty-first century jazz educators of color who feel disenfranchised and disparaged by a system which has long emphasized non-black narratives. He states, "They feel as if whites have appropriated the music with black musical and cultural contributions marginalized."[60] Certainly, the Kenton Clinics, owing to their long existence and overwhelmingly white and male makeup, were a contributing factor to these circumstances.

Thus, as educators contemplate more effective ways to teach new musical styles, perhaps in much the same fashion as the Kenton Clinic faculty so long ago, it seems prudent to ensure that these discussions are as broadly representative of our music as

[59] A full-blown content analysis feels beyond the scope of the present. Furthermore, I am not a music theorist and would not feel qualified to fully assess Rizzo's book from a historical standpoint. Nonetheless, what jazz musicians often call a ii-V-I progression, made up of a chords arranged vertically by thirds, are a staple of Jean-Phillipe Rameau's *Traite de l'Harmonie* [Treatise on Harmony] first published in 1722. A key difference is that Rameau treats ii-V-I under the guise of 'cadences.'

[60] Norman Michael Goecke, "What is At Stake in Jazz Education? Black Music and the Twenty-First-century Learning Environment," Diss., (Ohio State University, 2016), 399.

possible, including as many of the people who both originally created our music as well as those who are currently performing and teaching it as possible.

Resisting Populism

Of particular interest in Goecke's study is his ethnographic comparison of differences in the ways students learn jazz at a predominantly white Jamey Aebersold Jazz Workshop (a direct descendent of the National Stage Band Camps and Kenton Clinics) versus less formal, community-based programs in New Orleans comprised of mostly black students who perform on street corners for money. Goecke's experience of facilitating an informal, outdoor jam session at an Aebersold clinic compared to performing on the streets of New Orleans had a lasting impact. He states, "The task of making-music . . . which engages an audience enough to give money is not a small task. I had often thought that a street musicianship course would be useful for formal institutions."[61]

The type of populist appeal inherent to Goecke's street performances stands in stark contrast to a key tenet of the Kenton Clinics: the preservation of an aging musical genre that has passed beyond broadly popular appeal. That such preservation was inherent to the clinics is obvious enough from LaPorta's description of the clinics for *Selmer Bandwagon*: "Remember the golden era of name bands, when Glen Miller and Benny Goodman and all the rest made our youth magical with their music? That time is just a memory, but the musical tradition they began can be found alive and swinging at

[61] Goecke, "What is At Stake," 404.

the National Stage Band Camp."[62] And now that jazz education is even further temporally removed from the big band era, the tension between populist appeal and the preservation of an aging musical genre is even more acute. For example, imagine the frames of reference many twenty-first century audiences have for big band jazz, assuming they have one at all?

To be clear, I am not opposed to the preservation of aging musical styles and the Kenton Clinics represents only a metaphorical tip of the iceberg of the kinds of old music that I cherish. Furthermore, I doubt that most of the student participants at the Kenton Clinics objected to its role in preserving an aging musical style, given their overwhelmingly positive experiences. Thus, preserving aging musical styles need not be interpreted as a net negative.

The present contemplation then, centers less on the value of preserving the old, but more on the influence past populism should exert on present music learning. I wonder, for example, how a street corner audience might react to a performance of a non-populist jazz composition, like Duke Ellington's *Black and Tan Fantasy,* Stan Kenton's (composed by Bob Graettinger) "Thermoplyae," or a similarly large-scale suite composed by Wynton Marsalis? None of this music was intended to have populist appeal, and yet, at least in my opinion, it all feels worthy of preservation and performance.

Starting from an ethnomusicological ethos where all musics, past and present, are inherently equal and thus worthy of study or performance, decisions about what past musics to preserve and how to continually engage with ever-evolving populist musical interests requires contemplation. In the past three thousand or so years, we have have

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[62] John LaPorta, "The National Stage Band Camp 1960," *Selmer Bandwagon*, April (1961), 8.

simply produced great music in too much abundance to ever hope to explore it all. The authority over decisions of what to preserve versus exclude, as well as how the performance of a given musical culture, genre, song, or composition might be altered to help it appeal to varying audiences merits special attention. And though at my age I have probably forgotten more music that a typical adolescent has ever yet been able to hear, would I assume all the authority to make these decisions myself? Furthermore, following a sensitive and adequate introduction, who is to say someone might not fall deeply in love with the sounds of the past, whether they be jazz music or even the unchangeably peerless melodies and songs of King Shugli of Ur.

Embracing the 'Fuck You'

By the end of his career, Kenton was famous for the multitude of famous jazz musicians who had passed through his band at the beginnings of their careers. Kenton was reportedly proud of the professional accomplishments of the musicians who passed through his band, even when he disagreed with their musical choices. Reflecting on this phenomenon he stated:

> I deal in human beings all the time, just like ministers deal in human beings and football coaches deal in human beings. Bosses and executives and everybody deals in human beings. Whether you make wheelbarrows, whether you play music, whether you're in religion, your whole human obligation is how do you bring people out of themselves and make people out of human beings. You bring a young musician along – you nurse him – and all of a sudden, he tells you to f-k yourself and he flies away. It's beautiful![63]

I was immediately drawn to the inherent resistance themes of this quote in the context of change in those sounds we call music. Here is Kenton reflecting on a lifetime of

[63] Quoted in George Simon, *The Big Bands* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1971), 541.

musicians rejecting his band to pursue their own interests and calling it "beautiful." It was only after I was encouraged by a member of my doctoral cohort to uncensor Kenton's statement that I began to see it in a new light – that of conceptualizing the need to embrace a figurative type of 'fuck you;' a resistive declaration against musico-cultural reproduction of those sounds we call music (as well as an education in the same).

There is no denying that a typical twenty-first century audience finds the phrase 'fuck you' to be offensive.[64] I can even imagine some might object to my rendering of these words in so formal a document as a PhD dissertation. Thus, before examining why I think learning to embrace the spirit and meaning of such a vulgar phrase is important, it seems worthwhile to analyze it according to sound, gesture, and signification.

It should be obvious that the component sounds of the phrase 'fuck you' are as benign as any other sounds in the English language when broken down by phoneme, diphthong, and syllable, and separated from the sequence that commonly signifies vulgarity. *Fu* could just as easily turn into *fun* as *fuck* and the diphthong *ou* has no special vulgar connotations. Thus, we cannot impugn these component sounds themselves for any vulgar meaning. And yet, there is an indeterminate point where even a component sound like *fu* or even simply *f…* though context and delivery, may be understood as 'fuck.' This demonstrates that the use of the complete article is not necessarily required to convey its full meaning. Furthermore, there are gestural and embodiment signals in use throughout the world which can signify much the same thing as "fuck you" without

[64] Of course, a member of this doctoral committee has also written that this word has become "mere verbal punctuation next only to periods, commas but outpacing question marks and exclamation points, having lost all power to shock or impress." Richard Jacob, "On the F-Word," n.d. (unpublished manuscript).

relying on any of its attendant English language sounds. Has a resistant student ever sucked their teeth when you've encouraged them to do something? Depending on where you are in the world, you may have just been told to 'fuck yourself.' An extended middle finger, when observed by an intended interlocutor, communicates much the same thing, albeit with an arguably greater degree of animus.

At the same time, however, the phrase 'fuck you' can also carry connotate simple banter among friends. Such was certainly the case with my students in New York City for whom playful uses of profanity were refined art. Of course, their palettes of poetic 'fuck yous' were prohibited from the classroom, an injustice that continually bothered me when facilitating DAW-based beat making and hip hop lyric writing with them. At the same time, however, I also sensed that their music was dependent on a certain degree of tension with societal norms and expectations. They were resisting with at times beautiful results.

The "fuck yourself" that Kenton thought was so "beautiful," and that I think is important to conceptualize manifests itself in similarly complex, indeterminate, varied, and even embodied ways. The unifying characteristic is the resistance to or rejection of an intended curriculum of musico-cultural reproduction is the context of change in those sounds we call music (as well as an education in the same). Embracing this "fuck you" is to embrace a musician who exerts their musical or creative autonomy.

The creative autonomy inherent to the "fuck you" of musico-cultural reproduction manifests itself in a myriad of ways. For example, Duke Ellington exemplified this resistive sentiment when he declared, "When I became what might be called an active musician, I discarded most of the rules I learned and found my greatest success in doing

things that my harmony instructors had warned me against."[65] Musical prejudices based in the classically oriented sounds and aesthetics of Ellington's early musical training provided the foundations for most of these 'warnings.' Personally, I struggle to imagine a world in which Ellington *did not* reject these things in pursuit of his own interests.

The "fuck you" of music-cultural reproduction is also exemplified by the story Paul McCartney tells about writing the song "Blackbird." The lyrical inspiration for the song came from the racial turmoil surrounding the desegregation of public schools in the Southern United States. The guitar introduction, however, reportedly emerged from McCartney's inability to fully learn to play the "Boureé in E Minor" by Johann Sebastian Bach as a teenager. McCartney simplified Bach into something more suited to his abilities, and then used his simplification to inspire something more suited to his creative interests.[66] "Blackbird" is widely acknowledged to be a beautiful song. I wonder how the world might be different if McCartney had perfected his ability to perform Bach's boureé instead of using it as a vehicle to further his own creative interests?

Do I dare write 'Fuck you, Bach' into a music dissertation? And yet, I just have. The fundamental reason why I love this conflagration of vulgar words is that it serves to remind me that change in those sounds we call music are sometimes uncomfortable. Nonetheless, there are so many examples of young musicians figuratively and literally rejecting the sounds called music, values, meanings, and morals of the prior generations. The figurative 'fuck you' of musico-cultural reproduction symbolizes this rejection even

[65] Duke Ellington and Mark Tucker, *The Duke Ellington Reader* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1995), 53.

[66] Thomas A. Cressy, "Baroque Pop and Psychedelia: Bachian Pastness, Prestige, and Hybridity," *BACH: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 54, no. 1 (2023). I have also seen a variety of video interviews from indeterminate sources in which McCartney relates this story himself.

as it encapsulates its attendant discomfort. Thus, to embrace the 'fuck you,' is to embrace the creative autonomy of the young musician and, like Kenton, find the beauty in their flight away from you.

The trouble is, to embrace the 'fuck you' as universally beautiful might also neuter its resistive power. After all, if a creative act requires cultural tension for its hermeneutic power, imagine the destruction one might cause by deflating such tension with relativistic, uncritical, praise of such an act? Thus, embracing the 'Fuck You' should not be interpreted as offering blind acceptance of whatever creative act. I sensed this intuitively with many of my New York City hip hop students and their winking, smiling, and nods seemed to bear this out. Perhaps the author of that figurative 'fuck you' needs to see you squirm in discomfort to feel artistically validated. Upon experiencing the figurative 'fuck you' of musico-cultural reproduction, however, music educators might feel enthralled by the emergent beauty of the creative act! Depending on the circumstance, they might nonetheless do well to remember the counsel actor Robin Williams' "Armand Goldman" stated in the movie *Birdcage* (1996): "do an eclectic celebration of the dance! . . . but you keep it all inside."[67]

Centering Students versus Ensembles of Specific Instrumentation

Of the many stories to arise from the present Kenton Clinics research, those detailing the creation, composition, or arranging of music are among the most inspiring. This includes the young woman French hornist Sandra Shelly selling some of the arrangements she created over the course of the week-long clinic to other students

[67] *The Birdcage*, directed by Mike Nichols (United Artists, 1996).

following the conclusion of the 1960 clinic. Also, the famed composer Johnny Richards pouring over the scores of groups of students in his hotel room late into the evening, and the sense of loss that one clinic participant felt when Richards was no longer involved with the clinics.

Teaching music composition and arranging at the level hinted at in these Kenton Clinic narratives takes time, effort, and skill. But imagine the dividends. The North Texas One-o-Clock band performed primarily student-produced arrangements – their own music. While it is not uncommon to hear of students arranging music for their own jazz bands to perform, that such a band might nearly exclusively perform such music seems like a dream. And yet, after Kenton donated his music library to the school, there was a net loss of time to program such student-produced arrangements. And now, at least in my experience, student arrangements are often few and far between.

John LaPorta provides a clear example of the benefits that can come from possessing jointly the knowledge, skill, creativity, and willingness to arrange music. At the Clinics, LaPorta was described as regularly offering to teach the stage band class made up of some of the most inexperienced musicians, the "dregs that nobody wanted with no sense of balance of instrumentation." LaPorta would go back to his hotel room following an initial rehearsal in which he assessed the abilities these young musicians playing random instruments and arrange or compose music specific to their abilities and the group's overall instrumentation.[68]

[68] Herb Pomeroy, "Berklee Oral History Project," *Video Recording & Transcript* (August 25, 2005).

Imagine how the landscape of school-based music ensembles might change if more educators were capable of composing, or at the very least arranging, music suited to the abilities and interests of their students. Anecdotally, it seems there were once far more music teachers capable, willing, or possessing the time to do this, as evidenced by the wide variety of instruments present in many school bands and orchestras in American Normal Schools and rural high schools.[69] Many rural high schools also featured similarly eclectic music groups, including that of Ken Morris, founder of the National Stage Band Camp organization. Morris's group, like many others, was nominally modelled on the small "orchestras" that once accompanied silent films in theaters across the country, featuring a mixture of plucked and bowed string instruments (violins, mandolins, cellos, bass, etc.), percussion (drum set), and various winds (cornets, trombone, saxophones, etc.).

I imagine the instruments students might be most interested in playing in the twenty-first century would be at least a few degrees removed from those of students alive one hundred years ago. Nonetheless, giving primacy to the musical interests and aspirations of the students at hand, on *their music,* and its meanings and value in *our* community, rather than pursuing success with established repertoire and common instrumentational assemblages, could open countless creative possibilities. I wonder, for example, in what ways the diversity and equity of the American music education landscape might change for the better if eclectic ensembles like those once common in the early twentieth century were both encouraged and supported by the profession?

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[69] Keith Kelly, "Remapping Jazz Teaching and Learning in Postsecondary Schools: Normal School Jazz Groups from the 1920s to the 1940s."

Grief / Joy

The Kenton Clinics, the larger-than-life persona of its namesake bandleader, and its skilled and dedicated faculty, lives on in the distant memories of the participants in this study. In some cases, these memories are, at the time of this writing, over sixty-years old! Listening to stories drawn from the wells of these memories, and observing the people sharing them with me, left a lasting impression. These stories are a celebration of life and the impact that caring and inspiring adult musicians can have on the lives of students. These stories were often also tinged with a nostalgic sadness for the passing of many of these great musicians, and in the same heartbeat, their sounds, into the unknown beyond.

Those of us not present at the clinics may listen to recordings of these musicians, we may transcribe their solos, and otherwise do everything in our power to replicate the experience of learning from them at a Kenton Clinic. But the dawning aurora at the moment of interaction between Kenton Clinic student and teacher cannot be replicated. Now past, this moment can only exist in phenomenology – in memory.

If this study reinforced anything for me about Kenton and the musicians involved in the clinics it was that this was *their* music. The faculty were expert in its performance and partly through the clinics, developed similarly skillful pedagogies for teaching it. It was also the music of the eager Kenton Clinic students, its newest and most rabid devotees. It was also the music of the countless, unnamed black musicians and students who, subject to the racist circumstances of mid-century American life, were not present at the clinics, either as students or faculty. Many of them would have been old enough at the time of the Clinics to have numbered among the stars of jazz's most primeval nebula.

There is an inherent grief associated with the past. We cannot reach back and change its injustices any more than we can ever hope to replicate its triumphs in their countless details and cultural contexts. The success of the Kenton Clinics is now a precious experience reserved only for those fortunate to have participated. We might speak similar, though graver words about the injustices of those who were excluded, either intentionally, circumstantially, by feeling, or otherwise.

There is also a grief associated with change in those sounds we call music (as well as an education in the same). This grief was evident enough in the words and actions of the participants of this study. The onset of a career-ending disability made me acutely aware of this grief as well. There are some cherished, even life affirming and altering musical experiences that we can never go back to.

Music has a long therapeutic history consoling the grieving, dispossessed, injured, and disconsolate. The musical practices of enslaved black Americans described in Chapter Two are one example of this. Jill Sullivan provides a further example among the World War II-era Women's Auxiliary Corps bands who performed for injured soldiers stating, "their music helped the injured forget their troubles while serving as a short- term therapeutic agent."[70] Kay Norton has further surveyed many cultural practices, uses of, and empirically supported benefits of music therapy in *Singing and Wellbeing: Ancient Wisdom, Modern Proof.*[71] It should be clear that there is no shortage of examples of the therapeutic uses of music, amid grief and other distresses in life.

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[70] Jill Sullivan, "Music for the Injured Soldier: A Contribution of America's Women's Military Bands During World War II," *Journal of Music Therapy* 44, no. 3 (2007), 24.

[71] Kay Norton, *Singing and Wellbeing: Ancient Wisdom, Modern Proof* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016).

There is often, however, an attendant grief associated with change in those sounds we call music (as well as an education in the same) that seems rarely discussed. And perhaps with good reason. After all, I would hope educational endeavors focus not on the feelings of teachers but rather the facilitation of and (hopefully) positive experiences of students. It is, after all, *their* music.

Student-centeredness, however, does not change the fact that teachers enacting changes in those sounds they call music may experience a certain for aspects of *their* music, perhaps even *our* music, that have passed on. For example, I recall hearing a highly forward-thinking music educator in Arizona, someone who had initiated a dynamic, student-driven, music production and popular songwriting-based program lament that they would now never again enjoy the excitement of helping their high school orchestra rehearse a Beethoven Symphony. The choice to facilitate the creation of a new music education program necessarily sacrificed musical experiences of a different order. Ethnomusicologists, whether we agree with them or not, can readily place the classroom cultural experiences of producing a concert of entirely student-composed material and learning a Beethoven Symphony on equal footing. Nonetheless, it should be clear that sacrificing *our* music for *theirs* may produce pangs of grief.

Late in his career, Stan Kenton once famously refused to participate in a nostalgic retrospective of the kinds of big band music that helped propel him to fame in his earlier years. As he stated, “It's all a sick scene; the good old days weren't all that good anyway. What it boils down to is crying in your beer.”[72] Kenton was famously anti-nostalgia. On another occasion, a press release from his *Creative World Enterprises,* the organization

[72] “Stan Kenton's New Band: The Sweet Sounds of Success.” *Washington Post,* April 18, 1971.

he founded late in his career to serve as his record label, administer his educational programs, and manage his booking stated,

> NOSTALGIA. . . A STUMBLING BLOCK TO PROGRESS
> There are few cliches that annoy Kenton more than the one that starts with the words, "In the good old days . . ." Kenton's basic disappointment with the "nostalgics" is the sad fact that they deny themselves the continuous excitement of a rapidly changing world that can never stand still. Kenton well remembers his moving his band from the dance hall to the concert stage and how his "unorthodox" action was met with much hostility even by some of his most devoted followers. Time, of course, had the effect of diminishing these sorts of reactions. He can't help but feel that people keep cheating themselves out of the new and exciting experiences that make life a succession of happy surprises by constantly dwelling on the "good old days."[73]

It may be that fewer and fewer people share in that part of *our* music whose locus lies in the past. For example, I know of only a handful of musicians who regularly continue to celebrate the early nineteenth century American popular music of Francis Johnson, the early twentieth century ragtime elegance of James Reese Europe (both discussed previously in chapter two), or the earliest big band hits of Stan Kenton from the 1940s. In addition, the twenty-first century seems to have ushered in a waning interest in those sounds that initially attracted students to the Kenton Clinics in droves.

To be sure, however, there are other musics that have taken the place of those stage band sounds. Auroral musical traditions continue to excite and inspire students across the globe. If we can buck the historical trend of criticizing the present in preference for the past and open our eyes to its countless beautiful musical manifestations, we may find that the grief arising from our nostalgia can be ameliorated by the joy of continually reimagining our musical present.

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[73] "Kenton Quotes," Undated Press Release, MS 1828, Carol Easton Papers, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University

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APPENDIX A

KENTON CLINIC EPHEMERA AND PHOTOGRAPHS

University of North Texas trumpeter Marvin Stamm and Kenton Clinic faculty trumpeter Donald Byrd. Courtesy of Marvin Stamm.

Monogrammed alarm clock presented to Kenton Clinic faculty Jack Petersen by Stan Kenton.

APPENDIX B

ASU INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

EXEMPTION GRANTED

Roger Mantie
Music, School of
480/965-3170
Roger.Mantie@asu.edu

Dear Roger Mantie:

On 8/25/2016 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	The Impact of the Stan Kenton Jazz Clinics
Investigator:	Roger Mantie
IRB ID:	STUDY00004546
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	• Kenton Impact Study, Category: IRB Protocol; • Kenton Impact Study Recruitment Script, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Kenton Impact Study Consent Form, Category: Consent Form; • Kenton Impact Study Interview Protocol, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • Roger Mantie, Category: Other (to reflect anything not captured above);

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 8/25/2016.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Nathan Botts