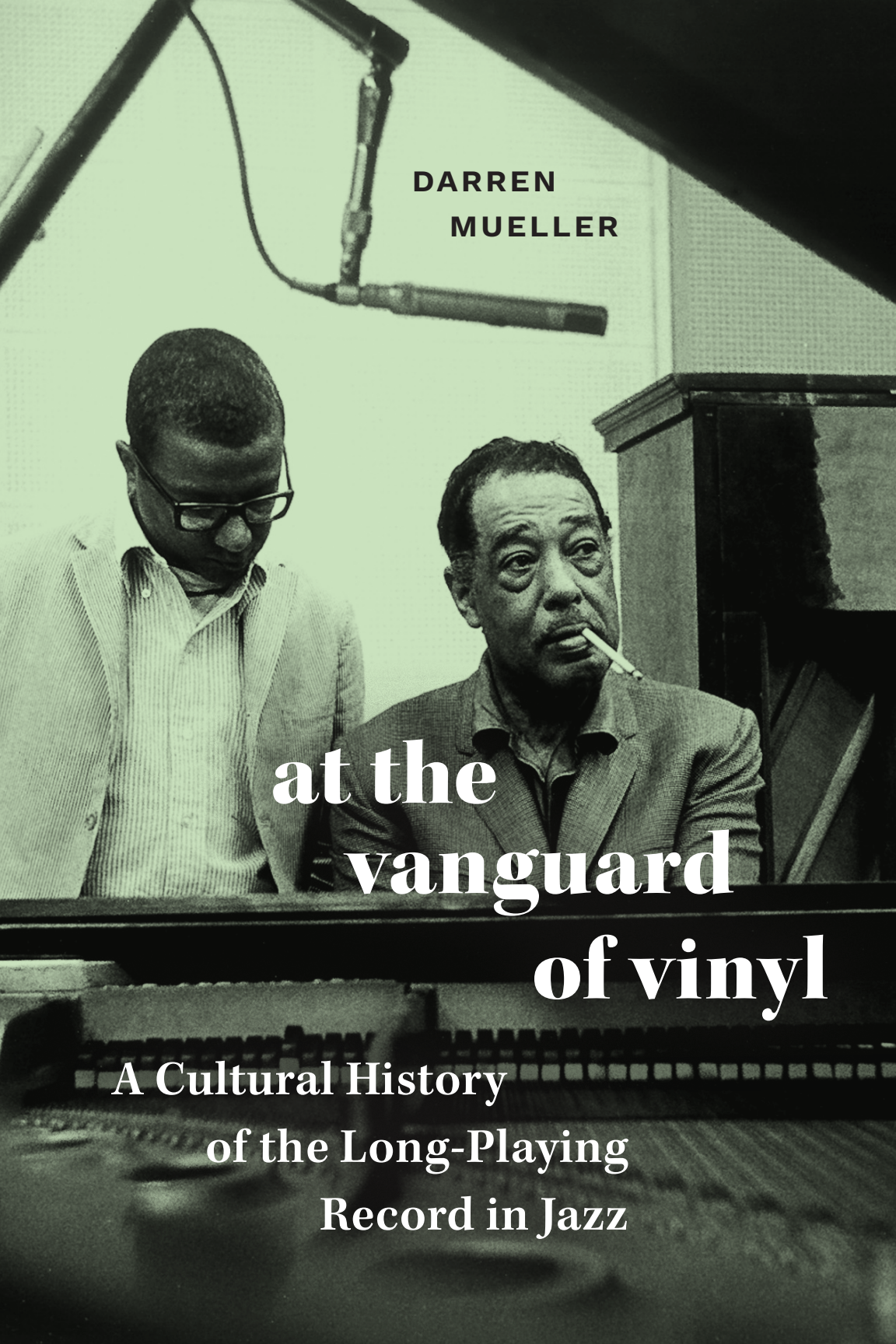




DARREN
MUELLER

at the
vanguard
of vinyl

A Cultural History
of the Long-Playing
Record in Jazz

AT THE VANGUARD OF VINYL

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A Cultural History of the Long-Playing Record in Jazz

DARREN MUELLER

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Durham and London

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Cover art: Duke Ellington sitting at grand piano with Billy Strayhorn, Universal Recording Studios, Chicago, 1963.

Photograph by Jeff Lowenthal. Bridgeman Images.

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To my parents

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Contents

ix	Acknowledgments	
1	INTRODUCTION The LP Goes Live	
35	1 DO THE HUCKLE- BUCK Jazz and the Emergent LP, 1949–1955	
75	2 MISTAKES, MISHAPS, AND MISCUES The Early LPs of Prestige Records	
122	3 QUEST FOR THE MOMENT The Audio Production of <i>Ellington at Newport</i>	
152	4 WORLD STATESMAN The Ambassadorial LPs of Dizzy Gillespie	
191	5 CAPTURING THE SCENE <i>The Cannonball Adderley Quintet in San Francisco</i>	
230	6 MINGUS AH UM The Avant-Garde Record Making of Charles Mingus	
270	CONCLUSION Jazz as a Culture of Circulation	
281	Notes	
377	Discography	
395	Bibliography	
413	Index	



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My last note is reserved for my parents, Buffie Rosen and Henry Mueller, to whom this book is dedicated. From the first moment I picked up a saxophone, they gave me the courage to dream big. Thank you.

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INTRODUCTION

The LP Goes Live

DECEMBER 24, 1954

IN A SMALL RECORDING STUDIO IN HACKENSACK, NEW JERSEY

A few seconds into the first attempt of “The Man I Love,” Thelonious Monk interrupts the slow introduction of vibraphonist Milt Jackson to pose a question: “When am I supposed to come in, man?” Monk’s seemingly innocent inquiry grinds everything to an immediate halt. The rest of the band, apparently already frazzled from the long recording session, reacts with unintelligible words but in unmistakably frustrated tones. Without pause, Monk replies: “I wanna know when to come in, man. Can’t I stop too? Every-

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body else [*trails off*]." Miles Davis, as leader of the session, intervenes and addresses engineer Rudy Van Gelder: "Shhh! Shhh! Hey Rudy, put this on the record. ALL of it."

In most historical accounts, this infamous exchange documents the underlying tension between Davis and Monk. These histories ignore how this contentious moment of studio informality first circulated on record: on a 1957 LP spinning at 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ rpm (revolutions per minute), an unusual format used primarily for spoken-word recordings for the visually impaired. The slower rotational speed and smaller grooves of these 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ -rpm "talking books" afforded twice the capacity of the typical LP, but at a much lower fidelity. As a result, the format rarely contained music. Monk's question, in addition to Davis's response, appeared on one of only six such records issued by Prestige Records.¹

The limited production run of Prestige's 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ -rpm discs marks a particular moment of commercial experimentation in how to present jazz on record, where "alternate takes" sounded alongside their more widely available counterparts. Such doubling suggests that Bob Weinstock, Prestige's owner, attached value to the messiness of music making and thought that his connoisseur-oriented consumers might too. Although moments of studio informality—interruptions, mistakes, and musician chatter—were commonplace during the recording process, they rarely appeared on commercial records at this time. This LP's mere existence cannot be separated from Weinstock's apparent desire to capture, document, and archive the process of recording and the impression of closeness it brings. Davis's comments to Van Gelder in the control room similarly reveal his acute awareness of how the social space of the studio interacts with the business of record making and the inscription of performance onto disc. After all, jazz musicians operated within industry structures that privileged certain presentations of Black male artistry over others: creative authority, technical facility, and authentic expression of the self. The inseparability of Black jazz musicking from wider perceptions of Black masculinity makes it impossible to ignore the acute power discrepancies between (Black) cultural producers and (white) industry executives. In the particularities and power dynamics of this circulation history, what else is it possible to hear?

DECEMBER 16, 1953

IN A FORMER CHURCH, TURNED RECORDING STUDIO, IN NEW YORK CITY

A collection of musicians led by trumpeter Buck Clayton gather for a jam session at Columbia's famed recording studio on East 30th Street in New York City. A number of invited guests join the eleven jazzmen and the Ampex tape recorders. Most had never met before; this is an intimate gathering of mostly strangers. The ensemble records several takes of two different pieces, each lasting between fifteen and twenty minutes. The arrangement of "Robbins' Nest" is conventional: a simply stated melody followed by an unhurried string of fifteen choruses. Nonetheless, many of the soloists are heard in multiple. For example, Clayton's two choruses (the fourth and tenth) are separated by five other soloists. Similarly, trombonists Urbie Green and Henderson Chambers split a thirty-two-bar chorus at the beginning of the recording (chorus three), take individual solos in the middle (choruses seven and nine), and return for another duet at the end (chorus fifteen). The result is a relaxed but entertaining performance from start to finish.

Informal jam sessions with lengthy improvisations have deep historical roots in jazz. Yet putting them on commercial record was relatively rare at this time, especially for a large firm such as Columbia. The result of this session-turned-record became Clayton's first 12-inch LP, issued in 1954: *The Huckle-Buck and Robbins' Nest: A Buck Clayton Jam Session*. The otherwise relaxed nature of "Robbins' Nest" hides a technological conundrum: the master take includes at least three choruses spliced in during postproduction, including the duet by Green and Chambers as well as Clayton's first solo. Surprisingly, the liner notes written by the producers do not hide but rather celebrate the addition of more than two minutes of music to the original performance. "There were two takes of Robbins' Nest," writes John Hammond, "and thanks to George Avakian's imaginative tape-editing, this record combines the best of both."²

Clayton's performance combined with Avakian's invasive editing exposes the complex relationship that recording technologies had to 1950s jazz. Whereas the front jacket highlights the "full length improvisations," the liner notes boast about the ability to edit improvised performances together with little aural disruption. The favorable, if unusual, acknowledgment of such technological manipulation points to the changing affordances of record

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making in the 1950s. It similarly reveals the tension between the desire to document jazz history in the making and the required mediation needed to create a commercial product. Within that tension more questions remain about how the interracial group of musicians might have felt about their performances being cut and spliced together, as if their music making was raw material in need of technological improvement by white record producers. Control over the sound during and after the performance happened along racialized and gendered lines in ways that most often went unmarked: the accompanying notes and marketing ephemera do not mention that the musicians and the record producers were all men. Issues of labor and power within a racialized industry again rise to the surface. By listening through the splice, what else is it possible to hear?

MAY 15, 1953

IN A LARGE, HALF-FILLED CONCERT HALL IN TORONTO, CANADA

LATER, IN A SMALL RECORDING STUDIO IN NEW YORK CITY (OR POSSIBLY NEW JERSEY)

There was no rehearsal, only a sound check. However, any resulting sloppiness was overshadowed by the presence and performances of the bebop royalty onstage: Dizzy Gillespie, Charlie Parker, Bud Powell, Max Roach, and Charles Mingus. The inspired playing on “All the Things You Are,” a 1940s standby of Parker and Gillespie’s, has a push-pull feel to it: the rhythm section’s movement between swing and Latin during the melody, the competitiveness heard among the soloists, the harmonically adventurous accompaniment, and the impromptu (and sometimes overpowering) horn backgrounds during Mingus’s bass solo all serve as evidence.

Two basses can be heard during the Mingus solo that appears on the 1956 LP *The Quintet: Jazz at Massey Hall*. The Mingus faintly heard in the background sounds like an echo, although he remains eerily unfaithful to the Mingus clearly audible in the foreground. The bassist apparently felt that he was too low in the initial mix, so he rerecorded himself sometime after. He created this ghostly duet by overdubbing himself onto the concert recording. Aural remnants nevertheless remain.

As if mirroring the doubled recording, two different versions of “All the Things” circulated simultaneously in the early to mid-1950s: a 10-inch LP

with no additions and a 12-inch version with the “reparative” overdubs. Both discs appeared on Debut Records, the label that Mingus cofounded with his wife, Celia, and Max Roach.³ The bassist chose to overdub and then release the recording in multiple versions, although it is unclear if he let any of his collaborators know. Because record companies owned and operated by Black musicians were rare, his experimentations are a statement about control over his intellectual property, over his sound on record, and over the art of record production. In this way, Mingus’s reimagining of the Massey Hall concert is not about faithfulness to an original. Rather, his actions point toward the relationship between the creative agency of Black jazzmen like Mingus and the uneven racial dynamics of the mid-century record business. In Mingus’s edits, overdubs, cuts, and splices, what else is it possible to hear?

These opening vignettes—each about a performance turned into a recording—occurred roughly within a year and a half of one another. Their differences are notable. Davis’s group recorded in a small studio for a fledgling independent, jazz-focused record label. Clayton’s jam session occurred in a large studio owned and operated by one of the largest and most powerful media conglomerates of the time. The Massey Hall concert produced a live but not quite live recording eventually released by a musician-owned record label. Each situation features musicians performing in distinct spaces and draws attention to the divergent approaches to and methodologies of making records. The results differently imagine what jazz records were at that moment and what they might be in the future.

Taken together, however, they exemplify how jazz musicians and their record companies were adjusting to the advent of the long-playing record (LP), a playback medium initially introduced by Columbia Records in 1948. Along with improved fidelity, the format’s strong yet lightweight “vinylite” material could accommodate nearly three times the number of grooves per disc, allowing for longer uninterrupted playback: up to 22.5 minutes per side for a 12-inch disc. The increased capacity beyond the three-minute limitations of the previous era dramatically altered the business and artistry of making records. Even so, LPs were an emergent technology that required new infrastructures to record, manufacture, distribute, and sell them. These unknowns made change happen slowly. The ubiquitous presence of the 12-inch vinyl record in the decades since the 1950s has made the integration of the LP seem brief and even uneventful, obscuring the decade-long period

during which record makers experimented with how best to leverage its potential. Davis's ironic call to put social disagreements on record, Mingus's reparative sound work, and Avakian's editing of Clayton's improvisations were, in fact, at the vanguard of vinyl's adoption. Their similarities thus reveal the underexplored complexities that surround the LP as a recording format, as an instrument of technological mediation, and as a medium for historical documentation.

From these perspectives, the LP also emerges as a medium of sound and culture, a dynamic object with embedded racial and gender politics. The LP, despite its newness, became another means to reinscribe the uneven power relations of a heavily segregated music industry that was not gender inclusive in its operational structures. Much like the rest of the jazz business, the recording studio was a male-dominated space on both sides of the glass, and therefore a technological refashioning of what Hazel Carby observed about the bebop scene: a perpetual site of "men reproducing men without women."⁴ Moreover, Black musicians had enormous influence onstage but minimal control over their artistic representations on record. Such working conditions influenced jazzmen as much as they did jazz recordmen. Consider Avakian's tape edits to Clayton's "Robbins' Nest." Even if Clayton (or any of the other musicians) knew about the stitched-together performance, they would not have had any input into how such mediation unfolded, nor would they have had any influence over the cover design, liner notes, and other discursive ephemera. And although Avakian consistently advocated for the music and its practitioners in a race-neutral way, he did so through an inherited understanding of jazz history and Black musical genius that always centered great men working together. Even Charles Mingus, who co-owned an independent label with Celia, a white woman, kept firm creative control over Debut's sound on record. His edits and overdubs thus resisted the racialized logic of the industry while also expressing certain qualities of postwar masculinity: capitalistic risk taking, technological control, and artistic authority.⁵ As Davis's quip to Van Gelder similarly suggests, cultural politics flow through the record-making process at every stage.

At the Vanguard of Vinyl interrogates the sonic entanglements of record making—that is, the choices made while performing, recording, producing, designing, and circulating music on record. These entanglements matter because they destabilize the idea that jazz recordings are simply a passive playback medium meant to deliver sonic content. Listening for and through the processes of record making further reveals the tactics and strategies by

which Black musicians in the 1950s found agency within the racialized practices of an industry that systematically disadvantaged them. These musicians skillfully leveraged a moment of technological turmoil in their efforts to redefine prevailing notions of Blackness within the United States. Yet even as the music successfully crossed artistic and cultural boundaries, altering the ways in which Black expertise, Black labor, and Black capital circulated, these efforts often reaffirmed gendered hierarchies within US culture. Understanding the decisions that render jazz performance into a commercial product makes clear that the history of the LP cannot be untangled from the ideologies of social difference that surrounded its creation, adoption, and eventual dominance.

This book's principal argument is that jazz records are more than the product of a singular musician or ensemble from a particular time and location. Like all commercially produced sonic media, LPs came into being through decisions both small and large by historically situated cultural producers with different philosophies about music and individual approaches to the technology of sound reproduction. Within the jazz industry's broader matrix of creative agency, postwar ideologies about race and gender continued to affect the working conditions, artistic possibilities, and circulatory pathways of record making. To examine how musicians interacted with other industry professionals, I attend to the details of musical performance through audio production: tape edits, microphone placement, the mixing of sound levels and instrument balance, room sound, overdubbing, and other sound-processing effects. I connect decisions about sound to the visual and tactile attributes of various LPs to understand the sounds on record as the combined product of different kinds of technological and artistic labor. Through this method I assert that the relationship between audio production and musical performance is a central yet underexplored means of understanding mid-century jazz.

Many scholars have convincingly articulated how jazz musicians operated within a social system where tropes of cultural difference marked location, audience, and musical style. Much of this literature understands technological advances in commercial record making from a deterministic perspective. There is a general assumption that the transition to the LP format happened quickly and without controversy because the desire for such recordings (and the methods of production) already existed. As a result, the nascent record-making activities of the 1950s often become a means of looking forward to the 1960s, when jazz most explicitly intersects with

the struggle for civil rights and social equality. This naturalized treatment of the LP, I suggest, does not account for the diverse approaches to record production and record making that characterized the early LP era.

In order to tell the multilayered story of how Black cultural producers sought greater control over how their musical expertise circulated and became represented on record, *At the Vanguard of Vinyl* examines the LP's adoption through a set of four interrelated theoretical frameworks: (1) contestations over recording format, (2) the reorientation of race within the record business, (3) new forms of technological mediation, and (4) the codification of jazz's historical narrative. The birth of the LP widely increased the availability of historical jazz recordings as labels reissued older recordings on newer formats, a process that involves several layers of mediation along the record-making supply chain. The affordances of a particular format and the technological capabilities of its associated equipment shaped these reissues at several levels. At the same time, the blossoming of the record industry enormously increased the number of jazz records being produced. The structures of commercial record making mediated this growth: label executives decided which artists to sign, what kinds of music to record, and how to represent those musical sounds on record. Within the mechanisms for making—and remaking—jazz history, technological capabilities of recording intersected with changing conceptions of race, gender, and other forms of social difference. The ever-increasing agency of Black cultural producers enormously altered the instruments of control over the production of recordings.⁶ As such, the dynamic connection between the historiography of jazz on record and struggles over racial inequality comes into focus.

As a technology of culture, the LP maps onto the more expansive sonic terrain of Black modernity in the early Cold War era. Black musicians throughout the twentieth century took a multifaceted approach to the poetics, politics, and practices of what Guthrie Ramsey describes as Afro-modernism: the fight for opportunity, liberation, and freedom in relation to the socioeconomic institutions of capitalism within the United States.⁷ Through their record making in the 1950s, Black jazz musicians fought against structures of racism while simultaneously appealing to the sympathies of left-leaning political figures, placing an ethos of the Black vernacular in dialogue with “serious” European musical aesthetics, campaigning to perform the products of mass culture in hallowed concert halls, and leveraging strategies of racial uplift against white privilege.⁸ Collectively, these actions

produced a jazz-specific version of Afro-modernism that drew from multiple aesthetic streams, refused reductive definitions, and explicitly combined musical style with social practices. As forms of representation eventually shifted because of the LP, so too did jazz's existing relationship to white mainstream culture and entrenched structures of whiteness.

Recognizing that jazz sits within a much broader constellation of political and artistic practices of African American culture, my analysis begins with a set of questions: How does the adoption of new technologies intersect with concurrent contestations over representation, power, and cultural capital? How do changing conceptions of musical time and recording space intersect with Cold War politics as well as the ongoing fight for civil rights? Who are the agents of mediation with control over the sonic, graphic, and verbal modes of representation on record, and what sociocultural factors influence how they make decisions about these representations? How are Black and white cultural actors differently invested in the processes of record making? In what ways do the decisions of record makers reinforce the gendered social order of jazz in the postwar era? How do sonic media enable musicians to create new auralities and acoustemologies—ways of knowing the world through sound? Records result from specific kinds of musical labor, sonic artistry, and technical creativity, so the history of the format's adoption becomes a way in which to understand how mediated objects represent historical knowledge and differently affect cultural change.

The emphasis on improvisation in jazz—the high value ascribed to music made in the moment of performance—offers a particular vantage point on the questions above. Many issues were in a constant state of flux during the LP's adoption, including gendered constructions of public and private space, understandings of time and place, and beliefs about authenticity and simulacra. By examining the correlation between improvised performance and its reproductions during this period, this book asserts that the increased mediatization of performance via technological advances in recording was actually a mediatization of culture(s) writ large. The pathways that such mediatization took can be heard in the sonic entanglements of record making, especially in how decisions about sound relate to both intended and imagined uses of the resulting records. Who controlled which form of media (and its contents) mattered just as much as how that media (and its contents) circulated. Through the jazz LP, *At the Vanguard of Vinyl* interrogates the relationships of sound to culture, technology to power, and mediation to cultural agency.

Recording Format

In their materials as well as their design, jazz records encode the culture that surrounds their creation and use. For example, Clayton's *The Huckle-Buck and Robbins' Nest* was one of only a handful of 12-inch jazz LPs issued in 1954. Most jazz—including Mingus's unedited version of "All the Things You Are" on *The Quintet: Jazz at Massey Hall, vol. 1* (1953)—was available only on 10-inch disc, the standard size for all forms of popular music in the first five years of the LP's commercial life. I explore the many reasons for this in chapters 1 and 2, including how and why the production of jazz records changed to match shifting assumptions about audience preferences for Black popular music. Indeed, by the time that Mingus reissued the overdubbed "All the Things You Are" in 1956 and Prestige released the 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ -rpm experiment of Davis's "The Man I Love" in 1957, the record industry had already adjusted, such that both tracks appeared solely on 12-inch LPs. In only a few years, 10-inch LPs became one forgotten playback medium among many.

Although quite literally at the margins, these details reveal how a considerable amount of uncertainty and rampant experimentation defined the transitional time as the LP took hold of the market in the 1950s. For nearly a decade after the LP's introduction, cross-industry standardization remained impossible, forcing record stores to sell numerous types of records that varied in size, speed, and sound quality. Eventually, producers and executives planned recording sessions specifically to take advantage of the LP format. Eventually, record jackets with artwork, photos, and liner notes replaced the blank paper sleeves of the 78-rpm era. Eventually, innovations in signal processing created new methods of editing, mixing, and mastering. Eventually, producers regularly took advantage of the longer playback duration to create concept albums.⁹ However, it took time for failed experiments to evolve into viable pathways with commercial sustainability. This precarious history hides in plain sight on the ridged surface of a recording format like the LP.

By recording format, I mean the mode of encoding sonic data onto a specific medium, such as an LP, cylinder, cassette tape, or MP3. As a term, *format* encompasses specifications such as size, shape, material, and sonic properties of the medium as well as the visuals, graphics, and text of its container. In *MP3: The Meaning of a Format*, Jonathan Sterne convincingly outlines how such attributes contain a range of assumptions, logics, and practices embedded within historically specific notions of technology

and listening. Recording format therefore holds power over the social and cultural transmission of audio content because it sets the parameters for storage, distribution, and consumption of recorded sound.¹⁰

Consider the pre-LP experiments in recording jazz that ran beyond the 78-rpm time restrictions in terms of format. In an effort to overcome the technological limitations of the 78 format, record companies would sometimes split lengthier pieces between the A side and the B side of a 78-rpm disc. This is the case with Duke Ellington's "Tiger Rag" (1929) and "Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue" (1938), Tommy and Jimmy Dorsey's "Honeysuckle Rose" (1934), and Dexter Gordon's "The Chase" (1947), a cutting contest with fellow tenor saxophonist Wardell Grey. Other, more ambitious examples include Benny Goodman's nearly nine-minute "Sing, Sing, Sing" (1937), which took two sides of a 12-inch disc; Ellington's four-sided "Reminiscing in Tempo" (1935); and a seventeen-minute version of "A Good Man Is Hard to Find" issued by Commodore Records on *Jam Session at the Commodore, no. 3* (1940).¹¹ Producer Norman Granz was an early proponent of this technique. By recording his jam-session-style Jazz at the Philharmonic (JATP) concert series, Granz became one of the first to release live concerts in three- or four-disc album sets.¹²

These examples represent only a small percentage of commercially released jazz in the 78-rpm era, yet they demonstrate how format correlates with changing practices of listening and record making. For instance, the originally issued versions of Ellington's "Tiger Rag" and Goodman's "Sing, Sing, Sing" split the pieces between the sides of a 10- and 12-inch 78-rpm record, respectively. The silence between, usually timed to coincide with a musical transition, sonically marked the technological limitations of the format. This aural interruption was built into the recording process and, in some cases, influenced compositional and performance decisions as well.¹³ In the early 1950s, Brunswick and RCA Victor reissued the Ellington and Goodman recordings on LP as an unbroken track without the musical gap caused by the need to flip the record.¹⁴ *New York Times* columnist John Wilson singled out this innovation specifically, underlining how such continuous play made it possible to hear the "smooth flow" of musical performance as never before.¹⁵ With the uninterrupted playback of the LP, one technological innovation silenced the limitations of another and allowed musical sounds to travel across time and space with increasing efficiency and efficacy.

Even as an emerging medium, the LP forced record labels to adjust their record-making infrastructures in other ways as well. Because a single LP

side could hold multiple tracks without pause, producers began rethinking their content and programming. Columbia producer George Avakian, who released the first popular music LPs onto the market in 1948, looked toward other media. As he told Michael Jarrett many years later, “The concept that I used in making a 10-in LP—a pop LP—was thinking of it as a radio program in which the entire package has a purpose. It’s programmed. You start with something that catches the attention of the listener on the outside first track. In fact, I did this deliberately on both sides. I’d try to find a real attention-grabber. Then I’d pace the program and end with something that makes the person want to turn the record over.”¹⁶ In his role as the mediator between artist and consumer—what Andrew Blake has described as a “first listener”—Avakian reoriented his approach in response to the new demands of the LP format.¹⁷ Thinking about the entire listening experience, he adopted radio programming as a model. However, it was the physical properties of the record that afforded certain possibilities.

As the above discussion implies, the logics of capitalism are what give recording formats like the LP their inherent power and ability to control cultural discourse. Any change to the delivery formats or circulatory mechanisms of music consequently creates possibility, either to alter the underlying conditions of how power operates or to strengthen already existing power structures. It is notable, then, that all the different constituencies mentioned in the previous paragraphs are men: jazzmen, recordmen, and male critics. Although these cultural producers worked in increasingly multiracial and multigenerational spaces, and power flowed unevenly among them, their jazz work continued to be shaped by men and their relationships with one another. As I explore throughout, these social conditions would have enormous influence on jazz culture during the industry-wide adoption of the LP format.

As vinyl LPs came to replace the shellac discs of the previous recording era, consumers in the early 1950s faced a rapidly changing and uncertain market. Numerous options in terms of size and speed became newly available. Spinning at 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm, there were 12-, 10-, and 7-inch LPs. At 45 rpm, there were 7-inch singles and extended-play (EP) discs. Many record companies also continued to produce 12- and 10-inch 78-rpm discs well into the decade, along with other experiments that have been lost to history.¹⁸ By the late 1950s, the industry had normalized, and most labels issued either 12-inch 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ -rpm albums or 7-inch 45-rpm singles. The consolidation of formats departed from previous conventions that rigidly matched genre to disc size.

In what Debra Spar describes as a phase of “creative anarchy,” the record industry moved from innovation to unstable yet widespread commercialization, and eventually to standardization.¹⁹ During this multitudinous period, several formats uneasily coexisted alongside one another.

The infrastructural changes happening within the industry forced consumers to reevaluate their listening habits and record companies to develop new approaches to marketing and manufacturing.²⁰ New technological capabilities required audio engineers to experiment with the finer details of the recording process, from microphone placement and editing techniques to studio layout and design.²¹ The changing habitus of both professional record makers and consumers drove musicians to rethink their orientation to the industry as well, and to find additional spaces in which to make their voices heard. Even so, the kind of newness ushered in by the LP also corroborates the frequently made observation that the upending of certain cultural norms can result in progress for some but not necessarily equal progress for all.²² Often, the male-dominated conditions of record making reinscribed notions of masculine privilege and control, especially in terms of which historical narratives about jazz came to circulate most widely.

In order to examine the LP as a medium of culture, *At the Vanguard of Vinyl* pays particular attention to format. The physical characteristics, visual design, and sonic properties of jazz records reveal much about the cultural valences of the jazz industry and its listeners, particularly in regard to what kinds of information different groups valued and how this information circulated. The particularities of format reflect the cultural practice of record making, providing a window into the mediation processes along the record-making supply chain. From the perspective of format theory, then, the LP is a form of structured communication, social in its creation and cultural in its circulation.²³

Race and Record Making

In 1949, a year after Columbia introduced the LP, *Billboard* magazine renamed its category for music marketed toward African Americans from “race records” to “rhythm and blues,” or R&B for short. Numerous styles fell under the catchall banner of R&B: blues, gospel, boogie-woogie, jazz, and any other popular music that originated in the Black community. Despite the change, the term nevertheless continued to differentiate Black music from white music, a segregational logic also imposed onto the industry’s playback

media: 12-inch discs for classical recordings and Broadway shows, and 10-inch records for popular, country, and jazz, and anything else that fell under the R&B banner. This differentiation would continue despite further changes in playback media, as I explore in detail in chapter 1. Regardless, record-making practices continued to mark difference through format, a physical manifestation of entrenched notions of race and class in the early LP era.

The dominant power structures of Jim Crow that aggressively limited African Americans are central to media histories like the adoption of the LP within the United States. At the time of the LP's introduction, mixed-race ensembles onstage were still rare and hotly contested, as were integrated audiences in many areas of the country. The recording studio offered greater flexibility, but record labels were nevertheless wary of any music that entered into cultural debates about race.²⁴ Jazz musicians experienced these politics on a daily basis and wherever they worked. Given jazz's origins, praxis, and reception, racial ideologies have enormously influenced the continued circulation of the music through recorded objects, both before and after the advent of the LP.²⁵ Producers and industry executives, each differently invested in jazz's cultural politics, continued to act as silent mediators during the industry's adoption of the LP, especially as various record-making innovations increased the impact of record-production and audio-editing techniques.²⁶ Even so, inherited notions of Black masculinity, especially essentialist depictions that so often circulated through mass media, continued to define the conditions and possibilities of Black popular music. This historical context makes clear that the LP is not simply a technology for the dissemination of music but is actually a determining factor by which ideologies about music and its cultures circulate.

Like their predecessors, LPs were carefully curated objects of political discourse that circulated multiple notions of race and identity.²⁷ The origin story of the format is evidence of this fact. Columbia's quest for uninterrupted playback via long play began in 1939 as part of a larger business strategy to make the label the preeminent record company for classical music, a market then dominated by RCA Victor.²⁸ In 1939 Columbia president Edward Wallerstein directed the CBS research lab to develop long play.²⁹ The research team's first version appeared at the end of 1946 with a playback duration of seven to eight minutes per side. Wallerstein demanded longer. "I timed I don't know how many works in the classical repertory," he later recalled, "and came up with a figure of seventeen minutes to a side. This would enable about 90% of all classical music to be put on two sides of a record."³⁰

After two more years of further demands for capacity, the CBS engineers went above and beyond, expanding playback to 22.5 minutes per side. Later, Columbia boasted about this accomplishment in its 1948 report to stockholders without any mention of jazz or popular music: “[The LP] has ended the 50-year delay in finding a solution to the oldest challenge in recorded music: being able to hear entire symphonies, concerti, string quartets, as well as complete Broadway musical shows, on a single disc, with no interruptions in the music not planned by the composer himself.”³¹ The first LP in Columbia’s Masterworks catalog, ML 4001, was Felix Mendelssohn’s Violin Concerto, op. 64, played by Nathan Milstein with an orchestra conducted by Bruno Walter.³² Although popular music did immediately appear on LP, the format was conceived of and designed for classical music. Jazz was not a consideration.³³

This origin story exposes a wider truth about the early years of the LP: jazz on record remained defined by whiteness. Jazz historian Kelsey Klotz understands whiteness as a continuous performance of white-centered norms and values. Although such performances “include, intersect with, and incorporate other performances of identity, including gender, sexuality, class, religion, and able-ness,” the entrenched repetition of whiteness most often renders it invisible and inaudible. By turning her attention to the iterative quality of whiteness, Klotz convincingly demonstrates how white racial identity works to afford certain social privileges or deny opportunities in the creation and circulation of jazz.³⁴ Applied to record making, her analysis brings clarity to how both race and gender functioned as crucial organizing principles of the postwar jazz industry. Most nonmusician record makers in jazz—record-label owners, artist-and-repertoire (A&R) executives, producers, recording engineers, graphic designers, marketers, and critics (among others)—were white men.³⁵ Moreover, the ones with the most power, such as those running independent record companies or making contract decisions at the major firms, imagined a consumer base that was primarily white and male. Such assumptions, however inaccurate, directly affected the musical aesthetics and repertoire selections in the studio, the techniques of audio production, the design of the resultant LPs, and the marketing of those same records.³⁶ Any history of record making in this era must account for such individual and collective performances of whiteness in their various forms.

One example of how whiteness operated within the commercial infrastructures of the mid-century record business is the heavy editing on *The Huckle-Buck and Robbins’ Nest: A Buck Clayton Jam Session*. As mentioned

above, Avakian cut up and spliced in several choruses on “Robbins’ Nest,” a process that Hammond celebrates in the liner notes to this 1954 LP. Control over the technology, as well as the discourse surrounding it, remained the domain of white men who worked as intermediaries between jazz musicians—especially Black ones—and the capitalistic structures of the industry. These men may have shared a workspace, but they were understood through different, historically situated cultural scripts of masculine authenticity and authority.³⁷ For example, as much as *The Huckle-Buck and Robbins’ Nest* LP celebrated Clayton’s spontaneous musical abilities (as I explore further in chapter 1), the record explicitly foregrounded the white expertise of Avakian and Hammond in choosing the musicians and repertoire, directing the recording session, editing the tapes, and recounting the day’s activities. Such performances of whiteness were made possible by the power differentials inherent in the practice of record making during the early LP era, regardless of the intentions of various individuals.

The capricious nature of the 1950s music industry meant that record makers would continually reform and recast these social dynamics. Once again, the LPs from my opening vignettes help illustrate how both individuals and organizations adjusted. When Miles Davis first began recording with Prestige Records in 1951, the label largely ignored the jukeboxes and radio stations that sat at the aural center of Black public life.³⁸ Instead, Weinstock curated his catalog around music that appealed to a form of jazz connoisseurship defined by white male sensibilities and record collecting. By 1957, when Prestige issued Davis’s alternate take of “The Man I Love,” the label had reversed tactics, recognizing that Black audiences were essential to its sustainability as a creative and commercial entity.³⁹ Along with heavily investing in musicians who would appeal to Black audiences, Prestige increased its production of 45-rpm singles, the primary playback medium for those aforementioned jukeboxes and Black radio stations (see chapter 5). By the end of 1960, Prestige had created several subsidiaries, including the Tru-Sound label, which focused on gospel, R&B, and Latin American music.⁴⁰ As was the case with other independent labels, however, male instrumentalists continued to define the sound of jazz on Prestige, despite the label’s racially integrated roster of musicians.⁴¹

During the same period, Charles Mingus struggled to make his independent record label commercially viable while also giving its musicians complete artistic freedom. It is not coincidental, as chapter 6 argues, that Mingus’s music comes to more overtly confront racial inequities at the

precise moment when he begins to have a heavier hand in editing recordings during postproduction.⁴² From this perspective, his overdubbed bass solo on “All the Things You Are” is not a singular moment of mediation but part of a wider history about how the business and artistry of record making entwine with Black political action and expressions of Black agency.

I contend that the jazz industry’s relationship to socially constructed notions of difference can be heard in the details of record production.⁴³ In order to analyze how sound processing mediates this difference, I consider how jazz record making in the 1950s was an activity of constant negotiation and contradiction, especially for African American artists who refused the restrictive structures of whiteness that defined the jazz industry. To understand these cultural dynamics, I listen. I listen to different practices of mediation. I listen through the particularities of media. And I listen for the ingenuity of jazz musicians performing and making records. Through this listening, *At the Vanguard of Vinyl* uses the adoption of the jazz LP and the attendant rapid rise in music’s mass consumption to examine how jazz musicians redefined their social position on a national and often international stage.

Mediation of Performance and Time

Recorded sounds materialize from the infrastructures behind their creation—that is, the specific approaches to production, manufacturing, packaging, and distribution.⁴⁴ When Columbia issued the stream of improvised solos heard in “Robbins’ Nest” on *A Buck Clayton Jam Session*, the record producers designed the jacket to highlight both the “full length improvisations” on the front and the “imaginative tape-editing” on the back. Discourses of technology’s relationship to performance quite literally surround the sound on record. The three choruses spliced in during postproduction and celebrated in the liner notes make clear that processes of record making matter in how they relate to one another. Some individuals, like Avakian with “Robbins’ Nest” or Mingus with “All the Things You Are,” had a heavy hand. Others, like Bob Weinstock at Prestige, rarely edited recordings in postproduction, for a number of reasons both economic and aesthetic. Such decisions reveal differing philosophies about recording, especially regarding the cutting and splicing together of recorded performances.

The ability to edit performances in this way relied on the convergence of the LP with another new technology: electromagnetic tape. Before the

introduction of tape in the late 1940s, music was recorded directly onto a master disc, where a stylus would physically cut grooves into a thickly coated wax disc. With tape, those sounds would instead be encoded onto a thin, magnetizable strip of plastic film. The medium captured clear, uninterrupted performances with hardly any background noise, a feature that had enormous appeal for radio stations interested in tape-delayed broadcasts. Tape was also easy to use, enormously flexible, and relatively inexpensive for professional broadcast companies. However, it was tape's ability to be cut, copied, and spliced—the possibilities of editing—that ushered in new practices of record making at every stage of the recording process.

The first commercial tape recorder in the United States, the Ampex model 200A, appeared in April 1948, only a few months before the LP's introduction. Full-scale adoption was not instantaneous, yet tape machines quickly found their way into recording and broadcast studios across the industry, especially after 3M began manufacturing affordable tape reels in 1948.⁴⁵ The simultaneous arrival of the LP and tape was historical happenstance, an unplanned but nevertheless significant fusion of playback and recording media. This combination merged two streams of media innovation for the first time: reproduction of sound through inscription into grooves on a flat disc (originally popularized in the 1890s) and the processes of encoding sonic data magnetically onto tape such that these data could be manipulated without loss of fidelity.⁴⁶ The cultural practice of editing was not new, of course. The ability to cut, copy, and paste exists in many other cultural artifacts, including wax tables, palimpsests, and chalkboards (to name only a few). For sound recording, however, tape introduced the revolutionary ability to splice, merge, distort, and otherwise alter the time of recorded performance.⁴⁷ If the LP was a triumph of playback in the home, then tape was a triumph of editing in the control room.

Both technologies must be understood in relationship to each other. The compression of performance time into a smaller space coupled with the increased malleability of those musical “data” not only reshaped what it meant to package and sell music but arguably also altered the very notion of music itself.⁴⁸ Within the cultural economy of music, which places high value on the synchronicity between creative events and their reproductions, issues of informational flow and exchange quickly point to the sociopolitical complexities of these sonic media.⁴⁹ More control over sound translated into more control over the perception of time as it relates to musical performance.

As technologies that mediate time and space, both the LP and magnetic tape fit into a much broader history of 1950s technologies that redefined perceptions of time and space in the United States. In 1951 President Harry Truman conducted the first transcontinental television broadcast announcing the official end of the US occupation of Japan. That same year also marked the first TV broadcast of a live sporting event and the Federal Communications Commission's approval of color TV. The first political TV ads appeared a year later. In the years following, the introduction of the vidicon pickup tube made it possible to construct portable TV cameras—notably RCA's "Walkie-Lookie" camera (1953)—and the invention of the transistor radio by Texas Instruments (1954) led to the mass production of pocket-size radio devices.⁵⁰ In 1956 President Dwight Eisenhower signed the Federal-Aid Highway Act, a law that authorized the construction of the interstate highway system and began the largest public-works project in US history to date. Russia's 1957 launch of Sputnik 1, the first Earth-made satellite, caused a panic in part because it made the possibility of space exploration and intercontinental ballistic missiles a reality. Images of airplanes and worldwide travel similarly filled popular magazines and newspapers as access to commercial airlines increased in the late 1950s, a sentiment immortalized on Frank Sinatra's 1958 LP *Come Fly with Me*.⁵¹

Other technologies enabled more rapid exchange of information. The first electronic computer, the Ferranti Mark 1, became commercially available in 1951. Three years later, scientists Harold Hopkins and Narinder Singh Kapany published a significant article in *Nature* that demonstrated the practical abilities of transmitting data using light (i.e., fiber optics).⁵² After the installation of the first transoceanic coaxial cable in 1950, several companies from the United Kingdom, United States, and Canada constructed the first transatlantic coaxial network. The Transatlantic No. 1 (TAT-1) opened in 1956, ushering in a new telecommunication era between Europe and North America.⁵³ Along with the creation of solar cells and magnetic computer hard drives, other scientific breakthroughs of the mid-1950s included the invention of the digital modem (1958), the commercial copy machine (1959), and the integrated circuit, popularly known as the microchip (1959). Mass communication expanded alongside mass consumerism, whereby the economic strength of the middle class led to more leisure time and expendable income for millions of people nationwide.⁵⁴ It would be several years, or in some cases decades, before many innovations made their way into most homes or offices. However, such advancements in the speed and

ease of information circulation reveal much about the prevailing impulses of this cultural moment, which could be described as the subjective compression of space and time.⁵⁵

The middle of the twentieth century was certainly not the first historical period when notions of space shifted through technological advancement. Industrialization in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century forced a broad reconception of what proximity meant. Later, telegraphy, telephony, and radio increased the exchange of information across wide geographic regions. Nevertheless, the efficiency of informational travel expanded exponentially during the 1950s through the combination of different media. An increased number of television broadcasts of news programs, sports, and political events dovetailed with the expanding capabilities of telephone networks and radio broadcasts. More expansive control over the distribution networks also brought about more invasive forms of mediation and greater power over reproduction and representation. Such changes happened across different levels of culture simultaneously.

It is difficult to overstate the significance that these changes had for the music industry.⁵⁶ As recordings began outselling sheet music for the first time in the early 1950s, records became one of the dominant media for musical distribution and consumption. Larger media conglomerates like CBS and its largest competitor, RCA, began to devote more financial resources to making and selling records.⁵⁷ At the same time, the growing popularity of television created more avenues for promoting music. *The Steve Allen Show*, eventually renamed *The Tonight Show*, premiered in September 1954 on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) TV network to compete with CBS's popular *Ed Sullivan Show*, which had been on the air since 1948. Both shows regularly programmed music, especially because a company like CBS could cross-promote its recording artists on TV, radio, and film.⁵⁸ As avenues of personal entertainment became more affordable (and distribution networks more efficient), far-off musical events increasingly found their way into the homes of millions of people in real time. A nationalized musical culture became more of a reality.

The far-off events that instantaneously appear on a live television broadcast were made possible only by sophisticated machines that seamlessly connect to elaborate infrastructures of communication. To work, these technologies must project what Rebecca Schneider refers to as the "lure of synchronicity."⁵⁹ That is, more-synchronous media result directly from increased mediation that simultaneously becomes less visible. One way to understand

the increased possibilities of manipulating recorded performance during this era is through what Mary Ann Doane theorizes as “unreal” time. “The very idea of a time that is real,” writes Doane in her work on still photography, “presupposes an unreal time, a technologically produced and mediated time.”⁶⁰ As the flip side of “real time,” the concept of unreal time rests on the tension between the live event and its mediated representation.

Perceived synchronicity is foundational to recorded music. Listening to a recorded object is a cultural practice with an inherent latency between performance and reproduction.⁶¹ In this respect, sonic technologies of the early LP era translated new ways of thinking about sound, time, and space into a discourse of real time that gave the impression of instantaneous access and synchronous witnessing. Certainly, the invention and commercial adoption of sound recording at the end of the nineteenth century caused a similar moment of rupture. Yet the advent of tape technology made the LP into something different: record making became more than point-to-point inscription.⁶² That is, the LP is a cultural technology of unreal time and, as such, sits at the center of an enormous shift in the relationship between performance and its reproduction.

Examples of unreal time proliferate through recorded jazz of the 1950s. Mingus’s overdubbed bass lines found on *Jazz at Massey Hall* as well as Avakian’s editing of Clayton’s jam session are clear examples. There are others. Lennie Tristano rerecorded piano parts on his eponymous 1955 LP, *Lennie Tristano*.⁶³ Avakian added crowd noise to cover up splices and other adjustments on *Ellington at Newport* (1956) and fabricated audience applause to music recorded in an empty concert hall on *Ambassador Satch* (1956).⁶⁴ Both records were, according to *Down Beat*, top-five sellers on the jazz charts for several months in 1956 and 1957, respectively.⁶⁵ Irving Townsend, who succeeded Avakian at Columbia, similarly fabricated live audiences on two Ellington LPs from the late 1950s: *At the Bal Masque* and *Newport 1958*.⁶⁶ With one or two exceptions, the accompanying liner notes and other marketing material characterized these recordings as real-time performances. Placed in the context of changing conceptions of musical time, these LPs should not be understood as simply counterfeits.⁶⁷ They were expertly crafted products using new technological capabilities.

It is perhaps not surprising but nevertheless significant that the public discourse surrounding music during the early years of the LP simply ignored the innovations of tape recording. The hundreds of articles, advertisements, and press accounts about the innovation of the LP that appeared between

1948 and 1950 generally mention tape only in passing, if at all.⁶⁸ This discursive absence extended to the records, where liner notes often celebrated the newness of the LP. Consider *Masterpieces by Ellington* (1951), Duke Ellington's first record on Masterworks, Columbia's premier classical series. The liner notes, written by George Dale, highlight long-playing technology as a driving force behind the record: "The complete, concert type arrangements that have consistently dazzled Ellington fans have simply been impractical for ordinary recording purposes. Thanks to Long Playing records, these great Ellington settings can now be heard at last in their entirety." Dale's account fails to mention that this record was one of the first made using Columbia's Ampex 200A tape machines and, indeed, one of the first jazz recordings ever made on tape at all.⁶⁹ Tape's invisibility here and elsewhere likely results from its position along the record-making supply chain: its capabilities and contributions are hidden from consumer view. But more than that, highlighting playback over production further obscured how the technologies of mediation were having an ever-more-increased role in how such music materialized into the world.

The concept of unreal time is not only useful as an analytic to understand ontological questions about performance and reproduction. It also provides a framework to delineate the various approaches to recorded sound during this moment in jazz history.⁷⁰ Record labels differently value certain kinds of music, expect certain habits from their listeners, and hire certain personalities for the studio and to be behind the control board. Enormous technological changes disrupt these values, expectations, and habits, thereby providing a window into the broader culture from which such media objects emerge. The aim of this book is to trace the history of the jazz LP as the convergence of two tracks: the medium of playback (how it sounds) and the medium of production (how it was made). A central premise is that the practices that circumscribe sound reproduction are inherently cultural. Because power flows through these practices in different but interlocking ways, it follows that any history of technology is inherently a cultural history as well.

My analysis throughout this book focuses on how specific technological innovations affected the structures of record producing and music making. As such, I am not interested in questions of authenticity or synchronicity in their own right because jazz records are never in real time—or are never *only* in real time.⁷¹ Rather, I wish to use these blurred moments of un/real time to understand how the industry reimagined jazz on record and, in doing so, renegotiated this music's cultural position within the United States. Through

a focus on the jazz LP during a moment of enormous cultural disruption, I interrogate what historically situated notions of recording and production reveal about performance and its mechanical representations.⁷²

Re/making Jazz History

Dan Morgenstern, the illustrious jazz critic and historian, recalled the lengthy period of re-standardization around the LP: “It took a while for studio recordings to take advantage of this new format, because they were still locked into the three-minute thing. You know, the [jazz] record industry was basically conservative—it took longer than you might expect for the 12-inch to replace the 10-inch discs.”⁷³ Having arrived in the United States in 1947, Morgenstern became a professional jazz writer while the LP was still a nascent technology.⁷⁴ He believed that the format was revolutionary, in part because it created new opportunities for musicians. This included sidemen who were able to take longer solos beyond the standard half chorus allowed on 78-rpm records.⁷⁵ Morgenstern continued:

There is something that’s often misunderstood when America is compared to Europe in terms of jazz audiences. The US is a huge country—it’s enormous, as big as all of Europe. In a European country, take a country like Denmark or Holland, if you are a jazz fan and there is a significant player or jazz event in Rotterdam and you live in Amsterdam, you go on the train or you drive. It takes you, at most, an hour and a half. If you’re in New York and there is a terrific jazz festival in Seattle, it becomes a little more complicated. So what happened with the LPs was that a lot of people who liked jazz, but were in places where first-class musicians were seldom heard, got a taste of what it’s like to hear a live performance, to hear musicians stretching out. It changed the listening habits, and it became a much more—young musicians and students could study these recordings and analyze the solos. It was a big sea change, you know, it was.⁷⁶

In his description, Morgenstern recites an oft-repeated belief about the jazz LP: the format’s capabilities brought listeners closer to the act of performance. Yet the focus on fidelity to “live” performance obscures the increased mediation inherent in these same technologies. Any increase in realism was ultimately the result of more technological intervention, not less.⁷⁷ The compression of time and space via technology surfaces once

again in Morgenstern's observations about how the adoption of the LP increased the circulation of jazz across different geographic locations and through different communities of listeners.

Perhaps as a result, more jazz styles coexisted in the mid-1950s than at any previous time. Traditional jazz in the New Orleans small-group style thrived alongside virtuoso stride pianists, big bands performing within the legacy of the swing era, and musicians furthering bebop's harmonic and improvisatory innovations. Crooners rooted in the jazz tradition dominated the radio airways at the same time that other musicians fused jazz with different streams of Black popular music. And some composers adopted compositional techniques from the Western classical tradition to create a new, so-called third stream. Though certainly a testament to musicians' collective creativity, the successful coexistence of these subgenres also resulted from the increased access to jazz through records. By the early 1950s, the record industry was selling more units than ever before, which included the recirculation of previously out-of-print recordings from earlier decades (see chapter 1). This diffusion of jazz history via records had enormous consequences for how jazz was listened to and understood. Recall Morgenstern's comment that the LP had "changed the listening habits." The result was not simply a practical change in the material circumstances of jazz listening but also an epistemological change in understanding how jazz had developed over time.

At the Vanguard of Vinyl argues throughout that the renewed circulation of older jazz records on LP helped codify jazz's historical narrative. Because those with control over the mechanics of production and circulation were generally white, middle-class men, the structuring of jazz history in the 1950s occurred through white masculine expressions of intellectual authority and aesthetic capitalism.⁷⁸ Most of the first LPs purporting to tell the history of jazz were made by white recordmen ardently dedicated to early jazz. They included blues women such as Ma Rainey and Bessie Smith in their histories, but only as a celebrated origin point that eventually gave rise to the male-dominated world of instrumental jazz.⁷⁹ The restricted inclusion of women jazz musicians on LP had long-ranging consequences for how the dominant jazz discourse—what Sherrie Tucker describes as a story of "great men, sudden stylistic changes, [and] colorful anecdotes about eccentric individuals"—would travel through the early LP era and into the future.⁸⁰ The aural remnants of this gendered practice of history making can, for example, be heard on the *Smithsonian Collection of Classic Jazz*

(1973), inside the numerous CD-reissue packages of the 1990s, in the meta-data of streaming platforms, and within the musical information on Wikipedia and other born-digital platforms.⁸¹ As others have argued, the jazz history created through commercial record making is only one version of jazz history that exists.⁸² Nevertheless, records remain a powerful force in how they deeply encode certain historical values, narratives, and possibilities into jazz culture.

The specific type of historiographical refashioning that occurs through record making can usefully be described as remediation. In their widely cited work on the subject, Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin define *remediation* as the “representation of one medium in another.” Examples include digital images of fifteenth-century manuscripts, music videos, video games based on movies (some inspired by books), and nineteenth-century painted photographs. Bolter and Grusin argue that new media always present themselves as improved versions of what came before even as they absorb and reshape the conventions, forms, and logics of older media. In other words, media never operate in isolation and always function culturally, socially, and historically.⁸³

Consider the very first LPs, issued in 1948. The first entry in Columbia’s 10-inch pop album catalog, *The Voice of Frank Sinatra* (CL 6001), was a direct repackaging of a four-disc album originally issued on 78 rpm in March 1946. Columbia’s first LP in its Masterworks catalog (ML 4001) featured a 1945 recording of Mendelssohn’s Concerto in E Minor for Violin and Orchestra.⁸⁴ When Prestige and Blue Note Records began regularly producing LPs in 1951, both firms employed the same tactics. Prestige’s first LP (PRLP 101) featured recordings by Lee Konitz and Lennie Tristano that originated in 1949 and first circulated on four separately issued 78-rpm records.⁸⁵ One of Blue Note’s first LPs, *Mellow the Mood* (BL 5001), was a compilation of recordings made in 1941, 1944, 1945, and 1946.⁸⁶ As back-catalog assemblages, the first LPs reveal a strategy of remediation happening across the industry.

In jazz parlance, records that embed older recordings into newer media are known as reissues. As remediations by another name, reissues exist in relation to previous media of the recording industry. After all, the LP’s very creation was contingent on the cultural logic of the 78-rpm record: listeners’ belief in recordings as faithful representations, the operational logistics of disc playback technology, the economic structures of record buying and collecting, consumer interest in recorded music, and assumptions by producers about who those consumers were and how to market to them.⁸⁷

Thus, remediation happens through a combination of technical and cultural mechanisms. The reinscription methods involved in moving musical sounds from one format onto another are a technical matter. However, the decisions made during this process result from particular beliefs and assumptions that industry professionals hold about recorded sound, the contents of their back catalog, and their consumers.

I use *remediation* to describe a technological process with human agency at its center. Racial and gender ideologies helped determine how that agency came to be expressed. Consider how record producers, journalists, musicians, and other professionals during the early LP era consciously and consistently framed jazz's development in relation to itself.⁸⁸ Inchoate liner notes of the early 1950s began to document the many particularities of a recording session and events leading up to it. It is no small coincidence that writers such as Marshall Stearns, André Hodeir, Martin Williams, and Leonard Feather published some of the first robustly researched jazz-history books around this time as well.⁸⁹ Although many of these authors describe the music as a foundational creation of Black America, their expertise rested on a form of white intellectual authority that had been passed down from previous generations of male writers, researchers, and critics. Such an orientation to the foundational narrative of jazz further calcified a gendered version of jazz history that—to adopt Eric Porter's phraseology—largely celebrates jazz artistry “as the province of men.”⁹⁰

The movement toward explicit historical documentation on the records themselves developed slowly and in different ways across the industry. Records became one of the primary locations in which this historiographical disruption materialized.⁹¹ For example, Columbia's first 12-inch jazz record, from 1950, made Benny Goodman's famed 1938 Carnegie Hall concert available on record for the first time.⁹² Bolstered by the record's success, George Avakian then repackaged the celebrated but out-of-print recordings of Louis Armstrong, Bessie Smith, and Bix Beiderbecke into multiple-volume sets of 12-inch LPs. *The Louis Armstrong Story*, *The Bessie Smith Story*, and *The Bix Beiderbecke Story* first shipped in late 1951 and early 1952.⁹³ A few years later, Riverside Records launched its 10-inch Jazz Archives Series (RLP 1000), soon followed by a 12-inch series with the same name (RLP 12-100). Both series included remastered recordings, a ten-volume “history of classic jazz,” as well as newly conceived oral histories.⁹⁴ For example, *Coleman Hawkins: A Documentary* (RLP 12-117/118) featured spoken recollections by Hawkins rather than musical performances. “This is a new kind of jazz record

album,” the liner notes proclaim. “*It is as if Coleman Hawkins were sitting in your living room*” (emphasis in original). The promotional material further states the general purpose of the Jazz Archives Series: to offer “12-inch LP reissues of classic early recordings reprocessed and revitalized by the finest of modern audio-engineering techniques.”⁹⁵ Like other LPs at the time, this release emphasized a kind of historical authenticity made possible only by technological advances in recording and playback fidelity.⁹⁶

From such particulars, a general observation arises: the increased circulation of records via remediation and other record-making practices created a public archive of jazz history on record. Like media, publics are historically specific and multiple. And a public archive can be created only through the ways in which the data of culture continuously circulate. Hegemonic views of race and gender were a consequential mechanism in the creation of jazz’s public archive, especially given the prevailing influence of whiteness and maleness on the means of production within the record industry and on the creation of discourse in the jazz press.⁹⁷ Even as the LP produced new knowledge structures about the music’s history, long-held social beliefs and cultural practices continued to dictate how this newly refigured public memory came to be. The limited inclusion of women on the earliest LPs is thus part of a much longer trajectory of denial and masculine control built into the social structures of the jazz business.⁹⁸ Throughout the decade, record companies increasingly promoted their LPs as an unquestionable means of encountering the past through sound. The explanatory material within liner notes and other promotional material surfaced in order to contextualize how and why that sound mattered. That is, the introduction of the LP foregrounded a sonic rhetoric of jazz history always already in circulation.⁹⁹

Contents and Containers

At the Vanguard of Vinyl understands the increased mediation of musical time, the modifications and convergence in format, the remediation of past performance, and the continued expressions of jazz Afro-modernisms as part of the same cultural mechanism and imbricated practice of record making. Throughout the book, I argue that LPs, and records more generally, are mutually influenced by and productive of social value based on historically specific notions of technology, inscription, listening, and difference. To make this argument, I focus on one kind of Black political aurality

expressed during a moment of enormous change to the existing commercial infrastructures of record making. These infrastructures supported a multi-step process that included performance and recording; audio postproduction, including editing, overdubbing, mixing, and mastering; navigating the legal structures around intellectual property and manufacturing supply chains; marketing and distribution; and consumption through broadcast media, point-to-point sale, and the creation of critical discourse. Record making was often nonlinear—marketing, manufacturing, and legalities often influenced choices made in the recording studio (and vice versa). As such, there are many ways to approach the advent of the LP. In both my method and approach to analysis, I emphasize sound with a belief that the cultural history of *the LP* is the sonic history *on the LP*.¹⁰⁰

My focus on sound is also meant to unsettle the written archive that documents this era of record making. One of the largest challenges facing any scholarly investigation of this subject is that musicians at this time, including those who received regular press attention, were seldom asked about record making as an aspect of their artistic practice or asked to comment on the studio as a political space.¹⁰¹ Although specific commentary rarely appeared in print, musicians who did speak openly showed a nuanced understanding of the racial and economic dynamics in the studio. In contrast, white record producers and record-label owners have always been given opportunities to discuss, write, and boast about their record-making accomplishments, especially as their everyday work in the 1950s increased in historical value during the subsequent decades. Their recollections, often taken at face value, remain a dominant presence as a result. With this project, I ask the sounds on record to tell a story about how the advent of the LP altered the various ways that jazz records functioned as social and semiotic objects. Attending to sound in this way becomes a means and method of listening to the jazz archive and a way to respond to the uneven discursive evidence that continues to circulate.

In my exploration of record making across a diverse network of musicians and industry professionals in the 1950s, I focus on records that give me access to particular sites and practices of record making as they change through the decade. In choosing my materials, I strove to capture a diversity of musical styles, record labels, techniques of record production, and approaches to cultural politics. In many ways this multiplicity is the argument. I do not seek a complete history of jazz on LP. If, as I assert, singular records cannot be disentangled from the media and cultural infrastructures

from which they materialize, then other forms of historical listening and storytelling are always present.

My six chapters unfold chronologically between the LP's introduction in 1948 and the normalization of stereophonic playback in 1959.¹⁰² These chapters exist in pairs, grouped by what I see as the three stages of the jazz LP in the 1950s: experimentation, standardization, and arrival. Part I (chapters 1 and 2) explores the earliest jazz LPs—roughly from 1948 to 1955—before and during the asymmetrical transition to the 12-inch format. During this period of experimentation, jazz occupied an ever-shifting position within the racial, economic, and cultural landscape of the record industry despite remaining a relatively inconsequential market category. Both chapters concentrate intently on commercial infrastructures, offering a view of the industry through the circulation of a single song (chapter 1) and the proliferation of jazz-focused record labels (chapter 2). I ask what it meant for Black performance to newly circulate on LP during a time of limited agency for Black cultural producers within the white-owned record industry.

Chapter 1 focuses on various renditions of “The Huckle-Buck,” the top-selling R&B hit of 1949. The song’s movement through the record industry occurred in tandem with the proliferation of the LP as a medium for popular music. During this period of growth, jazz became the only music played by Black musicians to appear on LP, despite having a comparatively small market share. As jazz moved into a more central position with adult listeners between 1952 and 1955, LPs began to circulate racially coded language about the social and economic value of jazz. I assert that the repackaging of Black artistry onto a new, prestige format is best understood as a contemporaneous form of cultural repackaging as well. My chronological account of the early jazz LP outlines one crucial way that jazz further decoupled commercially from other forms of Black popular music.

As the B side of part I, chapter 2 further investigates the jazz LP at its moment of newness through the activities of a single independent label, Prestige Records, and its owner, Bob Weinstock. Once again, I attend to the commercial aspects of record making but focus on the sounds within Prestige’s catalog, listening in detail to the musical mistakes and miscues that circulated on the label’s earliest LPs. Notions of white male control built into the segregational logic of the record business directed Weinstock’s record-making practices, especially his desire to document jazz history by capturing such moments of informality on record. I listen at the edges of performance for the ways in which alternate histories continually emerge.

Part II (chapters 3 and 4) examines the standardization of the 12-inch LP in the mid-1950s, when the Black politics of jazz began to occupy a more central position in the record industry and in mainstream US culture more broadly. I use the movement of jazz through the festival grounds at Newport (chapter 3) and the US State Department (chapter 4) to explore the sonic and social mediation of Black musical expression in spaces where white cultural producers held the power. The changing relationship between jazz musicians and the industry built around their audiovisual representations provides an opportunity to analyze how Black artists increasingly found new avenues of cultural expression through multiracial collaborations. Throughout this section I approach the sound of jazz LPs historically as much as I approach this history sonically.

The subject of chapter 3 is Duke Ellington's celebrated recording from the 1956 Newport Jazz Festival and the invasive yet reparative postproduction of Columbia producer George Avakian. In telling this history, I trace how recording jazz in spaces of elite white culture and the expanded possibilities of postproduction contributed to the growth of a white, mainstream audience in the mid-1950s. Making jazz history on record necessitated a collaboration among artists, festival organizers, sound engineers, and producers, all differently invested in the cultural politics that made jazz's circulation possible. This chapter situates such mediation within theoretical discussions of "liveness" on record in order to lay the groundwork for understanding the wider stakes of audio production choices in the early LP era.

During the same year as Ellington's Newport success, trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie became the first jazz musician to participate in the State Department's Cultural Presentations program, a highly public aspect of the US government's Cold War propaganda efforts abroad. Seeking to capitalize on this historic moment, Gillespie's record label issued two LPs featuring his ambassadorial ensemble: *World Statesman* (1956) and *Dizzy in Greece* (1957). Chapter 4 investigates the ways in which both records sit at the contested intersection of jazz, the struggle for racial equality, and international Cold War politics. I focus on the collaboration of Gillespie (music), Marshall Stearns (liner notes), and Norman Granz (label owner) as recordmen who explored how jazz record making could use the sounds of Black performance to make a political argument.

The final part (chapters 5 and 6) examines two contrasting strategies of Black record making in 1959, at the cusp of stereophonic sound and at a time when the LP's adoption was no longer in question. I interrogate how jazz

musicians approached the nightclub (chapter 5) and the recording studio (chapter 6) as interconnected sites of musical labor and Black cultural work. Taken together, these chapters also offer alternative perspectives on the stages of experimentation and standardization found in the previous chapters, positioning the stories of individual musicians (more prevalent in the later chapters) within the systems in which they operated (more prevalent in the first chapters). Through these individuals I consider the economies of attention that surround jazz performance and how the entrenched systems of whiteness within those economies enabled certain artistic pathways for Black men and not others.

Chapter 5 focuses on Cannonball Adderley's 1959 hit record, *Quintet in San Francisco*. Adderley's onstage announcements, pedagogical introductions, and audible interactions with the audience became some of the record's most-defining characteristics, helping him to expand his popularity beyond a core jazz listenership. I outline how Adderley's LP materialized out of a broader shift by independent labels in the mid-1950s to record hard-bop musicians on location at jazz nightclubs. Placed within this historical trajectory of live recording, I explore how Adderley's joyful record making foregrounded a form of sonic Black sociality and self-fashioned jazz masculinity that fit collaboratively within existing structures of the music business. A close listen to *Quintet in San Francisco* reveals how Adderley's jazz commercialism worked simultaneously as an expression of Black modernity.

My final chapter explores how Charles Mingus integrated studio production into his musical practices during the 1950s. I begin and end with *Mingus Ah Um*, his 1959 LP that contains at least seventeen splices that cut over eleven minutes from the initial duration of the performances. Listening through the splice exposes Mingus's larger network of musical entrepreneurs who actively used the process of making records to disrupt how the jazz industry conventionally valued Black labor and the artistry of Black jazzmen. Mingus reimagined the economics and cultural politics of jazz through his concern for sound on record, where control over that sound also meant control over the form, content, and representation of his music. I use activities that appear technological—splicing and overdubbing—to define Mingus's record making as a cultural practice that flows through differently situated individuals working in collaboration.

In total, *At the Vanguard of Vinyl* interrogates moments of performance, the mechanical inscription of those moments, and the mediating processes involved in making them into commercial records. My investigation relies

on many different kinds of records, many of which contain the same music but differ significantly in their format, packaging, visual design, mastering processes, or other production techniques.¹⁰³ To avoid clutter, I include only the artist, record title, and date in the text, placing the other details in the book's discography. Each chapter also ends with a "playlist" that focuses on a particular aspect of record making explored within that chapter. These playlists connect seemingly disparate records through contemporaneous trends in record making and the self-referential network of cultural practices that surrounded them. Each addendum is analytically compiled though certainly never complete.

As will become clear, jazz records are inherently contradictory. They enable spontaneous moments of musical improvisation to be listened to again and again—as a result, the ephemerality of musical creation circulates widely. The tangled balance between repeatability and spontaneity is not a naturally occurring phenomenon but rather a historically situated negotiation over sonic media as a form of communication. As commercial objects made for mass consumption, records are the product of social structures and cultural schemas that surround the business and artistic creation of music making. Ideological underpinnings about sound, technology, race, gender, and performance guide the decisions of record makers. The eventual outcome often changes drastically from record label to record label, producer to producer, and musician to musician. Yet it is also a historical reality that the processes of record making have become naturalized. Jazz records are, from this view, a technology of erasure as much as they are a technology of sound and circulation. *At the Vanguard of Vinyl* tells the story of how these historical shifts happened.

Playlist: Experiments in Jazz Record Making, 1929–1957

Each record in this playlist is an experiment in the presentation of jazz on record, especially in how best to capture and format lengthy performances, compositions, and historical narratives. Together, these records depict the variety of approaches to record making before, during, and after the introduction of the LP. (Unless otherwise noted, recordings are LPs.)

Benny Goodman. *The Famous 1938 Carnegie Hall Jazz Concert*. Columbia Masterworks, 1950.

Benny Goodman. *Sing, Sing, Sing*. 78 rpm. RCA Victor, 1937.

Bessie Smith. *The Bessie Smith Story*, vols. 1–4. Columbia, 1951.

Bix Beiderbecke. *The Bix Beiderbecke Story*, vols. 1–3. Columbia, 1951.

Buck Clayton. *The Huckle-Buck and Robbins' Nest: A Buck Clayton Jam Session*. Columbia, 1954.

Buck Clayton. *Jumpin' at the Woodside*. Columbia, 1954.

Dexter Gordon. *The Chase*, parts 1–2. 78 rpm. Dial, 1947.

Dizzy Gillespie, Charles Mingus, Charlie Parker, Bud Powell, and Max Roach. *The Quintet: Jazz at Massey Hall*. Debut, 1956.

Duke Ellington. *Diminuendo in Blue/Crescendo in Blue*. 78 rpm. Brunswick, 1938.

Duke Ellington. *Ellington at Newport*. Columbia, 1956.

Duke Ellington. *Masterpieces by Ellington*. Columbia Masterworks, 1951.

Duke Ellington. *Reminiscing in Tempo*, parts 1–4. 78 rpm. Brunswick, 1935.

Duke Ellington. *Tiger Rag*. 78 rpm. Brunswick, 1929.

Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly. *I Can Hear It Now . . . vol. 1*. Columbia Masterworks, 1949.

Frank Sinatra. *The Voice of Frank Sinatra*. Columbia, 1948.

Lennie Tristano. *Lennie Tristano*. Atlantic, 1955.

Lennie Tristano and Lee Konitz. *Lennie Tristano and Lee Konitz*. Prestige, 1951.

Louis Armstrong. *Ambassador Satch*. Columbia, 1956.

Louis Armstrong. *The Louis Armstrong Story*, vols. 1–4. Columbia, 1951.

Miles Davis. *Miles Davis and the Modern Jazz Giants*. 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ rpm. Prestige, 1957.

Tommy Dorsey and Jimmy Dorsey. *Honeysuckle Rose*, parts 1–2. 78 rpm. Decca, 1934.

Various. *Jam Session at Commodore*, no. 3: *A Good Man Is Hard to Find*. 78 rpm. Commodore, 1940.

Various. *Mellow the Mood*. Blue Note, 1951.

Various. *Norman Granz' Jazz at the Philharmonic*, vol. 8. 78 rpm. Mercury, 1948.

Various. *The Riverside History of Classic Jazz*, vols. 1–10. Riverside, ca. 1955.

Woody Herman. *Sequence in Jazz*. 78 rpm. Columbia, 1949.

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Notes

Introduction: The LP Goes Live

- 1 The December 1954 session initially produced four musical tracks that Prestige issued in 1955 on two 10-inch LPs: *Miles Davis All Stars*, vol. 1 and vol. 2. The alternate take of “The Man I Love,” complete with Davis’s comment to Van Gelder, first circulated in 1957 on a record titled *Miles Davis and the Modern Jazz Giants*. Prestige released the alternative take of “The Man I Love” on a standard 12-inch LP in May 1959 as the last track of a different record also titled *Miles Davis and the Modern Jazz Giants*. The book’s discography includes a complete citation for each record I mention in the text or in the notes. Citations for liner notes are found in the book’s discography as well.
- 2 John Hammond and George Avakian, liner notes to *The Huckle-Buck and Robbins’ Nest: A Buck Clayton Jam Session*, LP, 1954. Avakian goes on to detail which solos were spliced in and where. Relatedly, he also joined two separate recordings of “Jumpin’ at the Woodside” to make a single track for the 1954 Buck Clayton LP of the same name.
- 3 Debut initially released the Massey Hall concerts in 1953 and late 1954 across three 10-inch LPs: *The Quintet: Jazz at Massey Hall*, vol. 1; Bud Powell, *Jazz at Massey Hall*, vol. 2; and *The Quintet: Jazz at Massey Hall*, vol. 3. The 12-inch LP version began to circulate in 1956.
- 4 Carby, *Race Men*, 139. I came to this observation and quotation through Rustin-Paschal, *Kind of Man I Am*, 17.
- 5 Expressions of masculinity in postwar jazz, especially Mingus’s, are broadly explored in Rustin-Paschal, *Kind of Man I Am*.
- 6 My approach follows Stuart Hall, who argues that cultural change often happens through contestations over discourse—that is, over who gets to tell what kind of story. Hall, “What Is This ‘Black’ in Black Popular Culture,” 24–25.

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- 7 Ramsey, *Race Music*, 97–101, 106–8. For the intellectual genealogy of Afro-modernism, see Magee, “Kinds of Blue,” 6–9.
- 8 For more on how Afro-modernist ideals functioned in different jazz styles throughout the 1950s, see Monson, *Freedom Sounds*, 66–106. Alexander Weheliye’s exploration of sonic Afro-modernity is also relevant, particularly his attention to how Black subjects “structure and sound their positionalities within and against Western modernity.” Weheliye, *Phonographies*, 5–8.
- 9 For further discussion on the early history of concept albums in 1950s jazz, see Decker, “Fancy Meeting You Here,” 98–108. Singular themed collections of popular music (broadly defined) also existed as a small market segment during the 78-rpm era.
- 10 Sterne, *MP3*, 7.
- 11 Commodore’s recording is discussed in Horning, *Chasing Sound*, 108–9. John Howland makes a provocative and convincing argument that the music on side 4 of Ellington’s “Reminiscing in Tempo” was added only to accommodate the four-side record format. Howland, “*Ellington Uptown*,” 171–72. Victor first issued “Sing, Sing, Sing” as a 12-inch record as part of *A Symposium of Swing* (1937), a four-disc album featuring Goodman, Tommy Dorsey, Fats Waller, and Bunny Berigan. The label then issued a shorter, edited version of the track as a 10-inch single under Goodman’s name in 1938.
- 12 Hershorn, *Norman Granz*, 78–98. Granz issued the JATP concert on multiple formats and labels, including Mercury’s Jazz 11000 series of 78-rpm discs. For example, a lengthy 1947 recording of “Perdido” from Carnegie Hall appeared across three 78-rpm discs on *Norman Granz’ Jazz at the Philharmonic*, vol. 8 (1948).
- 13 Some examples can be found in Horning, *Chasing Sound*, 108.
- 14 Although LPs still necessitated flipping the record, this action rarely interrupted a track in progress. For more on the cultural significance of the “flip,” see Katz, *Capturing Sound*, 77. As I explore in chapter 1, most of the first LPs in 1948–51 were sets of reissued recordings like the Ellington and Goodman tracks mentioned here.
- 15 John Wilson, “Unbound Jazz: Invention of LP Gave Jam Session Space,” *New York Times*, March 16, 1958, section 11, 22. In reflecting on ten years of the LP, Wilson was writing specifically about Woody Herman’s extended suite, “Summer Sequence,” although it is clear from context that he is speaking about the genre as a whole. “Summer Sequence” first appeared on two 78-rpm discs (four sides total) as a part of Herman’s *Sequence in Jazz* (1949).
- 16 Jarrett, “Cutting Sides,” 329.
- 17 Blake, “Recording Practices and the Role of the Producer,” 39.

- 18 According to Andre Millard, many labels used disc recorders—conventional disc-cutting methods in the 78-rpm era—until the late 1950s. Millard, *America on Record*, 207. *Down Beat* reported that 24.6 million 78-rpm records, worth over \$18 million, sold in 1958. “78 Disc Sales Still Up,” *Down Beat*, August 6, 1959, 11.
- 19 Spar, *Ruling the Waves*, 17.
- 20 In particular, the invention and adoption of the LP created an ecological shift in supply chain and waste streams as the industry moved from shellac (78s) to plastic (LPs and 45s). See especially Devine, *Decomposed*, 81–128.
- 21 For specific information about the technological and technical innovations of the control room during this period, see Horning, *Chasing Sound*, 104–39.
- 22 See, for example, Gray, “Black Masculinity and Visual Culture,” 402; Kelley, “‘We Are Not What We Seem,’” 88; Ramsey, *Amazing Bud Powell*, 124; and Porter, *What Is This Thing Called Jazz?*, 81–82.
- 23 For more on media as a form of structured communication, see Gitelman, *Always Already New*, 7.
- 24 Columbia’s refusal to record Billie Holiday’s performance of “Strange Fruit” is one example among many. See Griffin, *If You Can’t Be Free, Be a Mystery*.
- 25 Among others, scholars such as Ingrid Monson, Scott DeVeaux, Scott Saul, Eric Porter, Penny Von Eschen, Mark Anthony Neal, and Guthrie Ramsey describe different ways that racial politics figures into music making and jazz musicians’ wide-ranging political activity during the 1950s and surrounding decades. See Monson, *Freedom Sounds*; Neal, *What the Music Said*; Ramsey, *Race Music*; Saul, *Freedom Is, Freedom Ain’t*; Porter, *What Is This Thing Called Jazz?*; Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*; and DeVeaux, *Birth of Bebop*.
- 26 My observations about audio production and the early LP draw from documents found in the private archives of George Avakian during my initial research in 2012. My citations include folder names from his filing cabinets, which generally correspond to Subseries 1B: Alphabetical Files in the collection’s current home at the New York Public Library. For example, information about audio production at the beginning of the LP era (late 1940s) is discussed in Howard Scott and George Avakian, “The Birth of the Long Playing Record,” printed interview with Avakian corrections, LP History file, George Avakian private archives (GAA), Riverdale, NY.
- 27 For more on the power structures of race in the pre-LP era, see K. Miller, *Segregating Sound*; and Gitelman, “Recording Sound.”
- 28 In his capacity as the first president of Columbia Records, Edward Wallerstein urged William Paley (president of CBS) to buy the American Record Corporation (ARC) for \$700,000 in 1939. ARC’s catalog included Columbia Phonograph

along with Brunswick, Vocalion, and Okeh. CBS reorganized this side of their business under the name Columbia Records shortly after with a goal of also moving into the classical market. According to Howard Scott, who as music coordinator for the Masterworks label oversaw the transfer of Columbia's first LPs, Wallerstein hired several new employees in each division in the years immediately after the war, specifically with long-play ambitions in mind. Howard Scott, "The Beginnings of LP," typed document (draft), LP History file, GAA. This document is a draft of Howard H. Scott, "The Beginnings of LP," *Gramophone*, July 1998, 112–13. After serving as music coordinator during the LP's launch, Scott went on to produce many records for Columbia, including Glenn Gould's famed LP, *Bach: The Goldberg Variations* (1956).

- 29 Peter Goldmark, lead engineer on the LP project's first stage, directly contradicts Wallerstein's account. Goldmark claims credit for coming up with the idea for the LP in 1945 after listening to an interrupted version of Johannes Brahms's Second Piano Concerto. He further describes Wallerstein's attempts to subvert the project at every turn. See Goldmark, *Maverick Inventor*, 127–47. I have chosen not to adopt Goldmark's perspective because of several inconsistencies in his time line, as well as contradictions found in several unrelated sources. Regardless, classical music remains central to Goldmark's account of the LP's origin story. For support of Wallerstein's account, see "LP Time Line," printed document with Avakian corrections, LP History file, GAA; and Horning, *Chasing Sound*, 109–10.
- 30 Edward Wallerstein with Ward Botsford, "Creating the LP Record," *High Fidelity Magazine*, April 1976, 58.
- 31 Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., "Annual Report to Stockholders for the Fiscal Year Ended January 1, 1949," March 22, 1949, ProQuest Historical Annual Reports, 7.
- 32 The next record in the catalog (ML 4002) features Bach. The ten after that spotlight a single composer: Beethoven.
- 33 According to Avakian, who produced the popular-album catalog at the time, Columbia initially prepared one hundred records in each of the company's popular and classical series. (The latter was a mixture of light and serious works.) Classical LPs on the Masterworks label cost \$4.85 (12-inch, ML 4000 series) or \$3.85 (10-inch, ML 2000). Ten-inch popular records cost \$3.00 (CL 6000). Avakian outlines these details in "LP Time Line," p. 5, LP History file, GAA; and George Avakian to Floyd Levin, January 28, 1998, LP History file, GAA.
- 34 Klotz, *Dave Brubeck and the Performance of Whiteness*, 13. On the same page, Klotz underlines how whiteness is never singular: "Whiteness is performed differently by white people in unique circumstances, based on their intersecting identities and particular locations." The remainder of Klotz's book explores

whiteness as a vital category for understanding jazz and its circulation. A related discussion about whiteness, exclusion, and historical discourse can be found in Lewis, "Improvised Music after 1950," 100–105.

- 35 Although I focus on jazz, the same observation is true for the rest of the record industry. See Horning, *Chasing Sound*, 9. White men were overrepresented in other parts of the music business, including as managers, booking agents, club or venue owners, national magazine editors and writers, disc jockeys, and record-store owners.
- 36 Unsurprisingly, record-buying consumers were a complex, multifaceted segment of society not defined by race, gender, class, ethnicity, or location alone. This social fact is explored in Brooks, *Liner Notes for the Revolution*, 316–47; Klotz, *Dave Brubeck and the Performance of Whiteness*, 92–105; and Moore, *Soundscapes of Liberation*, 91–93. I describe how mid-century publishing companies oriented around top-selling white artists in chapter 1.
- 37 I draw from the discussions of masculine cultural scripts in jazz in Ramsey, *Amazing Bud Powell*, 121–42; Klotz, *Dave Brubeck and the Performance of Whiteness*, 9–16, 77–96; and Rustin-Paschal, *Kind of Man I Am*, 97–125.
- 38 For more on jukeboxes and radio stations in Black life, see Ramsey, *Race Music*, 4, 117.
- 39 See Rustin-Paschal, *Kind of Man I Am*, 97–104, for the wider historical context of white recordmen and expression of white masculinity. For more on Prestige's changing approach to Black audiences, see Rosenthal, *Hard Bop*, 62–65.
- 40 Other subsidiaries included Bluesville (featuring well-seasoned bluesmen), Moodsville (soul jazz), and Swingville (swing-era jazz musicians). A full listing of these labels can be found in Ruppli, *Prestige Label*. Although jazz dominated its catalog in the early 1950s, Prestige offered a limited number of R&B records as well (like most other independent jazz labels).
- 41 Prestige did hundreds of recording sessions in the 1950s. Only a handful were led or partially headlined by women, including Annie Ross (several in 1950–53), Dorothy McLeod (1952), Mary Lou Williams (1953), Barbara Lea (1957), Dorothy Ashby (1958), and Shirley Scott (1958).
- 42 For an overview of Mingus's change in musical approach, see Porter, *What Is This Thing Called Jazz?*, 124–25.
- 43 My thinking about technological mediation and forms of resistance in relation to constructions of race and difference is influenced by Meintjes, *Sound of Africa*; K. Miller, *Segregating Sound*; Gitelman, "Recording Sound"; Weheliye, *Phonographies*; and Moten, *In the Break*.
- 44 I am influenced by Nicole Starosielski's investigation of the fiber-optic cables that facilitate worldwide information exchange. Starosielski pushes for an

understanding of media that accounts for modes of consumption in relation to underlying infrastructure. Starosielski, *Undersea Network*, 3–12. About recording technology, Susan Horning points to the improvement of microphones, mixing consoles, amplifiers, equalizers, compressors, limiters, cutting styli, lathes, cables, vacuum tubes, and loudspeakers during the early LP era. Horning, *Chasing Sound*, 111. For more on the manufacturing turn from shellac to plastic, see Devine, *Decomposed*, 81–128.

- 45 For a detailed account, see Jack T. Mullin, “Creating the Craft of Tape Recording,” *High Fidelity Magazine*, April 1976.
- 46 As Peter McMurry details, the early use of tape for delayed broadcasts merged the ephemeral nature of radio with the repeatability of tape technology. McMurry, “Once Upon Time,” 36. Jack Mullin further points out that the first use of tape within the United States was for soundtracks. Mullin, “Creating the Craft of Tape Recording.”
- 47 McMurry describes tape as creating a “different kind of temporality” for sound recording. McMurry, “Once Upon Time,” 37.
- 48 For more on the history of compression as it relates to musical distribution, see Sterne, *MP3*, 5–6.
- 49 My interest in the relationship between music making and its reproduction connects to long-standing debates in performance studies that attempt to make sense of these complexities. See Auslander, *Liveness*; Moten, *In the Break*; Schneider, *Performing Remains*; Phelan, *Unmarked*; and D. Taylor, *Archive and the Repertoire*. Although history figures prominently in this literature (albeit in different ways), the development and use of specific technologies of mediation is not the main focus. As a result, these authors largely do not address issues of power and control over the apparatuses of mediation, although they would likely all agree that mediation does not happen passively.
- 50 Howett, *Television Innovations*, 47. In a related development, the first commercial instant camera came to market in 1948. In the 1950s, artist Andy Warhol (who also made art for jazz record labels during the period) famously used instant photos to make instant portraits.
- 51 Matthew Somoroff first suggested to me the connection of Sinatra’s album to the broader cultural imagination of an ever-expanding world within the United States. For a look at the transnational implications of changes to technology, art, and culture at the end of the 1950s, see Guilbaut and O’Brian, *Breathless Days*.
- 52 Hopkins and Kapany, “Flexible Fibrescope.”
- 53 The 1950 cable connected Florida and Cuba. The TAT-1 carried telephone conversations, text-based messages, still images, and some television signals. These networks were part of a much larger expansion of telecommunication networks around the world. See Starosielski, *Undersea Network*, 38–44.

- 54 L. Cohen, *Consumer's Republic*, 112–64.
- 55 David Harvey discusses the compression of space and time in relation to post-modernism. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, especially part 3. Here I wish to suggest a connection between the compression of musical data, following Sterne and others, and the perceived compression of time and space happening through technological advancement. Sterne, *MP3*, 5–6.
- 56 As Kyle Devine observes, the phrase *music industry* encompasses several industries, including recording, manufacturing, publishing, merchandizing, live performance, and so on. My use of this term, as will hopefully become clear throughout the text, is meant to evoke the wide constellation of these commercial activities, even as I continue to use the term in its conventional sense for ease of reading. Devine, *Decomposed*, 12–14.
- 57 As their names suggest, Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and Radio Corporation of America (RCA) were both similarly invested in other forms of mass communication, including radio and television.
- 58 The close relationship between commercial interests and music can also been seen in 1930s radio programming. See T. Taylor, *Sounds of Capitalism*, 80–90.
- 59 Schneider, *Performing Remains*, 93–94. I adopt Schneider's reading of Mary Ann Doane in this paragraph.
- 60 Doane, "Real Time," 24.
- 61 On the use of "latency" as it relates to the supply chain of musical production and the technologies of audition, see Bates, *Digital Tradition*, 134–36.
- 62 For the commercial adoption of recordings, see Sterne, *Audible Past*, 215–86. The close connections between the early history of sound recording and the history of writing and inscription are explored in Gitelman, *Always Already New*, 16–21. Lisa Gitelman points out that even the earliest production of sound recording depended on worldwide trade and the increasingly global economy. For a related discussion about inscription and sound, see Bohlman and McMurry, "Tape," 8.
- 63 More than a decade earlier, Sidney Bechet had overdubbed the instrumental parts for his 1941 recording "The Sheik of Araby." My thanks to Jeremy Smith for reminding me of these examples.
- 64 I discuss each of these recordings in chapters 3 and 4, respectively.
- 65 The 1956 sales ranking for *Ambassador Satch* was as follows: #4 (September 19), #3 (October 3 and 17), #2 (November 14). In the months before and after, Armstrong's LP ranked in the top twenty. In 1957 *Ellington at Newport* went in and out of the top five: #2 (February 6), #3 (March 6), #5 (May 2), #4 (May 20), #3 (June 27 and July 25). In April, September, November, and December of 1957, Ellington's LP remained in the top ten for nationwide sales. For full listings,

consult *Down Beat's* "Best Sellers" report during the months listed above (usually around page 20).

- 66 For discussion about the simulation of "real-time" performance in relation to on-location recording, see Solis, "Unique Chunk of Jazz Reality."
- 67 In making this observation, I draw from jazz-fusion scholarship that examines the ontological crisis about jazz brought about by heavy studio production used in the 1970s. See Fellezs, *Birds of Fire*; Pond, *Head Hunters*; and Smith, "'Sell It Black.'" Despite my focus on the 1950s, I see an epistemological connection in how the uses of technology in the studio influenced musical performance.
- 68 One exception can be found in the coverage of Columbia's *I Can Hear It Now* LP, a 1948 collection of political speeches, interviews, and radio broadcasts emceed by Edward R. Murrow. Otto Mack's widely syndicated column mentions the eleven miles of magnetic tape of raw material that were eventually edited "with razor and paste" into a forty-five-minute final LP. See Otto Mack, "Record Parade," *Atlanta Daily World*, November 23, 1948, 3. Columbia's promotional materials—including its reports to stockholders—do not mention tape.
- 69 George Dale, liner notes to *Masterpieces by Ellington*, 1951. This LP also happened to be one of the first jazz records made at Columbia's 30th Street studio, and one of the first sessions recorded specifically for the LP format. The point about the Ampex machines is made in the promotional material for the 2014 reissue of *Masterpieces* by Analogue Productions: "Duke Ellington—Masterpieces by Ellington (Mono)," Acoustic Sounds, accessed December 21, 2017, http://store.acousticsounds.com/d/98200/Duke_Ellington-Masterpieces_By_Ellington-200_Gram_Vinyl_Record.
- 70 For more on the ontology of performance, see Phelan, *Unmarked*, 146–66; and D. Taylor, *Archive and the Repertoire*, 142–43.
- 71 I take this formation from Rebecca Schneider, who usefully questions the naturalized sense of linear time with respect to theatrical performance. Writing about the way that history figures into onstage performance through temporal "syncopation," she writes that theater "can never be 'live.' Or, never only live." Schneider, *Performing Remains*, 92.
- 72 My approach to the creative and aesthetic choices of mediation at the site of production, especially regarding the global circulation of recorded objects, relies heavily on Meintjes, *Sound of Africa!*; Feld, "Pygmy Pop"; and Feld, *Jazz Cosmopolitanism in Accra*.
- 73 Dan Morgenstern, interview with the author, March 8, 2012. For more on the particulars of 12- versus 10-inch records, see Myers, *Why Jazz Happened*, ch. 4.
- 74 Born in Munich, Germany, in 1929, Morgenstern grew up in Denmark and Amsterdam, where he became a devoted jazz listener. His enthusiasm for music

would carry him through a lengthy career as the editor of *Down Beat* and *Metronome*, a Grammy Award-winning author (for liner notes), and the eventual director of the Institute of Jazz Studies at Rutgers University-Newark.

- 75 For example, on the famed Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie recording of “Groovin’ High” from February 1945, each musician solos for only a half chorus (sixteen measures). Compare this with the sheer number of sidemen who came to prominence in the LP era because of their improvisational talents highlighted with Art Blakey’s Jazz Messengers outfit: Wayne Shorter, Lee Morgan, Clifford Brown, Freddie Hubbard, Benny Golson, Curtis Fuller, Cedar Walton, and many others.
- 76 Dan Morgenstern, interview with the author, March 8, 2012.
- 77 Media theorist Paul Duguid generalizes this phenomenon, describing it as a “futurological” trope where new media are assumed to be more transparent and less mediated when, in fact, the opposite is true. I adopt this reading of Duguid from Gitelman and Pingree, *New Media*, xiii–xiv. For more on the idea of “transparency” in new media, see Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation*, 21–31.
- 78 See Rustin-Paschal, *Kind of Man I Am*, 100–104, for further discussion about expressions of white masculinity and record making during this period.
- 79 This historical incongruity is discussed in Porter, *What Is This Thing Called Jazz?*, 31; and Pellegrinelli, “Separated at ‘Birth,’” 33–39. The restrictive inclusion of women vocalists as jazz founders can be found in the Jazz Archives Series on Riverside: Ma Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Ida Cox (among a few other vocalists) appeared with regularity, usually described as “great” or “legendary” voices of the blues.
- 80 Tucker uses this phrase to describe the dominant jazz discourse promulgated by the documentary by Ken Burns, *Jazz*, although clearly it applies more broadly. Tucker, “Big Ears,” 376.
- 81 On the *Smithsonian Collection* and Martin Williams, see T. Jackson, *Blowin’ the Blues Away*, 27–28. On the political economy of reissues, CDs, and digital platforms, see Pond, “Old Wine, New Bottles”; Chapman, *Jazz Bubble*; and Mueller, “Review: Wikipedia.”
- 82 See Rasula, “Media of Memory”; Heller, *Loft Jazz*, 4–10; and Schuiling, “Jazz and the Material Turn,” 88–91.
- 83 Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation*, 14–15, 45–49.
- 84 According to Avakian, all of the first hundred popular LPs were either direct transfers from 78-rpm albums or new collections assembled from existing singles. After the June 1948 announcement, these records shipped in batches of twenty (or so) in rough numerical sequence. Avakian to Floyd Levin, January 28, 1998, LP History file, GAA. Sinatra’s four-disc 78-rpm album is catalog

number C112; Nathan Milstein's interpretation of Mendelssohn can be heard on Masterworks M-577, issued in 1946.

- 85 Konitz and Tristano's LP includes tracks from recording sessions on January 11, June 28, and September 27, 1949. Prestige originally issued these recordings as New Jazz 807, 808, 813, and 832. A full listing for each release can be found in the discography. When the label changed its name from New Jazz to Prestige, the company reissued all records in its Prestige 800 series with the same titles and issue numbers.
- 86 Blue Note first issued these recordings as 78-rpm records (both 10- and 12-inch) under the names of Edmond Hall, John Hardee, Benny Morton, and Ike Quebec with the following catalog numbers: 17, 37, 38, 47, 510, 521. See the discography for complete details. One track from *Mellow the Mood*, Ike Quebec's "I Surrender, Dear," was never issued on 78 but originates from a July 1945 recording session. Relatedly, Blue Note issued its first LP in 1950 as part of its BLP 7000 series, which focused on reissues of Dixieland from the 1930s and 1940s.
- 87 As Sterne reminds us, such cultural logics did not emerge neutrally but were themselves contested and negotiated. This is one of the major arguments in Sterne, *Audible Past*. See also Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation*, 55.
- 88 The idea of self-referentiality, which has a long history in all Western musics, can also be understood as remediation. See Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation*, 49. As Susan Horning points out, there was an increased interest in the history of technology in the 1950s. For example, the first issue of the *Journal of the Audio Engineering Society* appeared in January 1953. Horning, *Chasing Sound*, 75. See also Millard, *America on Record*, 115.
- 89 Stearns, *Story of Jazz*; Hodeir, *Jazz*; Feather, *Encyclopedia of Jazz*; Williams, *Art of Jazz*. The original, French version of Hodeir's work appeared in 1954. These authors were neither the first jazz historians nor the first to care deeply about the music's origins. Rather, the publication of these more academically leaning books is part of a broader moment when prestigious cultural institutions began to recognize the importance of jazz history. I understand these publications as acts of legitimacy even as the specific motivations of each author differed. For related commentary, see Gennari, *Blowin' Hot and Cool*, 146–55.
- 90 Porter, *What Is This Thing Called Jazz?*, 92. Although Porter's statement refers to writers in the 1940s, his observations are equally relevant in the 1950s. Several other scholars make similar points about masculinity and jazz historiography, including Rustin-Paschal, *Kind of Man I Am*, 101–2; and Gennari, *Blowin' Hot and Cool*, 180–83.
- 91 Because media are, as Lisa Gitelman argues, inherently historical by design, they force an encounter with the past through their use: Gitelman, *Always*

Already New, 5. The dual meaning of the term *record* is a legacy of this cultural mechanism. Relatedly, Ludovic Tournè argues that the increased availability of music brought about by the LP led to a revival of baroque music in the 1950s. This, in turn, influenced musicians' interest in mixing baroque genres with jazz. (Tournè uses the Modern Jazz Quartet as an example.) See Tournè, "Redefining the Boundaries of Culture," 90–91.

- 92 The success of Goodman's *The Famous 1938 Carnegie Hall Jazz Concert* (1950) soon led to other LPs, including *The Benny Goodman Combos* (1951) and *Benny Goodman and His Orchestra* (1951). A detailed examination of this concert can be found in Hancock, *Benny Goodman*; and Tackley, *Benny Goodman's Famous 1938 Carnegie Hall Jazz Concert*.
- 93 Columbia issued Goodman's concert and the *Armstrong Story* series on the Masterworks label. At the end of 1951 (or start of 1952), Columbia began producing its first 12-inch popular music line, the GL 500 series, which then housed the others. The initial GL prefix lasted for twenty-four records, until the label changed the prefix to CL in 1953 (likely in August). Details about the release history can be found in Avakian to Floyd Levin, January 28, 1998, LP History file, GAA. These details are confirmed by Mike Callahan and David Edwards, "Columbia Main Series, Part 1: GL 500 to CL 599 (1951–1954)," accessed August 16, 2017, <https://www.bsnpubs.com/columbia/columbia12/columbia500.html>.
- 94 The first record in the 10-inch series, *Louis Armstrong Plays the Blues* (1953), was a collection of recordings from 1924 and 1925. Other records in the Jazz Archives Series include *Ma Rainey, vol. 1* (1953)—a collection of 1920s recordings—and *Ragtime Piano Rolls, vol. 1* (1953), which featured piano rolls made by various ragtime pianists. The 12-inch series followed a similar format, except for the ten-volume *Riverside History of Classic Jazz* (ca. 1955), one of the first attempts to package the complete recorded history of early jazz.
- 95 Orrin Keepnews, liner notes to *Coleman Hawkins: A Documentary*. Riverside issued a similar spoken-word record featuring Lil Armstrong: *Satchmo and Me: Lil Armstrong's Own Story* (1959). This was the only LP in the Jazz Archives Series (either 10- or 12-inch) to feature a women instrumentalist as a headliner, and here she appears only as a conduit to Louis Armstrong.
- 96 Bolter and Grusin discuss such rhetorical emphasis as the "transparency of media." Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation*, 5, 30–31.
- 97 Michael Warner argues that the creation of a public happens through "reflexive circulation of discourse" over time. Adding to this line of inquiry, Lisa Gitelman outlines how the medium of sound recording in the late nineteenth century created an "abstract sense of publicness" that, while more inclusive, was still generally created around "whiteness and masculinity." See Warner, "Publics and Counterpublics," 62–68; and Gitelman, *Always Already New*, 12, 15–16. For

more on the way in which race figured into the jazz press, see Gennari, *Blowin' Hot and Cool*.

- 98 Many scholars who write about the construction of music history connect masculine control to the marginalization of women. In this passage I draw from Baade, “‘Battle of the Saxes.’” Christina Baade quotes Susan McClary: “One of the means of asserting masculine control over [music] is by denying the very possibility of participation by women.” McClary, *Feminine Endings*, 151–52. See also Porter, *What Is This Thing Called Jazz?*, 219; Rustin-Paschal, *Kind of Man I Am*, 17; and Porter, “Born Out of Jazz,” 218.
- 99 Steph Ceraso defines “sonic rhetorics” as the ways in which “sound, in conjunction with other elements of an environment or interaction, operates as a material, affective force that influences (not determines) listeners’ bodily states, moods, thoughts, and actions.” Ceraso, *Sounding Composition*, 11–12. See also Ceraso and Stone, *Sonic Rhetorics*.
- 100 I borrow this phrase (and its theoretical underpinnings) from Gitelman, *Always Already New*, 21.
- 101 Discographers have regularly asked musicians for information about specific recording sessions. Though nominally about record making, these documentarians sought a specific set of data that did not account for the social and cultural practices of the studio.
- 102 The complicated history of stereophony encompasses a convergence of media in radio, film, and home audio that can (depending on one’s definition) be traced back to the nineteenth century. However, stereophonic sound on LP dates to the late 1950s and a series of milestones: Audio Fidelity Records producing the first mass-produced stereo LPs in 1957, the arrival of affordable stereo cartridges and the growth of stereo catalogs at most labels in 1958, and wide-scale commercial acceptance of the technology in 1959. The normalization of stereophonic home sound combined with the regularity of multitrack recording techniques marked a new ontological era of the LP. This book ends at the cusp of this transition, which is explored in Théberge, Devine, and Everett, *Living Stereo*; Barry, “High-Fidelity Sound,” 115–38; and Read and Welch, *From Tin Foil to Stereo*, 426–37.
- 103 This research relies on many published discographies. These include Michael Cuscuna and Michel Ruppli’s discography of Blue Note Records, as well as Ruppli’s equally thorough reference work about Prestige Records. See Cuscuna and Ruppli, *Blue Note Label*; and Ruppli, *Prestige Label*. There are several excellent (and accurate) websites as well: Peter Losin’s Miles Ahead, a richly detailed discography of Miles Davis (<http://www.plosin.com>); the expansive Jazz Discography Project compiled by Nobuaki Togashi, Kohji Matsubayashi, and Masayuki Hatta (<https://www.jazzdisco.org>); the visual discography of

Torbjörn Sörhuus's Birka Jazz Archive (<https://www.birkajazz.com/archive/prestige.htm>); the deep dives found in London Jazz Collector (<https://londonjazzcollector.wordpress.com/>); and the indispensable Both Sides Now Publications (<https://www.bsnpubs.com/discog.html>).

Chapter 1. Do the Huckle-Buck

- 1 There are various spellings and hyphenation patterns for the song's name. For consistency, I use the original spelling and hyphenation throughout.
- 2 "Fourth Annual Music-Record Poll," *Billboard*, January 14, 1950, 16–17. As of the November 9, 1949, issue of *Cash Box*, "The Huckle-Buck" had been on the charts for twenty-three weeks.
- 3 Both Parker and Williams worked with producer Teddy Reig at Savoy Records. For more about Williams's history, see Reig and Berger, *Reminiscing in Tempo*, 98; and Birnbaum, *Before Elvis*, 29, 257–58.
- 4 In the 1930s and 1940s, both Cab Calloway and Count Basie performed Gibson's music. For Gibson's history, see Birnbaum, *Before Elvis*, 258; and "Happy Birthday Andy Gibson," Jazz Museum in Harlem, accessed April 26, 2020, <http://jazzmuseuminharlem.org/today-in-jazz/happy-birthday-andy-gibson>.
- 5 On jazz and swing in relation to the music entertainment industry, see Ennis, *Seventh Stream*, 87, 194, and (more generally) chs. 3 and 7; Brackett, *Categorizing Sound*, 149–91; and Ake, *Jazz Cultures*, 42–61.
- 6 Ake argues that the historiographical emphasis on the rise of bebop has had the effect of distancing jazz from the commercial marketplace. Ake, *Jazz Cultures*, 60–61. David Brackett similarly critiques jazz historians for favoring an evolutionary model that excludes the complex commercial interaction among musical styles, categories, and identity. Brackett, *Categorizing Sound*, 185–86. See also Ennis, *Seventh Stream*, 196–97; and DeVeaux, *Birth of Bebop*, 8–17.
- 7 See Brackett, *Categorizing Sound*, 151, 180–81, 185–86; and Ramsey, *Race Music*, 48, 56–73.
- 8 For example, see the three letters that discuss the positives and negatives of bebop: "Chords and Discords," *Down Beat*, June 3, 1949, 10. Two articles in the same issue also discuss the merits of bebop: Pat Harris, "Admire Dis, Claims Mole," 4; and Sharon A. Pease, "Bop Man Haig Serious and Well-Schooled," 12. Also see Armstrong's response to hearing Bunk Johnson: "You can give that four stars right off. You can dance to it! In bebop, they don't know which way they're going to turn." Louis Armstrong with Leonard Feather, "Lombardo Grooves Louis," *Metronome*, September 1949, 18.
- 9 "Savoy Waxery Goes Longhair," *Billboard*, October 22, 1949, 15. Regent would eventually issue around fifty LPs beginning in mid-1950, according to Ruppli