THE EARLY LIFE AND MUSIC OF CHARLES MINGUS

by

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Charles Mingus has left a profound impact on the world of jazz. His career began in the early 1940s as a bassist in the Los Angeles area. As an instrumentalist his skill was unmatched. He quickly gained a national reputation that afforded him the opportunity to work with early jazz greats, such as Louis Armstrong and Kid Ory, contemporaries such as Dizzy Gillespie and Charlie Parker, and modern stars such as John Faddis and Toshiko Akioshi. In addition to his ability as a bassist, Mingus was a prolific composer. His creative output is often compared to the music of Duke Ellington. He continued to write music until he fell victim to Lou Gehrig’s disease in 1979. Through the efforts of his widow, Susan Graham Mingus, his music is still performed today.

This paper is an examination of Mingus’ life and music through his life, the people with whom he was acquainted, and the music that he was a part of. Among the topics explored are individuals who had an impact on his life such as Simon Rodia, Jelly Roll Morton, Duke Ellington, Britt Woodman and Buddy Collette. It will also illuminate Mingus’ philosophical beliefs by examining his experiences with Christianity and Hinduism. Finally, the paper systematically discusses parts of his career including his early recordings in rhythm and blues, big band, and small ensemble works, and examines his compositional style in order to facilitate a greater understanding of the origins of his later works.
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My first experience with the music of Charles Mingus was at the University of North Texas’ most important jazz performance venue, a small bar call Rick’s. On Tuesday nights during every fall and spring semester two bands would perform. The music was always good. Almost eight years later, I really can’t remember very much of it, but there is one song that stands out. It was an arrangement of “Fables of Faubus.” As a jazz performance major I had no interest in anything outside of the practice room, lessons, and band rehearsal. At the time I had no idea of the history of What Fables of Faubus was all about. While I sat and listened I became focused on the music. As I studied the music of Charles Mingus, I found a huge body of work that peaked my interest, by studying the history and social context of the music, I became more and more focused, the music gave history life. I always approached the task of learning about Mingus and his music with excitement and anticipation, but I could not have studied this music without the help of a group of very important people.

I would first like to thank Dr. Nathan Davis. His guidance and understanding allowed me to explore areas I had never thought of before. He is a wonderful judge of character who gave me the opportunity that is partially fulfilled by this paper. Whether through our direct conversations, or my observation of his treatment of others, he has enriching my life, musically and personally and for that I say thank you.

I would also like to thank my parents, Ernest and Evelyn. Through years of lessons, rehearsals, and road trips they have been a source of encouragement. Their provision insured that I could focus on my growth as a person and musician within a protective environment. They were willing to spend their money, and more importantly their time to give me the opportunities that were essential in the development of a professional musician. Most importantly they
facilitated a level of academic discipline that allowed me to take advantage of a life in scholarship, and for that I say thank you.

Finally, I would like to thank my wife Melanie, who I met as a student at the University of North Texas. Since the day we met she has shown me a tenderness and understanding that I have always appreciated. Whenever my self-confidence began to fade, she was there to augment it. As I began this paper she worked and took care of our son, and as I progressed she gave birth to our daughter. In the face of our growing responsibilities, she still found time to help me to stay on track and to realize my goals. As I move forward with this landmark in my career, my success is her success and my triumph is her triumph, and for that I say thank God.
1.0 INTRODUCTION

By the time he had won his Guggenheim award, in the Spring of 1971, Charles Mingus had already worked with Louis Armstrong, Illinois Jacquet, Billy Holiday, Dinah Washington, Lionel Hampton, Miles Davis, Dizzy Gillespie, Charlie Parker, Billy Taylor, Bud Powell, Stan Getz, J.J. Johnson, Langston Hughes, and Duke Ellington. He had recorded as a bandleader for over twenty-five years, started two recording companies, Debut records and Jazz Workshop inc., and had set up his own mail order distribution network. He also managed to influence the future of jazz through his work in the seventies with up and coming musicians that would go on to become stars in their own right such as John Faddis, Larry Corryell, John Scofield, Randy Brecker, Eddie Gomez, Charles McPherson, John Handy, Jimmy Owens and Michael Brecker, in addition to composers and arrangers such as Toshiko Akioshi, Thad Jones, Sy Johnson, Slide Hampton, and Quincy Jones. As a musician he has been a major creative force in New Orleans Music, Free Jazz, the Cool School, Swing, Bebop, Hard Bop, and Third Stream. Even

2 Ibid., 422-424.
3 Charles Mingus, Charles Mingus Complete 1945-1949 West Coast Recordings, Jazz Factory, JFCD22825, Compact Disc.
6 Santoro, 416-422.
7 Ibid., 109, 191, 371.
8 Priestley, 18-19.
10 Janet Coleman and Al Young, Mingus/Mingus: Two Memoirs, (Berkeley: Creative Arts; 1989), 17.
11 Priestley, 50, 53, 120.
with only this partial picture of the events of his musical career, it becomes clear that Mingus had a profound and influential body of professional accomplishment. He had a tremendous amount of experience that found its expression in his inimitable musical performances. It was his exposure to a tremendous number of musical styles combined with his ability to assimilate and use those styles sincerely that propelled him to the status of leadership in the avant-garde movement.¹² This paper will focus on the motivating factors in his early life before his greatest compositional innovations were fully realized. In addition, I will identify intellectual, artistic and personal influences on Mingus. This paper also contains several musical analysis that will show how Mingus’ music fits into the society that it was produced when compared to the music of his various contemporaries.

2.0 MINGUS’ EARLY PEERS, MENTORS AND HEROES

Charles Mingus, Jr. was born on April 22, 1922 in Nogales, New Mexico.\(^\text{13}\) He was the youngest of his father’s five children.\(^\text{14}\) His father Charles, Sr. and his stepmother Mamie Carson raised him in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California.\(^\text{15}\) From his beginnings he was exposed to a tremendous variety of music. Mingus was exposed to western classical music through his sisters and played trombone and cello early in life. Eventually Mingus would switch to bass for primarily racial reason. During in the 1930s and 1940s it was nearly impossible for African Americans to succeed as classical musicians, and cello was not considered a jazz instrument at that time.\(^\text{16}\) There were a number of people who influenced Mingus and the way that he would approach his life and art.. Some of those people were close and affected his life on a daily basis; others were internationally renowned entertainment. The thing that each members of this group have in common is a drive, integrity, and perseverence when pursuing their art, and this was inspirational to Mingus during his formative years.

\(^\text{14}\) Santoro, 13-14.
\(^\text{16}\) Priestley, 6-10.
2.1.1 Charles Sr. and Mamie Mingus

Mingus’ early life started out under less than perfect circumstances. His mother, Harriet Sophia Mingus, died only twenty-three weeks after he was born. His father and stepmother Mamie raised him. Their relationship was one fraught with tension, with a long-term extramarital affair on the part of Charles Sr. This caused tension for the whole household and eventually ended their marriage, although they would never divorce. His father’s mistress was a choir member in the African Methodist Episcopal church that his father attended. It is no wonder his mother attended a different church. Perhaps due to the public embarrassment of the affair Mingus’ stepmother also regularly attended a nearby Pentecostal church. The services that he observed in the Pentecostal church were perhaps his most important early musical experience, and the contrast between the two churches would have heightened the musical and spiritual wonders that he experienced there.

The official church of the Mingus family was the African Methodist Episcopal church. This Christian denomination was officially started in 1799. The music that was preformed in this church would have been an edition of a hymnal written in 1801 by its founder Reverend Richard Allen. Allen’s hymnal was largely based on the one used by the Methodist Episcopal Church. At the same time, and perhaps more important to Mingus musical development, was his exposure to the music in the Pentecostal church.

The influence of the Pentecostal church is well recorded and noted in Mingus’ biographies written by Santoro and Priestly, and also mentioned in his article in the Groves music online. The Pentecostal church service is a place brimming with energy and spirituality that finds its roots in a spiritual event that lasted for three years between 1906 and 1909 known as the Azusa Street Revival. This time and place is legendary in the American Pentecostal movement and the 312 Azusa Street address is only fifteen miles from Mingus boyhood home. The Pentecostal church service is known for its participants being filled with the Holy Spirit, which may induce dancing, singing, and glossolalia, (speaking in unknown tongues). I believe the raw spiritual emotion that Mingus witnessed during his time at the church informed his ebullient performance practices, including yelling at musicians in his ensemble to encourage them musically.

A number of his works were written in the style of the music that he heard as a child at Holiness church meetings. One such song, titled “Wednesday Night Prayer Meeting” was first recorded in 1959 with Langston Hughes on his “Weary Blues” poetry reading. This continued to be a part of his performance and recording repertoire through 1978. He was obviously referring to the dissatisfaction that the youth of the fifties felt when he exclaimed,

I tire so of hearing people say,
Let things take their course, tomorrow is another day.
I do not need my freedom when I’m dead,
I cannot live on tomorrow’s bread.

By combining Hughes’ words with Mingus’ musical allusion to the African American church the statement was clearly predicting social trends that would occur in the sixties as

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politically aware black youths turned from the teachings of Martin Luther King jr. and the leadership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to embrace the teachings of Malcolm X and the other progenitors of black power ideology."^25

However, in many of Mingus’ pieces there are much more direct references to the energy that he witnessed as a child in the Pentecostal church. One can hear this in Mingus’ “Oh Lord, Don’t Let Them Drop That Atomic Bomb On Me,” originally released on the album *Mingus/Oh Yeah*. Although the song is thoroughly grounded in Mingus’ blues sensibilities, a listener is affronted by his vocals as he wails, moans, and calls to the Lord to rescue him from the possibility of an atomic nightmare. The influence that the church had on him musically is clear. In addition to the musical influence that the Pentecostal church had on him, it also had an effect on his overall spirituality. The contrast between the Pentecostal church and the reserve practices of the African Methodist Episcopal church, including phenomenon such as glossolalia, would have inspired curiosity about religious practices that fell outside of traditional Christianity. As he grew older and more independent of his immediate family, Mingus became very open to a diverse body of spiritual doctrine.

### 2.1.2 Farwell Taylor

It is easy to see that from a very young age Mingus saw himself as a very spiritual person. However, the way that he felt connected with God was very different than the

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connection that he observed of those close to him, who adhered to Western religious practices. The religious philosophy that Mingus found himself most closely aligned with was the Vedanta form of Hinduism, practiced in the United States. The philosophy adhered to by Vedanta was appealing to him from the time he was first initiated, and its inclusiveness would guide his actions in this area throughout his life. In Sue Mingus’ *Tonight at Noon*, she recounts that from the stage early in his career “Mingus would call out all the names of the prophets in a jackhammer roll: “Buda! Moses! Krishna! Confucius! Mohammed! a-a-a-nd Jee-sus Christ!” Then he’d look into the audience and shout one more time: “All the prophets!!” It is necessary to gain at least a cursory understanding of the Vedanta form of the Hindu religion in order to understand the impact that it made in his life artistically.

Mingus was first introduced to Vedanta beliefs as a seventeen old by Farwell Taylor,. Taylor was a painter living in San Francisco during that period. He was an open-minded man who believed that all men were God’s children, something he attributed to his Eastern belief system. His beliefs and actions, perhaps seen by Mingus as having to do directly with his Vedanta influence, would have contrasted sharply with his experiences in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church.

The man considered the spiritual founder of the Vedanta philosophy is Sri Ramakrishna. To followers of the Vedanta faith, Ramakrishna is not unique because of “the originality of his teachings and of his ability as a dynamic organizer but the intensity of his spiritual quest and his ability to attract young Hindu disciples of talent and education to carry on his work.” Writings on Ramakrishna show that he had experiences with Islam and Christianity, and embraced both

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28 Vedanta is a sect of Hinduism.
29 Santoro, 41.
30 Carl T. Jackson, *Vedanta for the West*, (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press), 16.
Muhammad and Christ. It is important to note that Ramakrishna himself only shared his experience and philosophy with a small group of disciples, who spread his teachings through India and the world. One of these disciples was Swami Vivekananda.

Vivekananda was originally responsible for bringing the philosophy of Ramakrishna to the West during the World’s Parliament on Religion, held in America in 1893. His original purpose for traveling to America was not to spread the gospel of Ramakrishna. He arrived instead to acquire funds for humanitarian work in India. Swami Vivekananda was considered by many to be the most dynamic speaker during the seventeen days of meetings of the World’s Parliament on Religion. This conception may have been helped by the fact that Vivekananda was skilled in the use of the English language. He would remain in the United States, lecturing and teaching throughout the country for three years on this first visit. In that time he founded the first Vedanta Society in the Country, located in New York City.

There were probably a few central aspects of Vedanta that appealed to Mingus in particular. Among the reasons that Mingus may have found this religion attractive are its inclusion of all religions, and its belief in the divinity of all people. In his autobiography, Beneath the Underdog, Mingus gives the reader the impression that he had within him a type of spirituality that could not be summed up by the Christian doctrine in which he was raised. The openness of Vedanta more easily allowed for this type of inclination, which probably conflicted with the religious structure of his youth. Another reason that he may have been drawn to this philosophy is that, as expressed by Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, the model for Vedanta ethics “is not the mystic in his cell or the philosopher in his retreat… but the warrior fighting with

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31 Ibid., 20.
32 Ibid., 24-26.
33 Ibid., 33.
righteous indignation the battle against the forces of evil and wickedness.” Mingus was well known for using his popularity and celebrity to expose something that he felt was socially incompatible with what was ideal. This aspect of Hinduism would have been one that matched perfectly Mingus’ disposition throughout his life and expressed through songs like “Fable of Faubus,” which he used as a tool to fight against the evil and wickedness of segregation. Mingus’ dedication to Hinduism would go even beyond the grave, as his widow, Susan, spread his ashes in the Ganges River in January 1959, as part of a ritual designed to facilitate reincarnation.

2.1.3 Simon Rodia

Mingus, who was raised in the Watts section of Los Angeles, CA, was no doubt influenced by the work of Sam Rodia, the Watts Towers. The towers were in their earliest stages when Mingus was a youth and their construction would definitely have an impact on Mingus’ view on artistic perseverance and sacrifice. Rodia began creation of the towers in 1921 and would continue building until 1955, when he moved from the area. The towers are said to be the largest structure ever made by one man alone. Such a creation could never have come to exist without surpassing vision, commitment, passion, and indeed obsession. The towers consist of four structures that measured up to 100 feet tall at times. Their form changed over time as Rodia built and rebuilt the towers. Young Mingus “lived only a block from the towers,

35 Mingus, Tonight at Noon, 3-4.
37 Ibid., 1.
[and] watched Sam build small portions of the sculptures and later remove and rebuild them.”

Although Mingus never received any fame as a visual artist, the process that Rodia exemplified was important in Mingus’ artistic development and in his view on what devotion and sacrifice to a creative endeavor meant.

Mingus moved into the area in late 1922 or early 1923. This means that for his entire life well into adulthood he witnessed the artistic dedication that Rodia displayed towards his art. In order to gain a deeper understanding of the impact this would have had on Mingus’ art, we must get some idea of what the towers meant to the Watts area. The towers began as a simple fence around Rodia’s property. Rodia was consumed with the creation of the towers. “Neighbors said he often worked all night, then went to his job the next morning. Sometimes, they recalled, he would follow this routine for days, not even stopping to eat.”

The decorations that adorned the tower were made from items that were discarded as garbage. His decorations included, but were not limited to, “7-Up bottles and the blue from Phillip’s Milk of Magnesia bottles and Noxzema cream jars. Many of the architectural tiles are from Malibu Potteries where he worked and probably took home broken and rejected pieces, and from other companies including Batchelder Tile. The tableware, broken and whole, includes Fiesta and Harlequin, Bauer, Metlox, Catalina and Canton Ware.” Furthermore, the way that he constructed the tower must have been a spectacular sight for those able to see first hand the process that created the towers. These activities by themselves were enough to cause attention to be drawn to Rodia’s artistic endeavor, but it is hard to surmise the initial reaction by Rodia’s neighbors. It would have been

38 Ibid., 39.
40 Goldstone, 11.
amazing to watch Rodia, who always worked alone on his towers, climbing around the ever rising towers “like a spider on a steel web,” carrying all the equipment necessary for his colossal endeavor in bags and buckets, tied to his body without more than a homemade window washer’s harness for safety. Rodia probably did much of his early building without notice because the area in which he lived was not yet the population center that it would become in later years, and still is today.

It is difficult to pinpoint exactly how the community, which Mingus was a part of, saw the project in the very beginning. By 1939, the towers, named “Nuestro Pueblo,” or “Our Town” by Rodia were being embraced by the community. At the time they were described in a short Los Angeles Times article as “a sight to behold. Their colorings have the brilliance of a peacock’s feathers.” From this article we can see that the towers were viewed as an artistic enriching part of the community.

The construction of the Watts Towers would necessarily have had a great impact on Mingus’ life. First, Rodia worked on the project until Mingus was thirty-four years old. This means that throughout Mingus’ childhood and well into his adult life, he observed Rodia and his creative ambition. Also, since Mingus live only a few blocks away he would have witness the herculean efforts that Rodia put into erecting the towers on a daily basis. Rodia’s odd social behavior must have impacted Mingus. [Simon Rodia’s] “eccentricities included walking out on his family, installing a siren in his car to use to bypass traffic jams and then burying the car next to the towers before and impending police visit, and spending thirty-four years of his life and

42 Goldstone, 1.
43 Koenig, 38.
45 Goldstone, 39.
most of his money building a nonfunctional, albeit universally acclaimed, work of art.” Rodia showed a pure artistic devotion to the project, which had no monetary reward. Rodia’s structure could not have been ignored by Mingus or his peers in the neighborhood that he lived in, and Mingus showed the same type of obsession as he at times in his early career refused to work outside of the music industry to support his family stating, “I’m not no pick and shovel man…I’m made to be a musician. I’m sticking to my music.” This dedication was common among Mingus’ circle of friends, many of whom would go on to have successful careers in the highest some of the most famous groups in jazz. Among the most enduring friends that he had were Britt Woodman, who became a member of the Duke Ellington band, and Buddy Collette, who played with the Chico Hamilton quintet. Woodman in particular was well connected and it was through him that Mingus would make a number of important connections with people who would give him musical insight that would last a lifetime.

2.1.4 Britt Woodman, Buddy Collette, and Other Local Musicians

The Woodman family was under a musically skilled patriarch named Coney. He organized his sons into a small group that was named the Woodman Brothers Biggest Little Band in the World. The Woodman brothers attended Jordan high school along with Mingus. He developed a relationship musically and socially, with the entire Woodman family, and was

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47 Santoro, 59. Quoted from Vivian Mingus. Later he would break from this train of thought as he repeatedly returned to working at the Post Office when music was no longer lucrative.
48 Clara Bryant and others, Central Avenue Sounds: Jazz in Los Angeles, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 12
49 Ibid., 134.
particularly close to Britt Woodman.\textsuperscript{50} Buddy Collette was also a part of this group. He suggests in \textit{Central Avenue Sound}, that it was at his urging Mingus made the switch from cello to bass. Collette says the switch occurred because he told Mingus that if he switched he could play in the band, sight unseen.\textsuperscript{51} Had Mingus continued on cello, even if he had reached the same level of virtuosity, he would have been excluded from jazz because cello was not considered appropriate in the genre at that time, and he would have been excluded from classical music because there were few or no opportunities for African Americans in classical music. During this high school period he also found an early teacher and mentor in Lloyd Reese.

Reese was an important mentor to a variety of students including Mingus. As a performer he played with the Les Hite band along side Marshall Royal, an alto saxophonist who would go on to play with the Count Basie band, but was more attracted to education as a career than performance.\textsuperscript{52} A list of musicians whose development can be attributed, at least in part, to Lloyd Reese includes Mingus along with Buddy Collette, Dexter Gordon, and Eric Dolphy.\textsuperscript{53} Being under Reese’s tutelage was demanding because of his use of a musical system that was grounded in the ability to play and think in all keys through the use of a Roman Numeral system. It was unique because, in addition to learning theory, they also got to apply their theoretical knowledge of music by arranging for a rehearsal band that Reese led weekly.\textsuperscript{54} Along with the knowledge that Mingus gained from Reese, he was also studying with jazz bassist Red Callender and with a former New York Philharmonic bassist Herman Rheinschagen.\textsuperscript{55} Mingus became well versed in respect to his technique as a bassist and in his knowledge of western theory. His

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., 94-96.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., 136-137.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., 40, 343.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., 40.
\textsuperscript{55} Santoro, 37-38.
access to those in his community with a huge degree of national experience and musical skill was an important part of his musical development. Although these musicians were essential to his musical growth, Mingus would also receive musical inspiration from outside the Los Angeles city limits.

2.1.5 Jelly Roll Morton and the New Orleans Influence

One of the earliest types of music that Mingus was exposed to as a professional probably would have been New Orleans style jazz. California gained an authentic scene in the style because of the movement that many greats of the style made from New Orleans to Los Angeles. Beginning in 1907 musicians began to migrate from New Orleans to Los Angeles. Well known musicians who were steeped in the New Orleans tradition such as Freddie Keppard and George Baquet, among others, made Los Angeles a permanent base of operations by the second decade of the twentieth century. While in the area, they formed the original Creole band, which toured nationally.\(^56\) The arrival of Ferdinand “Jelly” Roll Morton in Los Angeles certainly would have boosted the cities reputation as a center for New Orleans styled music by the 1917.\(^57\) Morton performed throughout California, Washington, Colorado, parts of Mexico and Canada for the next six years. However, most of his time was spent in the Los Angeles Area. While in Los Angeles Morton had an association with many other musicians in the area at the time, but most important in uncovering his musical influence on Charles Mingus would certainly have to be his association with trombonist William “Pops” Woodman (mistakenly called “Pops” Woodward by

\(^{56}\) Bryant, 5.

Morton on several occasions\textsuperscript{58,59}). Woodman owned an amusement park with a hall called Leak’s Lake, where Morton performed throughout much of 1922. Proof that this was a positive working relationship can be seen in the fact that Morton went as far as to facilitate performances by Joe “King” Oliver.\textsuperscript{60} “Pops” Woodman was the father of Britt Woodman, a long time friend of Mingus. Mingus would grow to see the Woodman household as a “safe-haven,” and was close to the family and participated at times in the Woodman family band.\textsuperscript{61} Also Morton “moved to the west Coast in the early 1940’s in an attempt to once again rekindle his career, but he died on July 10, 1941, in Los Angeles, California.”\textsuperscript{62} Morton returned to Los Angeles, in part, because of performances guaranteed by “Reb” Spikes.\textsuperscript{63} “Pops” Woodman was one of the musicians who worked continuously in Los Angeles from the twenties through the forties and perhaps beyond. It is reasonable to believe that during the period in 1940 and 1941, when Morton was in the Los Angeles area, that he would have visited Woodman his former employer perhaps as a friend or perhaps seeking work.

There is no solid evidence that indicates that Morton and Mingus ever worked together. However, it is safe to assume, based on the closeness that Mingus felt to Britt Woodman and his entire family, not to mention the music that he learned from the family, that Mingus learned a great deal about the music Morton was playing through the Sr. Woodman. Mingus’ awareness of Morton and his work are evident in his pieces titled \textit{Jelly Roll} and \textit{My Jelly Roll Soul}. On those pieces, as John Handy told me in an interview, Mingus’ goal was for parts of that tune to

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 198.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., 75, 124.
\textsuperscript{61} Santoro, 28-29.
\textsuperscript{63} Spikes was an area entrepreneur and bandleader.
be in an older New Orleans style.\textsuperscript{64} By most accounts, Mingus felt a “wounded kinship with… Morton.”\textsuperscript{65} He certainly would have seen Morton as the first great jazz composer and found a level of admiration in the way Morton shaped the sound of jazz through his compositions, and also because of the way that he shaped jazz through his use of the ensemble as a form of expression. Mingus would be enamored with the ensemble throughout his career, and one of his greatest heroes was a man who was a master in terms of the manipulation of the jazz ensemble, Duke Ellington.

2.1.6 Duke Ellington

Another musician who had a great deal of influence over the development of Mingus was Edward Kennedy “Duke” Ellington. Ellington was born in 1899, and beginning in the 1920 has often been cited as America’s most important composer, but just as often completely ignored in the discussion of American music.\textsuperscript{66} Mingus imitated Duke Ellington on a number of levels, even going so far as to bill himself “Barron” Mingus for his 1948-1949 recordings with Dolphins of Hollywood and Fentone Record Companies.\textsuperscript{67} The parallels between Mingus and Ellington seem to have been there as long as Mingus was nationally recognized. The most important influence on Mingus was the way that Ellington used his ensemble. This influence can be seen in pieces such as “Daybreak Express.” This piece provides a direct example of how Mingus was inspired Ellington. In “Daybreak Express” Ellington used the band to imitate a train. Ellington immediately brought this image to mind through a band figure in which the drummer played

\textsuperscript{64} John Handy, interviewed by Ernest A. Horton, June 22, 2004.
\textsuperscript{65} Santoro, 70.
even eighth notes with brushes on the snare and most of the horns accent the down beat of each measure, with a few playing a four note figure that drops a third and then rises by step to the first note in figure one. This figure rises chromatically and at the same time the tempo accelerates.

**Figure 1 Ellington’s chromatic "Train" line**

This creates the effect for the listener of a locomotive gaining momentum. Eventually the locomotive reaching full speed is represented by the snare and banjo playing quarter notes and the acoustic bass playing on beats one and three. Ellington would often use musical devices to represent non-abstract concepts. In this case he was representing a train, but in songs such as “Echoes of the Jungle,” and “Caravan” there were representations of the jungle and there are other such examples throughout his music.

Mingus would imitate Ellington’s train effect closely in his “Shuffle Stop Boogie,” using the snare drum and accents within the band to create the same locomotive effect. Mingus would also use these types of sonic representations at many important points in his career, including his abstract use of traditional jazz instruments to create the sonic image of the San Francisco waterfront in his version of “A Foggy Day”.

The fact that Ellington influenced Mingus is evident when one considers how Mingus created dense, rich harmony within the ensemble. The harmonies that can be heard on

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70 Since, at that point in his life, he had never been to London, this version was subtitled “In San Francisco” instead of Gershwin’s original subtitle, “In Londontown.” Charles Mingus, *Charles Mingus: The Complete Atlantic Recordings 1956-1961*. compact disc, Atlantic Recording Corporation, R2 72871, 1997, liner notes, 27
“Inspiration,” recorded in 1949,\textsuperscript{71} which shares elements with songs from Ellington’s early works such as “The Mooche” and “Awful Sad,” both recorded in 1928. When the Ellington band was first gaining popularity in the 1920s most Los Angeles clubs did not allow African Americans in any capacity, but by 1930 segregated Los Angeles nightclubs began to hire African American employees, including entertainers. This advance, on its own, would have done no good to Mingus at that time. He could not have attended a 1930 performance at the nightclubs in Los Angeles that Ellington performed since he was both black and eight, but in addition to their live performances “by 1930 blacks could listen nightly to live half-hour radio remote broadcasts from clubs that refused their patronage.”\textsuperscript{72} It was through these broadcasts that Mingus would first be exposed to Ellington’s music.\textsuperscript{73} Ellington’s dress, demeanor, and his music would all act as factors that would inspire Mingus throughout his professional career.

\textbf{2.1.7 Red Norvo, Fats Navarro and the Impact of Race on Mingus’ Life}

One of the issues that would at the same time haunt and inspire Mingus’ life and music was race issues. Racial boundaries, and their social ramifications, have always been a part of American life. Due to his own ethnic background and his larger than life behavior Mingus was always at odds with these boundaries. Mingus’ political sensibilities would forever be informed by his racial experiences and how he defined them.

\textsuperscript{71} Charles Mingus, \textit{Charles Mingus Complete 1945-1949 West Coast Recordings}. Jazz Factory, JFCD22825, Compact Disc.
\textsuperscript{73} Priestley, 6.
The Mingus family had a rich cultural heritage in the early twentieth century when discrimination against minorities was the norm. Based purely on physical characteristics Mingus was an outsider in all groups. While he was considered black, there were times in his youth when he was even rejected by African Americans because of his complexion.

His most mentionable acquaintances outside of music were a Japanese family named Okes. As is illustrated through his account in *Beneath the Underdog*, the Okes were generous to Mingus, teaching him about aspects of their culture, including Judo, which helped to build young Mingus’ confidence. One jarring example of racial injustice may have been when Mingus realized that the Okes, like most people of Japanese descent throughout the country during World War II, were forced from their homes and into an internment camp. Perhaps this was part of the motivation to falsify test results and receive a 4-F rating that would forever exclude him from military service.

Another individual who had a profound impact on Mingus’ views in this area was trumpeter Fats Navarro. Navarro’s path crossed Mingus’ in early 1950. His influence is best captured in Mingus’ autobiography. Looking at Mingus’ account as a summary, Navarro related views on race, money, and how those two issues related to each other within the politics of the music business.

It is also important to be familiar with the experiences that Mingus encountered as a professional musician, and how they may have informed the decisions to include political subjects in some of his works. The professional experience that stands out the most as far as

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76 Santoro, 55-56.
77 Ibid., 77.
78 Mingus, *Beneath the Underdog*, 185-192.
shaping Mingus’ view of race as it pertained to business was the experience that he had while working with Red Norvo 1950 through 1951.\textsuperscript{79} The Norvo group was a revolutionary music ensemble that is said to have been a predecessor to the Modern Jazz Quartet. Mingus first worked with the group while it was working with Billy Holiday, and would leave a secure job at the Post office to resume his music career in Norvo’s trio.\textsuperscript{80} Mingus’ relationship with Norvo went well beyond that of a band member, Norvo was often consulted over issues as diverse as women and composition.\textsuperscript{81} Norvo even exerted influence over the planning of his wedding with his wife Celia.\textsuperscript{82}

One of the curiosities involving Mingus during that period was his roll in the group as an African American. It would seem as if the circumstances could act as a step forward for race relations. During that period an interracial music group was significant. Mingus was playing in many high profile, segregated establishments, and allowing his racial identity to pass as ambiguous. It was during this period that his lifelong friend, Buddy Collette was moving to desegregate the Hollywood music scene through an integrated community orchestra that performed weekly. Instead of using his success with the Norvo trio to act as an African American trailblazer, he allowed his racial status to remain nebulous, taking advantage of his light complexion and straightening his hair.\textsuperscript{83} This willing denial must have made it even more painful when he was replaced for the group’s television debut. Officially the reason that Mingus was not allowed to perform was that he was not a member of New York Local 802. Mingus saw this as a racial conspiracy and felt Norvo was complicit. It was clear to Mingus that the reason that he was not able to appear with the band on television was racial. It was under this

\textsuperscript{79} Santoro, 93.  
\textsuperscript{80} Priestley, 42.  
\textsuperscript{81} Santoro, 94.  
\textsuperscript{82} Priestley, 43.  
\textsuperscript{83} Santoro, 90.
circumstance that he would quit the band and pursue music in New York City.\textsuperscript{84} His animosity towards his former bandleader would be magnified when in 1952 while performing a weeklong date with Billy Taylor in Boston’s Storyville. “The club’s owner, George Wein, told Mingus he’d paid the Norvo trio $900 a week. Norvo always said the trio was a cooperative, but Mingus had not been paid $300. Instantly he crescendoed[sic.] into a soliloquy about coop bands and white man’s world and slave labor, and hurled an ashtray at the wall.”\textsuperscript{85}

As a composer Mingus would often find ways to use his music to make statements about racial injustice. Sometimes through the lyrical content of his songs as in “Fables of Faubus” made condemned the use of the Arkansas National Guard to keep school children out of school,\textsuperscript{86} or in “Eclipse” a song in which Mingus used the imagery of a natural phenomenon to represent interracial love.\textsuperscript{87} In other examples Mingus would give a song a politically charge title even if the song was not conceived with a given situation in mind. Such is the case with “Remember Rockefeller at Attica,”\textsuperscript{88} which was titled because of the conditions that brought about the 1971 prison riot, and the probe into the conditions at that prison, ordered by then New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller. His early experiences would compel Mingus to create these and other pieces that would address some of the social inequities that he was a party to throughout his life.

\textsuperscript{84} Priestley, 44.
\textsuperscript{85} Santoro, 98
\textsuperscript{86} Mingus, \textit{Mingus, More Than Just a Fake Book}, 47.
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid., 40
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid., 116.
It is important in understanding the musical development of Charles Mingus as a young professional that we do not view his absence from 52nd street and the burgeoning music style of bebop that was developing there in the early to mid forties as a sign that Mingus was any less of a musician than those blessed by proximity to this musically prime real estate in New York. As a matter of circumstance “until late 1945, for L.A. jazz musicians, bebop was mostly hearsay. It was a New York thing, grown during the recording ban and the war, and it made little impact outside a small circle of musicians and intellectuals in the city jazz players dubbed the big Apple. So bop was far from twenty-three-year-old Mingus’s [sic.] mind.” Mingus was one of a group of musicians who was going through very muscular musical development at the same time that bebop was being formed. There is no denying that bebop was a part of the body of larger ideas that Mingus drew from. As bebop first gained popularity in California, between 1945 and 1950, Mingus was one of the musicians that was performing and recording with bebop musicians from the East Coast who were associated directly with the innovations in New York. Santoro offers evidence of this in the discography that he includes in Myself When I Am Real: The Life and Music of Charles Mingus, in which he notes a 1946 recording with Howard McGhee, the

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90 Santoro, 65.
91 Ibid., 422.
trumpeter who recorded with Coleman Hawkins as Hawkins first began exploring bebop.\textsuperscript{92} Mingus also participated in a 1947 recording with the Earl Hines and his Orchestra\textsuperscript{93}, an ensemble whose importance to bebop is defined in section 4.1.1. As would be true throughout his career, Mingus was open to incorporating this and any other musical styles that he admired. For Mingus, bebop was not the basis of his music, but instead one of a number of elements that could be used as part of his compositional pallet. Examining his recordings as a leader during that five-year period offers evidence that bebop was not even the primary influence on his music until after 1950. However, Mingus was still involved in innovation. The advanced musical concepts that Mingus used can be seen in the wide variety of music that he was involved with as a young group leader in California. The greatest evidence of the development that Mingus went through, before he was known nationally, are the recordings that were available between 1945 through 1949. These early recordings warrant careful examination in order to understand their importance and their place within the context of Mingus’ life and music.

\section*{3.1 Mingus’ Early Popular Music Endeavors}

The music on the compilation CD \textit{Charles Mingus: Complete 1945-1949 West Coast Recordings} cannot be easily categorized. One of the most obvious musical factors that can be used to divide these early recordings is “danceability”. All of the tempos for the music recorded by Mingus’ groups before 1948 were between 68 and 198 beats per minute.\textsuperscript{94} This is a wide range of tempos, but all of the pieces had steady tempos throughout and these tempos all could

\textsuperscript{92} DeVeaux, 390.
\textsuperscript{93} Santoro, 423.
\textsuperscript{94} Charles Mingus, \textit{Complete 1945-1949 West Coast Recordings}, compact disc, JFCD22825, The Jazz Factory.
be used for the various styles of couples dancing of the era. The forties was a transitional period in which big band swing begins to give way to rhythm and blues as a popular dance genre among African Americans, a trend that would eventually hold true for the entire nation. California attracted people from all over the South and Southwestern parts of the United States and fused the blues music of these regions, its own local styles, and the most recent trends in the jazz world to form two styles known as “club” blues and “jump” blues. “The former was based on the cool, detached, piano-guitar pairing of the [Nat] King Cole trio whereas the latter was patterned on the hot aggressive horn sound of the [Louis Jordan and his] Tympany [sic] Five.”

These popular styles were likely to draw larger audiences and were based upon musical conventions that Mingus was very familiar with. Charles Mingus: Complete 1945-1949 West Coast Recordings contains examples that were obviously meant for this genre in addition to other music that was probably not conceived with dancing in mind. The evidence that he was aware of and using the conventions of Rhythm and Blues are in the music itself.

There are a great number of aspects that prove that the pieces that Mingus recorded before 1948 should be included in the musical category Rhythm and Blues. The best way to understand Mingus work in this particular genre is to compare and contrast this work with that of Louis Jordan.

3.1.1 The Influence of the Music of Louis Jordan

Jordan, an Arkansas native, was born in 1908 in a small town named Brinkley. He studied music at Arkansas Baptist College in Little Rock. After College he moved to North

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Philadelphia and later on to New York City. Among his many credits as a sideman were the Rabbit Foot Minstrels, and the Chick Webb Big Band. After leaving the Chick Webb band, after the death of its leader, Jordan formed his Tympany five group. Jordan’s career peak was from the end of the thirties until the middle of the fifties. His popularity can be measured by the fifty-seven top forty hits as listed by Billboard.

Jordan’s work in rhythm and blues forms a perfect baseline because he is one of the pioneers in the style. Additionally, as mentioned above, Mingus, along with the rest of California, was heavily influenced by his music. In providing this kind of evidence it was important to choose a song from the repertoire of Jordan and Mingus that was comparable. Although Mingus was not recorded extensively in this style, there does exist more than enough material to make this kind of assertion. From Mingus’ recordings I chose “Ain’t Jivin,” and from Jordan’s the 1946 recording of “Let the Good Times Roll.”

Jordan was also an effective influence on Mingus because of the place he held, due to his musical ability, in the jazz community. In scholarly writing, Jordan is usually dismissed as a part of popular culture, a culture that until recently was not considered “high brow” enough to even warrant consistent rigorous academic attention as the subject of scholarship. Upon closer investigation it becomes easy to see that Jordan would have been well respected in the Jazz community, particularly before the musical techniques and social dynamics of bebop asserted themselves. As mentioned above, Jordan came to prominence in the big band of Chick Webb, a music contemporary of and competitor with the more famous Count Basie band. During this period of time, after formal study at the college level and stints with less well-known ensembles,

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Jordan was described as “a highly accomplished alto saxophonist in the mold of Benny Carter.” It was also said “Jordan’s [solo playing] remains firmly grounded in a traditional jazz dialect. His deep scoops and wide vibrato borrow liberally from Johnny Hodge’s renowned alto sound. His performance in general retains all of the features of the swing-era ‘head arrangement’ style built around steady rhythmic flow and simple background riffs. Such an approach to jazz performance and composition clearly suggests the scaled down version of the ‘classic’ Count Basie ensembles of the 1930s and 1940s.”

This evidence leads conclusively to the fact that Mingus borrowing from the conventions of rhythm and blues should not be looked upon as a talented musician “dumbing down” his repertoire in order to increase his profit margin, instead it is clearly a case of a probing composer seeking to exhaust all outlets of creative expression. The musical possibilities available through rhythm and blues would have been as inspiring to Mingus as any other jazz based musical form. This statement is especially strengthened in light of the fact that by most accounts, even at the beginning of the 1946 appearance of the Dizzy Gillespie/Charlie Parker quintet at Billy Berg’s Supper Club in Hollywood, Mingus remained unimpressed by bebop. Mingus even went so far as to say the area saxophonist Buddy Collette was a better player than Charlie Parker because of his tone and melodic style, which was reminiscent of Johnny Hodges. This likening to Hodges was also, as noted above, used to describe Jordan, further evidence that Mingus may have felt a musical admiration for Jordan, although this admiration is not mentioned in any of the Mingus literature.

It becomes obvious from the first listening that Mingus’ piece was highly influenced by Jordan, as there are a great number of similarities. Although this specific recording of “Let the

99 Ibid., 46.
100 Ibid., 53.
101 Priestly, 28.
102 Santoro, 65-66.
Good Times Roll” was recorded five months after “Ain’t Jivin,” Jordan was already quite well known throughout the country at this point and the popularity of his group among African Americans from the beginning of the forties guaranteed that his music would act as a source of inspiration for others. Also “Let the Good Times Roll” is a significant piece because though it did not attain the number one spot, it held a ranking within the top forty for 23 weeks.\textsuperscript{103} The first and perhaps must important similarity is the use of the twelve bar blues harmonic structure.

Dr. Nathan Davis of the University of Pittsburgh states in his book \textit{Writings in Jazz} “to know the Blues is to know hardship.”\textsuperscript{104} Groves online dictionary defines the blues as

“A secular, predominantly black American folk music of the 20th century, which has a history and evolution separate from, but sometimes related to, that of jazz. From obscure and largely undocumented rural American origins, it became the most extensively recorded of all traditional music types. It has been subject to social changes that have affected its character. Since the early 1960s blues has been the most important single influence on the development of Western popular music.”\textsuperscript{105}

Although it is generally agreed that the blues should be seen as a derivative of spirituals or field holler or perhaps both, its point of origination will forever remain a victim of the times in which it developed. In its earliest forms it had no harmony and was performed either in unison or solo. Early on the blues was recognized because of its melodic use of the minor third interval. “The seemingly downward thrust suggested by the lowered third produced the ‘blue’ feeling that is associated with the blues.\textsuperscript{106} This minor third was and still is one of the essential elements of

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{103} Whitburn, 233.
\item\textsuperscript{104} Davis, 91.
\item\textsuperscript{106} Nathan Davis (with a chapter by Ursula Davis Professor of Communications Penn State University, Behrend College), \textit{African American Music: A Philosophical Look at African American Music in Society}, (Needham Heights, MA: Simon & Schuster Custom Publishing, 1996), 14
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
the blues, although a song need not necessarily contain the minor third in order to be categorized blues.

In theory the blues began to develop its harmonic structure between the American Revolutionary War and the American Civil War. As the blues developed it would take on eight, sixteen, and twenty-four bar forms, but the most common was the twelve bar blues. In standard western notation the harmonic structure of the blues can be expressed as follows:

**Figure 2 A Simple blues chord progression**

![Simple blues chord progression](image)

William Christopher Handy first published this chord structure specifically as “blues”. It forms the basis for a tremendous amount of popular music throughout the world including Mingus’ “Ain’t Jivin” and Jordan’s “Let the Good Times Roll.”

The tempo of “Let the Good Times Roll” measured at 106 beats per minute. This piece saw Jordan’s tenor voice in the key of G. It contained twelve full choruses of the twelve bar blues harmonic structure. This piece began with a horn introduction that lasted one full chorus, the first of six total. After the initial introductory chorus all of the following choruses prominently feature vocals. The fourth chorus, in contrast with choruses two, three, and five.

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made use of a convention widely known in jazz and popular music as stop time. During the stop
time chorus the band plays only on the first pulse of each measure in rhythmic unison. This
leaves empty musical space for the rest of the measure. During this space Jordan is featured as a
vocalist. To end this piece we hear for the second and final time the three horns that played on
the introductory phrase played in the final phrase of the piece.109

“Ain’t Jivin,” a song attributed to Mingus-Cyor (the Mingus being Charles Mingus and
the second name an unknown contributor), shares a great number of attributes with “Let the
Good Times Roll.” As with the first song, “Ain’t Jivin” measures at 106 beats per minute, and
both songs contain six complete choruses of the twelve bar blues form. Mingus’ piece also
makes use of stop time. The tonal center of the two pieces lie very close to one another as the
Mingus song is in the key of A flat. Additionally the male vocalist on the recording, Claude
Trenier, has a vocal range that is similar to Louis Jordan’s.

3.1.2 An Analysis of Louis Jordan’s “Let the Good Times Roll”

Rhythm and Blues of the forties was not far a field, stylistically speaking, from the blues
numbers performed by swing bands during the war years. Mingus was not working with the
musicians who were receiving accolades nationally as rhythm and blues musicians, but his depth
of knowledge of music in the styles of swing and traditional New Orleans music would serve
him well as he capitalized on the opportunities available in Los Angeles for those making this
type of music. By taking advantage of his ability to provide a growing audience of rhythm and

109 Louis Jordan, Let the Good Times Roll: The Anthology 1938-1953, compact disc, MCAD2-11907, MCA Records
inc.
blues devotees with the style of music that they found most appealing, Mingus could insure that he could sustain himself, and his other musical ambitions, more comfortably.

However, one must remember that in addition to the financial rewards that may have been accessible, Mingus was also creating music that fully realized his creative impulses. While on the surface it may seem that these are run of the mill commercial pieces of music, when they are analyzed in depth it becomes clear that what makes these pieces is in the detail. Again using the Louis Jordan’s music as a theoretical base line it is easy to see that there are a great number conventions that were not standard for rhythm and blues in “Ain’t Jivin.” Through comparative analysis we can see that it is the use of elaborate jazz concepts that separate this piece from the standard Rhythm and Blues as performed by Jordan.

To the casual listener the first signal that this piece was conceived differently than Jordan’s has to do with the use of time and space by the instruments backing the vocalists. In Jordan’s version it is abundantly clear that the delivery of the vocal part is of great importance. The texture of the musical arrangement, as well as the way the instruments share the musical space with Jordan’s vocals are a reflection of that fact. The introduction to “Let the Good Times Roll,” is twelve bars long with the horns playing the melodic line written below. Two of the three horns, trumpet and alto saxophone, playing in unison and the third horn, tenor saxophone, playing the same line an octave lower.
Figure 3 Introductory melody for "Let the Good Times Roll"

The identifiable “bluesy” parts of this particular line lies in the use of the minor third over the dominant chord in measures four, seven, and ten. This section is a particularly effective introduction because of the power and effect of the horns, playing in octaves and unison, convey.

From this introduction we move to the first vocal chorus. The introduction serves as a foil to the musical contrast that occurs when Jordan’s vocals enter. In the first measure of the song the horns are tacit and the rhythm section accompanies Jordan. In the second measure the trumpet, piano, and guitar play solo lines that are independent of each other. Although the solo lines are improvised, their spatial relationship with Jordan’s vocal melody is not. The space that is used by the soloist is meticulously choreographed to insure that Jordan’s voice will be the prominent musical feature throughout the body of the piece. In this transcription the top line represents Jordan’s vocal melody and the bottom line is the improvised piano melody.
Among the important aspects in keeping the vocal melody as the focal point is the way that the pianist carefully plays sparse background figures, or rests simultaneously. Here Jordan is articulating the main melody. This facilitates the clear and easy expression of words of the songs without competition. This is particularly important because each vocal choruses has a different set of lyrics. The above transcription shows how careful the accompanist is to avoid
busy solo lines when the vocal melody is active. As a soloist, the pianist usually remains dormant while the vocal melody is active. The pianist is most active when Jordan is either resting or when he is holding a long syllable. When the latter occurs, the long note (which usually occurs on A3) is the second syllable of the word “roll” and does not lose its clarity as a result of being accompanied by the underlying melody.

3.1.3 Comparing the Rhythm and Blues of Jordan and Mingus

A similar in-depth analysis of Mingus “Ain’t Jivin” reveals that it has a series of sharply contrasting details with “Let the Good Times Roll.” The first contrast is revealed when we look at the harmonic foundations that each of the pieces is based on. Although both songs are based on the blues, there is a great difference in the way that each artist treats the blues. Looking at the standard twelve bar blues form, as it is written out in figure two page twenty-eight, we see that both artists deviate from the standard form. The blues form that Jordan uses is as follows:

**Figure 5 Chord changes for Louis Jordan's "Let the Good Times Roll"**

![Chord changes for Louis Jordan's "Let the Good Times Roll"](image)

Jordan makes three substitutions in his version. The first is the use of the tonic chord in the second measure in place of the subdominant. This is a common substitution that is easily
acceptable to the ear because the subdominant chord in the second chord is an anticipation of measures four and five. The next substitution that Jordan makes occurs in measures nine and ten. The progression of these two measures, subdominant to dominant, leads to the tonic chord at the end of the phrase. This motion is similar to a perfect cadence. The most important function of these two chords is to lead back to the tonic chord. Jordan substitutes the supertonic for the dominant and the dominant for the subdominant. The supertonic to dominant to tonic chord, or II-V-I progression, is very common in western music and used widely in jazz and popular music. By the nineteen forties listeners would have found this cadential substitution pedestrian.

The chord substitutions that Mingus used for the main harmonic underpinning to his piece are far more extensive.

**Figure 6 Chord changes for Mingus’ "Ain't Jivin"

![Chord changes for Mingus’ "Ain't Jivin"

In comparison with the standard blues as quoted from Nathan Davis’ *African American Music*, the only chords that are not altered are in measures four and five. However, careful examination shows that these changes represent great embellishment, but still adhere strictly to the essential elements of the basic harmonic structure. This realization can be best expressed by analyzing the pieces in four measure chunks, and then looking at the form in its entirety.

Compare the first four bars of the harmonic progression of the standard blues, in figure two, with the first four bars of “Ain’t Jivin.” The progression in the standard blues is I(7)-IV(7)-

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I(7)-I(7) each chord change lasting for one measure. Basically in these four measures we see a stable tonic chord interrupted only by the plagal cadence in the second measure. All of the chords in the standard blues have a dominant seventh chord quality. Thus the tonic chord creates the tension that is resolved when the subdominant is reached in the fifth measure. Taken at its basic premise Mingus’ substitutions serve the same functions, only exaggerated. The progression of the first four bars of “Ain’t Jivin,” in roman numerals, are I(6)-II(min7), raised I(7)-I(6)-I(7). The II(min7) chord (which in the key of A flat is B flat min7) acts as a substitute chord for the IV(7) (D flat 7) chord, which is standard in the blues harmonic structure, as illustrated in figure 2.

In the first four measures of “Ain’t Jivin” the stability is accentuated by the fact that the first and third measure are major sixth chords. The major sixth is a very stable chord. Mingus’ piece, just as the tonic in the standard blues, is interrupted in the second bar by a cadence. In this case the plagal cadence is replaced by a variation on the II-V-I progression. It begins on the II chord (B flat minor) and then instead of moving to the five chord (E flat dominant) it moves to the tritone substitution (A(7)). This type of chord substitution is common in jazz because the third of E flat dominant, the note G natural, is the same as the seventh of the A dominant chord, and the seventh of the E flat dominant chord, D flat (the enharmonic of C sharp), is the third of the A dominant chord. The use of the II-V-I progression in the place of the plagal cadence creates the feeling of harmonic motion, but perhaps with a greater sense or tension, particularly when taking into account the chromatic base motion that the second measure leading into the third measure has in the Mingus piece. This substitution also provides another reason why Mingus may have used the I major sixth chord instead of the I dominant seventh chord. In using a cadence that has such a great degree of harmonic tension it is more satisfying to the ear to hear
the chord resolve fully instead of going immediately to another dominant chord. The use of the tonic chord with a dominant quality, as is the case in the standard blues, is delayed in “Ain’t Jivin’” until the fourth measure. This actually gives the chord more harmonic weight. The major sixth chord built on the tonic, particularly because of the II-V-I progression, is a stationary harmony. When it transitions in the fourth bar it presents the listener with a sound that needs to be resolved to the subdominant in measure five.

In the next section the listener is again confronted with a myriad of chord substitutions that, when viewed on paper, would seem to obscure its harmonic integrity, but analysis leaves no doubt that it is clearly grounded in the standard blues form. In bars five through eight of the standard blues there are two tonalities. The first is IV dominant seventh chord, which lasts for two bars and the second is I dominant seventh chord, which also lasts for two bars. Mingus’ version is an elaboration on that structure. During the two bars in which the standard form is in the IV dominant seventh chord tonality “Ain’t Jivin’” has one bar of the IV dominant seventh chord chord and one bar with the sharp V minor seven flat five for two beats and the sharp II dominant seventh chord for two beats. Using the IV dominant seventh chord establishes that this section is congruent with the standard blues. The next measure has something of a surprise. Although Mingus has already conditioned the listener to accept the sharp II, the sharp V is something of a surprise. Because of its short duration and its clear association with the sharp II that the sharp V is heard as something unfamiliar. The next two bars on the standard blues remains static, holding on the I dominant seventh chord. This provides a point of emphasis on the chord. Mingus also emphasis the tonic, but he does it with tonal motion. Mingus establishes the I dominant seventh chord for two beats and then moves to the II minor chord. This is followed in the next measure with the sharp I chord, which in turn resolves to the I dominant
seventh chord. This is the same cadence used in the second bar of the form. This motion emphasizes the tonic chord in the same fashion that it was in its earlier appearance.

The final four bars of the form also parallel those of the standard form. The ninth bar of the standard form is the V dominant seventh chord chord. Mingus’ alteration in this case is sharp V minor seventh flat five to the V dominant seventh chord. The minor seventh flat five is built upon a diminished triad, a chord that is inherently unstable in western music. It is use here as a substitute for the II minor chord. This substitution is effective not because the sharp V, minor seventh, flat five, makes a good substitute for the II minor, but because of the tri-tone substitution principal, thus the sharp I is a substitute for the V. Because of this it is possible to substitute any of the chords in a II-V-I progression with the chord a tri-tone away and have a coherent resolution. That is the case in this measure. In measure ten of the form, the sharp V minor seventh, flat five, to sharp I dominant seventh chord is substituted for the IV dominant seventh chord. This is aurally acceptable because it is serving the harmonic function established in measure six. This commonality becomes the source of continuity and familiarity. It is this continuity and familiarity that allows such a dissonant harmonic progression. The final two bars emphasis the tonic chord in both the standard blues and “Ain’t Jivin.” Mingus added a sort of harmonic exclamation point by inserting another sharp II(7) chord before the last bar.

There are also a number of differences in the two pieces when the specific analysis of the horns is taken into account. While Jordan’s introduction jolts the listener with the power of the horn section, Mingus introduces his piece in a much more subtle manner. He begins “Ain’t Jivin” using a four bar duet between bass and piano. The most interesting aspect of the introduction is the melodic bass line that he creates.
The upper line represents the piano and the lower line Mingus’ bass line. The beginning of the line is clearly diatonic. In the third bar of the introduction he begins to use chromatic motion. The first triplet of the third measure outlines the tonic chord. The triplet on the first beat of the same measure simply outlines the dominant triad, which was voiced in the preceding half measure by the piano. Through the use of chromatic anticipation the second beat of the triplet figure emphasizes the last note, the E flat. The same anticipation is used to emphasize the B flat in beat three. The use of a chromatic embellishment serves as more than a simple show of Mingus’ coordination as a bassist. It is an effective strategy which prepares the listener for the A natural, a tone that is not diatonic in the key of A flat. Although set in delicacy of a piano/bass duet, the dissonance of this solo chromatic bass motion has as much power for the listener as Jordan’s horn introduction. This is especially evident in light of the fact that this figure occurs in the first four bars of the piece.

There is a tremendous difference in the way the instrumental arrangements of the vocals is presented. As opposed to Jordan’s piece, where the vocal is prominent, in the Mingus piece the voice acts as a part of the greater musical texture. This is evidenced by the sustained
harmonic pads that the horns play throughout each measure that the melody is present. Also where Jordan’s horn arrangement is done in unison Mingus uses much denser harmonies. These complex harmonies draw some of the attention of the total song away from the attention away from the vocalist because instead of the horn parts often play at the same time as the vocals. Instead of creating the effect of a background this section sounds as if the vocals are the lead line of a polyphony that includes the horns. In many ways this weakens the prominence of the lyrics, but at the same time makes the song as a whole a strong and unique artistic statement.

As a result of this comparative analysis of Louis Jordan’s version of “Let the Good Times Roll” and “Ain’t Jivin,” Mingus is observed as having incorporated a style that is popularly used in African American music outside of the straight ahead swing jazz that was the standard in jazz in the 1940s pre-bebop. This is something that Mingus would do again and again throughout his career. The most important difference between these two examples is in the details of arrangement of the ensembles. Jordan’s music represents the most popular format of African American music of the 1940s. He was not only important because of his popularity, but also because of the superior musicianship of all of his endeavors. Mingus’ use of 1940s rhythm and blues shows that he was in tune with the most cutting edge music that was available to him at the time.

3.2 MINGUS’ MORE ARTISTIC EARLY ENDEAVORS

Another important aspect of this early recording is Mingus’ use of more complex musical settings. This is particularly important considering that when this piece was recorded he had not yet found his place within the world of bebop, and yet was able to create very harmonically
complex pieces that rivaled bebop in their musical intellectuality. Although this work has a clear leaning towards the desire for commercial success, other works of this period show Mingus in a more artistic light. Pieces in this category are important because they show the artistic development that Mingus was moving towards before he was influenced by bebop, and that he stayed with those elements while at the same time integrating new ideas, throughout his career.

3.2.1 Mingus’ Early Big Band Recordings

Among the important aspects of this period is the use of larger ensembles as a musical pallet. Although most of the recordings of this period contain a Mingus band of no more that eight musicians, there are two songs that are performed by a twenty piece jazz band. There are at least two obvious influences from popular non-dance big bands of the era that are discernible in this recording. The layering, use of instruments in the lower register, and the transitions between sections in “The Story of Love,” are reminiscent of some of the devices used by the Stan Kenton orchestra. Also, the double time unison melody lines in the brass is reminiscent of the writing that Gillespie was doing for his own group, and the Woody Herman band. All of these bands were well known by the forties and had recordings that were available to the general public. There are also a few more obvious signs within the recording itself that allow the listener to assume that Mingus was at least acknowledging Gillespie and was well aware of the Kenton group. First, he named the ensemble “Charlie Mingus and His 22 piece Bebop Band.” Although he was slow to accept it as an influential jazz style, bebop had made its impact in California with various groups playing at Billy Berg’s nightclub beginning in 1945.\footnote{DeVeaux, 364.}
As for the Kenton influence, what cannot be surmised simply by listening to the piece, is made up for upon inspection of the personnel of the ensemble. As stated in the liner notes of *Charlie Mingus: Complete 1945-1949 West Coast Recordings* a large number of the sidemen in the ensemble were members of the Stan Kenton Orchestra. This allows for two safe assumptions. The first is that Mingus was well aware of the musicianship of the Kenton orchestra because he had the confidence in its member’s ability to execute his music. The second assumption that can be made via this recording is Mingus’ prowess as a composer in the traditional sense. For many of his future recordings he would teach ensembles by singing each individual their melodic lines. Teaching music in that manner takes a tremendous amount of time and effort, and the difficulty of such an endeavor increases exponentially as the number of personnel in an ensemble increases. This was recorded during a time when the ensemble was actively performing. The most likely scenario is that during a period when the group was not engaged, perhaps a day off when no performances or rehearsals with Kenton were scheduled, they all decided to take part in Mingus’ project, for a fee of course. Thus Mingus was limited in two ways, the time he had with the ensemble and the money that he had to spend. Studio time is expensive, and the sound of the ensemble, especially considering mistakes and intonation problems that survived in the final recording suggests that they had very little before or after the main recording session to make adjustments. This meant that Mingus had to have complete written scores, and parts, at the time of the recording. Even under the best of circumstances this is no small feat. This lends tremendous weight to Mingus’ abilities as a composer and theoretician of jazz music. Further evidence of his abilities in these areas can be found on some

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of the more progressive recordings made during the same time frame. A good example of this would be Mingus’ composition “Weird Nightmare.”

### 3.2.2 Mingus’ Early Compositional Sense

“Weird Nightmare” is important because of its long-term place in the Mingus repertoire. The first recording of this piece was in 1946 and he was still recording it in the 1960s,\(^{114}\) not to mention its inclusion on the *Mingus 94* album, recorded posthumously by the Mingus big band. This piece shows Mingus’ intellectual leanings at this point were as advanced as that of the bebop musicians of the same era. Although there were a number of small discrepancies in the chord changes of the various versions, they are all essentially the same.

As far as composition is concerned “Weird Nightmare” is important because of the way that it was constructed. In this piece Mingus gives the listener the illusion of a winding wandering tonality that sonically incurs the agitation that its title implies. However, an analysis borrowing from the techniques of Heinrich Schenker reveals that these intricate chord relations that are the basis of the tension that makes this songs so unique was crafted by Mingus upon a steadfast and rock solid harmonic foundation.

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\(^{114}\) *Mingus, Charles Mingus: More Than A Fake Book*, 149.
This type of analysis allows many of the hidden intricacies of this piece to be revealed. Figure 8 is representative of the harmonic motion that occurs in the first, second, and fourth section of the four sections of the piece. A close examination of the background level, shows that the dominant tonality is D minor. However, it is in the construction of the foreground and middleground levels that Mingus puts his distinct stamp on the piece. On the foreground level, in spite of the fact that the piece never loses coherence, Mingus creates a seemingly meandering musical setting. This is first accomplished in the first four beats of the form. This section contains four different chords, but is essentially the same tonality. All four chords, D minor, D flat augmented, F major, and B minor seventh, flat five (half diminished) share the common tones F and A, making all of those chords substitutions for D minor. Those two notes define the tonality, thus the entire measure can be seen as related to the tonality of D minor. It is the root motion that is occurring under this section that creates the harmonic tension. This is due to the fact that four chromatic steps within the minor scale do not usually occur. It is especially
unusual considering that the B flat of the next measure is also a substitute of D minor. This means that this section, which is in D minor, creates tension through the use of half-step motion.

This B flat major chord can be viewed as serving a dual purpose. This chord is one of the features that give the piece its wandering feel because it simultaneously assumes three possible tonal functions. The first function is B flat major chord is one of a series of substitutes for D minor. The second function is that of a tonic chord. This chord would be considered the first point of rest although it occurs in the second measure. This sounds like a natural point of rest because it occurs after the quarter notes during which there is chromatic motion and the B flat major chord last for two beats, a stable chord that occurs with a slowing of the harmonic motion. It also takes on another meaning when examined in the context of the chord that follows it.

As notated in my analysis I have designated the B flat major seventh chord is an anticipation of the A flat seventh altered chord (the example is in treble clef, D flat substitutes for C sharp for notation purposes).

Figure 9 B flat major seventh to A altered seventh

The altered chord in jazz is a chord that simultaneously uses all of the alterations that are common to dominant chords. This chord would include the root, flatted ninth, sharp ninth, major third, flatted fifth, and dominant seventh. The fact that B flat major is followed by the A altered changes the tonality of the major chord because it changes the function of the chord. Two of the notes in the B flat and A chords are common tones. The B flat creates harmonic tension, which is resolved through its motion to the root of the next chord. The D creates similar harmonic tension that resolves to the C sharp (D flat) of the A7alt chord. The remainder of the section can
be reduced to a harmonic elaboration of D minor using several layers of chord substitutions (example in treble clef).

**Figure 10 Illustration of the tonicization of D minor**

![Figure 10 Illustration of the tonicization of D minor](image)

The above figure illustrates the relationships between the chords of this section, the fourth, fifth and sixth measure of the piece. The same is true of the bridge section of the piece, in which the first four measures anticipates the third degree of the D scale, F major seventh, and the second four measures anticipate the dominant, A. This places the entire piece in D minor, a fact that is further bolstered because the entire melody is in D minor (with the exception of two notes).^{115}

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^{115} See “Appendix B” for complete analysis.
4.0 MINGUS AND BEBOP

It is important to understand the difference between the music that was performed by Mingus in the forties and bebop. The music that Mingus recorded, particularly before the 1950s, culminating in his tenure with the Red Norvo trio, was more related to the relaxed sound of Nat King Cole than the bebop of Charlie Parker.\footnote{Santoro, 87.} In 1946 Mingus was involved with bebop through his relationship with musicians such as Miles Davis, who was working in Los Angeles with Parker at the time.\footnote{Miles Davis and Quincy Troupe, 	extit{Miles: The Autobiography of Miles Davis with Quincy Troupe}, (New York: Touchstone, 1989), 92.}

4.1.1 Difference Between Mingus and Bebop Musicians

Perhaps one of the reasons that Mingus would be considered so different from his peers is the unique position that he held because of his age, musical prowess, and the location of his development (Mingus’ formative years were spent in Los Angeles) before he achieved national recognition. Chronologically he was in the same generation of musicians as Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, Max Roach, Howard McGhee, and Thelonious Monk. However, there are major differences between the professional development of Mingus and those players. Most of the musicians mentioned above, except Mingus, were born on the Eastern Seaboard and...
developed as professionals in post swing big bands. These bands should be defined as post swing not because of the chronological placement, but instead because of the concepts that were being expressed within them. Each of them, except for Mingus, was in New York City during the development of the bebop music scene in the early 1940s. Mingus was isolated geographically, and in fact musically, from this group. It was this isolation that allowed Mingus to develop a musical style that was different from his contemporaries.

One of the first characteristics that most of the early bebop players shared was that they were born in the Southern region of the United States, and therefore surrounded by the musical culture of the region in the 1920s and 1930s. Specific evidence of this hypothesis can be seen in South Carolina born Dizzy Gillespie;[^118] Charlie Parker, who spent his formative musical years in Missouri;[^119] and Thelonious Monk of North Carolina.[^120] This regional experience was important not only to the individual development of each musician, but also was a key factor in establishing the vocabulary that would define bebop as a genre separate from swing.

For some scholars it was difficult to understand why a southern upbringing would be so important a factor in facilitating the musical knowledge base necessary for a musician of that era to develop the musical vocabulary used in bebop, but the answer is in the blues. This should naturally bring to mind the question, “what was unique about the blues heard in the South?” After all between 1912 and 1915 there were at least six blues published and available for national consumption including “St. Louis Blues” by W.C. Handy and “Original Jelly Roll Blues” by

Jelly Roll Morton. Additionally, by 1921 blues recordings became available from artists such as Ma Rainey and Ethel Waters. The availability of such material would seem to prove that all musicians throughout the nation should have been equally well versed in all aspects of the blues. However, a detail inspection of the types of blues that were occurring regionally, and the circumstances surrounding their dissemination and development suggests otherwise.

First we must more definitively pinpoint what “the blues” are, and what stylistic mutations exist within the larger category. Outside of the South, the artists mentioned above represent the authentic source of the blues. It is unquestionable that each of the artists listed above represents a unique form of the blues, in each case these artists were not the source of the original African American art form known as the blues. Instead they all acted as direct filters of that original source, through which the blues was first introduced to the American public at large. Handy credits his inspiration for writing his published blues to a man singing in a Mississippi train station. Rainey first heard the blues while touring with the Rabbit Foot Minstrels, sung by a girl in Missouri. These experiences are representative of the process that created the earliest nationally consumable blues. Each of their particular concept of the blues are of tremendous importance, because they were a musical breakthrough. Their blues was also important because of the social significance of commercial and economic mobilization of African American artists and the African American community. However, they were distinctly different from the type of music that was performed by the Mississippi man and the Missouri girl who inspired them. Handy and Rainey, as cited, were both professional musicians prior to their use of the blues in their music, and therefore well versed in the western musical conventions of the time.

121 Southern, 338.
122 Ibid., 365-366.
123 Ibid., 330.
No one would seriously forward the claim that the music that they offered the public was not blues. At the same time, no one should seriously forward the claim that their previous musical training at least equally influenced these musicians. This would work towards having the effect of “pianizing” the blues. Those who were exposed to the music of Ma Rainey would have heard her vocal techniques not as an alternative tonal sense to western music, but instead as embellishments of western tonality. This would certainly have been true of those who heard the blues through Handy’s piano or brass band arrangements of the blues. These arrangements expressed the essence of the blues, but were tethered to western tonality. Since they were created for use on piano, it would have been impossible to convey the altered tonalities that made the oral forms of folk blues in the South truly unique.

These published and recorded blues were documented and available to musicians (including Mingus) throughout the country.\textsuperscript{124} However, it was a more direct rural blues influence that influenced bebop musicians as to the musical experiments, from which they would eventually gain fame. Several sources refer to this musical style as “country blues.” The best examples of this music were first recorded in the 1920s. There were a great number of factors in this style than in the “classic blues” of Smith and Handy, but the one that is most important when considering bebop are the “melodies full of ‘bent’ tones [that] were strangely atonal [sic.]”\textsuperscript{125} However, this music was less widely disseminated due to the depression, and was surely not listened to in the staunchly religious and socially upper class Mingus family. Bebop was in fact a sort of re-infusion of the original elements that had been adopted onto European instruments in

\textsuperscript{124} Bebop vocabulary is also often theorized as being inspired by classical music. However, just as in the case of the classic blues, this music was available to musicians nationwide. While it can explain part of the difference between swing and bebop, it could not have been the factor that caused the difference in the vocabulary between bebop musician and musicians that were involved in the last stages of swing, such as Mingus, Buddy Colette, and Britt Woodman.

\textsuperscript{125} Ibid., 369-371

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the early twentieth century. The exposure to the folk blues style, even in a peripheral manner, had a great effect on those who set the trend of bebop. Because of the problems that the country, and specifically the record industry faced with the depression concerning the production and distribution of goods, those in the South stood a greater chance of hearing the blues live than those who had to depend upon the use of records for its influence.

The blues in the South was different from that in the rest of the country because of the social institution of slavery and its historical aftermath in the region. Evidence of this influence can be found musically in the difference between the melodic vocabulary of top ranking swing players of the forties and the new vocabulary being introduced by bebop musicians that were occupying the same chronological space. The folk blues that bebop musicians were exposed to was tied directly to the unique economic condition that existed in the South after the reconstruction. There still existed the need for labor after the war and Southern plantation owners developed a new way to extract the maximum amount of labor for the minimum price. There were also large numbers of African Americans that were unemployed with little or no skills with which to support themselves outside of the plantation economy. Out of this dual need arose tenet farming, or sharecropping. Sharecropping became a main source of employment for many Southern blacks. Sharecroppers were often former slaves and their descendants. Although their title had changed they were still poor laborers, and the blues was the music that represented them the best. Sharecropping was a strong industry throughout the South until at least the late 1930s.\cite{Heinicke}

This survival of sharecropping supported the culture that surrounded it, including the blues. It is during this period that bebop musicians, born in this region during the late tens and

\cite{Heinicke} Craig Heinicke, “Southern Tenancy, Machines, and Production Scale on the Eve of the Cotton Picker’s Arrival” in *Social Science History*, 23 no. 3, 437.
 twenties, would have received exposure to folk blues that would influence their music in the future.

One of the primary factors in the development of bebop was the reinterpretation of the blues tonality. What seems like a natural connection, between the blues and bebop, is in some ways strained because of the precarious relationship between blues and the community from which it originated. Within the black community itself there was a stigma associated with the blues.\textsuperscript{127} This feeling of disdain also existed within the musical community, probably because of the association that the music had historically with poor uneducated African Americans in the South. Bebop pioneer Dizzy Gillespie stated flatly that the rural blues had no impact on him because he had no contact with it.\textsuperscript{128} This statement was probably more related to his experience with the societal aspects of the blues, as opposed to his actual experience of the music. While Gillespie may have had no contact with the stereotypical rural “bluesman,” his experiences early in life with the Works Progress Administration picking cotton in the fields of North Carolina\textsuperscript{129} would suggest that he was probably exposed to blues related work songs during this period. There are notable exceptions to this trend of bebop musicians being directly exposed to southern folk blues styles. Among those born outside of the South that were undoubtedly innovators in bebop includes drummer Kenny Clarke and pianist Bud Powell. However, these two musicians were a part of the development of the music as it was being formalized in the jam sessions in New York City in venues such as Minton’s Playhouse.\textsuperscript{130} Their exceptional musicianship and presence during the earliest meetings of the bebop pioneers would have more than compensated for the lack of direct contact with the folk style blues that was prevalent in the southern born

\textsuperscript{127} Nathan Davis, \textit{Writings in Jazz}, 93.
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid., 11.
\textsuperscript{130} Nathan Davis, \textit{Writings in Jazz}, 6\textsuperscript{th} ed., (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 2002), 164.
musicians. However even if the connection with the blues and bebop cannot be conclusively proven through a Southern born bebop musicians like Gillespie, it is made clear through the only man who is given more credit in the development of the bebop, Charlie Parker.

4.2 THE CONTRAST BETWEEN SWING AND BOP

In the words of Gillespie “Yard [Parker] knew the blues.”131 This knowledge of the blues tradition combined with the ever increasing body of accessible harmonic substitutions used in bebop, created a language that was separate and at times, seemingly, at odds with the existing swing vocabulary. Through a comparative analysis it becomes obvious the ways that Parker re-contextualizes and refreshes the use of the blues, and simultaneously introduces melodic lines based on unexpected harmonic impositions. This analysis is crucial in understanding bebop, which was considered cutting edge jazz in the middle and late forties and the specific elements that separated it from Swing as a genre.

4.2.1 The Musical Conventions of Swing Using Tenor Saxophonist Coleman Hawkins as a Baseline

In this analysis Coleman Hawkins’ solo on “Boff Boff” will be considered the baseline. The harmonic structure of this piece is based on the harmonic structure of Gershwin’s “I Got Rhythm.” This structure is commonly referred to as “Rhythm Changes.”

131 DeVeaux, 174.
The use of the structure in jazz was popular during the swing era and has remained popular through today. Rhythm Changes are a thirty-two bar “AABA” form. The A sections, which are all almost identical, should be looked at as containing two dominant harmonic centers. The first four bars are centered on the tonic. The repeated harmonic motion, I major seventh to
VI minor seventh to II minor seventh to V dominant seventh is a diatonic chord progression that works to emphasize the tonic. In the fifth bar we see a significant change in that instead of the V chord leading to the I major sixth chord it leads to I dominant seventh leading to IV. This creates a tonal shift in which the IV chord becomes a temporary central tonality. The last two bars again move to the original key center. The eight bars that make up the bridge is a simple prolongation of the V chord using dominant chords. In the standard rhythm changes this prolongation is obtained by moving through the cycle of fifths beginning with the submediant and ending with the dominant. The recording used for this analysis was made in 1943 by Tenor Saxophonist Coleman Hawkins. It will be compared to Charlie Parker’s 1944 solo on “Dizzy Atmosphere.”

Hawkins’ solo is a magnificent example of the musicianship and technical prowess that can be expressed through the tenor saxophone. His solo is also firmly grounded in the swing era. In his first eight bars Hawkins clearly uses a technique in which a single, diatonic note group is the basis of the melodic material throughout the section. This becomes apparent after removing the embellishments in the melodic line.

**Figure 12 Analysis of melodic material in the first eight bars of Coleman Hawkins’ solo in "Boff Boff"**

In the above transcription all of the notes that are embellishments are grouped with a tie and have an arrow over them indicating the note that they embellish. These notes should not be

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considered scale choices; instead they are embellishments that bring sonic attention to other notes. If those notes are eliminated then all of the note choices in the section belong to the C major scale, omitting the seventh, B natural.

This choice of scale avoids all dissonance. Even though it may not seem obvious, omitting the B natural on the part of both the rhythm section and Hawkins insures that C, when used melodically, as it is ten times in this eight-measure section, does not clash with the B natural. However, Hawkins also omits the B flat, which should be prominent because it is the only melodic indicator of the tonal shift that characterizes this section. This is a strategic device that works to add more emphasis to the shift in the second section.

The next eight bars begin with a flurry of sixteenth notes. In isolation this section seems out of place considering the rest of the solo, but this line is a continuation of the use of sixteenth note in the previous solo, played by piano legend Art Tatum. Tatum, in standard form, played almost an entire chorus using this sixteenth note double time feel. Hawkins was infamous for his sense of musical competitiveness and was known to go to extraordinary lengths to establish his prowess. In this case the use of chromatic tones acts more as a way to remain rhythmically stable. This rapid fire meandering line is very difficult to analyze conclusively. The key to my interpretation is Hawkins’ subtle use of accents and chromatic notes to indicate when split second shifts in his choice of melodic material occurs. The first melodic section occurs in the eleventh full measure of the piece. In this section he moves diatonically through the key of C.

Figure 13 Second measure of the second eight bars of Coleman Hawkins’ solo on "Boff Boff"
In the next section Hawkins’ begins to introduce chromatic notes, but this time the notes are not related to the surrounding notes in the same manner they were in the first eight bars. In this case the chromatic notes work to provide rhythmic stability. In the next two beats Hawkins inserts an E flat into the C scale.

**Figure 14 Beats two and three of the third measure of the second eight bars of Coleman Hawkins’ solo on "Boff Boff"

![C6 A\natural](image)

This is important because although this section goes by very quickly Hawkins’ thinking is organized around the note C. He begins and ends on this note and without the insertion it is impossible to play a line that does not have a skip. Although a skip would not compromise the musical integrity of the line, at the speed that the notes in this phrase are occurring, 840 sixteenth notes per minute, Hawkins is probably relying on familiar and easy to play digital patterns. The next two beats are similar, using chromatic notes more as rhythmic placeholders than harmonic indicators.

**Figure 15 Beats three and four of the third measure of the second eight bars of Coleman Hawkins' solo on "Boff Boff"

![An7](image)

In this case the most important note is the A natural, which both beats begin on. The next measure is similar with two beats starting on A natural and moving downward using sixteenth note triplets, ending on D natural, and the phrase ends in a slightly awkward sounding manner on a C. At that point in the harmonic progression C is the fourth of the dominant chord that occurs
at that spot and is a note that would not ordinarily be used in that situation and does not follow a clear logic.

**Figure 16 Fourth bar of the second eight bars in Coleman Hawkins’ solo on "Boff Boff"**

![Figure 16](image)

The next section moves back to phrasing and ideas that are comparable to those heard in the first eight bars.

**Figure 17 The fifth through eighth measure of the second eight bars in Coleman Hawkins’ solo on "Boff Boff"**

![Figure 17](image)

Again we see Hawkins using notes almost exclusively from the C scale, but here he uses the dominant seventh (B flat) and the lower neighbor of A natural. This gives much more weight than his treatment in the first eight measures.

Hawkins treatment of the bridge is artfully put together but not particularly exotic. The bridge used for this song is identical to the one in the example above and with the exception of two triplet figures Hawkins moves through the section by moving down by a step and up by a skip of at least a fifth, staying within the diatonic scale related to each of the chords in the bridge.

The last A proceeds in much the same manner as the first except the chromatic embellishments are even more elaborate and in this case a scale tone on the staff in the second measure of the first system of figure eighteen and the same note in the second measure of the second system, becomes a part of one of the embellishments. Some of the note choices the
second time that figure occurs could be seen as questionable, since it is a repeated figure it is acceptable to the ear.

**Figure 18 The last eight measures of Coleman Hawkins solo on "Boff Boff"**

![Musical notation](image)

Hawkins’ solo is a magnificent example of the artistry of the swing era soloist. His note choices clearly reinforce the harmonic material of the piece through embellishment. In this solo it is clear that Hawkins adheres closely to scale tones and avoids notes that are overtly dissonant. He also manages to combine notes in a way that is exciting and innovative and maintains the creation of a “sing-able” melody. There are a great number of contrasts between the way that Hawkins plays rhythm changes on “Boff Boff” and the way that the same harmonic theme is approached using the musical conventions of bebop.

### 4.2.2 The Changing Standard, Examining the Innovations of Bebop Through Charlie Parker

There is no doubt that Charlie Parker is one of the most important musicians in the development of bebop. There are several reasons why this is true. Parker is given credit, along with Dizzy Gillespie, for developing the melodic conventions that would change jazz. Even the uninitiated listener could compare Parker’s performance in “Dizzy Atmosphere” with Hawkins’
in “Boff Boff” and hear the new worlds of sound that were available through his combination of folk blues and technical genius.

Looking critically at the two pieces there are similarities in the styles of the two players and their treatment of the changes. First we must account for the difference in the chord changes of the two pieces. For the most, part the songs are almost identical. Small discrepancies in the chord qualities in the A sections of the piece, such as the difference between a major sixth chord and a major seventh chord do not change the overall character of the chord progression. The most significant difference occurs during the bridge. Hawkins’ solo is played over the standard bridge for this harmonic form, a cycle of dominant fifths. Theoretically this chord progression should be view as an anticipation of the final V dominant seventh of I chord that occur in the last two measures of the section. At first glance, the chord progression in the bridge of “Dizzy Atmosphere” appears to be very different.

**Figure 19 Bridge to "Dizzy Atmosphere"**

![Bridge to Dizzy Atmosphere](image)

However, close inspection reveals that this section is also an anticipation of the V chord. The easiest way to see this is to start with the eighth measure of the figure above and work backwards. The eighth measure, just as in the parallel section in “Boff Boff”, is the V chord or G dominant seventh. In the seventh measure the chord is D minor seventh. This is a traditional anticipation of G dominant seventh. All of the chords before that move chromatically, using the tri-tone substitution principal as a basis even though the chord quality is major. D sharp major
seventh is a substitution for A. E major seventh is not substituted. F major seventh is a substitute for B. F sharp major seventh is not substituted. These Substitutions can be seen in figure twenty, which is a slightly altered version of the bridge.

**Figure 20 Bridge to "Dizzy Atmosphere" without tri-tone substitutions**

It is much easier to see the similarities in the two harmonic progressions with the intermediate stage between the two sets of changes as listed above. This makes it clear that one of a number of major similarities in the two pieces is the harmonic progression. Other similarities lie in the melodic materials of the two solos.

Looking critically at the two pieces there are similarities in the styles of the two players. There are several shared melodic devices that are found throughout the solos of both men. This should come as no surprise as bebop musicians such as Parker used the conventions of swing as a springboard for innovation. For example, both soloists used similar approach tones to highlight important notes in their solo. One of the best evidences of this is when the soloists highlight a note by playing the note a half step or whole step above and then a half step below before the note in the manner of the example immediately following.

**Figure 21 Upper lower neighbor chromatic device**
This device is simple, yet complex enough that its use should not be judged as accidental. Hawkins and Parker both use the device six times in their respective solos. These thirty-two bars represent common musical understanding that is shared by the two artists.

The difference in the two players’ approach can be found in how they use these devices. Hawkins used this device to highlight the root, third or fifth of a given chord. The only spot where this is not obviously true is in the following example from the end of the piece.

**Figure 22 Hawkins melodic embellishment of the upper lower neighbor chromatic device**

![Musical notation](image)

But this anomaly can easily be compensated for by the fact that Hawkins was treating most of the space in the A sections of the song as a single C major tonality, instead of conceiving of the chord changes that occur every two beats separately. That means that even though the melodic line occurs at a D minor seventh chord Hawkins is thinking in terms of a C major sixth chord and therefore is highlighting the third of the latter chord and not the ninth of the former.

Although in form this device is the same in the solo of Charlie Parker, its use sometimes serves a different purpose. Parker also uses the devices to embellish chord tones, but there are also times when he uses the chromatic device in order to bring extensions of chords beyond the third to the listeners’ attention, and to add weight to some of the tonal anticipations that he uses. One such example is in the penultimate measure, in which Parker uses the upper and lower neighbor to highlight an e natural. The concept of Parker’s melodies containing tonal anticipation and delay will be discussed on page sixty-six.
Other devices which are shared by the two musicians are downward chromatic embellishments (in which two or more consecutive notes move downward to highlight a tone) and upward chromatic motion (in which two or more consecutive notes move upward and serve the same function). Parker uses the downward motion five times to Hawkins’ one use of this device. Both musicians use the upward motion only one time.\textsuperscript{133}

In addition to the device that they both use, Parker adds a device that is generally credited as vocabulary developed specifically in the bebop era, that device is called the bebop seventh. The bebop seventh is a typically the addition of the major seventh in a dominant seventh chord. Its adoption by bebop musicians created the use of a rhythmically symmetrical eight-note scale instead of the traditional seven-note scale. In its simplest form this meant that eighth notes could be played in succession and every two beats the musician would land on the same note.

\textbf{Figure 23 Bebop seventh scale}

![C7 scale](image)

Although this scale is typically identified with the dominant chord, the addition of the raised subdominant can be used in any scale within the major modes.

\textbf{Figure 24 Alternate applications of the chromaticism usually associated with the bebop seventh scale}

![Alternate scales](image)

\textsuperscript{133} See Appendix B for analysis
However, the chord scale simply reveals the theory behind the use of the device. In practice the upper three notes of the scale are often used to emphasize the seventh as is the case in the fifth measure of the second eight bars of the piece.

**Figure 25 Use of bebop seventh melodic device in the context of Parker's solo**

As mentioned in section 4.1.1, one of the important differences between Parker and many swing players is the use of the blues as a source of melodic inspiration. Although there are many musical examples in which Parker was much more blatant in borrowing melodic conventions from the blues, this piece is not one of them. However even in the rhythm changes harmonic structure he introduced subtle indicators as to his proclivity towards blues and his ability to adapt into a more harmonically intricate form. In other words, Parker did not just use bluesy melodies, he embellished them in a way fitting for the new musical doors he was opening. Parker was by no means the first to use blues melodic material in a solo; jazz has always been closely related to the blues. In fact Hawkins does so in his solo in the second full measure.

**Figure 26 Hawkins’ use of blues based melodic material**

Keeping mind that, as outline in section 4.2.1, Hawkins is thinking of the first eight bars in C major, so instead of this being the flatted ninth of D minor it is the flatted third of C. There are two spots in his solo where Parker alludes to the lowered third. The first occurs in the second measure. Parker’s solo is in F major but, in order to add tension, he played the flatted third (in
this transcription the G sharp replaces its enharmonic neighbor, A flat). He embellished the note and used a scale pattern that resulted in a chromatic approach that highlights the major third of the key (this example is treble clef and in the key of F major, the B below is a B flat).

**Figure 27 Example one of Parker’s use of blues based material**

![Figure 27](image)

Parker was using the F major tonality through the section and that in this single bar he used the lowered and raised third. He also used the minor third in measure seventh measure from the end of the chorus.

**Figure 28 Example two of Parker’s use of blues based melodic material**

![Figure 28](image)

In this instance the note is given weight because of the way it is presented rhythmically.

Another way that Parker’s approach to playing differs from Hawkins lies in the rhythmic conception that flows so naturally in his playing. As in figure 28, Parker is able to combined melodic tension with rhythmic tension in a manner that does not exist within Hawkins’ solo. Comparing the way that the two musicians use triplets in the melodic lines easily proves this.

A detailed analysis shows that Hawkins used nine sets of triplets in the course of his thirty-two-measure solo. In context, seven of the nine times he used triplets they provided no rhythmic contrast. For example, in the second eight bars of his solo, after two measures of sixteenth notes in rapid succession, Hawkins plays four sets of sixteenth note triplets. Because of the speed of the line the rhythmic shift is almost indiscernible. Another use of triplets in his
solo that is obscured occurs in the fifth measure of the first eight measures and in the third measure from the end of the solo form.

**Figure 29 Hawkins’ use of triplets as a turn**

![Image of C7 chord and triplets](image)

In figure twenty-nine the triplet is subordinate to the chromatic embellishment that it is a part of, thus instead of being heard as a triplet with independent note, it is heard as a turn. There are a few places were Hawkins used the triplet as a true rhythmic variance and in these spots the triplet is used in only one way. Both of these examples occur during the bridge of the song. In both instances Hawkins used the triplet on the last beat of the measure, the triplet is preceded by an eighth note and is followed by a line containing a string of eighth notes. In order to understanding the difference in the playing styles of the two musicians, it is pertinent that we understand their usage of intervals and how they are fused together. The triplet moves up in thirds and then leaps to the highest note in the figure and then moves down by a step. Parker’s solo follows the same general rule of intervallic motion, with a few distinct exceptions. It is, however, in the placement of the triplets within the framework of his melodic line that we see the significant difference between the solos of Parker and Hawkins.

There are two distinct approaches that Parker used in playing triplets in this solo. One of the ways in which he used triplets is very similar to the way the Hawkins used them. This can be seen in the first and second measures of the last eight bar section of the solo chorus. In this figure Parker played the F triad, although his outline differs slightly from Hawkins’ because he

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134 See Appendix A “Dizzy Atmosphere” measures 21-23.
outline the triad in first inversion. Parker’s solo leads into the triad with by half step, just as Hawkins’ solo does and the triplet leads to the root of the chord in the rest measure (this example is treble clef and in the key of F major).

**Figure 30 Example one of Parker’s use of triplets**

![Figure 30 Example one of Parker’s use of triplets](image)

In Parker’s solo we also see triplets being used in the middle of the line in order to add emphasis to the melodic line. In his solo, Hawkins did not use triplets in this fashion. The triplet above occurs in the fifth measure of a six-measure phrase, when the chord changes are F7 to F7/A.

**Figure 31 Example two of Parker’s use of triplets**

![Figure 31 Example two of Parker’s use of triplets](image)

In figure thirty-one the triplet works to draw attention to the dominant seventh. This is a very important note at this point in the song because it is the point at which the root chord makes the temporary but all-important transition to a dominant tonality. That is to say that he emphasizes the note that is harmonically the most important at this point in the chord sequence by highlighting it with rhythmic variation. Most of the triplets used in this solo by Parker fall somewhere between the two categories. One of the most interesting spots in which triplets are used as a rhythmic variance to draw attention to melody note that is important to the harmony of

66
the piece is in sixth measure of the second a section. In this section Parker used the triplet to highlight a note that implies the anticipation of harmony, in this case anticipating the F major seventh of the next measure (this example is treble clef and in the key of F major).

**Figure 32 Example three of Parker’s use of triplets**

Using a melodic phrase to anticipate, prolong and imply alternate harmony is common in bebop. There are many examples in Parker’s solo on “Dizzy Atmosphere” that exemplify all three of these concepts. Anticipation abounds in this solo, but is often masked by chromatic embellishment. Take for example the last three measures of the piece. These measures are a prime example of anticipation, but must be reduced to their essential elements in order to be more clearly expressed.

**Figure 33 Analysis of Parker’s use of anticipation**

In accordance with the figure thirty-three, Parker anticipates the F major seventh chord beginning in one measure and one eighth note before. This first line shows what he played in the four bars involved in the anticipation. The second line identifies all of the embellishments and the notes that they highlight using slurs to identify sets of embellishments and arrows pointing to
the notes that they embellish. The third line shows the simplified melodic framework of the second measure. After the melodic line has been reduced, it is easier to see how it outlines the triad of the F major triad. Parker used anticipation in his solo frequently.

Parker also employed prolongation techniques in his solo, although less frequently than he used anticipation. The best example of prolongation in “Dizzy Atmosphere” is in the third through fifth measures of the last eight bar section.

**Figure 34 Analysis of Parker’s use of prolongation**

The prolongation occurs specifically in the second and third measure of the figure above. It is framed neatly between the melodic material of the C dominant seventh chord in last half of the first measure and the F dominant seventh chord in the fourth measure of figure thirty-four. The C dominant seventh chord is clearly shown through a melody which contains the root and seventh of the chord. Clarifying where the melodic material generated in the fourth measure is also made easier, in spite of the fact that the F major seventh and F dominant seventh chord have so many notes in common. Looking at all four measures we can see that when he played a figure that is directly tied to the bar that it is in the first note is the root. Thus is the case in measure one of the figure above, in which he begins with a G and the G minor seventh chord and when he plays the C on the C dominant seventh chord. This is also true of the fourth measure of the
figure, which is and F dominant seventh chord and begins on an F. This makes it clear to the listener that he was doing something different in the other two measures. This is emphasized by the lack of root notes,

The prolongation outlines the F major seventh chord that occurs in the first half of the second measure. The top line represents exactly what Parker played, the middle line shows all of the embellishments and the last line shows the notes that outline that prolongation. My analysis shows that Parker prolonged the F major seventh chord until the beginning of the fourth measure of figure thirty-four. Within this example, in addition to the prolongation we also see Parker’s use of implied harmony through melodic material.

One of the most typical examples of using melodic material to imply a harmony that is not present occurs beginning with the pick up to the last measure of the bridge. It is a classic example of a tri-tone substitution. The use of the tri-tone substitution in this instance is significant because the melody, which is clearly built on an F sharp dominant seventh chord, is played over a rhythm section that is playing a C dominant seventh. There are two ways that this chord can be explained. One way of looking at a chord like this one is in terms of the F sharp dominant. The phrase occurs in a fairly straightforward manner thinking in these terms. The innovation in that case is the fact that Parker phrased it in a different key. However it is equally important to look at the melody in terms of C dominant seventh.

In terms of C the phrase is full of extensions, and this is one of the earliest examples of melodic phrasing using chord extensions in this fashion, particularly considering that he used altered chord extensions. Hawkins’ solo on “Boff-Boff” does not use chord extensions altered or otherwise. All of the ones that are not diatonic are embellishments, as discussed above. This

\[ \text{135 Chord extensions, in this case, are defined as chord tones beyond the seventh of the chord.} \]
phrase is proof of extensive use of chord extensions on the part of Parker (this example is treble clef and in the key of F major).

**Figure 35 Parker’s use of altered tones in melody to imply alternate harmony**

![Figure 35](image)

The phrase begins on an F sharp which in this key is the sharp eleven. Because of the conflict that this note can present when played at the same time as the fifth scale degree. The second note of the phrase corresponds, enharmonically, with the minor third. The third, fifth, and seventh note, A sharp or B flat, is the seventh scale degree. The fourth note of the figure is the raised fifth and the sixth note is same as the flatted ninth, or D flat. The use of such notes represents a marked change in the musical vocabulary of modern jazz.

Parker also used chromatic tones in a sort of melodic substitution. This devise was as foreign to jazz in the early 1940s, but it fits into Parker’s solo on a purely melodic basis. The previous example, particularly in light of modern harmonic sensibilities, is a successful melodic line because of its adherence to chord extensions along with its viability as a tri-tone substitution. This is only partially the case with four thirty-six (this example is in treble clef and in the key of F major, the B in the second measure is a B flat).

**Figure 36 Parker’s use of melodically based substitutions**

![Figure 36](image)

In figure thirty-six the third and fourth beats of the measure are clearly outside of the diatonic tonality. The G sharp minor seventh is the tri-tone substitution for the D minor seventh. The same principal that allows a dominant chord is flexible enough in jazz that it can be applied
to other chords, even if those chords do not share interchangeable thirds and sevenths. Beats one and two, three and four, and one and two of the following measure all outline a simple minor seventh chord, and it is this sound that the ear of the listener organizes itself around in this instance. This theory is further proven by the inclusion of the major chord on a minor chord. This is a chord extension that is not generally acceptable in western music, including jazz, so it is logical to conclude that this makes musical sense because it is related through melodic means. The dispersion of the music is also important because it offers further evidence as to why bebop was so isolated in its development.

### 4.2.3 The Dissemination of Bebop

The first seeds of bebop were planted within some of the big bands of the early forties. Bands such as those led by Earl Hines and Billy Eckstine began to forge the way for the use of the harmonic and melodic material that would develop into bebop, but not in an intentional manner. These bands used bebop, not as a musical statement, or a planned move towards the innovations of the future, but more as a result of the increasingly bebop devoted personnel that was being hired to man the bands. After all it was in the Hines and also the Eckstine bands that Gillespie and Parker began to solidify their bebop soloing style.\footnote{Earl L. Stewart, 	extit{African American Music: An Introduction}, (New York: Schirmer Books, 1998), 143.} These two musicians would go on to become living legends, but during their tenure in the two big bands, they served only as sidemen. It is only natural that these two forceful personalities would have influence over the artistic tendencies of the respective ensembles. Being a member of one of these ensembles gave a musician a decided advantage in unraveling the musical conventions of bebop. Consider those who at some point performed in Billy Eckstine’s band alone.
“The members of the Eckstine band made up a who’s who in jazz during the Bebop Era. The orchestra included at one time of another Dizzy Gillespie, Fats Navarro, Miles Davis, and Kenny Dorham on trumpets; Gene Ammons, Dexter Gordon, and Lucky Thompson on tenor saxes; Charlie Parker on alto sax; Leo Parker on baritone sax; John Malachi on piano; Art Blakey on drums; Tommy Potter on bass; arrangements by Budd Johnson, Tadd Dameron, and Jerry valentine; vocals by Sarah Vaughn; while Eckstine himself sang and played valve trombone.”

This first hand exposure of bebop to a large group of capable and dedicated musicians created a significant pool of musicians that could assimilate, reinterpret, and refresh the advance ideas that were being developed. The development of bebop was further isolated due to a recording ban that was occurring simultaneously with its early growth as an independent musical style.

One of the consequences of the recording ban in 1942 was the slow introduction of bebop to the general public. The cause of the strike had to do with the new technologies that allowed entertainment venues to use prerecorded music. The American Federation of Musicians president during the era, James C. Petrillo, saw this new technology as a threat to the employment prospects of musicians. In order to curb what he saw as a danger to musicians, Petrillo called for a strike, which lasted from 1942 through 1944.  

1933 was the year Parker and Gillespie were in the Hines band and they spent 1944 with the Eckstine as part of an “astonishing concentration of talent” that would become a part of jazz lore. During this period Gillespie and Parker were trading ideas and influencing young band mates, but now all that exist as a record of this period are a few written reviews and the testimonies of musicians.

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137 Nathan Davis, *Writings in Jazz*, 179.  
139 Shipton, 114.  
140 DeVeaux, 319.  
141 Shipton, 106-112.
All of the factors above, musical and professional, are crucial in understanding why there was such a gulf between players who developed within bebop circles, such as Parker, Gillespie, pianist Bud Powell, and bassist Oscar Pettiford, and those who developed during the same time frame, but outside of this circle, as Mingus did. These use of such music conventions were new to jazz and not warmly welcomed by musicians of earlier generations. Pianist “Fats Waller (who died in 1943) is said to have complained to unnamed musical tormentors as Minton’s, ‘Stop that crazy boppin’ and a stoppin’ and play jive like the rest of us guys!’”142 This sentiment expressed disconnection between previous generations, such as Louis Armstrong, Roy Eldridge, and Cab Calloway, who did not appreciate the innovations being created by the bebop musicians. It can be confidently said that most musicians who were not directly involved with bebop when it was first being played found the new style to be awkward and un-musical. Charles Mingus is among those who found themselves uninspired by bebop’s original offerings.143 It was the musical factors above, particularly the use of melody to imply various harmonies, which presented the most difficulty for Mingus as he began to integrate with the musicians based in New York.

143 Santoro, 65.
5.0 DEBUT RECORDS, MINGUS FIRST MAJOR MUSICAL STATEMENT

Some of the most important works in Mingus’ early cannon were those pieces that were recorded for his Debut label. The recordings that Mingus made on this album, as a leader and as a producer leave essential clues in understanding many of the pieces that Mingus would create in the next part of his career.

Although the earliest recording in the Debut catalogue, a duo recording of Nadi Qamar and Mingus,\textsuperscript{144} was recorded in 1951, Charles and Celia Mingus, and Max Roach officially founded the company on May 7, 1952. Its beginning was spurred by treatment of musicians. Perhaps if there is any single moment that could be seen as spurring the formation of the company it was when then head of Prestige Records Bob Weinstock “offered to record the Mingus trio for $10 a piece, and free lunch and drinks and cocaine. Mingus was infuriated and disgusted.”\textsuperscript{145} Celia Mingus, his wife during that period, handled the finances and distributed the albums directly to record stores and through the mail.\textsuperscript{146}


\textsuperscript{145} Santoro, 97.

\textsuperscript{146} Ibid., pg. 99-100.
5.1 DEBUT’S MOST RECOGNIZED RECORDING

Debut records made its mark in the music industry on a recording session at Massey Hall in Toronto featuring Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, Bud Powell, Max Roach and Charles Mingus on May 15, 1953.\footnote{Santoro, 104-105.} “The Massey Hall issues not only put Debut on the map as a company specializing in quality East Coast Jazz, ready to rival Blue Note and Prestige, but brought about distribution and leasing deals with European companies.”\footnote{Preistley, 55.} This recording was valuable as the block upon which Debut was built because for the previous 10 years Gillespie and Parker sharing a stage was extremely rare.\footnote{Shipton, 252.}

5.1.1 Mingus’ Musical Ascension

This also was a significant moment as far as Mingus’ place on the jazz map. Mingus appearance in the quintet with the founders of bebop was something of an anomaly itself. There were other bassists who may have been more authentic choices in the recreation of the original bebop music scene. Mingus was, as established earlier in the paper, in California in the formative years of bebop. Even if he was aware of the events on Fifty-second Street, the musicians that were developing bebop were not yet aware of him. Evidence shows that the group that was organizing the event, The New Jazz Society of Toronto, was focused on featuring pianist Bud Powell. However at that time they could not reach Powell because he was hospitalized, and their attempts to reach Dizzy Gillespie were also unfruitful. It was under these circumstances that Mingus was contacted. Celia found Powell, Gillespie, and Parker and Debut

\footnote{Preistley, 55.}
co-founder Max Roach played drums.\textsuperscript{150} The fact that Mingus performed in this venue was a sign that he had finally and completely overcame any notion that he was an outsider to bebop. The Massey Hall concert has been referred to as the end of an era, but the elements that were present at that concert represent the seeds that Mingus would plant as the father of avant-guard jazz. One of the most important elements was Charlie Parker’s artistry and personality.

5.1.2 The Place of Parker in Mingus’ Life and Music

As mentioned previously in the paper Mingus was initially unimpressed by Charlie Parker and his musical efforts, and his feelings towards Parker can be taken as a representation of his feelings to bebop in general. According to Gene Santoro’s biography \textit{Myself When I Am Real}, late as December 1945, the first time Mingus was able to hear Parker live, he still described the music as “chaotic and unlovely.”\textsuperscript{151} However, this apathy towards Parker could not survive in the face of his ever rising popularity and the increasing recognition of Parkers musical genius. This sentiment must have changed distinctly and abruptly by early part of 1946. As described by Miles Davis, “Charlie Mingus loved bird, man, almost like I have never seen nobody love.”\textsuperscript{152} It is impossible to tell exactly what swayed Mingus’ opinion on Parker, and for that matter bebop, but the alto saxophonist had groups of devoted followers, including Mingus and at that time (1945/1946) wife Celia. It was under her urging that Mingus began to familiarize himself with the recordings of Charlie Parker.\textsuperscript{153} Eventually Mingus would begin to use Parker as a musical model the same way the he modeled his playing after Duke Ellington’s. In his own future

\textsuperscript{150} Priestley, 51; Santoro 104.
\textsuperscript{151} Santoro, 65.
\textsuperscript{152} Miles Davis, \textit{Miles: The Autobiography of Miles Davis with Quincy Toupe}, 86.
\textsuperscript{153} Priestley, 48.
ensembles he would choose musicians that were firmly of the tradition that Parker started. Mingus knew that Parker had a tremendous influence once telling him, “if he jumped out of a window, twenty kids would jump out too.”\textsuperscript{154} Parker spoke as if he was well read and had a great deal of oratory prowess. Mingus saw in Parker the qualities that attracted him to his early mentor, Farwell Taylor.\textsuperscript{155} Of course one cannot talk about the influence of Parker without acknowledging the dark side of his life, his heroine addiction.

Despite the fact that he publicly stated that “a musician professing to play better when he was high on anything was a liar,”\textsuperscript{156} many people would imitate Parker’s substance abuse using his example as a guide, Mingus was not one of them, he judged from the time he spent with Parker when he was not high, that he would always stay away from hard drugs.\textsuperscript{157} Mingus had a tremendous amount of admiration for Parker. So much so that Mingus came out of a retirement from music based on Parker’s promise that he would pay considerably more than the comfortable post office salary that he was making when he put his musical career on hold.\textsuperscript{158} Ultimately though, Parker did not pay Mingus, but this was not the situation that caused Mingus to separate Parker’s destructive personality from his ingenuity as a musician. Mingus’ final performance with Parker was a fiasco. On March 4, 1955 Parker, along with pianist Bud Powell had a very public breakdown on stage at Birdland, a famous New York City nightclub named for Parker (whose nickname was bird). The event was so embarrassing that he addressed the crowd saying, “Ladies and gentlemen, please don’t associate me with any of this. This is not jazz. These are

\begin{itemize}
\item Santoro, 72.
\item Priestley, 33.
\item Santoro, 102.
\end{itemize}
Fortunately for Mingus he was open minded enough to understand that Parker was a musical genius in spite of a suicidal lifestyle.

5.2 EARLY SIGNS OF MINGUS AS THE FATHER OF AVANT-GARDE

One of the early Debut recordings that signifies Mingus’ musical openness was made in 1952 with Lee Konitz. What makes this recording important is the creative restrictions under which they were produced. Konitz was under contract with Norman Granz. Under the details of this contract Konitz was permitted to record, but could only improvise for Granz label. This provision was probably in place in order to allow Konitz to take part in lucrative commercial recordings, while leaving his most valuable creative products, the property of his recording company. Mingus circumvented this provision by writing a solo in the style that Konitz was known for playing, a style that was shared by a circle of musicians that were associated with Lennie Tristano in the late forties and early 1950s. It is easy to discern the difference between the rhythmic conventions that Mingus used in his melody on “Extrasensory Perception,” and “Marionette” the melody constructed by Tristano devotee Billy Bauer, and the standard set in bebop as exemplified by Charlie Parker.

159 Santoro, 112.
161 Santoro, 99
162 See appendix A for complete transcription of both melodies.
5.2.1 Lee Konitz’s Significance on Debut

In “Extrasensory Perception” Mingus wrote a piece that imitated the musical style that was common among Tristano’s students. There are two easily discernable factors that indicate how much Mingus had absorbed Tristano’s style. First, there is a unique use of quarter-note triplets. This is not typical for bebop as can be proven using the *Charlie Parker Omnibook*, as a reference. The *Omnibook* is a reference that contains 142 pages of transcriptions of 60 pieces that are representative of the type of playing that Parker was doing throughout his career. In “Extrasensory Perception” Mingus used quarter note triplets four times. In the melody of Marionette, which also featured Konitz on alto saxophone, quarter note triplets were used twice. In the entire *Omnibook* Parker used quarter note triplets in the main melody of a song only three times. Another example of how studied Mingus was of the Tristano school of thought was displayed in the way that eighth notes are grouped. “Extrasensory Perception” contains a passage in which a string of sixteen consecutive eighth notes. A similar section appears within “Marionette.” This type of juxtaposition of eighth notes is rare in melodies generated by Parker, occurring only four times in fifty-six separate examples. This use of eighth notes is one of the recognizable hallmarks of musical thinking related to Tristano and his musical devotees.

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5.2.2 The Place of Lennie Tristano in the Music of Charles Mingus

Lennie Tristano was a curious figure in the world of jazz; his importance is difficult to come to terms with because of his rather modest collection of recordings and the seclusion in which he lived his life. Tristano was born in Chicago in 1919 and lived to be fifty-nine years old. After he moved to New York in 1946 he continued his work as a jazz educator and began to attract a cult like following of students, many of whom became world renown. Among his most famous students were Warne Marsh, Lee Konitz, Billy Bauer, Bill Russo, Bud Freeman and Sal Mosca. Mingus used his wife as a sort of spy to discover some of Tristano’s musical secrets. This is evidence of Mingus interest in the methods that Tristano was teaching. Pinning down the specific pedagogical elements that formed the common musical way of thinking that has come to characterize Tristano’s students is a difficult, if not impossible task. Based on Celia’s testimony Tristano’s was a regiment of transcription. When asked about what Tristano taught him in a 1980 interview Konitz replied, “I can’t remember too much of what I learned material-wise… but there was an extraordinary impetus to be very dedicated.” Mingus was attracted to Tristano as a teacher and also by the possibility of working as teachers at his school. Perhaps most importantly Tristano’s musical experiments would have been attractive to Mingus. Some indication of one type of experiment can be gleaned from two pieces recorded in 1949, “Intuition,” and “Digression.”

167 Santoro, 101.
169 Wayne Ensticke and Paul Rubin, Jazz Spoken Here: Conversations with Twenty-Two Musicians, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 206
5.2.3 Tristano’s Experiments

These two pieces represent experiments conducted within the walls of Tristano’s school and performances that his sextet, consisting of Tristano, Konitz, Marsh, and Bauer along with Arnold Fishkin and Denzil Best. There are some similarities in Tristano’s musical experiments and the free jazz that Mingus would first make popular with his 1956 recording of “Pithecanthropus Erectus.” It will forever be a matter of speculation as to whether or not Konitz would have recorded a piece along these lines had his contract with Norman Granz not been in place. Tristano’s crew performed “Intuition” without bass or, as a matter of coincidence and not design, a drummer. The instruments entered one by one, and their entrance is the only part of the piece that was choreographed. Although it is impossible to be entirely sure based solely on a single recording, according to the accompanying liner notes the pieces were entirely spontaneous except for the order that the instruments entered. The first entrance is a string of nimble eighth note lines played by Tristano. He sets the tempo and mode of the piece. The next musician to join in was Konitz. His alto saxophone melodies seamlessly replaced those that were being played by Tristano as he moved to a support role, undergirding the alto saxophone with harmonically sparse and rhythmically jagged accompaniment. Konitz tone and melodic choices adhere closely to western tradition and are sparsely laden with the Charlie Parker influenced jazz vocabulary that was popular in the fifties. Bauer’s guitar enters next moving back and forth between playing chords and melodic lines. Bauer musical

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communication is very purposely placed to form a third complementary layer. As Bauer entered Tristano began to play more melodically, creating three lines that are intertwined lines. Finally Marsh enters. Upon Marsh’s entrance there is a gradual slowing of the tempo until the end of the piece. This spontaneously constructed piece should not be heard as an effort to create a new music form, but instead as an effort to increase music acuity within the context of western norms expressed through jazz instrumentation and peppered with elements from the jazz idiom.¹⁷³ Tristano probably adopted this format to create a musical environment in which musicians would be focused entirely on the spontaneous, reactionary creation of melodic material. For Tristano this may have been an advanced musical exercise. It was musical, and valuable by virtue of the fact that the musicians who were performing it were of the highest echelon in both the art and craft of music. The two points of prime importance when comparing it to the avant-garde music of Charles Mingus is that Tristano’s experiments were formless, and the defined extra-musical meaning, if there is one, is obscure. Hearing the techniques used in the Tristano’s camp may have endeared him to their music because of his use of similar non-traditional techniques in 1946. This is supported by testimony from Miles Davis, who was rehearsing with Mingus at that time. In his autobiography he testified that some of the music that Mingus was writing in 1946 he was “like John Cage playing all the [things] he’s playing, making all those strange sounds and noises” and that the music was “wide open for anything.”¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ Miles Davis, 93.
5.2.4 Mingus’ Avant-Garde Music

The manifestation of is evident in pieces like, “What Love” recorded when Eric Dolphy was in the band in 1960. Dolphy was a California musician at the same time Avant-garde experimentation was beginning in that region. I have very carefully avoided using the term “Free Jazz” to describe this music because, contrary to Tristano’s music, this music offered freedom within a certain framework. Mingus would often have what could best be described as a “roadmap,” and each soloist would go through a set of flexible musical phases during the course of his solo. One example is the way the horn solos progressed in the 1960 recording of “What Love?” First each soloist played through two sections that closely resembled the A sections of “What Is This Thing Called Love.” Next was a rubato section, followed by a section in which the soloist had almost total control over the outcome of the group improvisation. Twice during this section two measures of swing would follow and then another section where the soloist is unfettered. In “What Love” the musicians stretched the boundaries of western musical thought through note choice, as is also the case in “Intuition.” During Dolphy’s solo the ensemble moved even further outside of western tonality through the use of microtones, and even the outside of their instrumental roles as Mingus stops playing bass and begins to yell in support of Dolphy’s musical statement. Finally, the rubato A section would again be played and the musicians would move to the next solo or the melody. Mingus’ solo was an exception. He improvised alone except for a few statements made on drums by Dannie Richmond. This framework was the first significant difference in the two men’s music and the next is the fact that Mingus was expressing a very specific ethnic identity through his choice of notes and musicians. Especially evident in trumpeteter Ted Curson’s solo on this piece is that Mingus group deals with the African American musical identity through his use of the blues and some vocabulary that can be identified with

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Charlie Parker. Mingus would also deal with ethnic identity and racial issues in more direct ways, another aspect of his later music that these early recordings correspond with. One specific example of this is Mingus’ “Eclipse,” a song in which he music and lyrics that speaks metaphorically to issues of race.

5.2.5 Mingus’ Music and Political Messages

Mingus wrote “Eclipse” in 1948 with Billy Holiday and her performance of “Strange Fruit” in mind. This piece is important because of the way he used it to tackle racial issues pertinent at the time and because of his musical text setting. Mingus first recorded this song in 1953 with vocalist Jane Thurlow as the featured vocalist. With words and music by Charles Mingus is a musical dialogue on interracial romance in the forties. This composition is littered with musical and lyrical symbolism. This first layer of symbolism lies within the lyrical content of the piece. Mingus used the eclipse, a natural marriage of darkness and light as the symbolic representation of the partnership of elements that were kept separate during that era. Through the 1960 there were miscegenation laws all over the United States, making it illegal for whites to marry African Americans, and in some states other minorities such as American Indians, Asian Americans (Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans), and “Malays” (or Filipinos). Although he was refused, Mingus had proposed to his soon to be wife Celia in 1947, making it likely that she was the inspiration for the piece. Even after their marriage in 1951 they still had to deal with racial tension, particularly as Mingus toured with Red Norvo in the South. At times Celia had to

175 Priestley, 36
177 Santoro, 78
register as guitarist Tal Farlow’s wife, because he was white.\textsuperscript{178} Even in New York they were forced to live in a hotel for a year because they could not find an apartment that would allow interracial couples.\textsuperscript{179} This is the world that Mingus is referring to in “Eclipse.”

If we look at an eclipse as representing the joining of unrelated, even opposing, bodies to form a single celestial object, we can begin to interpret some of the musical symbols that Mingus created in the first four bars of the piece. I believe that the two chords that alternate throughout the first four bars represent the sun and moon; the chord scale relationship of these two chords are tonally unrelated, sharing only one common tone.

\textbf{Figure 37 Chord scale relationship for first two chords of "Eclipse"}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{chord_scale_relation.png}
\caption{Chord scale relationship for first two chords of "Eclipse"}
\end{figure}

Over these chords, which ordinarily would not function together, Mingus created a melody that could not exist independently in either key. This melody can exists only because of the joining of the two chords; just as an eclipse exists because of the joining of the moon and the sun.

\textbf{Figure 38 First four bars of "Eclipse"}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{first_fours_bars.png}
\caption{First four bars of "Eclipse"}
\end{figure}

The lyrical content of measures nine though thirteen discusses how unsettled people of the time were with the idea of interracial romance.

\textsuperscript{178} Ibid., 93.
\textsuperscript{179} Ibid., 96.
\textsuperscript{180} Sue Mingus, \textit{Mingus, More Than Just a Fakebook}, 40
Some Look through smoked glasses hiding their eyes,
Others think it’s tragic- sneering as dark meets light.  

This section represents the “unsettledness” with a harmonic progression that avoids a feeling of resolution. The lack of stability that this section conveys can also be attributed to the nine bar phrase length.

The next section, which corresponds with the line, “but the sun doesn’t care, and the moon has no fear, for destiny’s making her choice,” is the most stable section in the piece considering the underlying chordal structure, combined with the melody. At this point, more than any other point, Mingus creates harmony fused with a more traditional, consonant melodic line, as opposed to a line emphasizing a chord extension or leading tone, as was the case in the first four bars.

![Figure 39 Last four bars of "Eclipse" bridge](image)

The first time we hear this line, which is the poetic resolution of the piece, the dissonance in the ensemble in the following section works as if to question (musically), the statement being made.

The coming together of things normally foreign is represented by the third stream treatment of the piece. In order for a piece to be truly third stream it must join music that is classical with music that is jazz. In the 1953 recording, arranged by Nadir Qamar, this is achieved in the introduction and in the middle of the recording with a section that are written in a
style reminiscent of a forties movie score. This technique of combining classical and jazz styles should be seen as another representation of the joining of two things that are considered foreign.

It is after this point that Mingus gives us the final resolution to the piece. He creates the musical highpoint by reusing the earlier consonant section. In the end of this version Mingus brings back the two dissonance chords that the song begins with, which represents the social dissonance that the couple could never fully escape.

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6.0 CONCLUSION

As I have illustrated in this paper, Mingus’ work in the world of avant-garde music was the result of a vast and unique body of experience. While Mingus was not a part of bebop, his involvement in the Massey Hall concert will leave him forever identified with the genre. His openness allowed him to pull in a variety of eclectic sounds and techniques and use them in a way that was never imitative. Every device that he used paid homage to the greats of jazz, and at the same time he made each of these musical device his own genuine form of expression. Considering his musical relationship with Louis Armstrong, Kid Ory, Jelly Roll Morton, and Duke Ellington, a study of Mingus’ history is truly a study of jazz history. However, in order to fully understand the contribution Mingus made it is important to relate his experience of history with his place in the future of the music. Musicians who built the foundation of jazz directly influenced Mingus. His influence has provided the foundation for a great number of jazz musicians who are currently important contributors to the field of jazz. His work with greats like Eric Dolphy, John Faddis, and Toshiko Akioshi deserve the same scrutiny as his earlier efforts. This is a difficult undertaking which is best left to a respectful, and thorough scholar, and a task made even more complicated because of how eloquently Mingus’ music expresses itself.
This appendix will contain the completed transcriptions. Each of the transcriptions has been included in part or in its entirety at some point within the main text of paper.
Extrasensory Perception
Lee Konitz Alto Sax. melody

Mingus
APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIPTIONS WITH ANALYSIS

This section contains analyzed transcriptions that are referenced in the paper but were either not placed, or not placed in entirety within the body of the paper.
Weird Nightmare Analysis

Analyzed by Horton
APPENDIX C

DISCOGRAPHY


BIBLIOGRAPHY


