Introduction

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This book represents an introduction to the musical creativity and experience of African Americans[1] in California. It demonstrates not only that California blacks have a rich and complex musical heritage that has stirred the hearts and souls of many but also that much diversity exists in this music. On the one hand, California blacks have maintained and built on musical styles and concepts from different parts of the United States (for example, the highly rhythmic, African-based, down-home melodic sounds identified primarily with the South, as well as the European-based art music traditions found throughout the country). Also, African Americans in California have created a performance style that can be described as smooth, mellow, laid-back, with less emphasis on rhythm. In addition, black California musicians have not been afraid to experiment, a feature that is in sync with one of the underlying characteristics of African-American culture.

Tolerance of diverse musical traditions is not unusual in urban environments, which is the context in which most African Americans in California have lived. In large, dense, and heterogeneous settings,[2] adaptation to changing circumstances is a necessity. Descriptions of Los Angeles can be applied to cities in the rest of state. Anthropologist Jacques Maquet says Los Angeles is "fluid and ever-changing: constantly there are new musics, new ideas, new trends."[3] Los Angeles city planner Con Howe comments: "We certainly have a more diverse population than most cities. And we have kind of a willingness to take on new ideas and the best ideas from different cultures."[4] Each city in California has its own history and personality, of course, so there are variations in the degree to which these characteristics apply.

Unlike urban areas in the Northeast and Midwest as well as rural and urban settings in the South, which have historically had segregated African-American communities, California featured ethnically diverse communities during its early history. Independent African-American communities in California did not evolve until much later, in the twentieth century. Whether this unique historical foundation

gave rise to expressive forms that differ from those created by blacks in other areas of the country is difficult to ascertain. The findings from studies in this book are mixed, underscoring the complexity of the African-American musical experience in California.

Many works that focus on music of the city discuss urbanization in terms of dichotomies: folk/modern, rural/urban, or country/city.[5] This approach sometimes implies that urbanization is evolutionary, linear, and unidirectional, which is not always the case. Also, few studies take into consideration the fact that urbanization is continuous and may occur in stages. The manner in which city life affects musicians and their music, as well as how the musicians and their music affect the city, needs to be examined. Thus, urban music and culture must be discussed from several viewpoints simultaneously.

Because the migration patterns of California African-American musicians were sometimes circuitous, this book broadens our understanding of urbanization as it relates to music. Though many California performers were born in the rural South, a large number lived in southern, midwestern, or northeastern cities before finally settling on the West Coast. Thus, their sensibility and self-image were different from those of people who simply moved from a rural to an urban environment. In addition, the music and culture some musicians brought to California were distinct from traditions associated with their birthplace. More important, because of the constant influx of visitors and the distant travels of Californians, California musicians frequently interacted with individuals outside the state. Also, performers within the state often intermingled with each other. California is one of the few states in the United States with substantial black populations in several cities, and each city has a thriving music culture. Finally, the opportunity for black Californians to control and participate in media institutions (radio, record, and television industries) normally dominated by mainstream society made California an attractive place to live, and these media had a significant impact on music developed in the state.

California serves as an excellent context in which to examine not only the multiplicity of musical traditions but also the sociocultural differentiations and tendencies within black culture. For too long, the different cultural expressions emanating from the experiences of African Americans in the United States have been discussed as a monolithic entity. The chapters in this volume demonstrate that the situation is quite complex, particularly when regional variations are taken into consideration. Before we examine how the social dynamics and different layerings of black culture in California relate to music making, however, a historical overview of African-American presence in the state is in order.

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN CALIFORNIA

Although black presence in California dates to the sixteenth century,[6] African-American communities did not become established there until the mid-nineteenth

century. Large-scale African-American migration from the South and Southwest into California began later than that to the North because of the state's geographical distance from nineteenth-century population centers. The first U.S. Census for California, conducted in 1850, lists the black population as 962. Whereas about twelve blacks lived in Los Angeles,[7] approximately 464 San Francisco residents were African American. These numbers demonstrate a trend that continued until the late 1800s—that is, the number of blacks living in San Francisco was much larger than the number residing in Los Angeles, Oakland, or San Diego.

The discovery of gold in 1848 was one of the primary reasons both blacks and whites were attracted to Northern California. By 1870, San Francisco was the ninth-largest U.S. city, with a strong manufacturing industry and a port that rivaled those of New York, Boston, and New Orleans. Also, in the 1890s, black service workers of the Spanish-American War, as well as black sailors, boat workers, and railroad men, saw San Francisco as an excellent place to advance. Many found employment as laborers in households, hotels, and restaurants. Because of their numbers, black San Franciscans exercised considerable influence in African-American affairs on the West Coast in the nineteenth century. The establishment of black institutions in California cities and towns often depended on leading San Franciscans, who were frequently invited to cultural events to deliver speeches or to promote interest in various projects.[8]

Yet San Francisco was a paradox. In spite of the influence of African Americans, the number of blacks in San Francisco was small in comparison to that of whites. According to historian Douglas Henry Daniels:

> A number of factors kept the Black population small in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Blacks' lack of power and influence in [white communities in] San Francisco and the distance from the south accounted for the size of the population before 1880. After 1880, powerful white labor unions prevented Negroes from winning jobs, while white immigrants took many of their traditional service positions. Industrialists and financiers rarely lent aid to the Black community and did not promote its growth through migration schemes. They only used Blacks occasionally as strikebreakers, the last kind of situation to lead to permanent residency or power. Finally, by 1900 Oakland grew and attracted Blacks, including San Franciscans, but then other new Pacific coast cities offered more opportunities to Afro-Americans and other migrants.[9]

Moreover, local officials made little effort to encourage migration of blacks because California already had an abundant supply of unskilled Chinese, Japanese, and Mexican laborers.[10]

By 1900, Los Angeles had surpassed San Francisco as the most populous African-American community in the state. Whereas San Francisco's black community decreased in size between 1890 and 1910, in Los Angeles the population grew from 102 in 1880 to 7,990 in 1910. By the early twentieth century, black political and socioeconomic advocacy organizations in the state found their power

based in Southern California. The Afro-American Congress met in Pasadena in 1906, signalling that the noise and numbers of recent arrivals finally overshadowed the history and achievements of the pioneer era.[11] The phenomenal rise in the black population in Los Angeles resulted from the Great Migration that earlier had occurred in cities in the Northeast and Midwest. Most California blacks were recruited as agricultural workers. However, they tended to cluster in large urban areas and sought employment in service jobs, particularly domestic work and transportation, not in agriculture.[12] Comparing Northern and Southern California, Daniels states, "This mass movement of Blacks to urban areas around World War I formed a picture of Black urban America that is usually accepted as standard. But it did not affect San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, or Richmond to any considerable degree until the 1940s."[13] Several factors encouraged blacks to move to Los Angeles: the possibility of employment in the interurban railway that was being built in Los Angeles County; the destruction of the cotton economy by the boll weevil in south central states such as Texas; and heightened racial tensions in the South that had become intolerable. Thus, the rate of increase of the black population in Los Angeles during the early 1900s was higher than that of whites.[14]

In addition to the intolerable conditions in the South, there are other reasons blacks chose Los Angeles over other cities on the West Coast. Daniels states, "Compared to the eastern and newer far western cities, San Francisco extended very limited economic opportunities to Blacks after the spectacular boom days of the mid-nineteenth century. The sparse Afro-San Franciscan population, numbering approximately 1,600 until World War I, suggests the stiff economic competition they then endured."[15]

As Los Angeles's African-American population increased, so, too, did racial restrictions and discrimination. In 1918 white hostility resulted in the confinement of African Americans to specific residential areas, and by 1930 close to 70 percent were concentrated in one assembly district around the main Central Avenue business area, with a majority of the remainder percent residing in adjacent neighborhoods. Overcrowding and a decrease in the overall standard of living contributed to the process of ghettoization that continued through subsequent decades. Aside from the residential restrictions, the expression of anti-black sentiment took many otherforms. There was growing receptivity for the Ku Klux Klan, with its "message of hate and anger in new and longtime white residents of the city."[16] African Americans were denied access to many restaurants, hotels, theaters, and public areas, including certain beaches and bathhouses. In response to the city's growing racism, organizations such as the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) and Marcus Garvey's UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association) became increasingly active. The Los Angeles chapter of the NAACP was founded in 1913, the UNIA chapter in 1921.

By comparison with black communities in San Francisco and Los Angeles, those of San Francisco's East Bay[17] were very small during the late nineteenth century. Not until the early 1900s did the East Bay's African-American population

surpass San Francisco's. Much of the growth in Oakland and surrounding areas can be attributed to 1) the earthquake and fire that destroyed San Francisco in 1906, sending thousands of refugees to the East Bay, and 2) the development of Oakland's shipbuilding and railroad industries. Black-owned businesses benefited from the general prosperity of the East Bay, which caused Oakland and other areas to become more attractive to Northern California black residents.[18]

When California entered the union in 1850, only eight blacks in a total population of 798 resided in San Diego County. In 1870 the county still had only seventeen African-American denizens, but by 1880 the number had risen to fifty-five.[19] Thus, the growth of the black community in San Diego between 1860 and the 1880s differed from that of other cities in California. Not only was the number of blacks in the southernmost part of the state extremely small in comparison to the total population, but most blacks settled in rural areas, where they worked as farmers. About 0.2 percent of the total population of San Diego was black, whereas African Americans in the rest of the state constituted just under 1 percent of the population: "Of the fifteen blacks listed in the 1870 census for San Diego County, only one lived in the city; of the fifty-five listed in 1880, only three lived in the city."[20] Also, many of the blacks who settled in San Diego (and Southern California in general) were born in slave states. In Northern California, "especially San Francisco, the proportion of blacks born in slave states was much lower."[21]

Several factors help to explain the growth pattern of the black population in San Diego. With mountains and desert to the east, the city was poorly situated for the building of a railroad, leaving it a port without a hinterland. Also, it was not until 1869 that an important gold strike (started by Fred Coleman, a black) was made in San Diego County, and this caused only a minor boom. While San Diego's black population increased between 1885 and 1900, it remained less than 1 percent of the total, rising to 289 in 1890.[22] However, it is noteworthy that the majority of blacks in San Diego County during the late nineteenth century lived in or near downtown San Diego, where they rented, lived with their employers, or lived on their employers' property.[23] Most were cooks, laborers, servants, housekeepers, or women of the evening, though a few were involved in business.[24] After the 1890s the economic status of blacks improved, and blacks fanned out in all directions and settled in the more expensive urban neighborhoods, such as Logan Heights.

During the early twentieth century, there was little variation in life for blacks who lived on the West Coast; it was the same in Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego. Most lived in neighborhoods that were ethnically mixed with Asians, Mexicans, and various European groups; because "blacks migrated as individuals and over a long period of time, they scattered over a wide area."[25] Compared to their counterparts in the South, Californian blacks enjoyed considerable freedom on public transportation and in public. By the mid-1920s, black wage scales across occupations in California were among the highest in the nation,[26] making the state an attractive destination for African Americans. In Los

Angeles, the period from 1900–1929 is referred to as the "Golden Era" because African Americans enjoyed a higher standard of living there than was possible in the states of their birth. While some maintained businesses, most worked in service trades, as domestics, or as unskilled laborers. Many were able to purchase their own homes.[27] It was not until the stock market crash of 1929 that blacks were subjected to the policies and obstacles (such as restrictive residential covenants) that forced them into segregated communities.

The process of ghettoization that developed in eastern and midwestern cities between 1916 and 1920 began to accelerate in Los Angeles and San Diego in the late 1920s. In San Francisco and other western cities, this trend was delayed between twenty-five and thirty years.[28] Yet in spite of the diversity of these communities, most whites, particularly those in San Francisco, perceived blacks as inferior and restricted their progress socially, politically, and economically.[29] Recounting life in the twenties and thirties, one black San Diegan states, "Many restaurants downtown had signs up saying that they refused to serve blacks. Hotels didn't have signs up, but they wouldn't serve Negroes either."[30] In spite of racism and hardships, large numbers of blacks migrated to the West Coast in the thirties. Those who migrated to California tended to come from Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas, whereas those from Mississippi and Alabama more commonly moved north to Chicago or Detroit.[31] African Americans entering California during this time tended to concentrate in the Los Angeles area,[32] making the city and its environs the logical destination of most subsequent black migrations.

Between 1942 and 1945, "340,000 Blacks settled in California, two hundred thousand of whom migrated to Los Angeles."[33] The first large influx of black workers came in the spring of 1942, when the Southern Pacific Railroad Company began to import railway workers. The migration reached its peak in June 1943, when between 10,000 and 12,000 African Americans entered Los Angeles in a single month. As in earlier years, the main source of these and other migrants was mostly the south central states and Mississippi, with the greatest number coming from Texas.[34] In his study of Watts, California, Keith Collins conducted interviews with 275 men and women who migrated to Los Angeles during the war. One hundred seventy-one came from the same states as most of the musicians who entertained them: Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas.[35]

Blacks who migrated sought a different way of life and a better future, for many believed that obtaining a job in the wartime industry would lead to better socioeconomic conditions.[36] Also, the West Coast seemed free of the poverty and tenements of New York or Chicago. Though they did not leave discrimination or segregation behind them, Southerners felt they would be able to escape Jim Crow laws and humiliation.[37] Although the move to California was beneficial for southern migrants, the influx had a negative impact on the established communities of blacks[38] because few accommodations were made for the new migrants. As the black population grew in Los Angeles, it remained confined by prewar boundaries, and restrictive housing covenants were more tightly enforced. Betty Reid

Soskin, a Berkeley record-store owner who moved to the Bay Area from Louisiana in 1925, recalls, "There were so many blacks suddenly settling in the area and people were coming in by the trainloads that they were building housing, emergency housing, like crazy. The area was suddenly becoming a black metropolis."[39] It is also noteworthy that by 1940, the black population in Oakland (8,462) was nearly twice the size of that in San Francisco (4,846). According to Lawrence Crouchett, "Oakland's black population grew from 8,462 in 1940 to 37,327 in 1945 and 47,562 in 1950; Berkeley's from 3,395 in 1940 to 13,289 in 1950; and Richmond's from a mere 270 in 1940 to 14,000 in 1950."[40]

The 1950s and 1960s can be regarded as a period of change within the social history of blacks in California. By the fifties, migration into the Los Angeles area had increased substantially, making it a major metropolitan center for black America. Servicemen who were discharged from the military during the forties and fifties decided to stay in San Diego and other cities on the West Coast rather than return to their hometowns.[41] Like blacks who settled in Los Angeles during the early twentieth century, the new migrants felt the West Coast offered greater opportunities for social mobility than the South did. Many believed that unlike blacks of the South, "the people of color in Los Angeles were guaranteed some basic liberties, such as the right of suffrage, the right to seek legal recourse, and freedom from the worst effects of residential segregation."[42]

The period from the fifties and sixties was also important because it was this time that African Americans actively protested against discrimination and inequities. Although the civil rights movement helped to change the laws, blacks continued to suffer many injustices. For example, even though restrictive covenants were outlawed in 1948, blacks in Los Angeles still did not live in "integrated" communities during the fifties. Yet when African-American settlement patterns changed, black customers who had had no alternative choices prior to integration began to patronize businesses that had previously been restricted to whites.[43]

Between 1960 and 1970, California's black population increased from 900,000 to 1,400,000.[44] However, by the mid-sixties, the popular image of California as a "wonderful land of easy wealth, good health, pleasant living, and unlimited opportunities"[45] for blacks no longer existed. For blacks who migrated to the state in the forties and earlier, life had changed between the end of World War II and the beginning of the 1960s. Also, recent migrants (those who arrived in the sixties) quickly discovered their road to success to be more difficult than they had anticipated. As Lapp explains: "Frustration and bitterness were becoming obvious to many. In California, the problems of decent housing, jobs (especially for youth), and police brutality were chronic. The continued migration of blacks to California increased the population density of already crowded black ghettos. Young blacks grew up separated from the larger white world, and their own world became one of de facto segregation with declining educational advantages."[46] Though dreams may have come true for some African Americans in California, many became disillusioned, ultimately causing their aspirations to burst into

flames in the Watts (Los Angeles) and Logan Heights (San Diego) rebellions of 1965.[47] In other areas of the state, grassroots organizations such as the Black Panthers (established in Oakland in 1966) came into existence to deal with problems.[48]

Dramatic changes occurred in the demographics in California during the seventies and eighties. Because of the large influx of Asians and Latinos, the percentage distribution of blacks in the state fell. The situation in Los Angeles exemplifies what occurred in other urban areas in California. Eugene J. Grigsby explains:

> By 1970 . . . the Los Angeles area began to experience a totally different set of immigration patterns. Chicanos and Latinos comprised 14 percent of the region's population in 1970. By 1980, their numbers had increased to 24 percent, and today they constitute 28 percent of the population. Forecasts for the year 2010 indicate that the Chicano and Latino population is expected to reach 40 percent of the area's residents.
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> The size of the Asian and "other" population—Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, Vietnamese, Filipinos, Iranians, Russian Jews, Armenians—doubled between 1970 and 1980 and is projected to grow at a slow but steady rate over the next 10 to 15 years.
>
> The Black population, on the other hand, reached a plateau during this same time period. In 1970, Blacks represented 17.3 percent of the city's population and dropped to 12.6 percent in 1980. Today, Blacks comprise approximately 10 percent of the city's population and are not expected to exceed this number in the foreseeable future.[49]

California cities in the 1990s have maintained their diversity and many of the characteristics that have historically been associated with them. An article that appeared in the January 26, 1995, issue of the *Los Angeles Times* provides an interesting description of urban areas in the state. Though San Francisco and San Diego have their differences, the article states, similarities exist; they are thought to be civic jewels in the Golden State's crown, port cities of great beauty and great promise, cities that have remained livable while much of urban America appears in rapid decline. Both are mission cities with military and maritime traditions. Interestingly, San Francisco, with a population of 723,959, has also retained its aura as a sophisticated city with a European aristocratic tradition. By contrast, San Diego, a newcomer to the ranks of big-citydom (population 1,110,549), is more middle American, with a lifestyle revolving around hearth and home. Residents of San Diego and San Francisco criticize Los Angeles, the largest city in the state (population, 3,485,398), because of its sprawl, unchecked growth, rush, and turmoil.[50] Though Los Angeles may draw the ire of many, few cities have such range of choices in cultural traditions. Also, because of its proximity to Hollywood, it is the entertainment capital of the world, giving the city enormous social, political, and cultural influence. In the words of Mike Davis, "this essentially deracinated city has become the world capital of an immense culture industry, which since the 1920s has imported myriads of the most talented writers, filmmakers, artist- and

visionaries."[51] In addition, Los Angeles continues to be the hub of California's black community, with the state's largest population of African Americans, although Oakland has the largest percentage distribution of blacks (see Table I.1 for statistics on population in California). The chapters in this volume show that the distribution and diversity of California's population has had a considerable impact on the music of African Americans in the state.

STRUCTURE AND SCOPE

The contributors have used a variety of approaches in the presentation of their material. Most focus on a specific genre (blues, jazz, gospel, rhythm and blues, or soul) as the basis for the discussion of a historical period, issue, or individual. Others use interviews to examine important institutions, such as the music industry and radio. Because limited scholarly material exists on the music and social context of African Americans in California (see source materials in Appendix compiled by David Martinelli), all authors have had to rely on oral history, in addition to archival sources, for their research. This is not unusual for music investigations concerning people of color, women, urbanism, and regional musicians who have not received much documentation. Although the authors have identified several layers of musical styles and tendencies associated with California blacks, the interplay of these tendencies among various performers within different contexts is interesting. For example, some California musicians are noted for their down-home performance style, whereas others perform music that can be regarded as "laid-back," mellow, and smooth, and still others play music in the European art music tradition. Experimentation and openness to new ideas are also important features of African-American music in California.

When a work covers such a diversity of topics and issues, it can be organized in a number of ways: geographically, historically, or according to genre. We have decided to use several themes—"Music in an Urban Environment," "Music and the Media," and "The Musician as Innovator"—as the basis for organizing the book. Though these themes are the primary focus of some papers, issues concerning urbanism, media, innovation, and multiculturalism are intrinsic to the California region,[52] so they are discussed to some extent in each of the articles. For example, Meadows and Browne provide contextual information about San Diego and Los Angeles, respectively, before their discussions of the media and the musician. Similarly, the chapters by Bakan, Browne, DjeDje, Hildebrand/Moore, and Kidula address the impact of the media on trends, as well as personalities involved in the record industry and black radio.

As indicated above, the majority of African Americans in California historically have lived in urban environments; therefore, it is apropos to have a section entitled "Music in an Urban Environment." Cities give rise to a certain type of dynamic that can have a dramatic effect on culture and music making.[53] Chapters by Bakan, DjeDje, Eastman, and Hildebrand/Moore show how migration trends,

TABLE I.1 1990 Population and Percentage Distribution of Ethnic Groups in Four Cities in California

	Los Angeles	*Oakland*	*San Diego*	*San Francisco*
Total population	3,485,398	372,242	1,110,549	723,959
Number of blacks	487,674	163,335	104,261	79,039
Percentage distribution of blacks	14.0	43.9	9.4	10.9
Number of American Indians, Eskimos, or Aleuts	16,379	2,371	6,800	3,456
Percentage distribution of American Indians, Eskimos, or Aleuts	.5	.6	.6	.5
Number of Asians or Pacific Islanders	341,807	54,931	130,945	210,876
Percentage distribution of Asians or Pacific Islanders	9.8	14.8	11.8	29.1
Number of Hispanics (of any race)	788,704	29,725	121,159	41,345
Percentage distribution of Hispanics (of any race)	22.6	8.0	10.9	5.7
Number of whites	1,841,182	120,849	745,406	387,783
Percentage distribution of whites	52.8	32.5	67.1	53.6

United States Department of Commerce, *1990 Census of Population. General Population Characteristics, California, Section 1 of 3* (Washington, DC: Bureau of the Census, 1990).

settlement patterns, and support institutions affected musical activity. Also, the networking of individuals and organizations and the spatial arrangement of buildings (homes, businesses, churches, entertainment venues) make the music in one community differ from that in another.

Together, the chapters by Bakan and Eastman chronicle the activities of several jazz musicians who were active in Los Angeles from the mid-teens to the end of World War II. The authors refute the sobriquet that musicians go to Los Angeles to die. In the article, "Way Out West on Central: Jazz in the African-American Community of Los Angeles before 1930," Michael B. Bakan explains that much activity in the early development of jazz took place in Los Angeles. He shows that noted New Orleans musicians who migrated to the West Coast during the early twentieth century became leaders in the Los Angeles jazz scene, making historic recordings and performing at a variety of social events, thus providing a unifying force for the community during a period of considerable political instability and change. Although jazz musicians who migrated to California continued to perform down-home music, it is also noteworthy that migrant musicians had to adapt to the conservative aesthetic sensibilities of Los Angeles's black establishment. Early jazz musicians in Los Angeles who were "well schooled" (trained in Euro-

pean art music) tended to enjoy greater success than musicians who only performed "hot" jazz styles from the South and Midwest.

In "'Pitchin' up a Boogie': African-American Musicians, Nightlife and Music Venues in Los Angeles, 1930–1945," Ralph Eastman discusses the development of jazz and black popular music in the city during a period when Central Avenue had become a jewel of success for musicians and entrepreneurs. The details he provides about the spatial arrangement of clubs, demographics, and political environment in Los Angeles help to explain how a separate community emerged and became one of the most famous settings for the exchange of musical ideas and establishment of new trends. In addition, he suggests reasons for the decline in the popularity of music venues and musicians who performed on Central Avenue.

The chapter on "Oakland Blues" gives two perspectives on the development of the tradition: one from Bob Geddins, an insider who was a producer and composer of the art form, and another from Lee Hildebrand, a journalist who, through artistic criticism, helped to promote the music. The first part of the chapter, by Hildebrand, includes a historical overview of the Oakland blues tradition from the forties to the nineties, focusing on the contributions of several noted figures, including Geddins, Lowell Fulson, and Jimmy McCracklin. Hildebrand explains that Oakland has a southern musical character and personality, which makes the city's blues tradition different from that associated with San Francisco and other urban areas in the state. Part two of this chapter is a conversation between James C. Moore and Bob Geddins. Geddins explains why and how blues evolved as it did in Oakland. His discussion of the aesthetics of blues and the techniques he used in recording sessions to create a particular quality of sound are issues rarely discussed by scholars. The interview is now of particular value because it documents Geddins's last public appearance before his death in early 1991.

California residents were slow in their acceptance of gospel, a type of music whose beginnings date to the early twentieth century. The manner in which the form was promoted and disseminated in the state is documented in "The California Black Gospel Music Tradition: A Confluence of Musical Styles and Cultures" by Jacqueline Cogdell DjeDje. She not only discusses context and the social factors that caused the adoption of the art form to differ in various areas of the state but also shows how the connections between Chicago and the various urban areas in California made the gospel music tradition on the West Coast distinct from that of other areas in the United States. As a result, it was not long before Los Angeles became as important a center for gospel music as cities in the Midwest and East. DjeDje also demonstrates that the fusion of a down-home performance style with the European art music tendencies of some California gospel musicians helped make the state's gospel music a model that was imitated by others throughout the country. Subsequently, California gospel musicians became known as major innovators.

The media (the record industry and radio, in particular) have given the music of California a distinctive ambience. Moreover, they are partly responsible for the

new ideas and trends that have been incorporated into various musical forms (e.g., gospel, rhythm and blues, and jazz). Therefore, the section entitled "Music and the Media" as it relates to the African-American experience in California is particularly important.

"Insider Perspectives on the American Afrikan Popular Music Industry and Black Radio" provides interviews with Al Bell and Pam Robinson, individuals who are involved in the business aspects of the music industry. Kwaku Person-Lynn's interview with Bell, a Los Angeles music executive who has been an important innovator within the popular music industry since the 1950s, not only includes information about Bell's life and contributions but also touches on the role and importance of Los Angeles to the record business. In addition to recounting the history of Stax Records, Bell elaborates on trends in the popular music industry, future directions of black music, black radio, creativity, black music marketing, and differences between Stax and Motown (a Los Angeles–based record company from the 1970s to the 1990s). Of particular note are Bell's comments on the challenges facing a black male executive in a multibillion dollar industry dominated by white males. Though Bell feels it is important to maintain an Afrocentric approach to music making, he also believes it is critical that black musicians continue to be innovators rather than allow themselves to become imitators. Robinson, one of the few female program directors in Los Angeles radio during the 1980s, discusses the complexities of running a radio station in a changing market, as well as the role and influence of radio in the black community and in the promotion of new artists. Like Bell, Robinson comments on the challenges that black women executives face in the music industry as well as the need to experiment with new ideas to be successful within the music business.

In "California Rhythm and Blues Recordings, 1942–1972: A Diversity of Styles," Willie R. Collins uses a sample of fifty-one recordings to discuss the stylistic trends and song texts of rhythm and blues. Collins argues that California rhythm and blues is a confluence of several genres. Whereas some Californians embraced music forms from the South and Midwest (e.g., rhythm and blues based on Kansas City jazz, boogie woogie, and gospel), other artists created a laid-back, smooth, ballad style generally associated with California. The differentiation in styles within the state exists because musicians have been conditioned by local phenomena. Thus, music aesthetics is directly related to context.

In "African Americans and 'Lites Out Jazz' in San Diego: Marketing, Impact and Criticism," Eddie S. Meadows examines the impact of KIFM radio on jazz preferences in San Diego. Meadows states that shrewd marketing, along with live community presentations, caused "lites out jazz" to become one of the most popular radio program formats in San Diego from 1986 to 1990; the radio station received high ratings among both African Americans and whites. The author suggests that a corollary relationship exists between the education and income levels of African Americans and their ability to participate in "lites out jazz" activities. "Lites out jazz" reflects the smooth, laid-back musical tendencies within Califor-

nia—what Carl Evans, a "lites out jazz" performer from San Diego, refers to as "vanilla" music. By exploring new directions, the performers developed a performance style that met the musical tastes of the African-American middle class.

The section entitled "The Musician as Innovator" examines the lives of three Los Angeles musicians who have been pioneers and trailblazers in their fields. As individuals, they fought against the odds and were not interested in maintaining the status quo. Their desire to be different, experiment, and introduce new ideas eventually led to notoriety that they would have not achieved if they had followed tradition. Danica L. Stein discusses the life and experiences of Clora Bryant, one of the few females who, in spite of the odds, decided to become a professional jazz musician. Bryant, as a jazz trumpet player, experienced numerous obstacles within her career because of the marginalization of women as well as the negative attitudes and perceptions that exist among male musicians and society at large.

In "The Gospel of Andraé Crouch: A Black Angeleno," Jean Kidula discusses what she believes are the characteristics of Los Angeles. According to Kidula, not only does Crouch symbolize the multicultural and multiracial environment of Los Angeles, his music involves integration and synthesis as well as collaboration and compromise. In demonstrating Crouch's uniqueness in the field of gospel music, Kidula describes Crouch's upbringing in the Church of God in Christ, his exposure to secular music, his role in the development of contemporary gospel, and his involvement in the white Christian community, which helped to bridge the gap between white and black gospel. Crouch was not afraid to challenge the status quo or explore new directions, which is one of the reasons that he became one of the primary architects of contemporary gospel in the seventies and eighties.

In "Brenda Holloway: Los Angeles's Contribution to Motown," Kimasi L. Browne discusses the circumstances and issues that made Brenda Holloway, a Motown recording artist of the 1960s, special and different. As an innovator, Holloway was one of the first performers in California to separate from the Motown family. Her career at Motown is noteworthy because the context in which she grew up was so different from that of other Motown artists. Also, her early training in European art music greatly influenced her performance style, which indirectly affected other Motown artists because Holloway was used as a model. The chapter touches on history of the Motown label, Holloway's early life and musical training, her role as a fashion innovator, and her contributions to the Motown sound.

The Appendix, prepared by David Martinelli, is a comprehensive compilation of source materials on African-American music, musicians, and culture in California. As we have indicated, the amount of *scholarly* literature on the music of African Americans in California is minimal when compared to the documentation that exists on the musical activity of blacks in the South, East Coast, or Midwest. Though *The Negro Trail Blazers of California*[54] by journalist Delilah Beasley provides useful social, cultural, and musical information about the art music community during the early twentieth century, most general works and histories that concern

black music in the United States—e.g., *Music and Some Highly Musical People,* by James M. Trotter; *Negro Musicians and Their Music,* by Maude Cuny-Hare; the second and third editions of *The Music of Black Americans: A History,* by Eileen Southern; or *Black American Music: Past and Present,* by Hildred Roach—contain little discussion of California.[55] Except for two publications by the Center for Black Music Research *(Black Music Research Bulletin* and *Black Music Research Journal),*[56] few scholarly journals or anthologies contain extensive discussion of black music activity in California. Tom Reed's *The Black Music History of Los Angeles—Its Roots: A Classical Pictorial History of Black Music in Los Angeles from the 1920s–1970* is one of the first attempts to examine in a comprehensive manner the musical forms created and performed by African Americans in Los Angeles. Unfortunately, aside from his brief comments on the numerous photographs included in the book, there is little discussion of the music or musicians.[57] Two books by Bette Yarbrough Cox provide an excellent overview of musical activity in Los Angeles during the early part of the twentieth century. Cox's introduction in *Central Avenue—Its Rise and Fall (1880–c.1955)* focuses on the development of the African-American music in the city, and the second part contains valuable oral history accounts from music educators, art music, jazz, and religious musicians. Her edited work, *Music in the Central Avenue Community 1890–c. 1955,* contains essays on jazz, gospel, church music, art music, and the black musicians' union in Los Angeles.[58]

Although noted performers who were born in California have been the focus of monograph-length studies,[59] only a handful of biographies about California performers are included in the *Biographical Dictionary of Afro-American and African Musicians, The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, The New Grove Dictionary of American Music, The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz,* and *Jazz Research and Performance Materials: A Select Annotated Bibliography.*[60] The University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) Oral History Program has begun to compile oral histories from Los Angeles African-American musicians (see Martinelli's source materials), filling many of the gaps that have heretofore existed. So far UCLA's oral history project has been devoted primarily to musicians in the jazz world.[61]

A similar lack of documentation exists with regard to specific music idioms. Except for publications by Hansonia L. Caldwell, Bette Y. Cox, William Duncan Allen, Marion D. Schrock, and Jacqueline Cogdell DjeDje,[62] only brief references have been made to the development of art music and various religious genres in California. Though much has appeared in music trade journals about blues, jazz, and popular music—e.g., *Down Beat, Billboard, Variety, Record Changer, Coda, Metronome, Melody Maker, Cadence, Village Voice, Option*—scholarly discussion of these forms has been scanty. Lee Hildebrand, Arnold Shaw, Portia Maultsby, and Ralph Eastman are among those who have produced works concerned with rhythm and blues.[63] The few books that have appeared on jazz (e.g., works by William Claxton, Tom Stoddard, Robert Gordon, Burt Wilson, and Ted Gioia) have dealt with developments in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Sacramento during the 1950s and later.[64] Also, other than Stanley Dance's[65] brief discussion of jazz in San Diego, no

scholarly sources are available on the southernmost city within the state. Therefore, the situation Floyd and Reisser found during the 1980s has not changed: "Aside from what has appeared in biographies and a few reference books . . . , not much has been written about the black-music activity that took place in California in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and not many research tools and materials exist for those wishing to research the black-music history of the state."[66]

This volume helps to fill the void that now exists with regard to scholarly materials on African-American music in California. We believe it is appalling that so little has been done when one considers that California is one of the most important regions in the United States for black social and political activity. Also, it is ironic that although Los Angeles and its surrounding communities can be regarded as the mass media capital of the world because of the region's involvement in the creation and promotion of popular culture, little attention has been given to the city's African-American culture, the foundation for most musical creativity in world culture.

This collection in no way attempts to be complete in its coverage of the music of African Americans in California. Although black Californians have a long history of involvement in art music, spirituals, rap, and other performance idioms, including film, television, and theater,[67] the chapters in this volume are limited to a discussion of blues, gospel, jazz, rhythm and blues, and soul. The contributors show that African-American musicians in California use down-home, laidback stylistic tendencies in many genres. Whether these phenomena can be defined as a California aesthetic, or the expression of a particular identity, is debatable. Until more research is done on music in the region (which we hope this book will inspire), we can only suggest that such a definition might be applicable. African-American musical preferences are conditioned by local cultural phenomena as well as national concepts. Instead of focusing on the well-known, established musicians and geographical areas, scholars of African-American music need to investigate regions of the United States where little research has been done so we may have a more holistic view and better understanding of the creativity and performance practices of *all* African-American musicians.

NOTES

1. Throughout this volume, the terms African American, Afro-American, black, and black American are used interchangeably.

2. This definition for urban is based on a discussion in Edwin Eames and Judith Granich Goode, *Anthropology of the City: An Introduction to Urban Anthropology* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1977), 38–41.

3. Jacques Maquet, "L.A.: One Society, One Culture, Many Options," in *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology, Volume 10: Musical Aesthetics and Multiculturalism in Los Angeles,* ed. Steven Loza (Los Angeles: Department of Ethnomusicology and Systematic Musicology, UCLA, 1994), 15.

4. Con Howe and Aaron Curtis, "Chat Room: Future Is in the Neighborhood," *Los Angeles Times* (19 September 1995): B2.

5. See Bruno Nettl, "Preliminary Remarks on Urban Folk Music in Detroit," *Western Folklore* 16 (1957): 37–42, and "Aspects of Folk Music in North American Cities," in *Music in the Americas,* ed. George List and Juan Orrego-Salas (Bloomington: Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics, 1967), 139–146; Charles Keil, *Urban Blues* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966); and James T. Koetting, "The Effects of Urbanization: The Music of the Kasena People of Ghana," *The World of Music* 17, no. 4 (1975): 23–31.

6. The history of African Americans in San Diego County dates to 1519. "During the Spanish and Mexican periods blacks, who accompanied Cortéz in 1519 and had been slaves until 1829, as well as mixed-blood Caliornios, were found at all levels of society" (Robert Fikes Jr., Gail Madyun, and Larry Malone, "Black Pioneers in San Diego: 1880–1920," *Journal of San Diego History* 27, no. 2 [Spring 1981]: 91–92). The founding of the city of Los Angeles in 1781 is surrounded by controversy because, of the forty-four *pobladores,* or settlers from Mexico, "twenty-six were either Black or of mixed racial ancestry." See further discussion in Lonnie Bunch III, *Black Angelenos: The Afro-American in Los Angeles, 1850–1950* (Los Angeles: California Afro-American Museum Foundation, 1988), 10.

7. Bunch, *Black Angelenos,* 11; William Mason and James Anderson, "The Los Angeles Black Community, 1781–1940," in *America's Black Heritage,* ed. Russell E. Belous. (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, History Division, Bulletin No. 5, 1969), 42–64.

8. Douglas Henry Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites: A Social and Cultural History of Black San Francisco* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), 13–14.

9. Ibid., 17.

10. Keith E. Collins, *Black Los Angeles: The Maturing of the Ghetto 1940–50* (Saratoga, CA: Los Angeles Century 21 Publishing, 1980), 5–8.

11. Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites,* 120–121.

12. Collins, *Black Los Angeles,* 8.

13. Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites,* 13.

14. Jacqueline Cogdell DjeDje, "Gospel Music in the Los Angeles Black Community: A Historical Overview," *Black Music Research Journal* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 36.

15. Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites,* 31.

16. Bunch, *Black Angelenos,* 29.

17. In this chapter, "San Francisco Bay Area" and "Bay Area" are used interchangeably and include the cities of San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, Richmond, and surrounding communities. However, the phrase "East Bay" refers only to Oakland, Berkeley, and Richmond.

18. Lawrence P. Crouchett, Lonnie G. Bunch III, and Martha K. Winnacker, *Visions Toward Tomorrow: The History of the East Bay Afro-American Community 1852–1977* (Oakland: The Northern California Center for Afro-American History and Life, 1989), 17.

19. Fikes, et al., "Black Pioneers in San Diego," 91–92.

20. Robert L. Carlton, "Blacks in San Diego County: A Social Profile, 1850–1880," *Journal of San Diego History* 21, no. 4 (Fall 1975): 8.

21. Ibid.

22. Fikes, et al., "Black Pioneers in San Diego," 92.

23. Robert Fikes, "Black Pioneers of San Diego, 1850–1900: Out of Sight, Out of Mind," *San Diego Voice News & Viewpoint* (5 July 1978): A6; Fikes, et al., "Black Pioneers in San Diego," 102.

24. Robert Fikes, "Black Pioneers of San Diego, 1850–1900: An Introduction," *San Diego Voice News & Viewpoint* (15 February 1978): 8.

25. Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites,* 99.

26. Collins, *Black Los Angeles,* 8.

27. Bunch, *Black Angelenos,* 21–22, 29–34; Patricia Carr Bowie, "The Cultural History of Los Angeles: From Rural Backwash to World Center" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1980), 367.

28. Albert S. Broussard, *Black San Francisco: The Struggle for Racial Equality in the West, 1900–1954* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1993), 5; Bunch, *Black Angelenos,* 21; Fikes, "Black Pioneers: Out of Sight," A16.

29. Broussard, *Black San Francisco,* 6.

30. Nolan Davis, "From Wilderness to Mansions: Southeast San Diego History Key to Area's Problems Now," *San Diego Evening Tribune* (3 April 1965).

31. Collins, *Black Los Angeles,* 44.

32. Ibid., 6.

33. Bunch, *Black Angelenos,* 38.

34. Lawrence B. DeGraff, "Negro Migration to Los Angeles, 1930–1950," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1962), 257.

35. Collins, *Black Los Angeles,* 44.

36. DjeDje, "Gospel Music in the Los Angeles Black Community," 46.

37. Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites,* 163.

38. Bunch, *Black Angelenos,* 39.

39. Betty Reid Soskin, personal interview with Jacqueline Cogdell DjeDje, 21 June 1989.

40. Crouchett, et al., *Visions Toward Tomorrow,* 45.

41. Julie Cheshire, "The World According to Art," *San Diego Downtown Newsweekly* (28 May 1984): 1; and V. M. McPherson, personal interview with Jacqueline Cogdell DjeDje, 17 February 1992.

42. Bunch, *Black Angelenos,* 21.

43. Bowie, "Cultural History," 368–372.

44. Rudolph M. Lapp, *Afro-Americans in California,* 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Publishing Company, 1987), 84.

45. Norris Hundley Jr. and John A. Schutz, "Editors' Introduction," in Rudolph M. Lapp, *Afro-Americans in California,* 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Publishing Co., 1987), iii.

46. Lapp, *Afro-Americans,* 77–78.

47. John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans,* 7th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994), 514; and Jean E. Hoffman and Sydney D. Hammond, "A Documentary Study of the 'Logan Heights Riot' of August 1965" (A Research Project Report, San Diego State College, 1966).

48. Lapp, *Afro-Americans,* 75; Crouchett, et al. *Visions Toward Tomorrow,* 59.

49. Eugene J. Grigsby, "The Rise and Decline of Black Neighborhoods in Los Angeles," *UCLA Center for Afro-American Studies Report* 12, nos. 1 & 2 (Spring/Fall 1989): 16–17.

50. Tony Perry and Richard C. Paddock, "Super Bowl Hype Reflects a Tale of Two Different Cities," *Los Angeles Times* (26 January 1995): A1, A18–A19.

51. Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 17; also see Cowe and Curtis, "Chat Room," B2.

52. Steven Loza, "Musical Aesthetics and Multiculturalism in Los Angeles: An Introduction," in *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology, Volume 10: Musical Aesthetics and Multiculturalism in Los Angeles,* ed. Steven Loza (Los Angeles: Department of Ethnomusicology and Systematic Musicology, UCLA, 1994), 1–13.

53. For some of the works concerned with the city, music, and culture, see Koetting, "The Effects of Urbanization; Steven Loza, ed., *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology, Volume 10: Musical Aesthetics and Multiculturalism in Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: Department of Ethnomusicology and Systematic Musicology, UCLA, 1994); Bruno Nettl, ed., *Eight Urban Musical Cultures: Tradition and Change* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978); Burton Peretti, *The Creation of Jazz: Music, Race, and Culture in Urban America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Adelaida Reyes Schramm, "Ethnic Music, the Urban Area, and Ethnomusicology," *Sociologus* 29, no. 2 (1979): 1–21, and "Explorations in Urban Ethnomusicology: Hard Lessons from the Spectacularly Ordinary," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 14 (1982): 1–14; Thomas Turino, "The Music of Andean Migrants in Lima, Peru: Demographics, Social Power, and Style," *Latin American Music Review* 9, no. 2 (1988):127–150, and *Moving Away from Silence: Music of the Peruvian Altiplano and the Experiment of Urban Migration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). For a few of the works related to the city as a context for research, see Eames and Goode, *Anthropology of the City,* 38–40; Richard G. Fox, "Rationale and Romance in Urban Anthropology," *Urban Anthropology* 1, no. 2 (1972): 205–233; John Gulick, "The City as Microcosm of Society," *Urban Anthropology* 4, no. 1(1975): 5–15; Kenneth Moore, "The City as Context: Context as Process," *Urban Anthropology* 4, no. 1 (1975): 17–25; and Robert Redfield and Milton Singer, "The Cultural Role of Cities," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 3, no. 1 (1954): 53–73.

54. Delilah Beasley, *The Negro Trail Blazers of California* (Los Angeles: Times Mirror Printing and Binding, 1919).

55. James M. Trotter, *Music and Some Highly Musical People,* reprint ed. (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1968 [1881]); Maude Cuny-Hare, *Negro Musicians and Their Music* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1974 [1936]); Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History,* 2nd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, Inc., 1983; 3rd ed., 1997); Hildred Roach, *Black American Music: Past and Present* (New York: Crescendo Publishing Co., 1973), and *Black American Music: Past and Present, Volume II: Pan-African Composers Thenceforth and Now* (Malabar, FL: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co., 1985).

56. Samuel A. Floyd Jr., ed., *Black Music Research Bulletin* 10, no. 1 (Spring 1988), and *Black Music Research Journal* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1989).

57. Tom Reed, *The Black Music History of Los Angeles-Its Roots: A Classical Pictorial History of Black Music in Los Angeles from the 1920s–1970* (Los Angeles: Black Accent Press, 1992).

58. Bette Yarbrough Cox, *Central Avenue—Its Rise and Fall (1890–c.1955), Including the Musical Renaissance of Black Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: BEEM Publications, 1996); and Bette Cox, ed., *Music in the Central Avenue Community 1890–c. 1955* (Los Angeles: BEEM Foundation, 1996).

59. See names of some of these musicians in Samuel A. Floyd Jr. and Marsha J. Reisser, "On Researching Black Music in California: A Preliminary Report about Sources and Resources," *Black Music Research Journal* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 112.

60. Eileen Southern, *Biographical Dictionary of Afro-American and African Musicians* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982); Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan Publishers, Ltd., 1980); H. Wiley Hitchcock and Stanley Sadie, eds. *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music* (London: Macmillan Publishers, Ltd.,

1986); Barry Kernfeld, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz* (London: Macmillan Publishers, Ltd., 1988); Eddie S. Meadows, *Jazz Research and Performance Materials: A Select Annotated Bibliography,* 2nd ed. (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995).

61. Jazz historian Steve Isoardi has conducted the majority of the interviews for the UCLA Oral History Program.

62. Hansonia L. Caldwell, "Music in the Lives of Blacks in California: The Beginnings," *Black Music Research Bulletin* 10, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 5–7; Bette Y. Cox, "A Selective Survey of Black Musicians in Los Angeles," *Black Music Research Bulletin* 10, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 7–10; William Duncan Allen, "An Overview of Black Concert Music and Musicians in Northern California from the 1940s to the 1980s," *Black Music Research Journal* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 81–92; and Marion D. Schrock, "Aspects of Compositional Style in Four Works by Olly Wilson," *Black Music Research Journal* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 93–108. See also Jacqueline Cogdell DjeDje, "An Expression of Black Identity: The Use of Gospel Music in a Los Angeles Catholic Church," *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 7, no. 3 (1983): 148–160; "Change and Differentiation: The Adoption of Black American Gospel Music in the Catholic Church," *Ethnomusicology* 30, no. 2 (Spring–Summer 1986): 223–252; "A Historical Overview of Black Gospel Music in Los Angeles," *Black Music Research Bulletin* 10, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 1–5; "Gospel Music in the Los Angeles Black Community: A Historical Overview," *Black Music Research Journal* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 35–79; "The Beginnings of Gospel Music in the Bay Area," in *African-American Traditional Arts and Folklife in Oakland and the East Bay: A Collection of Essays,* ed. Willie R. Collins (Oakland: Cultural Arts Division, City of Oakland, 1992), 1–3; and "Los Angeles Composers of African American Gospel Music: The First Generations," *American Music* 11, no. 4 (Winter 1993): 412–457.

63. Since the 1970s, Lee Hildebrand has documented music making in the Bay Area; he has written numerous articles for local newspapers, liner notes for recordings, and reviews of recordings, films, and concerts. Also, he has coauthored and written books on two noted popular musicians from the Bay Area: M. C. Hammer and Johnny Otis. Martinelli's compilation of source materials includes a wealth of material published by Hildebrand. Also see Arnold Shaw, *Honkers and Shouters: The Golden Years of Rhythm and Blues* (New York: Collier Books, 1978), and "Researching Rhythm and Blues," *Black Music Research Journal* (1980): 71–79; Portia K. Maultsby, *Black American Popular Music: Rhythm and Blues, 1945–1955* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1986); and Ralph Eastman, "Central Avenue Blues: The Making of Los Angeles Rhythm and Blues, 1942–1947," *Black Music Research Journal* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 19–33.

64. William Claxton, ed., *Jazz West Coast: A Portfolio of Photographs* (Hollywood: Linera Productions, 1955); Tom Stoddard, *Jazz on the Barbary Coast* (Chigwell, Essex: Storyville Publications, 1982); Robert Gordon, *Jazz West Coast* (New York: Quartet Books, 1986); Burt Wilson, *A History of Sacramento Jazz, 1948–1966: A Personal Memoir* (Canoga Park, CA: Burt Wilson, 1986); and Ted Gioia, *West Coast Jazz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

65. Stanley Dance, "Jazz Musicians in San Diego," *Black Music Research Bulletin* 10, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 10–11.

66. Floyd and Reisser, "On Researching Black Music," 110–111.

67. In the absence of chapters on these subjects in this volume, we refer the reader to source materials in the Appendix.