



**HISTORICAL OVERVIEWS
OF FIVE PARTNER COUNTRIES**

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INTRODUCTION

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Rhythm Changes: Jazz Cultures and European Identities is a 3-year transnational interdisciplinary research project which examines the inherited traditions and practices of European jazz cultures in Austria, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway and the UK. *Rhythm Changes* seeks to develop new insights into cultural exchanges and dynamics between different countries, groups and related media. The project has been funded as part of the Humanities in the European Research Area's (HERA) theme, 'Cultural Dynamics: Inheritance and Identity', a joint research programme (JRP) funded by 13 national funding agencies to 'create collaborative, transnational research opportunities that will derive new insights from humanities research in order to address major social, cultural, and political challenges facing Europe'.

As part of a broad programme of research, *Rhythm Changes* developed a cross-disciplinary approach to explore the cultural dynamics of jazz in different European settings. One project strand examined the canonicity, history and ideology of jazz in different national settings. Within this context, the international research team and partners developed historical overviews of jazz in each of the five partner countries. The historical overviews presented here are not designed to be definitive or to offer comprehensive histories of jazz in each national setting; this would not only be beyond the scope of the project but would also serve to duplicate a number of research studies which focus specifically on the development of jazz in different national European contexts. Instead, the following overviews present key issues, trends and discursive moments which have served to shape the canonicity of jazz in each participating country.

Each overview provides an account of how jazz has developed in different national settings and explores the changing relationship of jazz to arts policies and cultural infrastructures. Through these overviews, it is possible to determine similarities and differences between national contexts, as well as how interpretations of jazz history have differed over time and/or underpinned contrasting ideological positions.

Through these historical overviews, I would encourage readers to think about jazz within and outside national contexts, both as music supported by cultural infrastructures and as a transnational music related to ongoing political change, cultural exchanges, and the movement of ideas beyond national borders and communities.



1 Origins

The history of jazz in Britain has often been considered as beginning in 1919 with the arrival of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band. However, examination of British newspapers and magazines shows that the word 'jazz' was in general use and prior to this date some musical performances designated as such had taken place. The sheet music of some jazz compositions, including those of the ODJB, had been published in England since at least 1917, and as early as January 1918 the *Dancing Times* reported that... 'A fearsome thing called "Jazz Music" has reached us from the other side of the Atlantic: it has been described as "syncopation runs riot". What its effect will be, only time can show.' (January 1918: 126). Furthermore, to regard jazz in Britain as beginning in 1919 is to neglect the cultural and musical antecedents of the genre, and the history of African-American music. These earlier developments influenced the subsequent evolution of jazz in Britain, and importantly, its reception by the public.

Jazz was by no means the first American musical trend to be introduced in Britain: choral groups such as the Fisk Jubilee Singers, as well as black and blackface minstrel troupes and individual performers, visited during the nineteenth century. Minstrel shows were extremely popular in Britain, as they were congruent with the humour and sentimentality of music hall entertainment, but also had an exotic appeal (Pickering 1986: 76). The popularity of minstrelsy culminated in a craze for the banjo in the 1880s, when black American banjoists performed, recorded and passed on their skills in Britain. They were accepted into the highest society: even members of the royal family learnt the banjo. However, minstrelsy also had the effect of establishing some unflattering black stereotypes which were to influence the reception of black performers and their music, including jazz, well into the twentieth century. Later black American performers who visited Britain, such as large numbers of solo banjo players, groups such as the Memphis Students, and all-black musical comedies such as Will Marion Cook's *In Dahomey* (1903), often built upon the popularity of minstrelsy to ensure their success. Strong links between British and American theatrical promoters were already established through reciprocal transfer of entertainment between Broadway and London's West End. Consequently, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most American musicians and musical trends were brought to Britain through theatrical channels.

Imported theatrical entertainment not only brought American performers to Britain, but also provided a direct insight into American life, albeit in a caricatured form. American and American-style revues were extremely popular in the early twentieth century, particularly those produced by Albert de Courville at the London Hippodrome. It was through revue shows that the British public became initiated into the latest Amer-

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ican pre-jazz dances and music. De Courville's show *Hullo Ragtime!* (1912) defined and popularized ragtime in Britain, and revues established orchestrated ragtime songs rather than solo piano ragtime as the standard manifestation of this genre in Britain. Piano ragtime was hardly represented at all in Britain until the mid-1920s, which helped to ensure that banjo-based groups such as the Versatile Four and Dan Kildare's Clef Club Orchestra remained central to performances of pre-jazz syncopated music in Britain, reinforcing and perpetuating minstrel imagery.

The content of revues was widely disseminated in Britain through the publication of songs for the professional and domestic markets. The sheer scale of the music publishing industry and piano ownership at this time indicates that many people would have experienced jazz initially, or even exclusively (particularly outside the main cities) through domestic music-making rather than live professional performance (Ehrlich 1989: 8, 1990: 91). However, it was often the imagery contained in lyrics of revue songs, rather than the standardised musical material, which meant that jazz developed a clear and consistent image in Britain before jazz bands became commonplace. The verb 'to jazz', meaning to dance, is encountered more frequently in early songs than the noun 'jazz' denoting a musical style. Songs thus established jazz as part of a long tradition of American dance forms, and particularly as a replacement for outdated ragtime. In contrast to earlier popular dance styles with specific steps, songs repeatedly express the idea that it was necessary for jazz dancers to be more emotional and to surrender themselves to the hypnotic power of the music, attaining a state of reckless abandon. The consequences of such behaviour are described in terms of illicit sexual activity in which 'jazzing' becomes a metaphor for sexual intercourse. Jazz songs often portrayed exotic scenes in locations ranging from China to Arizona and the potential for jazz to provide a sense of escape from everyday life was frequently emphasised (Parsonage 2005).

This image of jazz is central to understanding both its enormous popularity in Britain in the 'jazz age' of the 1920s and beyond, and the correspondingly strong outrage and antipathy, often from those who had never experienced the music for themselves. Goddard has noted that 'the reigning obsession of the "jazz age" was not jazz but dancing' (1979:28), and there was a huge increase in venues for dancing in Britain after the War. Jazz was adopted, particularly by young people, as a reaction against the depressing reality of the post-war era, and fulfilled an important escapist function, acting as an antidote to the actual and metaphorical complexities of the period. Dance clubs were often decorated in unusual and exotic colour schemes (Bradley 1947: 8), and the prevalence of drink and drugs in these environments offered other sources of escape. The traditional social and choreographical formality of dancing was increasingly abandoned, in favour of freedom of expression for individuals and particularly encouraged the liberation of women (Hobsbawm 1999: 357). Although there were many different types of venue for jazz dancing, some of which were more respectable than others (Moseley 1924: 137), for the majority of the general public in Britain, particularly outside the capital, knowledge of nightclubs was restricted to the stories of scandalous activities that were published in the national press. These frequently emphasised the links between jazz dancing and drugs (Kohn 1992) – often perceived to have been supplied by dark-skinned foreigners – alcohol and sexual impropriety and thus fuelled the vigorous opposition to jazz.

Song lyrics also show that a clear musical image of jazz had begun to develop in Britain from around 1918. The rhythmic characteristics of ragtime were understood to have been subsumed within jazz, which was distinguished by its new instrumental colours. It was represented as noisy music, with great reliance on the drums and unrefined sounds produced from familiar instruments. The perception of ragtime as the basic syncopated rhythm and jazz as instrumental colour is also the basis of an early definition of jazz written by R.W.S. Mendl in *The Appeal of Jazz*, the first British book on the subject (Mendl 1927: 45f.):

Strictly speaking, jazz has nothing whatever to do with rhythm: it is solely concerned with instrumentation, and it would be possible to have jazz music that is not syncopated at all. You cannot play jazz music as a pianoforte solo: if you perform syncopated dance music on the pianoforte it is ragtime, not jazz. It only becomes jazz when it is played on a jazz orchestra.

Early exponents of 'jazz' in Britain, such as Murray Pilcer and John Lester, presented 'jazz' which adhered to these early definitions. Pilcer's surviving recordings indicate the influence of march repertoire and orchestration, but also show the prominence of banjos and novelty effects, such as sirens and exaggerated trombone glissandi, typical of British popular music of this period. Moreover, the Original Dixieland Jazz Band also confirmed this idea of jazz, as their music appeared to British audiences to be primarily concerned with the kind of noisy, comical instrumental effects that were presented in song lyrics and accompaniments.

The ODJB was initially booked by Albert de Courville to perform as part of a revue at the Hippodrome, where previous American trends had already been presented with such success. This – together with their billing as 'The creation of Jazz. The sensation of America' – helped to support their claims of authenticity and originality. Their act included vocal numbers and dancers, indicating their awareness of the requirement that variety theatre should be visually as well as musically entertaining. However, British critics found it difficult to assess the musical material and variety audiences were often left bewildered by what they had heard. It was as a dance band that the ODJB had most success in Britain, as the music precipitated a radical response from dancers, who had to adapt their movements to the rhythmic drive and fast tempi of the music. The band performed at exclusive London nightclubs and at the Hammersmith Palais, a dance hall which catered for a much wider audience, for six months from its opening night in 1919. This ensured that their version of jazz was firmly established as the new dance music. Although the ODJB's claims of originality have been treated with scepticism by modern authors, the fact remains that the musicians and the music that they performed in Britain were rooted in the New Orleans musical tradition, and the band certainly presented British audiences with a new musical experience.

The Southern Syncopated Orchestra, an ensemble consisting entirely of black performers formed by the composer/conductor Will Marion Cook, also arrived in Britain in 1919. The repertoire of this group encompassed a wide variety of styles from classical pieces to blues improvisation. In general, they were positively received in Britain, although never entirely realised Cook's aim of elevating black music above minstrelsy, as comparisons with the latter by British audiences and critics were inevitable. Indeed, when Cook later lost control of the orchestra to George Lattimore, his business partner, the links

between the SSO and minstrelsy were made more explicit. However, in general the SSO's programmes were enlightening, providing an illustrated lineage of the evolution of black American music and linking new styles of syncopated music with forms such as plantation songs and spirituals with which the British public would already be familiar.

As initially none of the material that the group performed was specifically designated as jazz, the SSO's importance has been diminished in modern literature. However, it is clear that jazz practices were inherent in the rehearsal process and performance style of the orchestra. An account by Natalie Spencer, a white pianist who worked in the group, describes how the players were expected to use the printed music as a guide and to introduce embellishment and improvisation (Spencer 1921). Associated small groups drawn from the larger orchestra, such as the Jazz Kings, were also successful and popular as dance bands in Britain, performing in many of the same venues as the ODJB. Two musicians in particular, Sidney Bechet and drummer Buddie Gilmore, were acknowledged as jazz musicians as a result of their respective feature items 'Characteristic Blues' and 'The Quintessence of Jazz'. Bechet's performance prompted a famous essay by conductor Ernest Ansermet, in which he suggested that 'this may be the highway along which the whole world will swing tomorrow' (Ansermet 1959: 6). Significantly then, it was the SSO, not the ODJB, which received the serious musical criticism that began to recognize jazz as a significant art form in the twentieth century.

Both the ODJB and the SSO were vital to the evolution of jazz in Britain. The high-profile success of the ODJB in introducing jazz to Britain was clearly a transient phenomenon, and its importance has been to an extent exaggerated by writers over the years. The group was small, close-knit and impenetrable; after they left Britain their demise was rapid and their reputation was disseminated later through their recordings. These can easily give a misleading impression of the band and of jazz, and numerous imitators, keen to fill the shoes of the ODJB but without a real understanding of the music, merely reproduced the superficial elements of their performances. Although the ODJB was significant in shaping an initial understanding of jazz and fundamental to the development of modern dance, their impact on the long-term musicological evolution of jazz in Britain is debatable.

2 The development of a jazz culture

The SSO and associated small groups disseminated jazz widely throughout Britain, performing in most main cities and in other parts of Europe over a three-year period. Hence, many more people heard the SSO than ever heard the ODJB live, as the latter performed in a limited number of venues in London and were only in Britain for just over a year. Although the music of the SSO was viewed with interest and appreciated by audiences, it remained an experience outside white British culture and did not yet have the power to permeate and influence it, except through one vital route – the musicians themselves. The essential paradox in the history of the SSO was that the collapse of the ensemble (as a result of ownership disputes between Cook and Lattimore) was vital in allowing

the SSO to disseminate ideas about jazz, especially to British musicians. In addition, several of the original American musicians found jobs elsewhere in Britain, no doubt encouraged to remain in the country by a relative lack of racial discrimination at this time, and they helped to ensure the long-term development of jazz in this country. British musicians such as trombonist Ted Heath were absorbed in the band in their place, and could therefore experience the music first-hand at a time when strikes encouraged the members of the SSO to experiment and improvise at jam sessions, developing their own jazz playing still further.

These informal activities, which often took place in London's nightclubs, were consistently important in allowing British musicians to experiment and learn from their American colleagues, as the opportunities for jazz performance in mainstream venues in Britain were often limited. However, this served only to strengthen the association of jazz with the negative aspects of this environment. By the end of the decade, jazz was firmly positioned, metaphorically and literally, as the musical accompaniment to the other perceived evils of London's underworld. For this reason, 'dance music', an inoffensive, civilized and ordered style of popular music, was promoted as a reaction to the threatening image and undesirable associations of jazz and became mainstream popular music in Britain in the 1920s.

Dance music was the requisite entertainment in London's most fashionable hotels and restaurants, and radio broadcasts, often directly from these venues, by the British Broadcasting Company (later Corporation), disseminated the music throughout the country. The early BBC under Sir John Reith was committed to the education of the masses, and largely rejected the idea that the provision of entertainment was a primary function of public broadcasting. Reith commented that 'To entertain means to occupy agreeably. Would it be urged that this is only to be effected by the Broadcasting of jazz bands and sketches by humorists? I do not think that many would be found willing to support so narrow a claim as this.' (1924: 18) Dance music represented what the BBC perceived to be suitable entertainment, whereas the term 'jazz' is rarely found in BBC programme schedules of the 1920s. In particular, it was desirable for the American roots of popular music to be hidden beneath a façade of Britishness in terms of nomenclature, image and musical style. The BBC's dance music output was tightly controlled through the selection of bands, most notably through reliance on groups from the Savoy Hotel in the 1920s, and a succession of 'house' bands under Sidney Firman, Jack Payne and Henry Hall. These bands performed carefully crafted arrangements of the latest popular songs, in which there was little opportunity for improvisation. Other bands that wished to achieve the highest levels of commercial success, for which regular broadcasts were essential, were required to conform to this prevailing standardized style, and the BBC could maintain a clear distinction between dance music that was merely functional and therefore 'low-brow', and 'high-brow' classical music that required serious listening.

The broadcast in 1925 of Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue* from the Savoy Hotel, with the composer at the piano, disrupted this simplistic categorization and provoked broadcast debates and critical writing on the relative merits of jazz and classical music in early British books on jazz, such as R.W.S. Mendl's *The Appeal of Jazz* (1927), S.R. Nelson's *All About Jazz* (1934) and sections of Constant Lambert's *Music Ho!* (1936). Supporters of jazz attempted to validate the music by pointing out its similarities with

classical music, for example, the use of both as dance music and the similar development of rhythmic aspects in contemporary classical and popular music. Paradoxically, comparison between the two styles could also be used to prove that jazz was simple and under-developed in terms of its harmonic basis, and that its reliance on rhythm classified it as 'primitive'.

This reliance on classical criteria when assessing jazz meant that it was often difficult for the traditional hierarchy of composer, performer and arranger to be reconsidered, a step which was necessary if the importance of improvisation in jazz performance was to be recognized. Lambert, for example, was unable to consider Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington on the same level as 'one is a trumpet player, the other a genuine composer' (1966[1934]: 186). Many writers appealed for a better standard of composition to secure the future of jazz by providing more possibilities for improvisation, and furthermore pointed to the future of jazz within the work of high art composers rather than as a musical form in its own right. The fusion of classical and jazz elements in 'symphonic syncopation' appeared to offer a future for jazz, by lending it the artistic credibility that it was perceived to need, even by some of its supporters. Implicit in 'symphonising' was the idea of the white civilizing of so-called 'primitive' black music, which led to a widely-held perception that bandleaders such as Paul Whiteman and Jack Hylton presented an 'improved' form of jazz.


The late 1920s brought an increasing sense of unease about 'symphonic syncopation', which came to be regarded as an unsuccessful compromise that was not successful as either jazz or art music. The development of recording technology in this period was vital to this rejection of 'symphonic syncopation'. Britons were no longer reliant on BBC radio to provide them with 'suitable' popular music, as records, unlike radio, permitted repeated listening, which allowed for more detailed and accurate responses from both critics and musicians. The extent of the appreciation of jazz in Britain through recordings can easily be exaggerated, and undoubtedly a significant majority of Britons continued to enjoy dance bands. Nevertheless, it is clear that from the late 1920s dance music and jazz began to become more clearly defined, rather than being either more or less synonymous, or the former being regarded as an improvement of the latter. Records allowed more people to become acquainted with the sound of jazz, and to begin to understand spontaneous expression in performance as an artistic quality, particularly in relation to African-American musicians. This prompted a deeper understanding of the artistic and cultural validity of jazz, allowing it to be appreciated in its own right without persistent reference to classical music. Jazz was also contrasted with standardized and carefully-constructed dance music arrangements. At the same time, the growing realization and criticism of the commercial motivation of the dance music 'industry' contrasted with the relative scarcity of American jazz records. Whilst commercial dance music was reassuringly familiar, omnipresent and understandable through its use of standardized clichés, jazz remained exotic, mystifying and distanced from the mainstream. Although jazz, as distinct from dance music, continued to flourish as before in contexts that were outside the experiences of most people – such as West End nightclubs and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge – records now allowed greater ease of access to the music itself.

The growing interest in jazz in Britain was well supported by the publication of the periodicals *Melody Maker* (from 1926) and *Rhythm* (from 1927) that were vital

sources of information for enthusiasts and professional musicians alike. The ideas about jazz presented in *Melody Maker* influenced public perceptions and taste, largely due to the scarcity of information available from other sources, but its impact was also due to the practical ways in which readers were invited to participate in the music. The rise of listening to jazz as opposed to dancing was encouraged through the analytical depth of reviews and articles, where readers were called upon to note a particular feature of an arrangement or solo. Articles offered critical and comparative study of the latest record releases and insights into the musical material and performance style, frequently written by visiting Americans. Record collecting became a popular hobby for the suburban middle classes, and *Melody Maker* took an early role in co-ordinating the formation of Rhythm Clubs where readers' record collections could be shared. Rhythm Clubs also became important venues for amateur performance. Amateur jazz performance and composition was encouraged in *Melody Maker* through guidance on practical aspects such as arranging, improvisation and instrumental techniques. The magazine also organized competitions for amateur bands and provided sets of parts for new arrangements. Enthusiasts and amateur performers were vital to the continued evolution of jazz in Britain in that they could function outside commercial restraints, the former importing the latest American jazz records and the latter imitating them in performance.

The growing distinction between 'hot' jazz and dance music in the late 1920s, as articulated in the columns of *Melody Maker*, began to cause dilemmas for professional bandleaders whatever their musical preferences. Even for those inclined towards 'hot' jazz, there was a need to compromise by playing 'sweeter' arrangements, including ubiquitous waltzes and vocal numbers, to ensure that they would retain bookings in the most prestigious upper class venues. However, there was also a need for the large dance bands that were comfortably resident in such places to incorporate some hot jazz, as this was the latest trend in popular music. As British musicians who were capable of improvising hot solos were not plentiful at the time, two main strategies were adopted. Firstly, dance bands performed arrangements that incorporated 'hot' features but did not require any special jazz capability from the performers. This approach is evident in arrangements played by Jack Hylton's groups of the period, which often featured paraphrases of the main melody for particular groups of instruments. Secondly, the more famous bands – like those led by Bert Ambrose – employed some American musicians – including saxophonists Perley Breed, Bobby Davis and Adrian Rollini, and trumpeters Sylvester Ahola and Chelsea Quealey – to ensure that the 'hot' content could be provided when required (McCarthy 1974: 44). Although in practice many of these were musically restricted, they were well rewarded in terms of their pay and conditions, with the result that considerable numbers of American musicians were working in London in the late 1920s. Their presence was clearly extremely beneficial to British musicians, particularly outside the confines of their regular employment, when they took part in jam sessions and recording dates of small 'hot' groups, such as those convened by Bert Firman, alongside their British colleagues.

One of the most significant Anglo-American bands of the late 1920s was Fred Elizalde's group at the Savoy Hotel, which also broadcast on the BBC and gave free concerts under the auspices of the *Melody Maker*. Elizalde had begun his British career with a band of students at Cambridge University, where the latest styles of hot jazz were



popular. This early venture attracted attention and he was asked to form a hot band for the Savoy incorporating leading white American musicians alongside emerging young British talent. Elizalde's approach, which combined hot arrangements with extended improvised solos, began to receive widespread attention in Britain just at the point – in 1929 – when the stock market collapse froze his funds and he was forced to disband. The wider implications of this collapse, including increasing unemployment, led to the initial tightening of the regulations surrounding the importation of American musicians and bands to Britain, and this response was replicated in relation to British bands visiting America.

Despite the growing acknowledgement of the African-American contribution to jazz, black musicians were generally under-represented in both the live and recorded jazz performances that could be easily accessed in Britain in the 1920s. Black musicians, among them James P. Johnson and Will Vodery, generally came to Britain to accompany music theatre productions, and unlike their white compatriots their participation in British dance bands was very limited. Recordings by black musicians were often not as readily available as those by white Americans, and British critics could treat their work disparagingly, preferring the more accessible sounds of the bands led by Paul Whiteman and Jack Hylton. However, it was possible for determined musicians and enthusiasts to obtain recordings, such as those by Ellington, Morton, and Armstrong, from specialist shops. African-American jazz was often made familiar to British audiences through the work of musicians – trumpeter Nat Gonella, modelled himself on Louis Armstrong, Spike Hughes, advocated Ellington in his writing and emulated him in his compositions, and the Jamaican trumpeter Louis Thompson achieved success through imitating Armstrong in London.

Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington first came to Britain in 1932 and 1933 respectively, and were initially booked to appear in variety shows at the London Palladium. Audiences generally had little idea of what to expect from Armstrong – his appearance and performance style surprising even those that were familiar with his records. Armstrong's performances were sufficiently controversial for some audience members to walk out of the Palladium when he took to the stage. Armstrong's band for this initial engagement consisted of black musicians from Paris, and was apparently under-rehearsed and not up to standard. Ellington, whose visit had been preceded by extensive press coverage, organized by Irving Mills in conjunction with Spike Hughes, met with a better reception. His 'act' conformed in the broadest sense to the familiar appearances of British dance bands on the variety stage, with slick presentation and a polished musical performance. Hughes, in his articles on Ellington for *Melody Maker*, was at pains to align his work with the great composers of the high art tradition, and to paint a picture of a genius figure. Critics generally exhibited a reliance on Ellington to prove the artistic status of jazz, as Armstrong's artistic qualities were regarded as merely performative and negated by other factors such as presentation and repertoire. However, it is somewhat ironic that negative criticism of Ellington's British performances usually came from critics such as Hughes who were his greatest supporters: they were unimpressed with what they perceived as the commercial aspects of Ellington's act, particularly the inclusion of popular songs, dancing and singing.

Certainly the appearances of Armstrong and Ellington were instrumental in precipitating and informing the re-evaluation of jazz as black music. Indeed, the word 'jazz' began to come back into more frequent use in Britain, and overall much less overt racial prejudice was exhibited towards Armstrong and Ellington than was evident earlier in the century. However, although the BBC broadcast performances by both Armstrong and Ellington, the policies on popular music continued much as before, and the repertoire of Henry Hall's new BBC Dance Orchestra moved even further away from jazz towards 'light' music. The increasing identification of jazz with African-Americans was also problematic for the British Musician's Union, as American performers could more easily be shown to be able to provide entertainment that Britons could not, and so be admitted into the country. The leading British bandleader Jack Hylton had backed Ellington's visit, clearly in the hope that this would encourage a reciprocal arrangement for his band to visit America, a prospect that had been in the offing for several years. However, the American Federation of Musicians steadfastly refused his requests for permission to perform. Hylton therefore objected to a further visit by Ellington's band for, which led the British Government to reconsider its policy on American bands. A complicated governmental bluff-and-double-bluff situation culminated in the decision (in 1935) to refuse to issue work permits to any American bands until British ones were permitted to perform in the U.S.A. This state of affairs continued for twenty years, and although the M.U. and the A.F.M. were closely involved, they did not, as is commonly assumed, enact and enforce the 'ban' themselves.

One result was that increasing numbers of musicians and critics began to visit America during the 1930s to seek out jazz for themselves. Spike Hughes had already visited, prior to Ellington's London appearances, and reported on the New York scene for *Melody Maker*. He had also recorded with a band that included Benny Carter and Coleman Hawkins, both of whom came to Britain after the 'ban'. Indeed, it was possible to circumvent it, and – somewhat ironically – Hylton did visit New York in 1935, even managing to broadcast with his band on American radio – transatlantically from London, and from the ship on which they had travelled to the USA. Black American musicians continued to visit Britain either as variety performers in their own right or as part of the bands that accompanied variety shows. Although they were technically prohibited from performing other than in their main engagement, this did not prevent them from playing in the various London nightclubs that flourished as meeting points for musicians.

The black population of Britain was also instrumental in the continued development of jazz. Several musicians moved to London from the ethnically diverse Tiger Bay area of Cardiff and others, such as Leslie Thompson and Ken 'Snakehips' Johnson, arrived from the Caribbean in response to the vogue for black musicians in London. Clearly, despite the restrictions on appearances by American musicians, the British scene was capable of sustaining its own development, particularly due to the developing discourse of jazz writing and criticism, which ensured that the latest developments in America were brought to the attention of British musicians and enthusiasts (Hobsbawm 1999: 359). Some of the young people who had been the first jazz fans were now moving into positions of authority: for example, changes at the BBC allowed Benny Carter to be employed as an arranger and for the introduction of live relays of jazz performances from New York in the late 1930s. Young musicians were also introducing what they were

hearing on record into their own performances, ensuring that jazz remained exhilarating and entertaining, rather than falling in line with the Western 'high art' tradition, as some critics would have preferred. The British public were therefore not solely dependent on American bands and musicians to provide them with experiences of jazz; both white and black Britons were capable of disseminating the music in live performances. Enriched with the personal contributions of these players, performances now had the potential to be more than just imitations. Fundamentally, what can be observed by 1935 is not only the presence of jazz in Britain, but also the evolution of British jazz: '...if the Quintet [of the Hot Club de France] was by the mid-1930s, the premier European jazz band, there was probably more actual jazz activity in England than elsewhere in Europe' (J.L. Collier 1978: 318).

Much of this evolution, however, continued to take place in London, and within the constraints of the 'dance bands' which were the dominant force in the popular music of the time (McCarthy 1974: 77). Nationally, as we have seen, the BBC's broadcasting of dance music was an important influence, but inevitably opportunities for improvisation were limited in public performances, both on radio and in the London hotels. On the other hand, it is clear that much musical development and interchange of ideas continued to take place in the informal 'after-hours' settings (Shipton 2001: 368f. and Godbolt 1986: 185) provided by clubs in London: already a centre of the entertainment and recording industries, there was a sufficient 'critical mass' of musicians in London to support these activities. Moreover, it is clear that a significant proportion of the musicians who worked regularly in dance bands, variety halls and theatres around the country were sufficiently attracted by jazz to try to understand and emulate the work of American players (Hobsbawm 1999: 360). Inevitably it was only in the major cities that recognisable jazz 'scenes' – mainly loose-knit networks of like-minded players – developed, but all around the country there were '...rhythm clubs, where small conclaves of jazz enthusiasts met regularly...to attend record recitals and jam sessions' (Chilton 1990: 106; see also Hobsbawm 1999: 361). It is clear that the cumulative effect of these developments was producing an embryonic jazz culture, so that when Coleman Hawkins toured the country in 1934 he was met with an enthusiastic response from both musicians and audiences generally (Chilton 1990: 95ff.), and Dizzy Gillespie's appearance in Manchester (with the Teddy Hill Orchestra) in 1937 made a strong impression on the local musicians (Shipton 2001: 371).

Less prominent nationally, but of considerable importance for future developments, was the emergence in London of musicians from the Caribbean. Many of the top players from among this group were members of Ken 'Snakehips' Johnson's West Indian Dance Band – probably the first British black big band – which had a residency at London's Café de Paris. (Johnson, along with many of his band and audience, was killed during an air raid in March 1941). There was also a series of appearances by the Quintet of the Hot Club of France in 1938 and 1939 – indeed, while in England the Quintet recorded a version of 'Lambeth Walk', a favourite London song. Although the record is not among the Quintet's great performances, it is of some significance in the light of later developments: here is a group of French musicians playing a *jazz* version of an English song, and in a manner which owes little to American influences.

While stylistically divergent, such players brought new approaches and fresh influences to bear on the local scene. However, at the start of the Second World War, and for some time after, the aim of most British jazz players remained the emulation of American ones, and as the recorded evidence shows, many – notably the trumpeters Nat Gonella and Tommy McQuater, and trombonist George Chisholm – had become highly capable performers by this time. The personal influence of such mentors as Benny Carter and Coleman Hawkins had done much to encourage the diffusion of jazz techniques among musicians, but for them and for the ‘rhythm club’ members, it was American recordings which did most to spread the appreciation of jazz. By the end of the 1930s, of course, such records were dominated by the big swing bands, then approaching the peak of their popularity, and widely imitated by British groups. The onset of the war in 1939 soon reduced the scope for these bands to operate, particularly as conscription took musicians away to the armed forces, bookings dwindled, travel restrictions were imposed, and costs escalated. So bands often became smaller, affording more opportunities for improvisation, and ‘jam-session’ formats emerged, in which players adopted an eclectic dixieland-swing approach (similar to the Benny Goodman or Count Basie small groups of the day). Indeed, when the BBC eventually began its weekly half-hour ‘Radio Rhythm Club’ in 1940, this was the formula adopted by leader Harry Parry (succeeded by saxophonist Buddy Featherstonhaugh; the programme became ‘BBC Jazz Club’ in 1949). Many of the early recordings by players who became influential in the post-war years are in this format, and it is likely that, as in the USA during the 1940s (DeVeaux, 1997), these circumstances were conducive to a move away from big bands towards small-group jazz, and to an increasing emphasis on extended improvisation.

A further development during the war years was of equal, if not greater, importance. As the ‘swing era’ got under way, an increasing number of jazz enthusiasts began to react against what they regarded as the commercialisation of true jazz by the big bands, favouring a return to the ‘purity’ of the early small groups, and New Orleans polyphony in particular. In part, much of what was felt and written at the time echoes the resistance to, and dislike of, American popular culture which had been evident since the nineteenth century (for example, in the reaction to the ODJB). This time, though, the reaction was not anti-jazz, but rather a passionate complaint that the music had been debased and adulterated by the forces of commercialism, its spontaneity and opportunities for free expression stifled by the mechanical precision of the big bands. The solution, it was argued, lay in a return to the roots of the music, and as Godbolt has noted, the revivalist movement was active as early as 1942 (Godbolt 1986: 156). In contrast to the professional musicians who worked and recorded in central London, the revivalists were primarily amateurs, often with a disdain for advanced techniques and a belief in the virtue of musical simplicity as the means of authentic expression. Before long, pianist George Webb and his Dixielanders (whose trumpeter, during most of 1947, was the young Humphrey Lyttelton) became the unofficial leaders of the revival, playing every week at the Red Barn pub in Barnehurst, Kent, and inspiring a movement committed to ‘traditional’ jazz which was particularly influential in the 1950s and which became the basis of a highly popular style (the ‘trad fad’ of the late 1950s-early 1960s). The traditionalists generally favoured what they considered to be the ‘pure’ New Orleans instrumentation of trumpet, clarinet, trombone, banjo, bass and drums – the trumpeter Ken Colyer, for example, has been described as the ‘high priest of New Orleans purism’

(Lyttelton in Brown 2005: viii; see also McKay 2005: 48). Although there is little evidence that such instrumentation was actually adopted by New Orleans musicians in the early years of jazz, bands with the 'classic' line-up were formed throughout the country, particularly in the main conurbations, generating an audience for traditional jazz which has remained substantial.

A rather different response to the perceived constraints of the big band era was developing simultaneously, but mainly among professional musicians, and again mainly in London, the national centre of recording and broadcasting and the hub of the entertainment industry. While the situation of musicians was fluid and often precarious, informal 'sessions' did continue, as did the constant interchange of ideas among committed players. In the absence of new recordings, there were occasional contacts with American servicemen stationed in Britain – thus, for example, Art Pepper sat in at Feldman's Swing Club (where he met the young saxophonist John Dankworth) in 1945 (Pepper 1979: 65). The resident drummer at Feldman's (from 1943–1950) was Carlo Krahmer, who encouraged visiting players to 'sit in' (Scott 2004: 25), and was a major catalyst for jazz playing in London. Krahmer was also the founder (in 1947) of the Esquire record label, which issued the first 'bebop' records (of Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie) to be heard in Britain. To some players, and much of the jazz audience, such records were almost incomprehensible, to others they were a revelation, indicating nothing less than the future direction of the music. A number of musicians, including saxophonist Ronnie Scott, took engagements on board ships sailing to New York so that they could hear the new music in person, bringing back not only musical ideas but a strong sense of the gap which had opened up between contemporary jazz as played in London and in New York. To further their ideals, Scott, Dankworth and others opened their own club in December of 1948. 'Club 11' lasted almost two years, but 'modern' jazz in the 1950s remained a minority music, supported by relatively small numbers of listeners, but energetically pursued by committed musicians, many of whom worked in the big bands and dance orchestras which were still the backbone of the entertainment business.

Yet as the 1950s progressed, a number of developments began to change that situation. The growth of car ownership increasingly absorbed disposable income, and freed millions of people from the restrictions of their immediate community, so that attendances at 'local' dance halls (and cinemas) began to decline. The spread of television – particularly the advent of 'commercial' TV in 1956 – did much to relocate entertainment from public to domestic situations, and to prioritise 'middle-of-the-road' mass entertainment. In these circumstances, the big bands and large dance orchestras went into an irreversible decline, which gradually destroyed the environment in which jazz players, and a jazz culture, had been nurtured since the 1920s. Moreover, as televised entertainment replaced 'live' public events, jazz was no longer part of the mainstream of popular music. Above all, though, the eruption of 'rock 'n' roll' after 1956 sealed the fate of the dance orchestras. The new style was resisted (in vain) by established interests in the music business, and was resented by many musicians both because it dramatically reduced their employment prospects, and because it seemed to devalue precisely those musical skills and techniques which they most respected.

The changes that began in the mid-1950s were to have an immense effect on the music business, and consequently on the jazz musicians who depended on it, but

this was a gradual process rather than a sudden transformation. In the late 1950s it was estimated that the 'national jazz public' in Britain was around 100,000 people (Newton [Eric Hobsbawm] 1961: 228): not a huge number by the standards of the entertainment industry, but still a substantial interest group. Indeed the big band run by Ted Heath – who, as we have seen, had been a professional trombonist in many of the top British dance bands since the 1920s – achieved considerable public success in the 1950s while featuring many of the country's best jazz players. The Heath Orchestra toured in the USA several times, and another big band, led by saxophonist John Dankworth and also featuring many top soloists, appeared at the Newport Jazz Festival (and Birdland) in 1959. As these visits indicate, after 1956 the American Federation of Musicians and the British Musicians' Union cautiously began to agree to 'reciprocal' agreements which allowed American players to perform in the UK and, in exchange, for British musicians to appear in the USA. Soon several major American artists appeared in concert in Britain, and the reciprocity arrangements eventually made it possible for Ronnie Scott to present a series of American jazz stars – beginning with Zoot Sims – at the London club which he had opened in 1959 (in partnership with Peter King).

The 'ban' on Americans performing in the UK, which had been in force since 1935 has often been seen as harmful to the development of jazz in Britain, both by preventing audiences from hearing the great American bands and players, and by depriving British musicians of chances to hear, and play with, the leading players of the day (eg Godbolt 1986: 112f., 118). On the other hand, it can be argued that this relative isolation afforded a measure of protection for UK players, and the chance to develop in their own time. Certainly by the end of the 1950s, particularly around London, but to some extent in all the main urban centres, there was an exceptionally strong pool of jazz musicians in Britain, possibly unequalled anywhere else outside the USA. The case of 'Tubby' Hayes serves to make the point: Hayes, who was born in London in 1935, worked in some of the elite dance bands and became a virtuoso jazz saxophonist whose playing is still fondly remembered (he died in 1973), and whose recordings continue to be reissued. Hayes performed in the USA four times in the early 1960s, and recorded with some of the best New York musicians.

Yet the all-too-brief career of Tubby Hayes also illustrates another point. For all his accomplishments – and there can be little doubt that he was in the front rank of jazz saxophonists by the late 1950s – Tubby Hayes played jazz the way the leading Americans played it. Like the other 'modernists', his musical mentors were the American bebop pioneers and the 'hard bop' generation which followed them. Similarly, as suggested above, the British big bands worked mainly within the stylistic parameters established by American ones, as did the traditionalists of the 'revival', whose aim quite explicitly was the faithful re-creation of (what they believed to be) early American styles. It would be wrong to over-simplify a complex situation, yet it is reasonable to conclude that up until the end of the 1950s the great majority of British jazz musicians, of whatever style, aimed to emulate the work of American players (eg Harrison 1976: 79f.). In the next decade or so, this was to change in some quite decisive ways.

3 Emancipation and identities

‘The truth is that there is no such thing as British jazz. There is only American jazz played by British musicians....or Swedish or French or any other nationality that chooses to imitate the American model’ (Pianist-critic Steve Race, quoted in Godbolt 1986: 191). Writing in 1961, Steve Race was not only giving voice to the opinions of many musicians and jazz-lovers, but also (as we have suggested) describing the contemporary UK scene fairly accurately. Yet only a decade later it would have been difficult for Race, or anyone else, to make such a claim: during the 1960s many British jazz musicians moved with increasing confidence towards playing styles which owed little to American influences or mentors. As we noted above, a contingent of musicians from the Caribbean was resident in London before the war, adding distinctive colours and undoubted rhythmic vitality to the local scene, but in general remaining faithful to the dominant American styles. The wave of immigration into Britain from the Caribbean islands which followed the arrival of the former troopship the Empire *Windrush* from Jamaica in the summer of 1948 brought with it a new contingent of players from the Caribbean – eighteen passengers on the *Windrush*, including trumpeter Dizzy Reece, gave their occupations as ‘musician’ (Robertson 2003: 13). Three years later another Jamaican, the alto saxophonist Joe Harriott, came to London. In many ways Harriott may be regarded as a pioneer in the gradual movement away from American jazz orthodoxies. For one thing, while Harriott’s immense talent was recognised by musicians from the start, and there could be no doubting the early influence of Charlie Parker, as his playing developed it became increasingly distinctive, a unique voice in which echoes of his Caribbean roots, as well as his remarkably inventive phrasing, could be heard in the passionate solos which seemed to pour out of him. And Harriott made it clear that his main aim was not to imitate, but to evolve a voice of his own (ibid.: 25).

By the end of the 1950s, Harriott had not only become a soloist whose work transcended the accepted stylistic conventions, but was in addition developing a broader musical vision which led him to experiments in which he abandoned harmonically-based playing and the orthodox constant pulse which was the foundation of almost all jazz playing up to that time. Inevitably, the music was soon called ‘free form’, but Harriott preferred the term ‘abstract music’ (ibid.: 88) and throughout his life compared his approach to improvisation with the work of visual artists. In 1963 the first album recorded by Harriott’s quintet was given a 5-star review (by Harvey Pekar) in the American *Down Beat* magazine, the leading jazz periodical at that time. Although by this time the ‘free’ music of Ornette Coleman had attracted attention and caused considerable controversy in the USA, it seems clear that Joe Harriott was not familiar with Coleman’s work and had developed his musical ideas independently (ibid.: 58f.); moreover, while Coleman tended to retain the concept of the individual soloist, and a constant rhythmic pulse, Harriott was more interested in the possibilities of collective improvised polyphony (as were most of the ‘free jazz’ players who followed). In the present context, however, it is perhaps more important to emphasise that the Harriott quintet’s critical success in America was ‘unprecedented for a British jazz group’ (ibid.: 94), and that this success was achieved not by emulating American musicians but by playing jazz in a new and distinctly different way. Indeed, Harriott’s deliberate departure from the accepted procedures of ‘modern’ jazz led to a hostile reaction among some established players – including Tubby Hayes (McKay 2005: 156).

Although the term was not in use at the time, it is appropriate to describe Harriott's approach and musical attitudes as 'post-modern', not only because he moved beyond the conventions of modern jazz (of which he was a master), but specifically because of his disregard for orthodox stylistic divisions and the way in which his work drew on a wide range of influences. While playing 'abstract' music with his own group in the early 1960s, for example, Harriott was also appearing (and recording) with Chris Barber's traditional jazz and blues band; and from the mid-1960s, Harriott collaborated with the Indian composer-violinist John Mayer in a series of recordings ('Indo-Jazz Fusions') which, for the first time, blended jazz and Indian classical music. In the same period, other British musicians were beginning to move away from American stylistic conventions, and to emancipate themselves from the Americans who, up to this point, had been their unquestioned mentors. A notable example is provided by the recording of 'Under Milk Wood' by the Stan Tracey Quartet in 1965: pianist Tracey – a Londoner – inspired by the Welsh poet Dylan Thomas, composed this suite, in which the individual pieces sound quite unlike the bebop or hard-bop of the time, and the Scottish saxophonist Bobby Wellins emerges as a distinctive voice, clearly not in the shadow of any American stylist. Also active in this period was the quintet of saxophonist Don Rendell and trumpeter Ian Carr, which began (in 1964) by exploring the same musical territory as the Miles Davis Quintet of the period, but which soon moved away from overtly American influences, playing original compositions (often by Carr or pianist Michael Garrick) which owed more to European than American sources. 'It wasn't hard-driving like a lot of American jazz of the time', recalled Carr. 'We had different kind of focuses than the Americans. We were into texture and different rhythms' (Heining 2004: 15).

Among other influential figures on the English scene during the 1960s was the composer and bassist Graham Collier, who has suggested that the flowering of jazz creativity in that period, and the deliberate efforts to escape from American influences, were, somewhat paradoxically, themselves the results of American innovations, particularly the 'revolution in improvisation and ensemble structure ushered in by Miles Davis and Ornette Coleman' (Heining 2005: 16). The consequence was that by the end of the 1960s the British modern jazz scene had produced a generation of extremely accomplished, and highly distinctive, young players, whose work was to have a considerable influence throughout Europe (see, for example, Renaud 1986; Berendt 1976: 389, 399, 404, 406). In Graham Collier's view 'the language changed with Miles' *Kind of Blue*' (Heining 2005: 16), and the effect, for many contemporary players, was liberating, encouraging them to develop personal approaches to improvisation, to experiment with new ensembles and compositional approaches, and – like Joe Harriott – to draw on a far wider range of musical sources than previously.

By this time, too, the range of sources was indeed wide. While traditional jazz and big bands still drew audiences (though increasingly specialist ones) and provided performance opportunities for jazz musicians, other ways of playing had also developed in the 1960s. One of these was 'free' or 'avant-garde' jazz, which, while never drawing large audiences, proved attractive to many musicians who found the strict discipline of bebop and the routines of hard bop restricting (or too demanding), and were looking for fresh directions. There is no doubt, too, that the concept and the experience of 'free' playing resonated in the 1960s with more general ideas about personal freedom

and liberation from established conventions. In fact, many players who experimented in 'free' jazz contexts at the time subsequently returned to more orthodox settings, but a core of 'free' players – including the guitarist Derek Bailey and the saxophonist Evan Parker – remained committed to the philosophy of 'free' improvisation. Another was the London-based drummer John Stevens, who called one of his groups the 'Spontaneous Music Ensemble' – a name which neatly captures the essence of that philosophy.

As we have seen, since the 1930s the British jazz scene had been invigorated by the contributions of players from former colonial territories: three of Joe Harriott's Quintet had emigrated from the Caribbean, and Harriott himself collaborated with Indian musicians. Further diversity and fresh ideas were introduced by a contingent of players who had come to London to escape the oppression of the *apartheid* regime in South Africa, bringing with them the rhythms and melodies of the townships, as well as approaches to improvisation which, while ultimately derived from conventional jazz styles, owed much to African influences. Chris McGregor's Blue Notes remained in Europe after appearing at the Antibes Festival in 1964, basing themselves initially in Switzerland, and settling in London in 1965. In 1970, the Blue Notes became the nucleus of a larger group, the Brotherhood of Breath. In this, as in other contexts, there was considerable artistic interchange between South African and British jazz musicians; moreover many of these players were also active in exploring the potential of 'free' playing.

A further source of stylistic diversity was provided by the blues and R & B bands which – especially in London – attracted increasingly substantial audiences. A major catalyst was the guitarist/pianist Alexis Korner, who had played in Chris Barber's traditional band, and was an influential figure during the 'skiffle' period in the mid-1950s, in which – as with the traditional jazz revival of a decade earlier – enthusiastic amateurs played simple music derived from American folk-blues and hillbilly styles. There is no doubt that the popularity of 'skiffle' encouraged many young people to participate in music-making for the first time, and laid the foundations for the huge number of 'rock groups' which were to be formed in the 1960s. But both Barber and Korner were particularly committed to blues styles, bringing to Europe players who were almost unknown, and certainly not appreciated, in their native USA. The activities of these British musicians were of lasting significance for at least two reasons: first, they eventually generated an awareness of the blues tradition back in the USA, particularly among young white audiences (Wald 2004: 244ff.), and secondly they laid the foundations for the explosion of the guitar-based rock and 'progressive' styles which followed. Indeed, many members of the leading rock bands of the 1960s and 1970s – including Mick Jagger and Charlie Watts (The Rolling Stones), Jack Bruce and Ginger Baker (Cream) – had been associated with Korner's Blues Incorporated.

The immense but short-lived success of Cream (1966-68) is important in that the group reached a wide audience by playing music which fused elements of blues and simple riff patterns with even, heavy rock rhythms, in contrast to the swing-based patterns of much modern jazz, and lengthy and audacious improvised solos (by guitarist Eric Clapton) which were more characteristic of contemporary jazz. As we have noted, both bassist Jack Bruce and drummer Ginger Baker had worked with Alexis Korner, but Bruce began his professional career playing traditional jazz and Baker has organised and performed with jazz groups throughout his career. Cream's success represented a

breakthrough in bringing blues-based, largely improvised music into the mainstream of popular music, and in generating awareness among many young players of the possibilities of bringing together elements of rock and jazz (Nicholson 2002: 220).

These possibilities were already being explored by 'underground' groups such as Soft Machine, and the presence of Jimi Hendrix in London did much to open the doors to musical experimentation, but following Cream 'jazz-rock' became a significant part of popular music and provided a powerful stylistic orientation for many musicians in the 1970s and 1980s. It would be wrong to exaggerate the influence of British jazz players on this movement, but there can be no doubt that they made a major contribution to it, perhaps best exemplified by the success of guitarist John McLaughlin and bassist Dave Holland (both of whom worked with Miles Davis) in the U.S.A. 'Jazz-rock', and the 'fusion' approaches which followed it, became the dominant stylistic trends, to the point where musicians committed to earlier approaches often felt themselves marginalised: the pianist Bill LeSage even formed a quintet called 'The Bebop Preservation Society' – once again, a name which neatly conveys the ideas underlying its musical policy.

Since the 1970s, the various stylistic approaches to jazz which had developed earlier in the century – for example, traditional, big band, modern, free jazz, fusion and so on, have formed the basis of more-or-less independent 'scenes' existing simultaneously but often independently. Of course there are always exceptions, but in London and in many parts of the country, for example, members of traditional groups seldom have much contact with players in big bands, or modernists with those interested in 'free' music. Indeed, players committed to different styles are frequently unaware of each other, so that the jazz 'scene' can only be described as highly fragmented – a factor which has inhibited collective action or a sense of common identity.

On the other hand, since the 1980s a generation of younger players has emerged which is far less committed to the conventions of earlier jazz styles, and also far less inclined to see definite boundaries between jazz and other musical traditions. Early indications of this were given by the formation (in 1984) of the Loose Tubes big band, with an eclectic musical policy; its members, such as the pianist-composer Django Bates, saw themselves as engaged in a deliberate effort to create original music which, while jazz-based, tried to avoid the rigidities of the American big band style. In this, the Loose Tubes players contrasted their approach with that of the National Youth Jazz Orchestra (formed by Bill Ashton in 1965), which, they felt, was primarily concerned with replicating the American orthodoxy. Further evidence of stylistic diversity was provided by the group of young black players who formed the Jazz Warriors in the late 1980s – a large group whose work incorporated elements derived from reggae and free jazz as well as the various modern styles, and who were very conscious of the various contributions to British jazz made by musicians from the Caribbean.

Increasingly through the 1990s, there was evidence of both the trends identified above: first, the consolidation of separate jazz scenes based on particular styles, and second the development of what may be described as a (literally) post-modern aesthetic sensibility among many younger players. Blues and rock influences, so crucial to the great transformations of the 1960s, have been joined by reggae, hip-hop and rap, for example, as well as experiments blending jazz with African, Middle Eastern, and European classi-

cal music. Jazz history itself is less seen from the modernist perspective of progression towards higher levels of artistic expression and more in terms of a range of stylistic possibilities which provide players with a variety of options. While it is true that relatively few young players choose to work in traditional or swing idioms, it must be remembered that 'modern' jazz and its derivatives have been established for more than 50 years now, providing a wide range of approaches and influential mentors. The availability of CDs, often at 'budget' prices, featuring players from past eras has been important in this process, as has the formalisation of jazz education, which will be discussed further below.

4 British jazz today

4.1 Cultural policy

'Jazz is a music outside, a perpetual Cinderella of the arts in Britain...' (Carr 1973: vii). Writing in the early 1970s, the trumpeter and author Ian Carr was concerned to contrast the variety and vitality of the contemporary British jazz scene with the fact that the music was 'ostracised' by the 'cultural establishment': '...more or less ignored by the press, largely excluded from television, only minimally featured on radio, hardly ever forms part of the music syllabus at schools and colleges, and receives no official attention from the universities' (ibid.: viii). One of the main reasons for this marginalisation, Carr argued, was that jazz simply didn't fit neatly into the conventional distinction between 'popular' and 'serious' music – a distinction institutionalised by the BBC, which maintained separate 'Light Music' and 'Serious Music' departments, with the latter paying musicians much greater fees (Collier 1973: 92f.). Perhaps inevitably, as far as the BBC was concerned, jazz was classified as 'Light Music'.

In the final section of this chapter, our aim is to assess the extent to which Carr's view of jazz in Britain is still applicable at the start of the 21st century. As we suggest below, there have indeed been some notable and significant advances and improvements over the past 30 years or so. However, we believe that it is fair to conclude that these have been limited and partial, and that in many important respects jazz remains a 'music outside' as far as the British 'cultural establishment' is concerned. In the early post-war years, jazz was not so much marginalised as simply excluded from state subsidies. Despite being founded in 1946, the Arts Council (the body responsible for distributing state subsidies to arts organisations) made no award of any kind to jazz until 1967, when a bursary was awarded to bassist Graham Collier; significantly, this was to enable him to 'write a new composition' (Collier 1973: 124). To the great detriment of jazz musicians, the rigid distinction between composition and improvisation persists, as does a widespread suspicion of the latter and an ignorance of its musical basis (Martin 2002: 133f.). The Arts Council did establish a jazz subcommittee in 1968, and since then an increasing number of grants have been made to jazz musicians. However, while the principle of Arts Council support for jazz has been conceded, in practice the amounts of money allocated have been small (some would say derisory), in relation to the overall growth in state sponsorship of the

arts, the amounts allocated to other musical forms (particularly opera companies and symphony orchestras), and the size of the jazz audience. On this latter point, for example, it was estimated in 2000 that while the audience for jazz – with just over 6% of all adults attending performances – is almost exactly the same size as that for opera, and greater than that for contemporary dance (Martin 2004: 17), jazz receives only a small fraction of the subsidy devoted to opera. It has been estimated on the basis of budget allocations, for example, that while the Arts Council subsidy for each person attending a jazz concert rose from £0.15 in 1995-6 to £0.25 in 1999–2000, the *per capita* subsidy for opera attenders rose from £12.07 to £12.75 in the same period – an amount more than *fifty times* the jazz subsidy (Jazz Services 1996: 6). Not surprisingly, the same report spoke of an ‘offensive disparity in public funding levels’ (ibid.: 8).

4.2 The media and jazz organisations

While support for jazz events among adults, at around 6%, may appear small, it may nonetheless been considered remarkable given the continuing marginalisation of jazz in the ‘quality’ newspapers (which provide extensive arts coverage), and in the broadcast media. No British newspaper has a full-time jazz reporter or critic (in contrast to the situation in the opera world, or classical music generally), and coverage of activities is extremely sparse (in comparison with, for example, contemporary dance, where the audience is approximately half the size of that for jazz or opera). What jazz coverage there is in the national and regional press usually depends on arts and features editors being extensively lobbied by freelance or part-time writers. The ‘quality’ press do often run extensive obituaries of jazz musicians; there is something of an irony in this, however, given that the activities of these players are almost totally ignored during their lifetimes.

Jazz is rarely if ever heard on ‘commercial’ radio stations; Jazz FM, which began broadcasting in London and in the North West in 1990, soon played an increasing amount of easy-listening ‘smooth’ jazz, and in 2005 changed its name to ‘Smooth FM’. Of the BBC’s national radio networks, Radios 4 and 5 are speech-based, Radio 1 is devoted to pop music, but there has been some expansion of jazz output on Radio 2, and on Radio 3, the latter with a particular emphasis on contemporary styles and developments, and on projects which mix jazz with other genres and musical traditions. In this case, jazz has succeeded in being defined as ‘serious’ music, and it is incontestable that some radio music producers are now far more aware of, and knowledgeable about, jazz than their predecessors. Despite this expansion, however, the presence of jazz on the BBC’s music-based radio stations is still severely limited, and it may be argued that current jazz programming does not reflect either the actual or potential size of the audience. It is scarcely worth mentioning jazz on television – the music is almost unheard on the mass terrestrial stations (other than in theme music or advertisements), and the ‘alternatives’, BBC2 and Channel 4, have quite simply failed to deliver on their remits to cover the whole spectrum of arts activities.

Over the years, various organisations have been established with the aim of promoting jazz and in particular contesting its marginal status as ‘music outside’. These can be dated back to the mid-1930s, when ‘Rhythm Clubs’ began to proliferate around the country. By the 1950s, as we have noted, the National Jazz Federation, which was ‘...

originally a federation of jazz clubs, developed into a major organiser of jazz concerts, tours for visiting artists, and jazz clubs...' (Newton [Eric Hobsbawm] 1961: 174). The developments of the 1960s, and the growth of an audience for them, led to the formation of the Jazz Centre Society in London in 1968, which, while never realising its original aim to create a permanent performance venue for the music, did lead to the foundation of Jazz Services, which has acted as a national jazz organisation since the early 1980s. And even a very brief account of British jazz institutions would be incomplete without noting that Ronnie Scott's in London, has become generally recognised as one of the most important jazz clubs in the world.

4.3 The formalisation of jazz education

One of the complaints which Ian Carr made about the music scene of the early 1970s was the exclusion of jazz from the curricula of schools, colleges and universities. In this area, however, considerable progress can be reported. Formal jazz courses were pioneered at the Leeds College of Music from the early 1970s, under the guidance of Dick Hawdon, a trumpet player with a national reputation for his work with traditional, modern, and big bands. At around the same time, the Barry Jazz Summer School in South Wales provided a two-week retreat in which aspiring players could learn from established professionals, and perform alongside them. From these beginnings, jazz has gradually been adopted as part of the curriculum in many college and university music courses, jazz summer schools have flourished, and a particular breakthrough was the establishment of a jazz syllabus by the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music in 1999. Initially concentrating on early piano studies and ensemble playing, the syllabus was extended in 2003 to cover woodwind and brass instruments, and now provides a formal route by which young players, in particular, can be introduced to the elements of jazz and a means by which jazz studies can be included in school curricula.

There is no doubt that jazz studies in schools, colleges and universities have become popular, although not everyone is happy with the situation – there have been complaints that the formalisation of a jazz curriculum has led to the institutionalisation of a canonic period in the music's history (usually the mid-1920s to the mid-1960s), and to the favouring of modern styles (particularly bebop) and patterns that can be taught, at the expense of innovative explorations and individually distinctive ways of playing. Many young players, it is argued, are now extremely proficient at reproducing the playing styles of, say, Charlie Parker or John Coltrane (McKay, 2005: 235) – but few then progress so as to develop their own approach or express themselves as their mentors did. (For American comparisons, see Tomlinson 1991 and Marquis 1998).

4.4 Festivals

The event organised by Lord Montagu at his Beaulieu estate in Hampshire in 1956 is generally considered to have been the first jazz festival in Britain. This lasted until 1961, by which time it had been joined by the Richmond Jazz Festival, near London, promoted by the National Jazz Federation. The Richmond programmes, as McKay has noted, accurately reflect the changing musical culture of the period: by the mid-1960s jazz groups were

outnumbered by blues and R & B bands – including the Rolling Stones and the Yardbirds – who occupied an increasingly dominant position in popular music (McKay 2005: 79). Since then there has been a gradual proliferation of jazz festivals, to the point where, at the beginning of the 21st century, there are few weekends throughout the year on which there is not a jazz festival somewhere in Britain. And since the adoption of exchange arrangements by the British and American musicians' unions in the late 1950s, there have been concert tours of major venues; jazz ensembles – particularly those judged to have particular artistic merit, or which are too expensive for commercial promoters, have also regularly been included in the national tours organised by the Arts Council's Contemporary Music Network.

As in the case of formal jazz education, however, some concerns have been expressed about the consequences of presenting jazz on the festival platform or the concert stage. It has been argued that this leads inexorably to a routinisation of performances and to musicians becoming risk-averse. Moreover, by their very formality, festivals and concerts separate players from their audiences, reducing if not eliminating the dialogical relationship between them which has been seen as a fundamental element of jazz performance; in this respect, festivals and concerts reproduce European conventions in which audiences are mainly passive, rather than the African-American tradition in which audience response is more active, indeed part of the performance itself (Monson 1996: 74). On the other hand, there is no doubting the persistence of small-scale, more intimate jazz performances in clubs and pubs around the country; *Jazz UK*, the 'news journal of the British jazz community', which is published by Jazz Services, regularly lists more than 900 of these.

4.5 European links

In considering the reception of jazz in Europe, the historian Eric Hobsbawm, suggests that there was a 'striking difference' between the way that the music was adopted in Britain and its acceptance in other European countries (Hobsbawm 1999: 359):

The reception of the music was far more broadly based in Britain than elsewhere, it was far more readily naturalised and assimilated, since Britain already formed part of a linguistically and musically unified zone of popular culture with the USA. It therefore formed a bridge between the USA and the rest of Europe.

For Hobsbawm, these cultural affinities, and the development in Britain of a 'uniquely large working class' with a 'recognizable, urbanized, non-traditional lifestyle' (ibid.: 360) generated a situation in which jazz-based music, in particular historical periods, could appeal to a broad public; he cites as instances of this the dance bands and big-band swing of the 1930s and 1940s, the traditional jazz 'boom' of the late 1950s-early 1960s, and the immense popularity of blues-based rock bands from the 1960s. However, from the very earliest days '...British intellectuals or artists...showed none of the interest in jazz so evident among the continental avant-garde – Cocteau, Milhaud and the rest...' (ibid.: 356). As we have suggested, this marginalisation of jazz by the British 'cultural establishment' has continued into the 21st century, whereas – certainly in Hobsbawm's view – in continental Europe the music has long been associated with modernism and high art. A full discussion of this interpretation is beyond the scope of this chapter, but it must be

said that it is consistent with the reports of many British-based jazz musicians, who have often contrasted the minimal acceptance of their work at home with the greater work opportunities (and fees) afforded in other European countries, and the perception that they are treated as serious artists there. Moreover, many leading British players are better known in artistic circles in continental Europe than they are at home, and through their travels abroad many British-based musicians – such as John Surman, Kenny Wheeler, Harry Beckett, Mike Westbrook, John Taylor and several of the ‘free’ players – have had a considerable influence on jazz in Europe.

Until recently, this pattern of influence has rarely been reciprocated: in this respect, as in many other fields of activity, Britain has remained notably insular, and since the days of Django Reinhardt, few (if any?) players from other parts of Europe have made a substantial impact on the British jazz scene. However, there are clear indications that this insularity is beginning to break down, with the generation of players who came to prominence in the 1980s and 1990s – such as Iain Ballamy, Tommy Smith, Guy Barker and Django Bates – becoming increasingly involved in sustained collaborations with musicians from other parts of Europe.

4.6 The current situation

In conclusion, it remains only to emphasise a point which we have made already – that the British jazz ‘community’ at the beginning of the 21st century is in fact fragmented into various different stylistic groupings, particularly in urban areas, in which often neither musicians nor audiences have little contact with each other. But perhaps a more positive way of looking at this is to suggest, again as we did above, that the jazz scene in the UK has moved into a genuinely post-modern era, in the sense that ‘modern’ jazz (now nearly 60 years old!) has become one of these styles amongst the others. Moreover, there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that improvising musicians are now more aware of, and open to, other genres and traditions than those which derive from the USA in the 20th century. For some time now, British jazz players (such as Courtney Pine, Tommy Smith, Guy Barker, and others) have been contributing to the work of bands in rock, reggae, and other contemporary popular styles. The influence of ‘world music’ is also apparent, for example in the exploration of ‘Latin’ styles, or the fusion of jazz improvisation with middle-Eastern approaches (for example in the work of the saxophonist Gilad Atzmon, or the group Just East of Jazz). The influence of Caribbean music is maintained by Jazz Jamaica, led by bassist Gary Crosby, and the 2004 debut CD by pianist/vocalist Jamie Cullum, on which the jazz idiom is made accessible to a middle-of-the-road audience, is reported to have sold more than two and a half million copies. The boundary between jazz and contemporary ‘classical’ music, too, is increasingly blurred, as recent programmes for the London and Bath jazz festivals make clear.

It remains the case that orthodox jazz styles remain marginalised by the ‘cultural establishment’ in Britain, just as Carr (1973) argued more than 30 years ago. As Hobsbawm (1999) suggested, in Britain jazz has never acquired the connotations of freedom or liberation which have been associated with the music in other parts of Europe; on the contrary it is still viewed in many quarters as disruptive, and transgressive of the established discourse of art-music. On the other hand, the idea of improvisation in music has unquestionably won greater acceptance across a wide range of musical styles, and to a very great extent, it is the work of jazz musicians which has brought this about.

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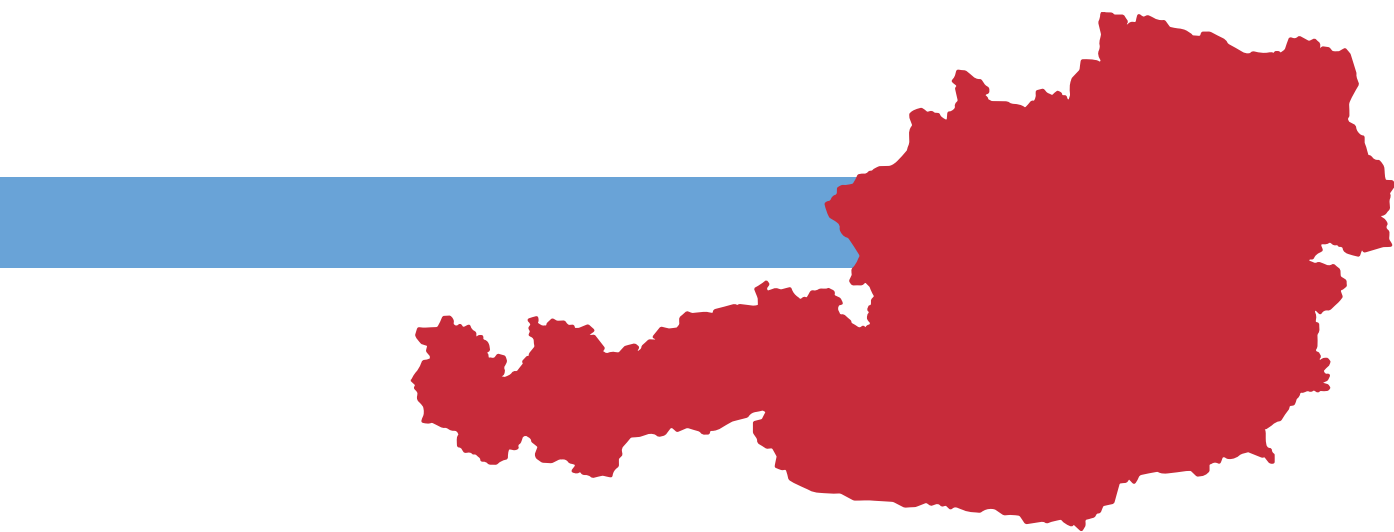
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Jazz has been an integral part of the Austrian music scene since the postwar era and has found wide acceptance in the Austrian cultural landscape over time. This paper presents an overview of the most important developments and personalities in Austrian jazz history, a story that now reaches back almost one hundred years. The sources for this information include musicological texts on jazz in Austria as well as interviews with observers and active members of the jazz scene. One comprehensive informational source on the ensembles and musicians discussed is the five-volume *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon (Austrian Music Lexicon)*; online research is also of particular relevance, especially concerning more recent history.

The first section, “From the beginnings to the end of World War II”, deals mainly with the early development of jazz until the Nazi era. The second, “Postwar and the 1960s” traces the beginnings of an independent scene and important Austrian expatriate musicians as well as discussing Graz as a stimulating force and academic institutionalization. The section “The late 1960s to the generational change of the late 1970s” deals with the Vienna scene as well as the influence of the “Vienna Art Orchestra” and its leading soloists from that period. The final section, “Stylistic pluralism – the 1980s to the present” examines various trends and musicians from the 1980s and 1990s as well as introducing the first generation of the new millennium.

1 From the beginnings to the end of World War II

1.1 Early developments

The period after the First World War was generally marked by a popular music style influenced by ragtime and old-time music and played mostly in dance clubs. A first contact with jazz occurred in 1919/20 when the Metropoltheater in the Vienna Prater presented the American “Syncopated Orchestra”. The Weihburg-Bar in Vienna served as a center for jazz from 1922 to 1934 and was particularly active beginning in 1925, featuring among others trumpeter Arthur Briggs, clarinetist Abduljo Villa’s septet and a quintet led by violinist Eddie South, “Eddie South and His Alabamians”. Foreign bands exerting a notable influence on domestic musicians with performances in Vienna included the German “Fred Ross Jazzband” (1923), the Frenchman Paul Garson’s ensemble (1924) and American pianist Sam Wooding’s group featuring trumpeter Tommy Ladnier (1925) as well as the “Black Revue” with Josephine Baker and the “Orchester Claude Hopkins”, with soprano saxophonist Sidney Bechet as featured soloist. Austrian musicians also

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received impetus from their own engagements in other countries; for instance, Vienna Philharmonic member Karl “Charly” Gaudriot (1895–1978) was inspired during a 1924 tour of South America to found a “Jazzband”. Gaudriot went on to lead the first jazz band of the “Radio-Verkehrs-Aktien-Gesellschaft” (RAVAG, Austria’s first public radio network) (see Kraner/Schulz 1972: 7ff.).

The first significant Austrian jazz ensemble was the “Stella Polaris Band”, which discovered jazz during an engagement in England between 1925 and 1927. The “Sonora Band”, a formation modeled by Heinrich Blaser on “Bobbie Hind and His Sonora Band” (a London collaboration from 1922/23 including Blaser), is also of some importance. Further role models for Austrian bands in the 1920s included American musicians such as Red Nichols, Miff Mole, Joe Venuti and – in a big-band context – Paul Whiteman, Jack Hylton and Cab Calloway, all of whom played in Vienna (see Kraner/Schulz 1972: 9ff.).

The 1930s saw ensembles already playing a full-fledged jazz repertoire, in addition to orchestras playing music only partially influenced by jazz. The former included the “Blue Boys” (1929–1935), the “Golden Band” (founded in 1933 and featuring pianist Emil Krainz), the big band led by Ernst Moritz “Bobby” Sax (1933/34), the “Weintraub Syncopators” and drummer Harry Taffet’s band. Noted soloists included violinist Fritz Strisower, guitarist Hans Muther and trumpeters Theo Ferstl and Charlie Tabor (see Kraner/Schulz 1972: 10f. and Kerschbaumer 2003: 890).

1.2 The National Socialist era

In the course of the 1930s, as the economy became progressively less stable and unemployment rose dramatically, pressure from the National Socialist party also grew stronger. On March 12, 1938 the Nazis assumed control of the government and Austria – as the “Ostmark” – became a part of the German Reich. This period was particularly unfriendly to jazz and jazz-related music; it was considered undesirable and denigrated. The burgeoning popularity enjoyed by swing music – and the further development of jazz – was hindered by its condemnation as “Anglo-Saxon/Jewish hot music”, “nigger music” and “nigger jazz” in September 1939 and in 1941 as “American music”. Listening to foreign, “enemy” radio stations was punishable but jazz itself was never outlawed (see Schulz 2003: 41 und Bönner 2008: 9). *Brockhaus* from 1939 carries the following entry on “jazz” (Brockhaus 1939: 322): “[dsehäß], a style of dance and music with a unique rhythmic style, originating in America: developed from Negro music. Jazz is played by a jazz-band, a musical ensemble consisting of drums, saxophone, violin, piano, banjo and accordion.”

Because of this situation, jazz activity was confined mainly to the underground. For instance, musicians such as clarinetist/saxophonist Antonio “Hans” Cyrill Koller (1921–2003) and trombonist Friedrich “Fred” Gallosch (1911–1992) as well as Viennese bar musicians, Jewish musicians and musicians from Poland and Belgium all met in an apartment belonging to pianist and singer Jeff Palme (born Josef Grumbach-Palme, 1922–1983) (see Kraner/Schulz 1972: 12f.). As in other Nazi-occupied parts of Europe, young swing-focused subcultures developed around 1939 in Vienna: the so-called proletarian “schlurfs” and the bourgeois “swings”. Young people organized events, includ-

ing secret parties where they played and danced to then hard-to-acquire jazz records (see Tantner 1995: 40ff.).³

On the other hand, a dance orchestra maintained for propaganda purposes by the state radio station “Europa-Sender Wien” and led successively by Leo Jaritz (1908–1989), Ludwig Babinsky (1909–1990) and Paul von Béky (1903–1960) was allowed to play more or less unimpeded in a swing style. One jazz center during the war years was the Steffel-Diele in Vienna, where the pianist Ernst Landl (1914–1983) and others played swing music. The titles of pieces were often changed, for instance from “Tiger Rag” to “Schwarzer Panther” or “Tabak Trafik” and from “St. Louis Blues” to “Eintopfgericht” (“Stew”) or “Sauerkraut”. A few magnetic recordings, some damaged, still survive from the WWII era, including 1942 recordings of Jeff Palme (partially with Hans Koller) playing Fats Waller-style swing music (see Kraner/Schulz 1972: 13 and Schulz 2003: 41ff.).

2 Postwar and the 1960s

2.1 The beginning of an independent jazz scene

With the end of the war in 1945, Austria became decidedly receptive to American jazz. Due to the high level of interest and eagerness to catch up with developments in this previously undesirable musical form, jazz bands and dance orchestras were founded one after another, with wide-ranging repertoires and musicians able to solo in the idiom. In late 1945 Horst “Harry” Winter (1914–2001) formed the “Wiener Tanzorchester” (WTO), a significant popular music ensemble of the time. The WTO survived until 1953, playing a repertoire including swing and jazz – and, beginning in 1948, recording bebop-flavored material such as “One Bass Hit” and “Salt Peanuts” (see Kraner/Schulz 1972: 14f.).

Many musicians found work during this period in the occupying forces’ soldiers’ clubs. For instance, clarinetist, tenor saxophonist and later pianist Roland Kovac (aka “Rolly Kowa”, b. 1927) played bebop with his ensemble in Salzburg, while pianist Heinz Neubrand (1921–1998) led his “Heinz Neubrand Rhythm Group” in a swing style modeled on the Nat “King” Cole Trio (see Schulz 1972: 14f.). Recordings of the “Rhythmische Sieben”, an ensemble formed in 1946 in Salzburg – including “Tiger Rag”, recorded in Salzburg in 1947 – are among the most significant European postwar swing recordings. The ensemble featured Richard “Roy Swing” Priessnitz (1915–1996, trumpet), Ludwig “Wicky” Kollarz (b. 1924, clarinet), Willy Horn (b. 1916, tenor saxophone), Friedrich Gallosch (1911–1992, trombone), Otto Barry, (b. Otto Batka, 1906–1966, piano), Johann “Hans” Haas (1919–2000, guitar), Max Lehner (b. 1911, bass) and Meinhard “Meiny” Geppert (1914–1998, drums), who also lectured on jazz (see Westphal 2005b: 1919f. and Schulz 2003: 61).

3 Similar subcultures emerged between 1937 and 1940 in Hamburg (“swings” or “swingheinies”), Paris (“potápki”). The “schlurfs” and “swings” were characterized by somewhat longer hairstyles and their clothing, consisting of very wide trousers, long, dark-colored jackets or coats and brightly colored accessories (see Tantner 1995: 40ff.).

In Graz, the pianist Walter Koschatzky (1921–2003) organized various dance and jazz groups beginning in 1945, including the “Studentenkapelle Koschatzky”, the “Tanztrio Walter Koschatzky” and the “Academia Quintett”. Koschatzky was also active in radio, with the Sendegruppe Alpenland (see Kolleritsch 1995: 45ff. und Hendler 2009: 393f.). Another pianist, Winfried “Fridl” Althaller (1926–2007), organized significant ensembles for Radio Graz beginning in 1949. The personnel of these groups was subject to change, including Friedrich Körner (b. 1931, trumpet), Erich Kleinschuster (b. 1930, trombone), Rudolf “Rudi” Josel (b. 1939, trombone), Heinz Hönig (b. 1928, clarinet and tenor saxophone), Walter Kühn (clarinet, tenor and baritone saxophones), Fritz Held (guitar) und Friedrich “Fritz” Waidacher (b. 1934, drums). Beginning in 1952 Harald Rauter hosted regular jazz programming on Graz-based radio stations (Kolleritsch 1995: 78ff. and Straka 1963: 70).

The “Hot Club Vienna” was a band founded by pianist Ernst Landl and featuring Herbert Mytteis (1916–1967, violin), Theo Ferstl (1910–1981, trumpet), Hans Koller (clarinet, tenor saxophone) and Victor Plasil (b. 1926, drums). The band’s early recordings, from 1947, include “Prisoner’s Song” and Landl’s compositions “Hallo, Tommy” and “Nesty Boogie”. Koller took over leadership of the band in 1948; his uncompromising position concerning commercial pop music helped make the group into one of the most consequential Austrian jazz ensembles of the postwar era (see Kerschbaumer 2003: 890 und Schulz/Kraner 1972: 15f.).

After the band’s dissolution in 1949, Koller played in the “Horst Winter Tanzorchester”, then moved to Germany in 1950, where his rise to international success and significance on the European jazz scene began. In 1950/51 his tone was robust and voluminous, with a Coleman Hawkins-style vibrato; however, his Vienna recordings from 1954/55 are among the most influential European cool jazz recordings, more reminiscent of Lee Konitz. Koller played with leading American musicians throughout the 1950s (including Dizzy Gillespie, Lee Konitz, Benny Goodman and Stan Kenton) and was an important mover in Austrian jazz, galvanizing the scene with stays in Vienna in 1958, 1962 and 1963. Beginning in 1957 Koller played more in the mainstream style; in 1970 he returned to Vienna, where he performed free music with various small groups. In the mid-1990s Koller ceased performing in public (see Schulz 2007: 77ff.).

The Hungarian guitarist Attila Cornelius Zoller (1927–1998) emigrated to Vienna in 1948, founding a noteworthy group with accordionist/vibraphonist Vera Auer, the “Vera Auer Combo”; the combo’s music is modeled on George Shearing’s block chord playing style. Both musicians played later in the United States, Zoller from 1959 and Auer from 1960 (see Kraner/Schulz 1972: 16).

Johannes Fehring (b. Johannes Fernbach, 1926–2004) founded his “Orchester Johannes Fehring” in 1949; the ensemble played in the style of Les Brown, Stan Kenton and Count Basie as well as being active in the areas of film and popular music. The orchestra absorbed the “Austrian All Stars” beginning in 1955; the latter group, a quintet, was founded by drummer Plasil and existed from 1954 to 1957, featuring Hans Salomon (b. 1933, alto saxophone), Karl Drewö (1929–1995, tenor saxophone), Josef Erich “Joe” Zawinul (1932–2007, piano) und Rudolf Hansen (b. 1924, bass). The All Stars were the central group in Austrian jazz at the time and placed in the 1956 Down Beat Critics’ Poll; the group also included Dick Murphy on trumpet beginning in 1955 and, later on, occa-

sionally trombonist Kleinschuster and pianist Friedrich Gulda (1930–2000). The group focused stylistically mainly on cool and West Coast jazz (see Schulz 2003: 59ff.).

The Hot Club Austria, modeled on other European hot clubs, was founded in Vienna in 1951. Its successor (from 1953), the Hot Club de Vienne, hosted among others the musicians of the Horst Winter Tanzorchester, pianist Gulda and clarinetist/saxophonist Ulrich “Uzzi” Förster (1930–1995). Evening lectures were also held at the club to encourage understanding of the music. In 1952, the German-language magazine *Jazz Podium* was published for the first time; since the mid-1950s it has been published in Stuttgart (see <http://www.jazzpodium.de>). A “Jazz Section” of the Austrian-American Association in Salzburg was organized in 1954/55; Linz also saw the founding of a jazz club – with an accompanying informational pamphlet, “Perspectives in Jazz” – in 1956 (see Kraner/Schulz 1972: 17f.).

A British soldier of the occupying forces had already founded Graz’s first jazz club in 1948. The “Serenaders” was an important jazz band in Graz, founded in 1950 by bassist Kurt Jaritz (b. 1925) and playing mainly Dixieland. The band also featured Oswald “Ossi” Verwüster (b. 1925, trombone and piano), Sepp Neugebauer (b. 1928, tenor saxophone), Hönig (tenor saxophone and clarinet) as well as Waidacher (drums) and Albert “Bert” Wokensky (b. 1930, drums). Later members of note include Körner (trumpet), clarinetist Freimuth “Fredy” Probst (b. 1928) and Wolfgang Suppan (b. 1933, alto saxophone and clarinet) (see Straka 1963: 70f.).

2.2 Austrian jazz musicians abroad

With the Austrian Independence Treaty in May of 1955, the four occupying armies left the country and Austria was once again fully autonomous. However, the closing of the soldiers’ clubs led to a worsening of the job situation for jazz musicians, a significant number of whom then emigrated, mostly either to Germany or to the United States (see Kraner/Schulz 1972: 19f.).

Friedrich Gulda represented a significant enrichment for the domestic jazz scene due to his international contacts. The pianist, already known as a classical performer, performed in 1956 at New York’s Birdland; the album *Live at Birdland* was recorded during this engagement. Gulda surprised the audience with his style, atypical for a classical musician: a sharp attack, bebop-style single-note phrasing and a rhythmic sense influenced by cool jazz. From 1964 to 1966 Gulda led his “Euro-Jazz Orchestra”, for which he composed pieces including “The Veiled Old Land” (1964). The orchestra featured Austrian musicians such as Kleinschuster, Rudi Josel and Zawinul alongside American soloists such as Freddie Hubbard, Art Farmer, J.J. Johnson, Julian “Cannonball” Adderley, Ron Carter and Mel Lewis. In 1966 Gulda organized an international contest for young modern jazz musicians in Vienna, leading to international recognition for musicians such as Fritz Pauer (1943–2012, piano) and Manfred Josel (b. 1944, drums) (see Kraner/Schulz 1972: 22).

Fatty George (b. Franz Georg Pressler, 1927–1982) studied alto saxophone and clarinet in Vienna and also played often in American soldiers’ clubs, where he was given his stage name “Fatty”. In 1951/52 George was playing in the dixieland and bebop styles, influenced by Benny Goodman. Later he moved in the direction of cool jazz, as

evidenced by recordings on which he solos in the style of Lee Konitz. George spent much of the years from 1949 to 1952 in Germany; his return to Austria proved an important stimulus to the domestic scene. Of particular note is his “Two Sound Band”, founded in 1954, one of the most multifaceted Austrian jazz ensembles of the time. In this context he played “revival” jazz on the clarinet with soloists such as Oscar Klein (1930–2006, trumpet and guitar) and Wilhelm “Willy” Meerwald (1924–2005, trombone) but also performed on alto saxophone in a more modern style with musicians such as Drewo (tenor saxophone), Wilhelm Friedrich “Bill” Grah (1928–1996, piano and vibraphone) and Zawinul (piano). George also opened clubs that became important meeting points for the scene, including Fatty’s Jazz Casino (1952) and Fatty’s Saloon (1958). In 1967 he returned to Vienna for good, playing in later years with his “Chicago Jazz Band” featuring Klein (trumpet and guitar), Roy Crimmins (trombone) and Hans van der Sys (piano). George was one of the most important Dixieland revival musicians in Europe and played a major role in the publicizing of jazz in Austria (see Straka 2002: 425).

After winning a scholarship to the Berklee College of Music in Boston, Joe Zawinul moved to the United States; his career began to take off soon afterwards, with an engagement in the Maynard Ferguson band. Further important jobs included accompanying jazz and blues singer Dinah Washington (1959–1961) and his work as musician and composer for “Cannonball” Adderley (1961–1970). Zawinul was a pioneer of electroacoustic and electronic keyboard instruments and played an integral role on the early jazz-rock/fusion recordings of Miles Davis (*In a Silent Way*, 1969, title piece composed by Zawinul; *Bitches Brew*, 1969). The band “Weather Report”, founded by Zawinul and saxophonist Wayne Shorter in 1970, was extremely successful, both artistically and commercially. After the band’s breakup in 1986 Zawinul worked in various ensembles, including “Weather Update” and the “Zawinul Syndicate”. In the 1990s he produced a number of pieces referencing Austria, such as “Stories of the Danube” (1995/96) and “Mauthausen” (2000). Zawinul is seen as a pioneer of electronic instruments and effects as well as one of the more significant composers in modern jazz, with a unique style and well-known compositions such as “Mercy, Mercy, Mercy”, “In a Silent Way” and “Birdland” (see Stachel 2006b: 2718).

Oscar Klein, born in Graz, became one of the leading Dixieland revival trumpet-ers in Europe and played with the Swiss ensemble “Tremble Kids” (1957–1960) and the “Dutch Swing College Band” (1960–1963). Karl Drewo also left the country in 1958, after his engagement with Fatty George. One of Europe’s leading tenor saxophonists, he worked with the “Orchester Kurt Edelhagen” and the “Kenny Clarke/Francy Boland Big Band” in the 1960s. The 1980s found him performing with “Peter Herbolzheimer’s Rhythm Combination & Brass”, among others (see Kraner/Schulz 1972: 23). Pianist Fritz Pauer moved to Berlin in 1963, landing a job as accompanist in the Jazz-Galerie, where he performed with musicians such as Art Farmer, Leo Wright, Don Byas and Dexter Gordon. Pauer returned to Austria in 1968, playing with the “Erich Kleinschuster Sextett”, the “ORF Big Band” and his own groups, for instance with bassist Jimmy Woode and drummer Erich Bachträgl (b. 1944) (see Rausch 2005a: 1730).

Viennese trumpeter and composer Michael “Mike” Mantler (b. 1943) emigrated to the United States in 1962, where he continued his studies at the Berklee College of Music and later found his way into the New York avant-garde scene, working with Cecil

Taylor. In 1965 he founded the avant-garde “Jazz Composer’s Orchestra” (JCO) with his wife, the pianist Carla Bley, for the purpose of encouraging new compositions for big band. Mantler’s intensive work with orchestras since the 1970s, often incorporating literary elements, has set standards for large-ensemble free jazz (see Boisits 2004: 1358f. and <http://www.mantlermusic.com>).

2.3 Momentum from Graz and institutionalization

The opening of the Forum Stadtpark in 1960 furnished jazz musicians with an important performance venue. Friedrich Körner played a significant role as lecturer, promoting jazz in this venue for art, literature and music. The activities at the (at that time) home base for jazz life in Graz led to the formation of various bands, including the “Klaus Behmel Combo” and the “Modern Jazzgroup Graz”. Graz became a focal point for the burgeoning amateur jazz scene in 1960s Austria, composed mainly of young musicians. Bands from Graz also tended to dominate the annual amateur jazz festivals in Vienna sponsored by the Austrian Jazz Federation from 1962 to 1969 (see Straka 1963: 70).

Significant musicians and ensembles from this time period included the “Josel Trio”, founded in 1960 by trombonist and pianist Rudolf Josel and featuring bassist Anton Bärnthaler (b. 1937) and – after a number of changes – Josel’s brother Manfred on drums. The trio placed first at the inaugural amateur jazz festival in 1962 and proceeded to become a leading European ensemble. Körner’s “New Austrian Big Band”, founded in 1961, featured precise section work and noteworthy soloists, including Dieter Glawischnig (b. 1938, piano and trombone) and tenor saxophonist Hönig, aka “Horst Peter”. Another figure of note in pianist Harald Neuwirth (b. 1939) and his trio featuring bassist Adelhard Roidinger (b. 1941) and Bachträgl on drums. Neuwirth also performed with his “Harald Neuwirth Konsort” (changing personnel since 1968), for which he also composed, among other pieces the “Grazer Messe im Jazzstil” (1970) (see Straka 1963: 70 and Hendler 2009: 396ff.).

Dieter Glawischnig’s ensembles, including the “Glawischnig Trio” featuring Glawischnig on piano, Ewald Oberleitner (b. 1937) on bass and Bachträgl on drums, were also important for the further development of jazz. Grazer musicians focused around Glawischnig and Oberleitner were experimenting with free jazz in the mid-1960s, using short, pithy themes and free-tonal motives as the jumping-off point for dense, dynamic improvisation. The later trio “Neighbours”, featuring Glawischnig, Oberleitner and drummer John Preininger (1947–2002), achieved far-reaching international recognition and recorded albums with Anthony Braxton (for instance, *Neighbours with Anthony Braxton*, 1980). Glawischnig’s settings of texts by poet Ernst Jandl are particularly striking and expressive (see Straka 1963: 70 and 2008: 263ff.).

The combination of the fruitful jazz scene in Graz and the engagement of specific individuals – particularly Körner, with Gulda’s support – led to the founding of Europe’s first Institute for Jazz in 1965 at the then Academy for Music and Performing Arts in Graz (later Music College Graz, now University of Music and Performing Arts of Graz). The initial instructors were Körner (director, trumpet and big band), Dieter Glawischnig (trombone and piano), Manfred Straka (jazz history), Janez Gregorc (arrangement and composition), Harald Neuwirth (piano, jazz improvisation and harmony), Heinz Hönig

(woodwinds), Anton Bärnthaler (bass) and Manfred Josel (drums). In the course of the Academy's restructuring as a college in 1971 the Institute was divided into an Institute for Jazz Research and a Jazz Department for practical jazz education (see Kolleritsch 1995: 199ff. and <http://www.kug.ac.at>).

Three years later Erich Kleinschuster founded a jazz department at the Vienna Conservatory (today the Konservatorium Wien University), with instructors Robert Politzer (trumpet), Hans Salomon (saxophone), Fritz Pauer (piano), Rudolf Hanson (bass) and Bachträgl and Walter Grassman (drums) (see <http://www.konservatorium-wien.ac.at>). Bachträgl and Kleinschuster were also the founders of the jazz department at the State Conservatory in Carinthia (KONSE) in 1984, which also included Lee Harper (trumpet) and Harald Neuwirth (piano) as teachers (see <http://www.konse.at>). Upper Austria received its own jazz department in 1989 at the Bruckner Conservatory (today Anton Bruckner Private University), founded by bassist Adelhard Roidinger and saxophonist Allan Praskin (see <http://www.bruckneruni.at>).

The academic institutionalization of jazz in Austria has since produced a large number of well-educated jazz musicians who are both domestically and internationally active. Numerous alumni have also become instructors at these institutions; one example from the first graduating class in Graz is saxophonist Karlheinz Miklin (b. 1946 in Klagenfurt), who has achieved international success with his "Karlheinz Miklin Trio" (since 1978), "Quinteto Argentina" (since 1984) and the "Karlheinz Miklin Quartet" (changing personnel, has included Ron McClure on bass and Billy Hart on drums). Miklin has been an instructor at the University of Music and Performing Arts of Graz since 1975 and chaired the jazz department from 1983 to 2000 (see <http://miklin.mur.at> and Stachel 2004: 1439).

3 The late 1960s to the generational change of the late 1970s

3.1 The Vienna scene

In 1966 the Grazer trombonist Kleinschuster formed the significant "Erich Kleinschuster Sextett" with Robert Politzer (1939–2010, trumpet), Salomon (clarinet and saxophone), Neuwirth and later Pauer (piano), Hansen (bass) and Bachträgl (drums). The group performed hard bop and mainstream jazz and was considered the successor to the "Austrian All Stars". Worthy of note is Kleinschuster's "Oberwarter Messe" (1970). The sextet developed into one of the best-known jazz ensembles of the following two decades, occasionally with variable personnel (see Kolleritsch 2003a: 1069 and Kraner/Schulz 1972: 25).

The reform of the Austrian Public Radio Network (ORF) in 1967 also brought with it an increased role for jazz in radio programming, including shows hosted by Walter Richard Langer, Harald Rauter and Klaus Schulz; this also represented a positive development for jazz in Austria generally. The "ORF Big Band" was founded in 1971 under Kleinschuster's direction, using Johannes Fehring's orchestra as a basis for its

personnel and performing mainly jazz and pop works by Austrian musicians. Further directors of the big band included Karel Krautgartner (1922–1982), Johannes Fehring and Richard Österreicher (b. 1932). The ensemble survived until 1981 and played, among others, compositions by band members Salomon, Politzer and Pauer (see Westphal 2005a: 1679).

An important focus of ensembles and jazz clubs in the 1960s and 1970s was traditional jazz; the Vienna “Barrelhouse Jazzband” (founded in 1960) and the club Jazzland (since 1972, <http://www.jazzland.at>) are of particular importance in this context (see <http://www.barrelhouse.at> and Melhardt 2002). The “Murwater Ramblers” (founded in 1957, http://www.myspace.com/murwater_ramblers) and the “Royal Garden Jazzband” (founded in the early 1960s) are among Graz’s contributions to this scene; the Royal Garden Jazz Club (founded 1981, <http://www.royalgarden.at>) is a central meeting point for traditional music in the city (see Kerschbaumer 2003: 890).

Vienna free jazz musicians achieved their first breakthrough around 1969/70, in spite of the generally conservative, skeptical attitude of both scene musicians and audiences. According to Felber (1999a: 15), the movement was driven by members of two groups: the “Masters of Unorthodox Jazz”, who played their first concert in 1966, grew out of a trio led by Grazer drummer Walter Malli (1940–2012) and the Viennese pianist Richard Pechoc (b. 1939). Malli describes the ensemble as having the “trademark of free improvisation, without preparation [...] just as it seemed ‘right’ to us” (Malli 1988: 10). The group disbanded in the mid-1970s. Around the same time, in 1965, Fritz Novotny (b. 1940, saxophone, flute) founded his “Reform Art Unit” (RAU) also dedicating it to exploring the possibilities of free improvisation. After successive phases influenced by various quarters, the central idea since 1985 has been the “Vienna School of freely improvised music”, a term coined by “Masters of Unorthodox Jazz” bassist Anton Michlmayer and connoting an affinity with the chamber music tradition of the Second Viennese School (see Felber 2005: 388f.).

Trumpeter and composer Franz Koglmann (b. 1947) has been one of the major exponents of these groups’ milieu since the early 1970s, having played with international artists such as Steve Lacy, Bill Dixon, Paul Bley and Lee Konitz. Koglmann’s own ensembles include the “Pipetett” (founded 1983) and the “Monoblue Quartett” (founded 1993). Koglmann has gradually devoted himself more and more to composition, his works tending toward a mixture of jazz and European modern classical music (see Westphal 2004: 1089 and Felber 1999a: 16f.).

The Vienna guitarists Karl “Charlie” Ratzer (b. 1950) and Harald Wakar “Harri” Stojka (b. 1957) belong mainly to the jazz-rock/fusion arena. Ratzer, who played with his band “Gipsy Love” in the early 1970s, worked in the United States beginning in 1972 and achieved success as a musician and bandleader with Tom Harrell, Bob Mintzer and Chet Baker, among others. In 1981 Ratzer returned to Austria; his subsequent projects include the septet “Beat the Heat”, founded in 1991 (*Saturn Returning*, 1997) (see Boisits 2005: 1871, Felber 1999a: 17f. and <http://karlratzer.com>). Stojka’s first band, the “Harri Stojka Express”, began its activities in 1973. The guitarist was particularly successful from 1981 on, performing at the Open Air Festival in Vienna and the Montreux Jazz Festival in Switzerland, among others. His music combines jazz and rock with elements of traditional Roma music (see Stachel 2006a: 2317f. and <http://www.harristojka.at>).

Another Viennese guitarist, Harry Pepl (1945–2005), made internationally acclaimed recordings, particularly from 1975 with the duo “Jazz Zwio” with composer/vibraphonist Werner Pirchner (1940–2001). Pepl often collaborated with bassist Roidinger and drummer Jack DeJohnette. At the end of the 1970s Pepl played with both the ORF Big Band and the “Vienna Art Orchestra”; his ensemble “Air Mail” was active in the 1980s. The 1990s saw Pepl concentrating more on “instant” or “real-time composing”, for instance on the 1989 album *Schoenberg Improvisations* (see Stachel 2005: 1742).

3.2 The impact of the “Vienna Art Orchestra” and its leading soloists

The “Vienna Art Orchestra” (VAO) and its founder, Swiss composer and pianist Mathias Rüegg (b. 1952) hold a central place in Austrian jazz history. After education and experience as a teacher at special schools Rüegg studied at the Graz Music College from 1973 to 1975, moved to Vienna in 1976 and began the VAO in 1977. The band, which Rüegg led and for which he composed and arranged, played in various styles, ranging from hard bop and modal to harmonically free, incorporating avant-garde concepts and musical elements. It attained a reputation in the 1980s as Europe’s most innovative big band, placing in the Down Beat Critics’ Poll; Rüegg’s composition and arrangement show the influence of Impressionism and modern jazz orchestration. The VAO achieved international success with programs like “From No Time to Ragtime”, “The Minimalism of Eric Satie”, “European Songbook”, “All That Strauss”, “A Centenary Journey” and “Art & Fun”. The band was active for three decades (it was disbanded in July 2010) and featuring numerous talented musicians and soloists – many of whom owe later international recognition and development to important figures in the jazz scene in part to the VAO (see <http://www.vao.at>).

Saxophonist and flautist Wolfgang Puschnig, born in Klagenfurt in 1956, studied at the Vienna Conservatory and was a founding member of the VAO in 1977. He remained until the release of his own debut album (*Pieces of a Dream*, 1989), also playing in the 1980s with Hans Koller and projects including “Part of Art” (from 1981), “Air Mail” (1982–84) and “Pat Brothers” (from 1984). He has also been involved with Carla Bley’s “Very Big Band”, Samul Noris’s “Red Sun” and the trio “AM4” (“A Monastic Quartet”) from 1988, a group also including American singer Linda Sharrock and Carinthian pianist Ulrich “Uli” Scherer (b. 1953). His project *Alpine Aspects* (1991), mingling jazz musicians with the traditional wind ensemble “Amstettner Trachtenmusikkapelle”, presented a novel combination of jazz and Austrian folk music. Puschnig is considered an outstanding musician and improviser in the areas of bebop, modal and free jazz and funk; his playing is marked by expressive intonation and songlike phrasing (see Schulz 2002: 339f. and <http://www.puschnig.com>).

Viennese saxophonist Harry Sokal (b. 1954) also studied at the Vienna Conservatory and was also present at the VAO’s founding as saxophonist and flautist. He performed with his own group, “Timeless” from 1997 to 1985 and was a longstanding member of the “Art Farmer Quintet” (1979–1999) and the “Kenny Clarke Quintet”. One of Europe’s most significant jazz saxophonists, Sokal has also performed with Austrian musicians such as Österreicher, Pauer, Gulda, Zawinul and Pepl and international artists including Art Blakey, Dave Holland, Terje Rypdal and Michel Portal. Over time, Sokal

has also led such projects as “Depart”, “Full Circle”, “Rave the Jazz” and the trio “Roots Ahead” with VAO bassist Georg Breinschmid (b. 1973) and drummer Mario Gonzi (b. 1966); bassist Matthias Pichler (b. 1981) later replaced Breinschmid (see Fastl 2006b: 2239 and <http://www.harrysokal.com>).

Vienna-born drummer Wolfgang Reisinger (b. 1955), studied at the Vienna Conservatory and the Vienna Music College and was a VAO member from 1979 to 1989. He also performed with Puschnig in “Part of Art”, “Air Mail” and “Pat Brothers”. His diverse activities have included collaborations with Beat Furrer, Wolfgang Mitterer (b. 1958, organ, composition) and Luciano Berio. Since 1996 he has played with Jean Paul Celea and Dave Liebman in trio (*World View*, 1996 and *Ghosts*, 2001) and since 2001 in Joachim Kühn’s “Poison Trio” (see Rausch 2005b: 1902 and <http://www.wolfgang-reisinger.com>).

The VAO underwent a generational change around 1990, as longstanding members such as Puschnig and Reisinger left the orchestra and had to be replaced. Among these new members was Styrian trombonist Christian Muthspiel (b. 1962), whose projects span jazz, contemporary classical and electronic music. He is internationally active, playing in ensembles such as “Duo Due” with his brother, guitarist Wolfgang Puschnig (b. 1964). In recent years he has intensified his activities as conductor and composer; his works include “Our Motley Mother tongue”, a 1994 violin concerto for Benjamin Schmid. His “Christian Muthspiel Trio”, with French vibraphonist Franck Tortiller and bassist Breinschmid, has been his primary jazz project since 2006 (*Against the Wind*, 2007). He has also occupied himself with Austrian folk music in the context of his “Christian Muthspiel’s Yodel Group” (*May*, 2010; see <http://www.christianmuthspiel.com>).

Guitarist Wolfgang Muthspiel studied at the Music College in Graz and the Berklee College of Music, graduating from the latter in 1989. He was a sought-after sideman in New York, performing with Gary Burton (*Cool Nights*, 1991), Dave Liebman, Tom Harrell, Rebekka Bakken, Paul Motian, Bob Berg and John Patitucci. He has also achieved success with his own groups, including the “Wolfgang Muthspiel Group” (*Loaded, Like New*, 1995) and his more recent trio with saxophonist Andy Scherrer and bassist Larry Grenadier (*Drumfree*, 2010; see Gilbert 2002: 862 and http://www.materialrecords.com/content_de/artist_wmuthspiel.asp).

Bassist Peter Herbert, born in Vorarlberg in 1960, also studied in Graz and at the Berklee College and was also able to establish himself in New York as a freelance musician. In addition to his work with the VAO and the Muthspiel brothers, Herbert has played with the “Marc Copland/John Abercrombie Quartet”, Art Farmer, Clifford Jordan, Dave Liebman, Art Blakey and Woody Shaw. Herbert’s further activities include contemporary composed and improvised music, composition, an interest in Arabic music and teaching (see Kolleritsch 2003b: 738 and <http://www.azizamusic.com>).

Tirol-born saxophonist Florian Bramböck (b. 1959), studied in Graz, Miami and Basel and was a VAO member from 1991 to 2004. He has performed with Austrian and international ensembles including “Anaconda” (since 1980), “Saxofour” (since 1991), “Gansch & Roses” (2001–2006), the “Tiroler Jazz Orchester” (since 2011), “Sölkner” (since 2004) and “Die Ohrger” (since 2005). Bramböck also composes for big band, brass, choir and mixed ensembles (see Harrandt 2002: 196 and <http://www.florianbramboeck.com>).

Saxophonist Klaus Dickbauer, born in Upper Austria in 1961, studied in Linz, Salzburg, and Vienna and at the Berklee College of Music. He was a member of the VAO from 1990 until 2005 and has collaborated with Wolfgang Muthspiel, Ratzer, Pauer, Dave Liebman and Jack Walrath. He performs with the ensembles “Ostinato”, the “Hans Koller Sextet”, the “Upper Austrian Jazz Orchestra” and “Saxofour”. Dickbauer’s activities include composition (“Das Loch”, “Die Apokalypse des Hl. Johannes”), music for theater and various combinations of music and literature (see <http://www.dickbauer.com>).

The “Vienna Art Orchestra” was followed over time by the founding of numerous new jazz orchestras spanning a stylistic spectrum from traditional swing to mixtures between contemporary jazz and other art forms. These include the “Big Band Süd” (founded by Sigi Feigl, 1979; since 1999 known as “Jazz Big Band Graz”), the “Richard Österreicher Big Band” (founded 1981), the “Lungau Big Band” (founded 1983 by Horst Hofer), the “Austrian Jazz Orchestra” (founded by Kleinschuster in 1990), the “Upper Austrian Jazz Orchestra” (founded 1991) and the “Jazz Orchester Tirol” (founded 2001).

4 Stylistic pluralism – the 1980s to the present

4.1 Stylistic trends in the 1980s

In part due to the influence of the “Vienna Art Orchestra”, Austria has developed a generation of musicians who are very open to various avant-garde concepts. Particularly since the 1980s, a strong trend toward divergence of stylistic and developmental directions has become evident.

The “Nouvelle Cuisine Big Band”, founded by percussionist Christian Mühlbacher (b. 1960) and pianist/composer Christoph Cech (b. 1960) is a perfect example. Since the early 1980s the band has explored polystylistic approaches, including the merging of the big band sound and European modern composition (see <http://www.nouvelle-cuisine.at>). The sextet “Ton.Art”, founded in 1983, pursues a similar direction, mixing jazz with contemporary classical music. In 1988 members of the two ensembles – including Cech and bassist Werner Däfeldecker (b. 1964) joined forces in the octet “Striped Roses”, the instrumentation of which (two saxophones, trombone, tuba, cello, guitar/double bass, piano and drums) falls between jazz band and contemporary chamber group (*Bonsai Beat*, 1990, *Insections*, 1994 and *Tulpen*, 1998; see Felber 1999a: 20).

Cech’s work as musician and composer combines elements of contemporary jazz and new classical music; his compositions have been performed by the ensemble “die reihe”, the “Klangforum Wien”, the “Vorarlberg Symphony Orchestra” and the “Janus Ensemble”, of which Cech is a co-founder (see <http://www.christoph-cech.com>). In addition to her work as soloist and with various groups (“Jubilo Elf”, “Ames”), singer Elfriede “Elfi” Aichinger (b. 1961) has also established herself as a composer in the area between jazz and new classical music (see Harten 2002: 14 and <http://www.elfi-aichinger.com>); musicians such as Mitterer, Mühlbacher and Burkhard Paul Stangl (b. 1960) also have ambitions in this area (see Felber 1999b).

The ensemble of flautist Helmut Neugebauer (b. 1957), “Die Vögel Europas” (“The Birds of Europe”), founded in 1986 with keyboardist Martin Stepanik (b. 1961), quickly began experimenting with electronics and settled on a funk-centered collage of styles (Short Stories, 1992/93). Alto saxophonist Max Nagl (b. 1960) brings forth timbre-oriented tone poems made up of a mixture of various styles, for instance on the 1994 (eponymously titled) album *Under Cover Collection Band*, playing a combination of fusion, folk music and improvisation (see Felber 1999a: 22 and <http://www.maxnagl.at>).

Nagl’s Austrian roots are more emphatically present in the projects *Ohlsdorf 18* (1989–1992) and *Wumm! Zack! Vol. 1* (1992). Accordionist Otto Lechner (b. 1964) also works in this field, for instance with musicians such as Nagl and Puschnig; he also works as accompanist (with the cabaret artist Josef Hader, for instance) and as soloist, exhibiting stylistic versatility and a humoristic element (see Westphal/Kornberger 2004: 1240f., Felber 1999b and <http://www.ottolechner.at>).

4.2 Ensembles and musicians in the 1990s

Austria’s jazz infrastructure improved in the 1990s: several new jazz festivals were founded (Jazz Fest Wien in 1991, Salzburger Jazzherbst in 1996), new jazz clubs opened their doors – most importantly Vienna’s Porgy & Bess, founded by Mathias Rüegg in 1993; in 1996 the Vienna Konzerthaus added a jazz component to their regular concert programming. The Hans Koller Prize, also initiated by Rüegg, was also awarded for the first time in 1996.

Vienna became an international hot spot for electronic music, affecting jazz and other improvised music. One exponent of this development was bassist Dafeldecker’s group “Sextett Shabotinski”; Dafeldecker was also active in the trio “Orchester 33 1/3” with Christof Kurzmann (b. 1963, saxophone and clarinet) and Christian Fennesz (b. 1962, guitar and electronics). Helge Hinteregger (b. 1958, saxophone and electronics) also explores electronic beats and sounds, for instance since 1996 with his group “The Comforts of Madness”. Wolfgang Muthspiel has also experimented with electronic rhythm (*Work in Progress 89–98*, 1999), as has Harry Sokal (*Full Circle*, 1997) (see Felber 1999b).

The “Vienna Art Orchestra” continued to be a fertile ground for jazz musicians. Brazilian-born guitarist Alegre Corrêa (b. 1960), besides working with the VAO, has collaborated with Ratzer, Wolfgang Muthspiel and Zawinul. His music combines Latin American elements with jazz (*Terra mágica*, 1997) and traditional Viennese forms (*Brasilianische Schrammeln*, 2002) (see Demcisin 2008b and <http://www.myspace.com/alegrecorreia>). Drummer Christian Salfellner (b. 1965) studied at the Music College in Graz and the Berklee College and has played with numerous Austrian artists including Bramböck, the Muthspiel brothers, Pauer, and Heinrich von Kalnein (b. 1960 in Germany, saxophone and flute). He has also had ample experience playing with international musicians such as Marc Abrams, Django Bates, Bob Berg, Art Farmer and Lee Konitz in jazz and jazz-related settings (see Westphal 2005c: 1984f. and <http://www.myspace.com/christiansalfellner>). After studying in Graz and Linz, saxophonist and clarinetist Herwig Gradischnig (b. 1968) played with the VAO beginning in 1993. After a lengthy stay in France, Gradischnig’s latest project in Vienna has brought forth the eponymously titled album

Herwig Gradischnig's Ghost Trio (2007), featuring mainly Gradischnig's compositions (see http://www.crackedanegg.com/index.php?set_language=de&cccpage=project17). Saxophonist Gerald Preinfalk (b. 1971) pursued studies in Paris and Boston and focuses on new classical music and jazz; he works mainly in various big bands and has also collaborated with Wolfgang Muthspiel, Martin Koller (b. 1971, guitar) and drummer Terry Bozzio. Preinfalk also composes ("Giuffre Zone", "Republique Elctrique"), drawing on jazz, folk and pop musics, tango, techno and Arabic music (see Demcisin 2008a and <http://www.gerald-preinfalk.at>). Martin Koller studied at the Klagenfurt State Conservatory and the Berklee College and has worked with Will Calhoun, Terri Lyne Carrington and Rebekka Bakken. His compositions combine current musical trends with elements of hard bop and free jazz as well as classical, avant-garde and electronic music (see Demcisin 2009 and <http://martinkoller.com>). Bassist Georg Breinschmid (b. 1973), after completing his studies in Vienna, played with the Vienna Philharmonic and chamber ensembles like "Kontrapunkte" and "die reihe". He has been active as a jazz musician since 1999 and has performed with Corrêa, Archie Shepp, Charlie Mariano and Wolfgang Muthspiel. Breinschmid's composition in recent years has shown a growing interest in the Wienerlied, the Viennese song tradition (*Wien bleibt Krk*, 2008; see <http://www.georgbreinschmid.com>). Trumpeter Thomas Gansch (b. 1975), besides working in classical orchestras, has dedicated himself primarily to jazz, playing with such musicians as Puschnig and Breinschmid. He co-founded the ensemble "Mnozil Brass" in 1992, playing a mixture of brass music, jazz and operetta, and also works with the Salonorchester Alhambra and leads the ensemble "Gansch & Roses", for which he also composes and arranges (see Kornberger/Boisits 2009 and <http://www.ganschandroses.at>).

Further noteworthy musicians on the scene in the 1990s include the German-born Martin Siewert (b. 1972, guitar). Having studied at the Music College in Graz, he performs in various ensembles, some self-led, including "Duckbilled Platypus", "Kandy Korn", "Komfort 2000", and the "Oskar Aichinger Sextett". Siewert is also active in electronic/electroacoustic music, film, dance and theater (see Fastl 2006a: 2217f. and <http://siewert.klingt.org>). Guitarist Andreas "Andy" Manndorff (b. 1957), after sojourns in Amsterdam (1980–1988) and New York (1988–1994, performances with John Abercrombie, Dave Liebman, Linda Sharrock and Lauren Newton), returned to Vienna in 1995. He has cooperated with Puschnig and Herbert and led bands including the "Manndorff Trio" (*You Break It – You Own It*, 2008; see <http://manndorff.com>). Drummer Alex Deutsch (b. 1959) studied in Graz and lived in the United States from 1988 to 1996, where he taught at the Berklee College of Music and worked as a drummer in New York, touring with musicians such as Woody Shaw, Freddie Hubbard and George Clinton. Deutsch returned to Austria in 1999 and worked with saxophonist/bass clarinetist Ulrich Drechsler and bassist Oliver Steger in the trio "Café Drechsler" from 2000 to 2006 (see Kolleritsch 2002: 313, <http://www.myspace.com/alexdeutsch> and <http://www.ulrichdrechsler.com>). Vibraphonist and drummer Berndt Luef (b. 1952) has worked in Graz since his university days, for instance with his groups "Berndt Luef Trio" and the "Jazztett Forum Graz". He is also active at the Forum Stadtpark in Graz and has been particularly active as a composer since the 1990s, composing in part on political themes such as the Balkan wars ("Die Bosnische Tragödie", 1995; see <http://www.berndtluef.at>).

4.3 The young generation since 2000

The youngest generation of jazz musicians in Austria, since the year 2000, shows a particularly strong mixture of musical elements and styles. Artists in this age group also cooperate on a regular basis via platforms and collectives to strengthen networking within the scene.

The first such organization is the “JazzWerkstatt Wien”, founded in 2004 to combat the deficient infrastructure for young musicians – for instance a lack of rehearsal and performance possibilities. The primary goal of the “JazzWerkstatt Wien” is the development and presentation of original compositions. Various ensembles and projects have originated within the platform, including the large ensemble “Studio Dan”, founded in 2005 by trombonist Daniel Riegler (b. 1977, studies in Graz and Vienna; see <http://www.jazzwerkstatt.at>). The “Jazzorchester Vorarlberg” (JOV) was founded in 2005, also as a platform for young musicians (see <http://www.jazzorchestervorarlberg.wordpress.com>). The “Jazzwerkstatt Graz” was initiated in 2007 on the model of the Vienna collective (see <http://www.jazzwerkstattgraz.com>); a further big band project is the “GHO Orchestra”, founded in 2008 by saxophonist and composer Gerd Hermann Ortler (b. 1983, studies at the Konservatorium Wien University and the University of Music and Performing Arts of Graz; see <http://www.myspace.com/gerdharmannortler>).

The following survey is intended to provide a quick look at the large number of Austrian jazz musicians who have become active in recent years. The work of Upper Austrian trumpeter Lorenz Raab (b. 1975, studied at the Vienna College of Music, in Bremen and at the Mozarteum in Salzburg) ranges between traditional and contemporary classical music, jazz and hip-hop and performs with many other Austrian musicians in the ensemble “Bleu” and his own “XY Band” (see <http://www.lorenzraab.at>). Viennese pianist and composer Martin Reiter (b. 1978, studied in Linz and Vienna) performs internationally, for instance with his “Martin Reiter Trio” and “The Flow”, a band founded with guitarist Andi Tausch (b. 1984) (see <http://www.myspace.com/anditausch>). Reiter’s works on CD include *Chez es Saada* (2005), *Alma* (2008) and *Origination* (2010) (see <http://www.martinreiter.com>). Saxophonist Christoph “Pepe” Auer (b. 1981, studied in Innsbruck, Graz and Vienna) is known as a musician and composer; his projects include the “Christoph Pepe Auer Quartett” and the duo “Living Room” with Tirolean drummer and percussionist Manu Delago (b. 1984, studied in Tirol and London) (see <http://www.christophauer.at> and <http://www.manudelago.com>). Salzburg-born singer and pianist Sabina Hank (b. 1976, studied in Salzburg and Linz) has been performing a mixture of jazz, pop and blues since 1997. Her recordings include *Music in a Mirror* (2004), *Nah an mir* (2007), *Inside* (2007) and *Liebesfarben* (2011; see <http://www.sabinahank.com>).

Pianist Clemens Wenger (b. 1982, studied at the Gustav Mahler Conservatory and the Konservatorium Wien University), cofounder of the “JazzWerkstatt Wien”, plays in various ensembles and has also intensified his activity as a composer since 2005. One of Wenger’s primary areas of interest is electronic music and particularly sound design (“Multitouch Surfaces”, “Wiimote”; see <http://www.clemenswenger.com>). Saxophonist Clemens Salesny (b. 1980, studied at Vienna’s University of Music and Performing Arts) is known for his sound, virtuosity and stylistic flexibility and performs in various projects, many related to the “JazzWerkstatt Wien” (see <http://www.clemens-salesny.at>).

Bassist Bernd Satzinger (b. 1979, studied at the University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna) is active in a number of musical genres: jazz, rock, improvised music and Viennese song. His bands and projects include “Kelomat”, “Bernd Satzinger’s Wurschtsemmerl”, “Parterre” and “SEK” (see <http://www.berndsatzinger.at>). Peter Rom (b. 1972, studied in Vienna) is among the most expressive and versatile guitarists of the domestic jazz scene; he experiments with sounds and styles in his “Peter Rom Trio” and “Fuzz Noir” (see <http://peterrom.wordpress.com>).

A further exponent of the young Vienna scene is the Slovenian-born singer Maja Osojnik (b. 1976, studied at the University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna and the Konservatorium Wien University), who describes her music as a mixture of avant-garde, improvisational, electronic, pop and contemporary musical elements (see <http://www.majaosojnik.com>). Saxophonist Viola Falb (b. 1980, studied at the University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna), released the album *Falb Fiction* with her group of the same name in 2005 (see <http://www.falbfiction.com>). Salzburg pianist and singer Ángela Tröndle (b. 1983, studied at the University of Music and Performing Arts of Graz) has also been active with her ensemble “Mosaik” since 2005, producing the albums *Dedication to a City* (2007) and *Eleven Electric Elephants!* (2010). Tröndle’s work mixes elements of classical, jazz and pop music (see <http://www.angelatroendle.com>). Vorarlberg pianist David Helbock (b. 1984, studied in Vorarlberg) composes and performs solo as well as with the “HDV Trio”, “Mistura” and “Peter Madsen’s CIA” (see <http://www.davidhelbock.com>). Viennese guitarist Diknu Schneeberger (b. 1990, studied at the Konservatorium Wien University) is known for and performs his virtuosic Gypsy swing with his father and teacher Joschi Schneeberger (b. 1957, bass) and guitarist Martin Spitzer (b. 1965, guitar) in the “Diknu Schneeberger Trio”, his arrangements paying tribute to Django Reinhardt (see <http://www.joshischneeberger.at>).

In general, Austria is currently home to a lively jazz scene, populated with a large number of young musicians attempting to establish themselves in the artistic and cultural landscape. These musicians have mainly studied at Austrian institutions of higher education; many are active as composers and draw on diverse styles and genres in the search for their own musical voices.

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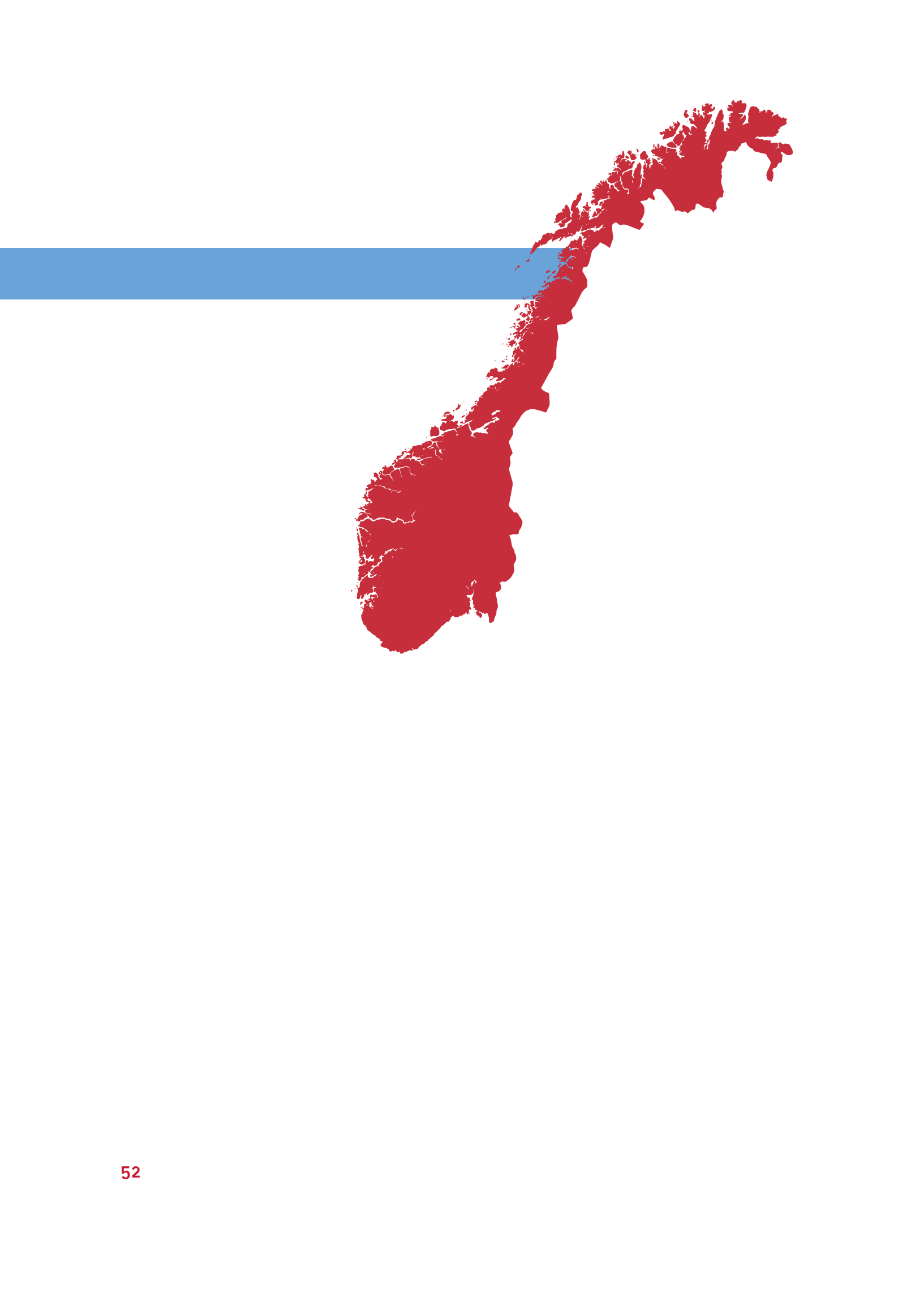
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III

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAZZ IN NORWAY⁴

Petter Frost Fadnes and Christophe de Bezenac

1 Starting out

1.1 Between authenticity and pastiche

In a commonly used and widely circulated Norwegian music history book (1967 ed.), Finn Benestad devotes a mere page and a half on jazz in his chapter on “New musical currents of the 20th Century”; describing jazz as “a typical new American musical trend”. He continues talking about how the main element in jazz is improvisation, and underlines how various musical trends and styles melted together within “American negro-music”. Interestingly, he ends his short paragraph on jazz by underlining how “today” (in 1967) commercial jazz has become a commodity, stereotypical, cliché and uninspired”, but at the same time points out that “within real jazz we can still find highly esteemed” exponents of the art form.

Kristiansen (2000) argues that Norway’s first exposure to “ethnic music” was early American jazz. He continues that the general consensus is that jazz “arrived in Norway and Oslo in 1921 with the English “Feldman’s Jazz Band” and American “The 5 Jazzing Devils”, and as early as 1919 the Norwegian mandolin orchestra “The Jazzband” performed in Trondheim”. The end of The Great War is significant, and Stendahl (1987) underlines that within the cultural consciousness of urban-trendy post-war-1919, it was all about jazz. Although regarded as a relatively remote outpost on the fringe of Europe, Norway has a long tradition of transnational cooperation, partly due to its vast shipping industry (fourth largest in the world in 2010). Subsequently, significant 20th Century cultural trends from abroad have quickly become part of modern Norwegian life.

Salamone (2009: 173) writes how the “entrance of America into the World War in 1917 helped spread jazz in Europe”. Albeit a neutral bystander of The Great War, Norway nevertheless took part in the post-war exchange of rejuvenating trends and fashions – jazz as a hyper-modern, urban, and ultimately deviant trend became part of Norwegian modernity. Indeed, jazz in Norway from very early on seems to have been linked to a sort of deviant attitude to the mainstream. Stendahl (1987) writes:

The word “jazz” covered everything that was wild, new and modern, particularly in connection with dancing and noisy musical effects. “Jazz dance” was introduced in Scandinavia in 1919, and the Christmas ball at Frogner school in Kristiania (as Oslo was still called at the time) featured a demonstration of the new dance in vogue. In Trondheim, a mandoline band named “The Jazzband” led off the students’ cabaret – the name of which was simply JAZZ.

Although of course very much introduced through American popular culture, jazz in Norway – from its discreet inception in the early 1920s – is often described by its deviance to both music (‘not regarded as proper’) as well as to Norwegian national identity.

⁴ All quotes have been translated from Norwegian by Petter Frost Fadnes and Per Husby.

From the point of view of European classical composers, Salamone (2009: 56) argues the exotification of early jazz, and the “dichotomy” [...] between ‘us’ and ‘them’”, underlining: “Whether the Other was demonized or romanticized as a noble savage, the major point is that the Other was different from the normal in some significant way.”

Indeed, the phrase ‘negro music’ was widely used at the time, underlining both a fascination to the ultra hip, modern and exotic, as well as racial anxiety and fear of the unknown. In pre-WWII Norway, racism and suspicion towards the unfamiliar sounds and aesthetics of “noisy jazz” were closely linked. Local jazz musicians struggled to be seen on a par with their classical music counterparts, and promoters found it difficult to secure visiting black jazz musicians (like Ellington and Lunceford) entrance into appropriate venues, hotels and restaurants.

The first attempts at forming homegrown groups coincided with early visits from foreign jazz bands in the early 1920s, as Stendahl (1987) explains:

Violin player Lauritz Stang formed his first teenage band in 1920, and was fast in picking up the new musical trends. Another youngster, pianist Amund Enger, appeared in a couple of jazz groups in 1921. In the town of Bodø in Northern Norway, a 15 piece band was formed the same year, Bodø Jazz Band... The sports club “Speed” in Kristiania was the breeding ground for a couple of 1922 bands as well, with a.o. drummers Ola Nyhaug and Harald Jaang.

Writing about the music performed by such bands, they write:

These Norwegian ‘jazz pioneers’ played the popular dance tunes of the day, which were far removed from what we would now label as 1920s jazz. The typical line-up often consisted of clarinets or violins, piano, banjo and drums. The musical material often derived from printed sheet music or transcribed from recordings of popular jazz dance bands like Paul Whiteman’s, and Art Hickman’s Orchestra from the US, or the Savoy Quartet and Jack Hylton’s Queens’ Dance Orchestra from Britain.

As the previous quote implies, early musical endeavours by local players seemed unrelated to the way that jazz was developing in North America at the time. This is perhaps due to the unavailability of records by important jazz artists. Kristiansen (2000) writes about the “lack of authenticity”, and how the music performed at the time lacked substance, with improvisation being restricted to simple melodic embellishment, and its cultural context confined to the commercial sphere of dance music, cabarets and light entertainment. Even travelling closer to the ‘source’ did not necessarily give access to ‘authentic’ jazz, as Dickenson (2011: 13) puts it: “Ironically it was not the black, migrated New Orleans music the Norwegian musicians visiting New York would have heard, due to the restrictions of such bands and recordings to the black community.”

Local musicians tended to be part-time amateurs, without much ideological-cultural connection to the professional musicians visiting from abroad (Kristiansen 2000). Sandegren (2010: 47) underlines how jazz “in Norway developed from a slow beginning in the 1920s with a first wave where the parts were played by violin, banjo, clarinet, trumpet and tuba, together with a drum kit”; Sandegren follows on with the question, “jazz?”. By the mid 1920s jazz broadcast on radio was becoming a new source of inspiration for musicians and audiences alike (Stendahl 1987):

With their radio receivers tuned to England, Norwegian jazz fans were able to hear dance music from the Savoy Hotel, or from popular orchestra leaders Jack Hylton, Bert Ambrose, Henry Hall and Jack Payne. Norwegian broadcasting had also been founded, and from Kristiania Kristian Hauger went on the air with his “Pan Jazzorkester” (1924). In Trondheim and Tromsø, broadcasts of “The Bonny Band” could be heard in 1926.

It is during this period of growing interest in jazz during the mid 1920s that restaurants around the country begin to book visiting jazz bands regularly, including Jack Harris, The “Manhattan Five” and Sidney Bechet, who played at the Casino Theatre and Grand Hotel in 1926. As Stendahl (1987) points out, such performance opportunities were not entirely reserved for visiting artists: “Kristian Hauger, who had built a reputation as a jazz pianist by 1925, was hired as full-time orchestra conductor in the Casino Restaurant in Oslo, paving the way for the professionalization of Norwegian jazz”.

Towards the latter part of the 1920s “something new happened” according to Stendahl (1987): “Brass and double bass provided new and exciting orchestral sonorities. And more importantly, improvisation was becoming an established term”. Another curious, but nevertheless significant development pointing towards changing attitudes to jazz, was the decision by the Norwegian Musicians’ Union (Norsk Musikerforbund) in 1928 to officially recognise the saxophone as an orchestral instrument (Stendahl, 1987). As influential jazz records became widely available, the idea of what constitutes ‘authentic’ jazz was increasingly linked to African American performance practises. Despite the escalating financial depression of the 1930s, which impacted on the commercial viability of jazz in the entertainment industry, the genre began its ascension up the hierarchal ranks of cultural significance. Kristiansen underlines how the terminology, which shifts from ‘jazz’ to ‘hot’, reflects a general move away from “white jazz” associated with popular dance music, and towards a idiom that is gradually also becoming a more serious “listening music” (2000). Stendahl (1987) writes:

The jazz audience had by this time had its first encounter with musicians representing hot music, Louis Armstrong and his Hot Harlem Band, November 1933. The band was met with mixed reactions, but was partly responsible for the start of a heavy debate on what was “real hot” and what was not - which created boundary lines between those “in” and those “out”.

The first Norwegian jazz release inspired by this new movement was by the Funny Boys in 1938; the ensemble was one of the first jazz groups to play outside of Norway (Stendahl 1987). Anglo/Norwegian trumpet player Rowland Greenberg was also one of the most significant players on the Norwegian circuit at this time. Inspired by the likes of the Funny Boys, Louis Armstrong and the British trumpet player Nat Gonella, his first recordings were released in the early 1940s. American trumpeter Jack Butler – who escaped Nazi-Germany and settled in Oslo prior to the Norwegian invasion – frequently collaborated with Greenberg during this time and was a vital source of inspiration to the emerging scene in Oslo.

Towards the latter part of the 1930s the focus in Norway moved from ‘hot’ to ‘swing’. Prior to the German invasion, the scene was vibrant with a booming freelance market and a variety of new performance opportunities ranging from clubs to restaurants. These developments, however, were stunted by the occupation which began on the 9th

April 1940, due primarily to the imposed media censorship which banned radios and anti-Nazi cultural symbols such as American music, films and terminology. The occupiers also demanded that all societies and clubs register. The jazz community of the period famously used industrious methods to circumvent restrictions, as Stendahl and Bergh (1991) explain:

Most of the clubs from then on entered a stage of undercover or secret existence. When word spread that women's sewing societies were exempt from the rules of registration, some of the Oslo jazz clubs disappeared overnight – to re-emerge as sewing circles.

In fact, according to Stendahl and Bergh (1991), the banning of radios put live music in even greater popular demand, enabling communities of skilful, but previously unknown, musicians to emerge and be heard in the largest cities of the country. Most notably swing guitarist Robert Normann (1916), often described as one of the first Norwegian jazz musicians to reach an international standard, is often credited for taking the first steps towards placing Norwegian jazz on an international stage. According to Kagge (2001: 183), Django Reinhardt himself was baffled by Normann's virtuosity when sharing a bill at Gamle Logen in Oslo in 1939. Overall, the jazz community was still relatively small for a capital city, however, with "five, six people who know about jazz" as Normann put it (2001: 190).

The nazification of Norway and the instatement of the Quisling government in the early months of 1942 had a significant impact. Its grip on Norwegian cultural life was strong, with unprecedented control over the press, theatre, and literature. Jazz was regarded as one of the musics that "should not be played" (Stendahl and Bergh, 1991). Even songs with English titles were banned, famously leading to "Honeysuckle Rose" being renamed "Rosen på sykkelen" (Rose on a bike). Consequently, jazz went underground and was primarily played in private homes, 'society' clubs (e.g., 'sewing' clubs) (Sandegren, 2010: 97ff.).

1.2 Post WWII and the American influence

The Norwegian piano player Einar 'Pastorn' Iversen said about post-war Norway, "[w]e were interested in everything American" (2010: 90), and by that setting the tone for the post-war surge in the demand for jazz in Norway.

Robert Normann toured Germany in 1948 with the Norwegian singer-songwriter Alf Prøysen, entertaining the Norwegian troupes. At home, Norway was rebuilding after five years of German occupation. Although jazz enthusiasts expected an avalanche of jazz records, films, and visiting American musicians with the return of peace, raw materials for record production were scarce. Exchange rates also meant that American magazines and films were initially difficult to obtain, and as Stendahl and Bergh (1991) point out, "Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie never came":

Around 1950 Sweden was a dreamland for Norwegian jazz enthusiasts, performers and listeners alike. The Swedes had escaped war and occupation, they had chewing gum, hip clothing and jazz! With envious eyes, Norwegians read reports in the two Swedish jazz magazines *Estrad* and *Orkesterjournalen* about American visits by people like Chubby Jackson, James Moody and Dizzy Gillespie towards the end of the forties.

In Oslo, however, there were signs of recovery. Musicians that had gone underground began to reappear with the opening of the Hot Club, among other venues and dance halls. By 1948 contributors of readers' columns demanded regular jazz broadcasts on national radio and the local press was beginning to cover music events. Outside the capital, the jazz scenes in Bergen and Trondheim were also reemerging. This trend, however, was not reflected in smaller, more isolated communities in Northern Norway, where musicians were often forced to move to larger cities to find an adequate number of like-minded individuals to start a band.

American influence was significant in post-WWII Norway. Financially (with Marshall aid), militarily and politically, the US was an increasing presence as the cold war escalated. Norway bordered the USSR and deemed it necessary to take steps to protect itself against potential Soviet aggression. This political position of adopting and supporting symbols of American culture (such as jazz) played a crucial role in the development of the scene.

At the same time jazz was also beginning to diversify, with new stylistic trends in America reaching Norwegian audiences more quickly. In particular, the arrival of bebop during the last three years of the decade began to divide the jazz community. Stendahl and Bergh (1991) write about the heated debates regarding the legitimacy of swing, bebop and trad jazz which appeared in a number of newspaper articles and magazines. These competing trends did not just represent aesthetic preferences, but were equally rooted in the evolving ideologies and the political positions of the era, with post-war Norway still experimenting with models of governance whilst moving towards social democracy. However, the scene seemed to thrive on such conflict. According to Stendahl and Bergh (1991), the period is characterized by "musical variation, innovation and optimism". They argue that the period between 1953 and 1960 was important to the development of jazz Norwegian society (Stendahl and Bergh 1997):

A permanent Jazz Federation was established in 1953... the number of visits by foreign jazz artists increased... a national jazz championships for amateur musicians was held yearly from 1954... and by 1960, being a full-time jazz musician was becoming possible.

The national radio station NRK (the only channel until the late 1980s) which had previously broadcast jazz records and interviews sporadically, introduced a regular program called "Jazzklubben" (Jazz Club) in 1959. This was led by veteran trumpeter Thorleif Østereng (Kristiansen 2000):

Some of the major concerts with foreign musicians and orchestras were recorded, and NRK soon became a central source of information for jazz fans across the country. In the early 1960 the issue of forming a NRK jazz orchestra was raised, and pianist Kjell Karlsen's big band became the predecessor to what would eventually become Thorleif Østereng's radio big band. Through the participation of NRK in the European Broadcasting Union, Norwegian musicians participated in yearly European big band projects.

The Big Chief Jazzband, which was one of most popular bands of the 1950s, seemed to epitomize the dixie-trend of the era. Slightly earlier (1949) the first Norwegian bebop album (entitled "I like be" and "I like bop") was recorded, with Per Nilsen (as), "Sun-

da” Wentzel Larsen (vln), Willy Andresen (pn), Håkon Nilsen (bs) og Per Nyhaug (dr). Brunsvik writes about the post war influence of bebop (Brunsvik 2010: 60):

In Norway, the new impulses [of bebop] were noticeable as well. Within the small jazz community the reaction was mainly divided by age. Musicians active before the war swore to swing jazz and did not perceive this foreign sounding music as jazz. Musicians who started playing after the war were more curious.

Brunsvik makes these observations in the biography of Einar ‘Pastor’n’ Iversen – the highly productive post-war piano player. He notes that Iversen hears Dizzy Gillespie on radio “but is not interested”, preferring instead to play “swing jazz” in the style of Teddy Wilson and Art Tatum (2010: 60). In 1949 the young piano player even finds himself listening to Charlie Parker at Three Deuces on 52nd Street (2010: 82):

I don’t know. I didn’t get it. I thought it was too brutal and rigid. The straight piano comping was replaced by a lot of altered chords, the bass comping was different, drums ran relentlessly. Bop music is relatively complicated harmonically, and is very fast. You need a good ear to get all the things they do. I didn’t have that at that time.

Iversen comments is represents the sentiment of a part of the jazz community which was lagging behind and suspicious of developments in New York. However, Iversen later did incorporate cool and bebop idiosyncrasies into his music, but not without tension. As he puts it: “When I started moving into a more modern direction, I was called a traitor by some” (2010: 107).

During the early 1950s, records being realised on Norwegian labels like Norsk Grammafonompani (Norwegian Gramophone Company) were still using 78s, which was slightly outdated technology at this time as the EP (45) were being produced by companies like RCA Victor and Columbia. However, this period was also a productive time for the Norwegian scene relative to its size, as Brunsvik argues (2010: 101):

A couple of Norwegian jazz records are released each month at this time, and manageable amount for the jazz enthusiasts who more or less buy whatever is released. Willy Andreasens Quintet, Per Aspelin and Robert Normann, Frank Ottersens Quintet and of course Rowland Greenberg, are Norwegian names on records during those years.

Youth culture (as a separate cultural entity) became a phenomenon in the 1950s, as rock’n roll gradually took over as the oppositional musical expression to the establishment. While still popular, it is at this time that jazz began to be sidelined as a niche culture which no longer epitomize the essence of popular culture. The initial trend seems to be that jazz was more prevalent in student communities, with rock being more of a working class phenomenon. This generalization, however, became increasingly irrelevant, as the social democratic ideas of post-war Norway were increasingly blurring class boundaries. Generally, however, jazz did seem to be associated to student activity, student communities, and to values associated with higher education at the time. Stendahl (1997) writes about the ‘crack’ that was beginning to show from the early 1950s and which came to a head by 1965, reflected in a reduction in the number of popular night clubs regularly featuring jazz. While this is often attributed to the growing interest in rock among younger audiences (with the emergence of bands like the Beatles and Rolling Stones), Stendahl (1997) argues

that developments in the music itself also played a key role, as its function changed from a music for dancing to a music for listening:

By this time new faces on the scene were 3rd or even 4th generation jazz musicians, and this was of course reflected in their music, with ideals and impulses picked up from current developments in American jazz. Jan Garbarek had already made an impression on many listeners. The Metropol often featured surprisingly “radical” music, which probably did not boost interest within a main audience whose tolerance limits for modern jazz extended to the music of Coleman Hawkins.

However, Kristiansen (2000) emphasises the link that jazz continued to have with the cabaret and theatre community in the Oslo. Indeed, jazz maintained a notable presence in the entertainment industries for the following two decades, and was for a while still prevalent in movies, theatre, television, and even the Norwegian singer-songwriter tradition.

2 A new direction for jazz

Despite the gradual distancing of jazz from popular culture, it was during this period – which Stendahl calls one of transition – that the first festivals emerged, along with a new wave of jazz club openings. Notable examples include Molde Jazz Festival, which began in 1961, Kongsberg Jazz Festival, which began in 1964, and Club 7 in Oslo, which opened in 1963. Programmed events tended to attract a new type of audience with eclectic musical tastes. This new flurry of activity, however, is markedly different previous ones in that it relied on the financial support provided by the newly formed Arts Council of Norway (Norsk Kulturråd), which began funding jazz-related events by the latter part of the 60s. Interestingly, Molde Jazz Festival did not (officially) open up for corporate sponsorship until the 86 festival – a move that generated tensions and expectations between public and corporate sectors with regard to programming, attendance, and overall image. (This is a dynamic that is still prevalent today across the national jazz scene.)

By the end of the 1960s, jazz musicians were becoming increasingly organised through what was originally called *Norsk Jazzforbund* (*Norwegian Jazz Association*). Amongst its many jazz-promoting activities, the association set up a magazine dedicated to jazz, *Jazznytt* (*Jazz News*), which remains the major jazz periodical in Norway today. The Norwegian touring scheme *Rikskonsertene* (*Concerts Norway*) was also established around this period, promoting jazz events across Norway. Along with national TV and radio broadcasts, which were featuring jazz regularly, the scheme is often credited for the dedicated jazz clubs which began to emerge in more remote areas of the country and the relatively large number of high profile Norwegian musicians who come from these areas.

As is often the case, the capital provided the synergetic creative driving force, and Oslo seems to have been particularly vibrant at this time. The ‘modernists’, frustrated by the lack of regular jazz venues, were getting organized in small groups and col-

lectives (e.g. Norsk Jazzforum), providing performance opportunities for local, national and international acts (Keith Jarrett, Charles Lloyd and many more).

With contemporary jazz now firmly established as a 'listening' music, more unconventional spaces were beginning to be used as performance venues (from student cafes to libraries and art galleries), and increasingly considered as an important part of the performance experience as a whole. For the first time, jazz musicians in Norway were not only looking towards developments in American jazz, but also towards contemporary (classical) music and modern art taking place in Europe and North America. Kristiansen (2000) writes about the links which were forming between the Norwegian Jazz Federation and Ny Musikk (the local branch of the Society for Contemporary Music):

In 1965 these two co-produced concerts which among others featured the George Russell sextet. In the autumn of 1962 modern classical composer Finn Mortensen had commented favourably on Cecil Taylor's concert at the Metropol Jazz House in Oslo, and likewise half a year later when Don Ellis visited the same venue. A few years later pianist Egil Kapstad took lessons with composer Bjørn Fongaard, and in a 1967 newspaper interview Kapstad declared that "The jazz pianist in me is most likely on his way out of the picture".

George Russell intermittently lived in Oslo during the second half of the 60s, and was particularly influential with a group of young Oslo-based musicians that included Jan Garbarek and Jon Christensen. Russell led a big band and a number of workshops outlining 'The Lydian Chromatic Concept of Tonal Organization for Improvisation' – a book which seemed to strike a chord with the 'modernists' and paved the way for more linear harmonic thinking. In addition to contemporary music influences and modal and free jazz emerging from America, this group of young musicians with wide ranging musical tastes were also beginning to derive inspiration from Norwegian folk music and poetry, rock, and Indian classical music. In addition, Garbarek mentioned how Don Cherry used to sit in with them during the Russell sessions at Golden Globe in Stockholm, an encounter that seemingly made a mark (Lake and Griffiths 2007: 22):

He did things so effortlessly, freely; the music that he played flowed so freely from him. And what he played was about energy and expression much more than the fine, filigree aspects of chord playing most people were absorbed with at that time.

By the late 1960s Garbarek and his collaborators – which included bass player Arild Andersen, drummer Jon Christensen, and guitarist Terje Rypdal – played in a number of festivals outside of Norway and were becoming noticed by the international jazz community. After a meeting between Garbarek and German record producer Manfred Eicher, the group's debut album, "African Pepperbird", appeared on the ECM label in 1970. This was an important milestone in the development of jazz in Norway, not only due to the album's artistic quality/originality, but also because of how it has come to define the image of Norwegian jazz. Encapsulated by the term 'nordic tone', the music, from this point onwards, was no longer solely influenced by trends outside the country. Referring to *African Pepperbird*, John Fordham (in Lake and Griffiths, 2007) writes: it "affirmed the idea that a stripped-down soundscape, still energized by the freedoms of jazz improvisation but without its traditions of virtuoso display, could establish a new kind of con-

temporary music-making... it was Garbarek's approach to these materials that won out in the first ECM agenda" (2007: 14). Tucker (in Lake and Griffiths 2007) underlines the importance of the *ECM sound* and the long standing collaboration between Eicher and Norwegian sound engineer Jan Erik Kongshaug (Lake and Griffiths 2007: 30):

[...] Kongshaug has helped establish and develop the clear, well-spread and transparent sound-picture characteristic of ECM recordings – including those of Garbarek, Rypdal, Andersen and Christensen – which has contributed so much to that evolving 'idea of north' that is such a distinctive part of the label's identity.

It was not long after the release of *Afric Pepperbird* that Garbarek, Danielsson and Christensen embarked on a long-standing collaboration with American pianist Keith Jarrett (1973), a unit known as Jarrett's Nordic Quartet. Cross-national collaborations such as this, which occurred more frequently from the mid 1970s, also contributed to the how Norwegian jazz was viewed abroad.

By the mid 1970s, jazz entered a seemingly introspective phase. The connection between jazz and Norwegian folk music was becoming increasingly established, marked by the recording "*Østerdalsmusikk*" which was based on music from the Østerdalen valley. The project was led by trumpeter Torgrim Solli, and also involved jazz musicians from Oslo, Molde and Trondheim, including Garbarek. This was followed by a series of other collaborations including Solli in "*Søyr*", a larger ensemble which combined Norwegian folk music with influences such as the music of Charles Mingus (Kristiansen, 2000). Referring to recordings made by jazz musicians during this period, European critics began making direct connections with Norwegian/Nordic scenery – an association that some artists identified with. Ironically, Garbarek sites Don Cherry as the "door opener" to him incorporating Norwegian folk music into his music. Referring to the late sixties, Garbarek remembers (Lake and Griffiths 2007: 22):

In this period, the custom in Norway was to invite famous visiting American musicians to do a session at the radio station. And as Don was playing with us, he came up with the idea that we could also invite some folk musicians to participate. Now we knew quite a lot of the folk musicians and would hang out with them in the clubs in Oslo, but the idea of playing together hadn't arisen. At Don's insistence, one was contacted, a lady singer, and she came to the radio studio. Nothing at all was prepared beforehand, Don just organized everything in the moment, very smoothly and easily, and we played – and the combination of folk music and improvising sounded so right to me. I think from that moment on, the idea of having folk music aspects or folk musicians involved in this music was always there in my mind.

Garbarek's keen sense of lyricism was also apparent in influential Norwegian female jazz vocalists. From Karin Krog, who recorded with Dexter Gordon, through to Radka Toneff and Sidsel Endresen, there was a growing sense of identity and tradition amongst contemporary Norwegian singers. Although Bulgarian/Norwegian singer Radka Toneff sites Sarah Vaughan, Ella Fitzgerald and Billie Holiday as her inspiration (Breen 2008: 87), she nevertheless managed to contribute to the Norwegian vocal lineage. Toneff blended the American jazz tradition with both Bulgarian folk techniques, and Norwegian popular and folk music; she herself also cites influences ranging from Joni Mitchell to Chaka Khan (2008: 89). As Marta Breen puts it (2008: 88):

Even if Radka admired Sarah Vaughan and Ella Fitzgerald, she rarely utilized their material. She did however use several tunes from Betty Carter's repertoire. Radka felt that most standards had substandard lyrics, and that the melodies were used up.

This musical confidence and the value placed on cross-fertilisation, innovation and idiosyncrasy were becoming apparent by the late 1970s/early 1980s in the emerging Norwegian vocal tradition, as well as in other parts of the scene. The scope of jazz was widening, with European trends in improvised music, contemporary rock genres and original forms of African and Brazilian music catching the attention of Norwegian jazz musicians and sparking cross-cultural/genre collaboration.

Such developments coincided with bands beginning to work in permanent units and the growing performance opportunities available to musicians, enabling jazz to become a more substantial part of their livelihood. The major festivals in operation today were well established by this time (e.g., Molde, Kongsberg, Nattjazz, Vossa Jazz and Dølajazz) and the Norwegian Jazz Federation (NJF) was in the process of developing closer ties with government organizations. Kristiansen (2000) writes of this period: "Norwegian jazz was very well organized; only Sweden was on a comparable level. Foreign musicians touring the country expressed both surprise and satisfaction at the state of affairs". Meanwhile the eclectic approach adopted by younger musicians, promoters and audiences was sparking a wider debate about what constitutes jazz and can be funded or promoted as such. This topic was officially discussed at the 1981 congress of Norsk Jazzforbund, the year that the Norwegian Jazz Archives was established.

During the 1970s, almost all modern Norwegian jazz records were produced by ECM. The situation gradually changed during the 1980s and 1990s, when NJF developed Odin, and a number of musician-run labels emerged and began to gain recognition (e.g., Curling Legs and Norcd). Kristiansen (2000) argues that, more than anything else, record releases by ECM and these smaller labels accounted for the increased attention given to Norwegian jazz abroad. They refer to the "increasing number of Norwegian jazz recordings being reviewed in leading US, UK, Scandinavian and German jazz periodicals" in the 1980s and 1990s.

Another major development of this period was the educational jazz course for teachers introduced in 1982 at the Trøndelag Music Conservatory in Trondheim. The students, who came from different parts of the country, actively contributed to the local scene and many later became central jazz figures nationally and, in some cases, internationally (e.g., trumpeter Nils Petter Molvær and saxophonist Tore Brunborg). While some students worked within traditional jazz frameworks, others formed ensembles to explore new modes of expression in parallel to trends set by young musicians already on the scene. Referring to the emergence of jazz education in Norway, Kristiansen (2000) writes:

The new jazz studies in Trondheim also served as an inspiration to younger musicians in other parts of the country, and jazz related topics were gradually being introduced in the music departments of Oslo and Kristiansand too. When the club Blå opened in Oslo in 1998, the youngest generation of musician became a central source for the development of the club's varied and radical profile, including acoustic jazz as well as electronic, rock-influenced music and DJs.

Since their emergence and first official funding in the early 1980s, the major Norwegian jazz organisations, the Norwegian Jazz Federation (NJF) and the Federation of Norwegian Jazz Musicians (FNJ), continued to secure government support and work towards a jazz infrastructure in Norway throughout the 1990s and 2000s. Kristiansen (2000) provide some examples of the type of work that was being carried out:

Political cooperation with other music and governmental institutions was conducted through the participation of both organizations in the Norwegian Council of Music Organizations. The FNJ got involved in the early stages of specific cases such as the debate around TONO's (Norway's Performing Rights Society) treatment of the jazz genre, and the channelling of funds from a sales tax on blank cassette tapes into a fund for performing artists. Meanwhile the NJF and the North Norway Jazz Forum successfully worked together on securing four permanent positions for jazz musicians (named the Noor quartet) in Northern Norway after an initial trial period was over. One central argument was that Norwegian jazz had reached a high, internationally acclaimed artistic level. For this reason it was important to discontinue a tradition that many felt represented a discrimination and downgrading of jazz, both in the distribution of state musical funds, official concert promotion and higher music education.

By the mid 1990s the two organisations received public subsidies of NOK 1,5 million, and the major festivals also received increased funding. However, as Kristiansen (2000) points out, such figures were still dwarfed by those received by classical music institutions and festivals during this period.

3 Jazz and the national consciousness

The role played by ECM in Norwegian jazz should not be underestimated. The label can be seen as both a fruitful collaboration between a group of people with a shared vision of recording, producing and releasing modern jazz, and as a platform for exporting Norwegian jazz abroad. The spatially aware, slightly dreamy aspects of the ECM aesthetics have set up both an internal school of thinking (with a direct line of musicians heavily inspired by the Garbarek sound), as well as external expectations of what Norwegian jazz 'should sound like'. This external brand was and still is a successful promoter: examples include trumpeter Arve Henriksen's "Opening Image" which was used for a Lexus commercial and filmmaker Michael Mann's extensive use of Rypdal and Garbarek in his productions. Stuart Nicholson writes (2005: 197): "The Nordic tone, with its 'encoding of multiple significances', has its roots in the existentially open, angst-ridden aspects of Scandinavian culture of the past century." Nicholson here underlining the reoccurring marketing loop between the established aestheticism of ECM and the perceived impression of the Nordic brand. Nicholson continues (2005: 197):

For European artists and thinkers down the years, the Scandinavian north, historically the 'pagan north', is a place that mystically beckons, its rural tranquillity, majestic scenery and uninhabited interior stretching up to the Arctic Circle appealing to something primal within.

Ian Carr describes how Garbarek brings back “half-forgotten things from long ago”, while Michael Tucker writes about his “Zen-like sensitivity”. The marketing loop between artistic output and commercial branding is almost inseparable, with academics, jazz critics and press agents sometimes seeing past and present musical projects through the eyes of the brand’s established characteristics rather than considering the dynamic, and often complex, discourses at play in Norway’s current jazz scene.

Notwithstanding, it is clear that the link between Norwegian jazz and folk music has contributed to the perception of a ‘Norwegian sound’, not least through seminal albums such as Arild Andersen’s “Arv” and Garbarek’s “Tryptykon”. Dickenson sees “Tryptykon” as a watershed (2011: 37):

When Jan Garbarek went into Arne Bendiksen’s studio in Oslo on 8 November, 1972 in the company of bassist Arild Andersen and percussionist Edward Vesala and recorded the album Tryptykon for Manfred Eicher, with Jan Erik Kongshaug as soundman, he made two musical statements which were to have both immediate and far-reaching consequences for Norwegian jazz history. Surrounded by a framework of free jazz, the album includes two tracks, ‘Selje’, a willo-flute tune, atmospherically direct from the fjord and Wedding March (Bruremarsj) directly based on a filled melody of Olav Holm.

Dickenson adds (2011: 38):

How much Garbarek’s Tryptykon influenced other jazz musicians is hard to estimate, but the album had a historical value if only for the fact this it was the first time Garbarek had used a Norwegian folk melody as the basis for his improvisations.

An argument can, therefore, be made that aspects of the ‘traditional Norwegian sound’ are present in the overall aesthetic and musical thinking of jazz musicians. In particular, the use of modality and open structures in combination with an astute sense of melodic development may be credited to folk characteristics. Interestingly, however, in recent years several players have turned towards foreign styles of folk, perhaps showing that the particular link to Norwegian folk music is not the prerequisite, it is more about the utilization of specific musical characteristics within improvisational structures (Arve Henriksen’s fascination with the Japanese shakuhachi, and Farmers Market playful use of Balkan-style being two prominent examples). Musicians with a jazz background tend to ‘shop around’ for increasingly eclectic musical influences, and this seems to have always been the case. Nils Petter Molvær’s breakthrough recording “Khmer” (ECM 1998) is a particular case in point, as his music has the capacity to sound ‘ethnic’, without alluding to any particular style of folk music. Nevertheless, “Khmer” sounds authentic both with regards to a sense of personal idiom (Molvær’s own) as well as an overall sense of idiomatic belonging.

It seems that, here too, the influence attributed to Norwegian folk music on jazz has sometimes been exaggerated, particularly by foreign writers. In opposition to such trends, Carl Petter Opsahl cites George Russell (2001: 169):

All those guys [Garbarek, Rypdahl, Andersen and Christensen] play like they were born on 125th Street in Harlem. And they’ve played that way since I first heard them... They swing in the most basic black Afro-American sense.

Writing about early folk and jazz collaborations by ensembles such as “Kristian Haugers Jazz Orchestra”, Opsahl notes how the music sounds like “jazzy dance music, and beyond recognizable melodies, it does not sound more ‘Norwegian’ than other big band music from that time” (2001: 174).

The current situation within Norwegian jazz aesthetics is perhaps more nuanced, than prevailing notions suggest. Certainly, the ‘Nordic tone’ seems to fall short of reflecting the multiplicity of musical directions that coexist in the national jazz scene. From the early 90s, smaller ‘boutique style’ labels such as Rune Grammofon and Bugge Wesseltoft’s Jazzland, began to take on this role by signing artists from more diverse musical backgrounds. The current Norwegian record label output is vastly eclectic, from the stripped down sound of *Jazzland Acoustic* (Håkon Kornstad, Atomic), to the often electronic sound of Rune Grammofon (Supersilent, MoHa, Stian Westerhus) and folk-inspired Norcd (Terje Isungset, Karl Seglem). Former Rock star and founder of Rune Grammofon, Rune Kristofferson argues that (in Williams 2005):

The most characteristic thing about these [current] Norwegian musicians is their disrespect for genre. It’s about people from jazz and more hard-core improvisational music, and from electronic music and rock, playing with musicians from other fields and trying to create something that’s not very identifiable. The academies in Trondheim and Oslo have been important in that respect, encouraging musicians to step outside their own fields and experiment in ways that help them find their own voices.

A high proportion musicians on the scene in Norway today enjoy international recognition, for example, musicians such as Trygve Seim, Pål Nilssen-Love and Håkon Kornstad, and ensembles including Atomic, Wibutee and Jaga Jazzist. While the role played by the ‘Norwegian jazz’ trademark in this is an open question, the targeted effort from the jazz community to implement a well-organised strategy with the support of high level government subsidies, as well as the music education systems in place are also likely to be key contributing factors.

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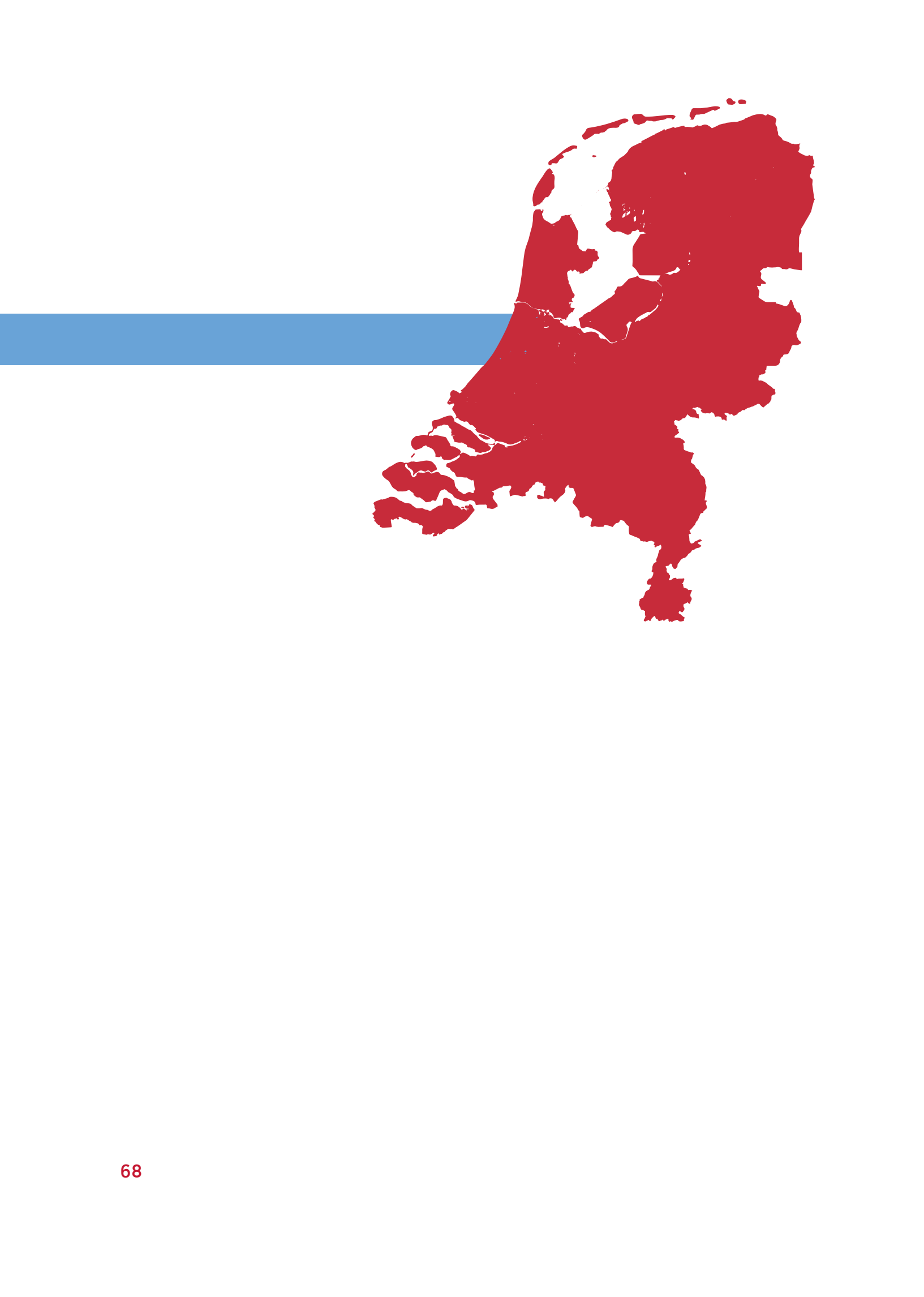
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Loes Rusch

“For the first time in the Netherlands!! JAZZ??!!!!”
(*Rotterdamsch Dagblad*, 6 May 1919)

On 6 May 1919, a Rotterdam daily newspaper announced the latest dance fad in Dutch leisure life, as promoted by the Rotterdam Casino. Jazz – an early 1900s music and dancing style closely connected to African-American vernacular culture⁶ – thus entered the Netherlands somewhat ignominiously: as the latest British/American trend, performed in revues with cabaret and paired with demonstrations of a new invention, the “photo-telephone”.



Figure 1: *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (6 May 1919)

Jazz, as both a musical and social praxis, has come to inform a wide array of musical styles and has to a large extent managed to escape its associations with vaudeville and dance. By studying changes within the musical organization, dissemination, education, funding, perception and representation of jazz, this article explores significant musical and social developments that have defined and shaped jazz in the Netherlands. It also contains a section on pre-war jazz in the colonized East Indies to give a more complete account of the dissemination of jazz among Dutch audiences.

This article draws on newspaper and magazine articles, academic research, and recordings as its sources. Daily announcements, reports, and reviews in newspapers have been particularly vital in studying the early development of jazz in the Netherlands, as they give insight to the social-cultural context, the status, and the perception and reception of jazz. Another indispensable source for this study has been the Dutch Jazz Archive and the works of Wouters (1999), who meticulously studied the restrictive policy

5 This article has originally been published by Rusch, Loes. 2013. “Jazz in the Netherlands, 1919–2012: Historical Outlines of the Development of a Social and Musical Praxis”, in: *Jazzforschung / Jazz Research* 44 (2012). Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, pp. 27–52.

6 Shipton, Alyn. 2001. *A New History of Jazz*. London: Continuum.

regarding jazz and other popular music during the years prior to WWII and the German occupation. Since this study is meant only as a rough outline, suggestions for further reading are made in the footnotes.

1 (African-)American music culture in the Netherlands, 1847–1919

Almost seventy years before the word “jazz” would become part of the Dutch vocabulary, Dutch citizens were introduced to American art forms through news reports, literature and performances. In 1852, Harriet Beecher Stowe’s anti-slavery novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* became an immediate bestseller. In response to its great success in England and America, A. C. Kruseman published the first part of C. M. Mensing’s Dutch translation, *De Negerhut*, in Haarlem.⁷ The popular dramatizations of the book that followed throughout the nineteenth century introduced Dutch audiences to a moralistic view of the cultural life of black Americans.⁸

Early American musical styles serving as forerunners of jazz included minstrel shows, spirituals, brass music, and ragtime.⁹ The dissemination of these forms of American entertainment largely depended on live performances by traveling theatre groups as seen in England; they were further popularized through sheet music, piano rolls, and – from 1900 on – recordings.

Minstrel shows, allegedly the earliest American musical exports to England and the Continent, introduced Dutch audiences to the stereotyped image of the singing, smiling, dancing Negro.¹⁰ The minstrels, presented in the Netherlands as “pseudo-negroes”, were mostly white multi-instrumentalists who, in the typical burned-cork make-up, performed black characters such as the bumbling city-slicker Zip Coon and the “slow-thinking, slow-moving, country and plantation darkey” Jim Crow.¹¹

In 1847, the first minstrels performed in the Netherlands. The Negro Lantum Ethiopian Serenaders¹² and Lantum Creole Female Singers were both engaged in Amsterdam’s vaudeville theatre, De Duizend Kolommen (The Thousand Columns), performing instrumental works, negro songs, and slave dances while imitating the “comical

7 *Algemeen Handelsblad* (6 November 1852), p. 4.

8 Visser, Irene. 2004. “American Women Writers in the Dutch Literary World 1824–1900”, in: Dijk, Suzan van (ed.). *“I Have Heard About You”: Foreign Women’s Writing Crossing the Dutch Border: From Sappho to Selma Lagerlöf*. Hilversum: Verloren, pp. 281–299.

9 Shipton. *A New History of Jazz*, pp. 13–53.

10 Mahar, William J. 1999. *Behind the Burnt Cork Mask: Early Blackface Minstrelsy and Antebellum American Popular Culture*. Illinois: University of Illinois Press.

11 The term “Pseudo-Negro” is mentioned in *Algemeen Handelsblad* (9 August 1847), p. 4. For further reading on black stereotyping see Lemons, J. Stanley. 1977. “Black Stereotypes as Reflected in Popular Culture, 1880–1920”, in: *American Quarterly* 29/1, pp. 102–116.

12 The group’s name appears with varying spellings and was also advertised as the Ethiopian Serenaders, the “Vier Negerzangers van Amerika”, and the Lantum Negro Singers from America. See for example *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (12 August 1847), p. 4; *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (13 August 1847), p. 4; *Algemeen Handelsblad* (30 August 1847), p. 2; *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (5 October 1847), p. 2; *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (10 November 1847), p. 4.

expression and gestures of the negroes”.¹³ In 1849, the Serenaders returned as a four-piece group for another tour and an engagement at De Duizend Kolommen.¹⁴

The first known African-Americans to perform in the Netherlands were the Fisk Jubilee Singers, led by George L. White. In the spring of 1877, this mixed chorus of African-American vocalists toured the country for a two-months concert series. The group sang spirituals, gospels, and formal versions of American slave songs in Protestant churches, private homes, and concert halls. The audiences varied from average citizens to members of the royal family. Unlike the simplistic black stereotypes presented by the minstrels, the Fisk Jubilee Singers were relatively well educated and sharply dressed black Americans. Nevertheless, in addition to their highly-praised vocal qualities, the group attracted huge crowds because of their skin color.¹⁵

John Philip Sousa (1854–1932) played a key role in the establishment of brass instruments as part of popular Dutch music culture. Around 1900, “Sousa the March King” became widely popular through sheet music, piano rolls, local performances, and – most notably – Jan Ketting’s 1900 farce of the same name. Audiences and press alike were thrilled by Sousa’s own concerts in 1900 and 1903.¹⁶ Sousa’s marches were also played frequently by barrel organs, the epitome of early 20th century street culture in the Netherlands.

Beginning in 1912, the Dutch press regularly announced variety shows including ragtime dances. Ragtime in the Netherlands was well documented and widely disseminated through sheet music, gramophone recordings, piano rolls, and live performances. The first Dutch composer to write and publish rags was allegedly Jacques Grit (1885–1978), whose *Masseltop Rag* and other rags were inspired by American popular music.¹⁷ A number of future jazz musicians also began their careers writing and performing rags: for example, the first composition by Theo Uden Masman (1901–1965), the renowned leader of the The Ramblers jazz orchestra, was entitled “The Syncopy Rag”. It was published in August 1921 and influenced by American pianists such as Zez Confrey.¹⁸

13 *Algemeen Handelsblad* (9 August 1847), p. 4.

14 “Nieuw Lokaal” (*Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 5 March 1849, p. 4).

15 Metzelaar, Helen. 2005. “A Hefty Confrontation: The Fisk Jubilee Singers Tour the Netherlands in 1877”, in: *Tijdschrift Van De Koninklijke Vereniging Voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 55/1, pp. 67–86.

16 “Het Tooneel; Sousa de Marschkoning”, in: *Het Nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (2 October 1900), p. 11 and *Het Nieuws van den Dag: Kleine Courant* (21 September 1900), p. 10.

17 Gras, Pim. “Hoofdstuk 1: 1920–1939: Het Begin” (Stichting Nederlands Jazz Archief; <http://www.jazzarchief.nl>).

18 Mutsaers, Lutgard. 2001. “De Impact van de Amerikaanse Dansmuziek in Nederland”, in: Louis Peter Grijp (ed.), *Een Muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press-Salomé, p. 840.

2 Early dissemination of jazz in the Netherlands, 1919–1940

2.1 Jazz dance

During the prosperous years after WWI the number of both public dancing venues and ballroom orchestras in the Netherlands expanded exponentially, establishing jazz as a popular dance style. In 1919, jazz, initially also spelled “yasz” or “jasz”, began to appear in advertisements of variety shows and private dance classes. Jazz dance was very physical for the time, described by an opponent as “a passionate male and female dancer who hold their heads close together, not to mention other intimacies”.¹⁹

Impresarios and private dance teachers played a significant role in the introduction and publicizing of early jazz in the Netherlands. Entertainment entrepreneur and impresario Max van Gelder (1873–1943) was one of the first to include jazz in his variety shows, where it replaced ragtime and tango as the latest dance trend. Between 1915 and 1922, Van Gelder and his partner Jean Louis Pisuisse (1880–1927) organized so-called “intimate art evenings” at Amsterdam’s Centraal Theater. During these nightlong variety evenings, young Dutch and foreign artists were invited to perform their acts.²⁰ As early as May 1919, the famous Dutch ballroom dancers Maddy (b. around 1893) and Willy Yardaz (b. 1893)²¹ included jazz in Van Gelder’s shows and performed at venues such as the Centraal Theater, the Kurhaus in Scheveningen, and the Rotterdam Casino.

Dance instructor I. D. Meijer from Rotterdam – both a member of the Imperial Society of Dance Teachers (ISDT) and a committee member of the Dutch dance association – saw jazz dancing at the ISDT conference in London.²² Back in the Netherlands, Meijer and other teachers were quick to add the jazz dance to the list of “rags”, “pickers”, “rockers”, “peaces”, and other dance fads.²³ Consequently, private dance classes in jazz proliferated throughout the country from the beginning of the new season in September 1919.

Because American forms of entertainment were generally first heard and seen in England,²⁴ jazz was often mistakenly presented as an English dance style. Instructor De Graaf, for example, advertised jazz as one of the “newest English dances”²⁵ and Willy Yardaz explained that jazz was a British WWI victory dance: “In the flush of victory [...]

19 “Er wordt gejazzt ...” (*De Sumatra Post*, 8 December 1919, p. 5). Translation LR. Original text: “De fervente danser en danseres drukken daarbij de hoofden dicht bij elkaar – om van andere lichamelijke nabijheden maar niet te gewagen.”

20 Lelieveldt, Philomeen. 1998. “Voor en Achter het Voetlicht: Musici en Arbeidsverhoudingen in Nederland 1918–1940”. Diss., University of Utrecht, p. 78.

21 “Yardaz” was the stage name of husband and wife Maud and Willem Anton Bosboom. They also appear in newspapers under the name of Maud and Willy Encla. Dates of death are unknown.

22 “Engeland” (*Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 31 July 1919, p. 5).

23 “J. L. de Graaf” (*Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 18 September 1919, p. 11; and *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* 23 September 1919, p. 14); “Kurzaal Scheveningen” (*Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 22 June 1919, p. 12); “De Jazz Band” (*Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 14 July 1919, p. 13).

24 Dutch newspapers promoted the Lantum Serenaders as “having performed three times for the Queen of England” and the Creole Female Serenaders as “greatly praised by the British press”. The Jasz-band was announced as “the toast of London and Paris ballrooms”. (*Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 12 August 1847, p. 4; *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 10 November 1847, p. 4; *Het Vaderland*, 5 March 1920, p. 4).

25 “Kurzaal Scheveningen” (*Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 22 June 1919, p. 12); “De Jazz Band” (*Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 14 July 1919, p. 13).

the English sought music to match their sentiments. They started a Yasz-Band, of which the prototype is to be found in negro tribes [...] and when heaven and earth reverberated with sound [...] they embraced one another, frolicking, turning, and jumping. They called it the Yasz, the dance of victory.”²⁶

2.2 Early jazz bands

The emergence of jazz dancing was closely connected to the development of jazz as a musical genre. The earliest jazz dances were most likely accompanied by a piano, similar to the performances of the ragtime, or by a jazz band. In December 1919, Van Gelder and Pisuise played their first known engagements with an accompanying jazz band: the Original Banjo-Jasz Band (OBJB) from the United Kingdom, led by Tommy Bennet.²⁷ The band regularly performed with Maddy and Willy Yardaz at the Centraal Theater in Amsterdam. The instruments used by the OBJB were typical: banjo, violin, a bass drum or “Turkish drum”, saxophone and rattle.²⁸

Although the size of the early jazz bands depended on the availability of musicians and the impresario’s demands, they usually consisted of five or six musicians playing multiple instruments. A distinctive feature was the rhythmic pulse, created by a drum set and sometimes augmented with a banjo and bass drum. Single drum sets – a usual set up included a bass drum, cymbals, and a snare drum – were also advertised as a “jazz-band”, underlining the notion of jazz as an essentially rhythmic music.²⁹

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the violin remained a common feature of larger jazz orchestras, enabling them to continue to play the existing repertoire of waltzes and other salon music.

Allegedly the first Dutch professional jazz ensemble was James Meyer’s Jazz Band. Around 1920, Dutch dance instructor James Meyer – not to be confused with the aforementioned I. D. Meijer – founded a five-piece band to accompany his dance classes in Amsterdam’s Hotel L’Europe.³⁰ The band was led by pianist Leo de la Fuente and consisted of violin, bassoon, piano, banjo and percussion, with a saxophone added around 1922.³¹ Other jazz bands active around this period were John van Brück’s Royal Dancing Band (1921) and Hoomers Jazzband (around 1922), both five-piece ensembles featuring piano, violin, saxophone, banjo, and percussion.

26 “Uitgaan: Centraal Theater” (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 4 December 1919, p. 1). Translation LR. Original text: “[I]n den roes der overwinning [...] zochten de Engelschen naar een muziek die aan hun stemming beantwoorde [...] en stelden aldus de Yasz-Band samen, waarvan het prototype reed onder de negerstammen gevonden werd [...] en toen hemel en aarde daverden van klank, kon niemand meer rustig blijven; men omhelsde elkaar, men huppelde, draaide en sprong. Dit noemde men the Yasz, dat is de dans der overwinning.”

27 Throughout December 1919, advertisements of the OBJB appear in the Dutch daily *Algemeen Handelsblad*.

28 Lelieveldt, Philomeen. 1998. “‘Van Muzikaal Excess tot Allergrootst Succes’: De Beginjaren van de Jazz in Amsterdam (1919–1924)”, in: *NJA Bulletin* 30, pp. 31–32.

29 “Alle Benodigdheden voor JAZZ-BANDS” (*Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 9 November 1924, p. 7); “Te Koop Aangeboden” (*Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, 2 May 1925, p. 8); “Te Koop Aangeboden” (*Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, 11 June 1927, p. 8).

30 James Meyer regularly appeared in newspapers as James Meyer Fils.

31 Lelieveldt. “Van Muzikaal Exces tot Allergrootst Succes”, pp. 31–37.

The music of the early Dutch jazz bands relied heavily on American dance repertoire. Improvisation played only a small role; most parts were written out.³² Most early jazz bands played a broad repertoire including salon music, popular hits, and ballroom dances (foxtrot, tango, one-step, shimmy, ragtime, jazz). Among musicians and leaders, versatility in both repertoire and instruments were crucial qualities in increasing chances for employment.

In 1926, the aforementioned Uden Masman founded a dance band called The (Original) Ramblers. Started as the house band of cabaret *La Gaîté* in Amsterdam's Tuschinski theatre, these "hottest syncopaters of Holland" would become one of the longest-lived jazz orchestras in the Netherlands.³³ The initial line-up featured the best jazz players of the day: Louis de Vries (1905–1935, trumpet), Jan Gluhoff (dates unknown, clarinet and saxophones), Gerard Spruyt (1900–1989, trombone), Uden Masman (piano), Jacques Pet (dates unknown, banjo), Kees Kranenburg (1902–1975, drums), and Jack de Vries (b. 1906, sousaphone).³⁴ Other significant pre-war orchestras included André Ceurvorst's band The Moochers (1931)³⁵ and The Swing Papas (1934).

The 1926 tour of Paul Whiteman and His Orchestra marked the growth of jazz from a light dance music into an independent musical form meant for listening. While the Russian North Star Orchestra, the American Georgians, and other foreign groups were still engaged as small-sized dance orchestras, the "King of Jazz" surprised Dutch audiences with a program of orchestrated jazz that was not exclusively associated with dance.³⁶

2.3 Representation and reception

As with earlier American musical styles, jazz depended largely on the exotic appeal it held for Dutch audiences, in particular younger listeners. Opponents dismissed the dance and music as "cacophonisch" (cacophonic), "vulgaire", (vulgar), and "onbeschaafd" (uncivilized).³⁷ A reporter of the *Limburgsch Dagblad* (Limburg Daily) condemned the dance craze as idiotic and as something for the uncivilized: "That Indians and negroes dance, I can understand: aren't we trying to civilize these people? That says it all."³⁸

The potential dangers of jazz dancing were of continual concern to local politics. The city of Amsterdam maintained a particularly stern policy: until 1924, public dancing had been restricted by its conservative mayor De Vlugt, who considered it a moral threat and objected to the "public courtship behavior" he believed it embodied.³⁹ De Vlugt

32 Gras. "Hoofdstuk 1: 1920–1939: Het Begin".

33 "Dance Cabaret" (*Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 28 October 1926, p. 16).

34 Openneer, Herman. 1996. "Theo Uden Masman, deel 2", in: *NJA Bulletin* 22, pp. 23–26.

35 André Ceurvorst performed in 1931 with "André Ceurvorst and his boys", renamed The Electorians in 1932 and known as The Moochers from 1933 on.

36 "Paul Whiteman, King of Jazz" (*Het Vaderland*, 17 June 1926, p. 6); "Van Kwajongen tot Braven Leerling: Jazz van de Danszaal naar de Concertzaal" (*Het Vaderland*, 1 October 1929, p. 10).

37 Lelieveldt. "Van Muzikaal Excess tot Allergrootst Succes", p. 35.

38 "De Dans-Waanzin" (*Limburgsch Dagblad*, 18 September 1920, p. 10). Translation LR. Original text: "Dat Indianen en negers dansen, kan ik mij begrijpen. Stelt men van hieruit niet pogingen in het werk om die menschen te beschaven? Dat zegt immers genoeg."

39 *De Sumatra Post* (8 April 1924), p. 1. Willem de Vlugt (1872–1945) was Mayor of Amsterdam from 1921 to 1941. Several newspapers give accounts of the fierce debates about the legalization of public dancing, including *Algemeen Handelsblad* (27 December 1923), p. 1; *De Sumatra Post* (14 March 1924; 14 June 1924); *Het Centrum* (26 March 1924); *Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant* (13 May 1924); *De Indische Courant* (10 May 1924); *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (7 June 1924).

allowed public dancing only within Amsterdam's Zeedijk, the red-light district and seamen's hangout; those of better standing were expected to confine themselves to professional performances and private venues.⁴⁰ As the result of a heated council meeting the city of Amsterdam loosened its policy and, as of April 1924, permitted "thés dansant" (tea dances) and "diners dansant" (dinner dances) in selected places, including the posh Paviljoen Vondelpark and La Réserve on Rembrandt Square.⁴¹ However, out of fear of losing their permits, these upper-class establishments remained hesitant to admit the "noisy" and "frivolous" sounds of saxophones and jazz to their enclaves.⁴²

2.4 The profession of jazz

The main source of income for jazz musicians came from playing in cabaret shows, movie theatres and at parties. Long-term engagements at radio broadcasting associations offered the best chance for a steady income. The first live concert in the history of Dutch broadcasting was a jazz band; on 19 August 1923, the Larensche Jazz Band was aired via a telephone-line connection from the fancy Hotel Hamdorff in Laren.⁴³

The unaffiliated A.V.R.O. and socialist V.A.R.A. became the main radio networks for jazz and other entertainment music: the latter, Hilversum-based broadcasting system, though affiliated with the government, adhered to "verzuiling" (pillarization), the institutionalized religious pluralism particular to Dutch society.⁴⁴ On principle, the Catholic K.R.O. and the Dutch Reformed N.C.R.V. radio networks excluded "hot jazz" and other "immoral" dance music from their programs.⁴⁵ Inspired by the weekly BBC broadcasts from the London Savoy Hotel, the V.A.R.A. and A.V.R.O. founded their own dance orchestras in 1928 and 1931, respectively. From 1936, The Ramblers continued the V.A.R.A.'s musical activities under the name of VARA's Dansorkest.⁴⁶

Both radio orchestras adapted to the public's growing desire for jazz; after having received a petition signed by 7,900 jazz fans – the petition was initiated by the leading Dutch jazz magazine *De Jazzwereld* – the A.V.R.O. reserved more room for jazz in their salon music-based programming. Likewise, the V.A.R.A. included more jazz in their programs, resulting in 1935 in a special "Jazzweek".⁴⁷ This "jazzpropaganda" week included lectures, programs on Ellington and Armstrong, and concerts by local bands, including the V.A.R.A. dance orchestra's performance of Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue".⁴⁸

40 Lelieveldt. "Van Muzikaal Exces tot Allergrootst Succes", pp. 31–37.

41 *De Indische Courant* (28 June 1924), p. 5.

42 "Uit't Moederland: Amsterdam Mag Dansen" (*De Sumatra Post*, 14 June 1924, p. 12).

43 Wouters, Kees. 1999. *Ongewenschte Muziek: De Bestrijding van Jazz en Moderne Amusementsmuziek in Duitsland en Nederland, 1920–1945*. Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers, p. 39.

44 A.V.R.O. and V.A.R.A. are abbreviations of "Algemene Vereniging Radio Omroep" (General Broadcasting Association) and "Verenigde Arbeiders Radio Amateurs" (Workers' Association of Radio Makers), respectively. In 1957 the V.A.R.A. officially dropped its periods and was henceforth known as VARA.

45 Wouters. *Ongewenschte Muziek*, pp. 37–42. K.R.O. and N.C.R.V. are abbreviations of "Katholieke Radio Omroep" (Catholic Radio Association) and "Nederlandsche Christelijke Radio-Vereeniging" (Dutch Christian Radio Association), respectively.

46 *Ibid.*, pp. 37–38.

47 *Ibid.*, pp. 48–49.

48 "VARA Jazzweek" (*Het Vaderland*, 1 March 1935, p. 9).

Because of the limited opportunities in the Netherlands, Dutch musicians went abroad to search for work. Star soloist Louis de Vries and Joop de Leur, for example, played trumpet and piano on a 1925 recording by the Belgian orchestra The Excellos Five, while The Ramblers had their first engagement in Germany as early as 1927. Saxophonist and bandleader Red Debroy (1916–1969)⁴⁹ toured around Spain, Portugal, Scandinavia, and Italy, and worked in the United States with Artie Shaw, Benny Goodman and Tommy Dorsey. One of the most successful Dutch musicians was pianist and arranger Melle Weersma (1908–1988), who played with the orchestra of Eugen “José” Wolff through Germany and Switzerland, wrote scores for German movies in Berlin, and worked as an arranger for the orchestras of Benny Goodman, Duke Ellington and the BBC’s Henry Hall.⁵⁰

Since they were dark-skinned and thus fit the European conception of jazz as an “exotic” music, musicians from Dutch colonies were able to serve as “substitute” African-Americans. While Surinamese multi-instrumentalist and bandleader Alexander “Lex” van Spall (1903–1982) toured internationally with his Chocolate Kiddies, others, including the Surinamese trumpeter Teddy Cotton (1912–1977)⁵¹ and tenor saxophonist Kid Dynamite (1912–1963)⁵² found employment in so-called Negro clubs.⁵³ These clubs placed jazz in an “exotic” setting including rhythmic “hot” dancing and singing, dark-skinned personnel, and “negro hut ballrooms”.⁵⁴ In 1936 and 1937, five Negro clubs opened their doors: Amsterdam’s Negro-Palace and Negro Kit Kat Club, Rotterdam’s Negro-Palace Mephisto, The Hague’s Shim Sham Negro Club, and the Negro Melody Club in Scheveningen. Up until WWII, the Negro Palace continued to present black musicians, including the American saxophonist Coleman Hawkins and pianist Freddie Johnson. The Kit Kat Club closed down in 1937, after Mayor De Vlucht prevented the employment of Surinamese personnel, whose music and attitudes were considered a threat to the morals of young single women.⁵⁵

Professional Dutch jazz musicians faced fierce competition both from players from abroad and inexpensive amateurs at home. From the earliest days, impresarios engaged foreign bands to attract large audiences to their venues. Furthermore, Whiteman’s 1926 tour had started a rush of American and British jazz orchestras and musicians touring the Netherlands, including the famous bands of Jack Hylton (1929), Duke Ellington (1933 and 1939), Louis Armstrong (1933), and the Englishmen Ray Noble and Nat Gonella (1933). Some stayed in the Netherlands for a longer period: African-American trumpeter Johnny Dunn (1897–1937) resided in the Netherlands during the 1930s, as did the aforementioned Johnson and Hawkins.

49 Debroy is a pseudonym for Ben Bakema.

50 1920–1939: The Penny Serenade” (Stichting Nederlands Jazz Archief; <http://www.jazzarchief.nl>).

51 Teddy Cotton is a pseudonym for Theodoor Gustaaf Kantoor.

52 Kid Dynamite is a pseudonym for Lodewijk Rudolf Arthur Parisius.

53 “De Chocolate Kiddies” (*Het Vaderland*, 24 May 1935, p. 10).

54 “Een Nieuwe Attractie te Scheveningen” (*Het Vaderland*, 3 June 1937, p. 2); “Een Negerhut vol Muziek” (*Het Vaderland*, 5 June 1937, p. 2).

55 Several police reports give accounts of growing accusations against Surinam personnel and finally the closure of the Kit Kat Club. Reports concerning the Negro clubs are collected under the heading “Negercabarets” in Amsterdam’s online police archive (Amsterdam City Archives, <http://stadsarchief.amsterdam.nl>).

Dutch professionals met the influx of foreign musicians, especially those from neighboring countries, with resistance and considered it a threat to their employment – all the more because club owners, in response to the financial crisis of the 1930s, increasingly resorted to the cheaper option of hiring semi-amateur musicians. These usually well-organized amateurs were, in the words of magazine *De Jazzwereld*, “clerks with ten years of education and many degrees, but who nonetheless earn too little to support their families”.⁵⁶ By 1922 this fierce competition had already led to a demonstration of about 400 professionals in Amsterdam, organized by the Dutch Musicians’ Union, or NTB.⁵⁷ In 1931, weekly magazine *Het Leven* published a poster showing the well-fed face of Paul Whiteman, warning: “Don’t become a musician! For the Dutch, it’s a dying profession”.⁵⁸

2.5 Organizing jazz: clubs, associations, and written media

Jazz enthusiasts – mainly young, middle-class men – discussed jazz activities in a growing number of columns, magazines and radio programs. From 1925, the daily *Het Vaderland* reserved a special section for jazz called “De Elfde Muze” (The Eleventh Muse), adding another called “Uit de Wereld van de Jazz” (From the World of Jazz) in 1934. During this period, the illustrated society magazine *Het Leven* regularly reported on jazz activities and published jazz pictures. On 27 December 1931 and 28 March 1932, the magazine also organized jazz competitions, respectively at Amsterdam’s Bellevue theatre and The Hague’s zoo.

In 1931, sixteen-year old Red Debroy founded *De Jazzwereld*, the first Dutch magazine solely dedicated to jazz. Besides informing on jazz concerts, gramophone recordings, and lectures, *De Jazzwereld* organized annual jazz competitions. The magazine was also responsible for publishing the first Dutch photo-book dedicated to jazz: *Foto-Album van de Jazzwereld* (1936).⁵⁹ Three years later, the jazz critics Will G. Gilbert (1912–1967)⁶⁰ and Constantin Poustochkine (1910–1992) wrote the first Dutch book on jazz, an anthropological survey entitled *Jazzmuziek: Inleiding tot de Volksmuziek der Noord-Amerikaansche Negers* (Jazz Music: Introduction to the Folk Music of the North American Negroes, Kruseman, 1939).⁶¹

In 1933 *De Jazzwereld* became the official organ of the *Dutch Hot Club* (NHC), which had been founded the same year by high school student and drummer Eddy Crommelin. In order to increase the dissemination of jazz in the Netherlands, the NHC actively sought cooperation with broadcasting companies and foreign record companies. Further, the club – renamed *Nederlandsche Jazz Liga* (NJL) in 1935 – founded departments throughout the country that organized lectures, concerts, and discussions on jazz.⁶²

56 “Actie tegen de ‘Semi-beroeps-dansband-musicus’” (*De Jazzwereld*, 5 September 1938, pp. 1–2).

57 “De Nederlandsche Toonkunstenaars Bond” (*Tribune*, 29 August 1922, p. 4).

58 N. N. (*Het Leven* 9, p. 279). Translation LR. Original text: “Wordt geen musicus – het voor Nederlanders stervende beroep”.

59 *Foto-album van de Jazzwereld* (Den Haag: Moorman’s Periodieke Pers, 1936).

60 Will G. Gilbert is a pseudonym for Wilem Henri Adriaan van Steensel van der Aa.

61 Will G. Gilbert and Constantine Poustochkine, *Jazzmuziek: Inleiding tot de Volksmuziek der Noord-Amerikaanse Negers* (’s-Gravenhage: Kruseman, 1939). According to an advertisement in *Jazzwereld* 3/12 (December 1933), Red Debroy published *Thoughts of a Saxophonist* (The Hague: Van Scherpenzeel, 1933). The existence of this publication, however, has never been verified.

62 Wouters. *Ongewenschte Muziek*, p. 34.

The often young NHC members and *De Jazzwereld* contributors promoted jazz as a civilized music, differentiating between the “real” and “pure” hot jazz of Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington and the “commercialized” dance music and tasteless “symphonic jazz”.⁶³

2.6 Jazz in the colonized East Indies, 1919–1938

In addition to music from Great Britain, American entertainment reached Dutch audiences via its former colonies in the so-called East Indies, the present Republic of Indonesia. The daily paper of the East Indies regularly announced performances in the Elite Cinema and Deca Park in the capital city of Batavia (now Jakarta). In May 1913, for example, the cinema featured the American ragtime comedian and dancer Tom Richards, who sang “How Do You Do, My Baby?” and other American songs.⁶⁴

As opposed to British-American artists in the Netherlands, the artists performing in the East Indies were mainly Americans. In 1919, the Deca Park theatre announced: “Something new! For the first time in the East Indies, dancing with jazz band music”.⁶⁵ This jazz band was part of the San Francisco-based Columbia Park Boys Club’s act – a group of 42 missionary boys led by Major Peixotto. Their eclectic program included singing, dancing, “tumbling” gymnastics, and marches played on cornet, trombone, trumpet, saxophone and percussion. As in the Netherlands, jazz in the East Indies was received with mixed feelings. A *Het Nieuws van den Dag* reporter dismissed the Boys Club show as a “sort of cocktail entertainment”. Although he found it amusing, the “loud and noisy music” gave him “stomach cramps”.⁶⁶

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s in Batavia, it was possible to enjoy the “latest American cabarets” with the “newest cocktails”, while jazz bands provided the musical background:

For the amusement of the Batavia public, exceptional talent has been imported direct[ly] from America and the Southern Hemisphere to serve up a Merry Musical Cocktail for a pleasant evening’s entertainment. Roguishly up-to-date with beautiful costumes, coupled with excellent singing and dancing and refined comedy, and – last but not least – a big feature of the entertainment will be the Casino Jazz Band.⁶⁷

A renowned local radio dance orchestra called The Silver Kings regularly performed in Batavia’s Hotel des Indes. In 1937, the band’s pianist Charlie Overbeek Bloem (1912–2004), together with the young and pioneering jazz journalist Harry Lim (1919–1990) founded the *Batavia Rhythm Club*. The club promoted jazz through film showings, lectures, and discussions and, for two years, published the magazine *Swing: Officieel Organ van de Batavia Rhythm Club*.⁶⁸

63 *De Jazzwereld* (April 1932), p. 2; “Propaganda voor Jazz” (*Het Volk*, 30 May 1936).

64 “Elite-bioscope” (*Het Nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 29 May 1913, p. 2).

65 “Deca-Park” (*Het Nieuws van de Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 9 August 1919, p. 7).

66 “Columbia Park Boys” (*Het Nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 8 August 1919, p. 2). Original English text.

67 “The Casino Cafe and Cabaret” (*Het Nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 28 September 1920, p. 7).

68 “Batavia Rhythm Club” (*Het Nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 14 January 1937, p. 7); “Batavia Rhythm Club” (*Het Nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 9 March 1937, p. 20).

In 1938, Lim, responsible for the funding and much of the writings for Swing, embarked on an international tour. While Lim decided to stay in the United States when war broke out, Overbeek Bloem continued to play as a soloist and with small combos for the AFRIB, the Allied Forces Radio in Batavia. However, in the absence of dedicated jazz promoters such as Lim, jazz activities in the East Indies declined.⁶⁹

3 1940–1945 German occupation: restrictions

Prior to the invasion in May 1940, the effects of social and political unrest in the Netherlands began to show: Dutch musicians on tour returned to the Netherlands, while foreign musicians, including Hawkins, went back to their home countries. Ensembles fell apart after musicians were drafted into the army; people rushed to stores to buy the last records as supplies from England and the United States dried up.⁷⁰ Beginning in 1941 public dancing was prohibited, limiting the working opportunities for jazz orchestras to theaters and radio engagements; *Jazzwereld* was discontinued the same year.

An overall ban on jazz took effect in 1942 when the department of “Volksvoori-lichting en Kunsten” (Public Education and Arts) restricted all “Negroid and Negritic” elements in dance and entertainment music and prohibited the use of the word “jazz”. Ironically, the aforementioned jazz critic Gilbert willingly formulated the official restrictions, resulting in a well-informed description of the Dutch jazz idiom of the time. Prohibited were:

“growling”, “scat-singing”, “hot intonations”, “ostinato licks”, “riffs” (more than three times in a row by a soloist, or more than sixteen times in a row for a whole section), “boogie-woogie”, “honky-tonk”, “barrelhouse style”, the use of “plungers” and “wah-wah mutes”, “stop choruses” (for the rhythm section except for the copper cymbals), and the use of a continuous “offbeat-effect”.⁷¹

On 1 June 1943, the Dutch radio broadcasting association (Nederlandsche Omroep, NO) was taken over by the Deutsche Europa Sender (DES) and from then on used as the main station for English-oriented propaganda. Ironically, in order to compete with popular broadcasts by the British Broadcasting Company, the DES programmed jazz and other entertainment music in their English broadcasts. American and British music “with English chorus singing” was provided, to a large extent, by the Dutch orchestras of Uden Masman, Dick Willebrandts (1911–1970), and Ernst van’t Hoff (1908–1955). Thus, while the German occupiers did not allow Dutch radio orchestras to perform English and American songs in the Netherlands, they forced them to play songs such as “Tea for Two” and “I Cover the Waterfront” for the DES.⁷²

69 Ticoalu, Alfred. E-Mail correspondence, 19 July 2011.

70 For an exhaustive account of the changes within the Dutch jazz record industry before and during WWII, see Wouters (1999).

71 Openneer, Herman and Bert Vuijsje. “1939–1945: Oorlog, Bezetting en Bevrijding: Ratten op de Trap”. (Stichting Nederlands Jazz Archief; <http://www.jazzarchief.nl>). Gilbert used mostly English terms.

72 Wouters. *Ongewenschte Muziek*, pp. 122–124.

Despite all the restrictions, jazz and dance music remained popular in the Netherlands. Behind closed doors jazz associations continued to organize gatherings, private concerts, and discussions. Jazz clubs, such as the Hot Record Club in Zaandijk, for example, organized lectures titled “Jazz and its cultural value”, “Singing in Jazz Music”, and “Blues”.⁷³

Several orchestras managed to bypass the language regulations by Dutchifying English names; the Swing Papas performed under the literally translated and odd-sounding name “Slingervaders”, the Moochers as the phonetically-spelled “Moetschers”, and The Ramblers renamed themselves “Theo Masman en zijn Dansorkest”. These orchestras secretly continued to play American and English repertoire: “Basin Street Blues”, for example, was performed as “Ebrilogue”.⁷⁴

While Uden Masman and his orchestra continued to play for the NO, the German Wehrmacht and German charities, the orchestra’s Jewish members violinist/trumpeter Sem Nijveen (1912–1995) and saxophonist Salomon “Sal” Doof (1908–1943) were forced to leave the band, since they were no longer allowed to play in public. Many Jewish musicians, including Doof, trumpeter Clara de Vries (1915–1942), and the popular singing duo Johnny and Jones,⁷⁵ lost their lives in concentration camps. Jack de Vries, drummer Maurice van Kleef, and trumpeter duo Lex van Weren (1920–1996) survived by playing in camp orchestras, while Nijveen lived through the war by going underground.⁷⁶

4 1945–1966: postwar years

After the war the Netherlands’ first priority was restoring basic facilities. Jazz associations resumed their activities by organizing jam sessions, concerts, and lectures on jazz. The establishment of Haarlem’s Jig Rhythm Club in 1946 was followed by jazz societies throughout the country, including in Zaandam, Amsterdam, The Hague, Arnhem, Rotterdam, Alkmaar, and Schiedam.⁷⁷ In 1946 The Ramblers were hired once again as the dance orchestra for the V.A.R.A. A year before, the Eereraad voor de Kleinkunst (Honorary Council for Cabaret and Entertainment) had banned the orchestra from playing for “placing their arts in the service of the enemy”.⁷⁸ Willebrandts’ orchestra continued as The Skymasters for the AVRO. Klaas van Beeck and his dance orchestra and the Metropole Orkest, founded in 1945 by David Gysbert “Dolf” van der Linden (1915–1999), became the house bands of the K.R.O. and the Nederlandse Radio Unie (Dutch Radio Union, N.R.U.) respectively.⁷⁹

73 Openneer and Vuijsje. “1939–1945: Oorlog, Bezetting, en Bevrijding”.

74 Ibid.

75 Johnny and Jones were the artist names of Arnold Siméon “Nol” van Wesel (1918–1945) and Salomon “Max” Meyer Kannewasser (1916–1945).

76 Walda, Dick. 1980. *Trompettist in Auschwitz: Herinneringen aan Lex van Weren*. Amsterdam: De Boekerij.

77 Eyle, Wim van. “1945–1966: Bloei en Terugval: Jazz Behind the Dikes” (Stichting Nederlands Jazz Archief; <http://www.jazzarchief.nl>).

78 “Ramblers mogen drie jaar niet optreden” (*De Waarheid*, 20 September 1945, p. 1). Translation LR. Original text: “Zij hebben hun kunst [...] dienstbaar gemaakt aan den vijand”.

79 The N.R.U. was the forerunner of the Dutch public broadcaster NOS.

Despite the short supply of power, raw materials, and foreign currencies, record companies were able to restart their activities. The Hollandsche Decca Distributie soon found competition in Philips and Bovema in the production, import, and distribution of records.⁸⁰ From 1946, *Tuny Tunes*, a monthly publication on the latest “dance songs” on radio, gramophone, and film, began including jazz in its scope. *Rhythme* (1949–1961) was the first postwar monthly dedicated to “jazz, dance, and entertainment music”. Among the growing number of jazz books published after WWII, Hans de Vaal’s *Jazz* (1948) and Rolf ten Kate’s *6 over Jazz* (1958) are of particular interest, containing sections on Dutch jazz musicians and jazz activities in the Netherlands for the first time.⁸¹

The Concertgebouw and Sheherazade in Amsterdam, as well as Scheveningen’s Kurhaus became popular venues for hearing American musicians. During legendary night concerts between 1952 and 1966, the Concertgebouw was packed with crowds cheering famous American artists such as Lionel Hampton (1953), Duke Ellington (1959), John Coltrane (1963), Thelonious Monk (1964), and Ella Fitzgerald (1965). Journalist Ber Hulsing observed at Hampton’s concert that

Nobody sat down anymore, people stood on the arms of the chairs, ecstatic teenagers rushed to the stage and tried to get in front of the microphone or to touch the drums; some started to dance frantically; one girl who couldn’t stop shaking hysterically had to be carried out; amidst all the shouting, whistling and screaming “hey-barbariba” you could hear the desperate cries of the brass and the beating of the drums.⁸²

Over the years, the night concerts became legendary; the typical gritty black-and-white photos by Dutch jazz photographer Ed van der Elsen contributed to their mythical status.⁸³

4.1 Traditionalists and modern jazz

Dixieland, also referred to as “traditional”, “swing”, “old style”, and “revival” prevailed during the 1950s, with internationally acclaimed groups such as The Dutch Swing College Band, the Dixieland Pipers, and Jan Burgers’ New Orleans Syncopaters. These groups fell back on prewar jazz idioms, each employing variations on the traditional lineup of clarinet, trombone, saxophone, trumpet, piano, bass, and drums. Over the years, the traditional scene achieved relative independence, with its own musicians, venues (Haagse Jazzclub, from 1945), magazines (*Doctor Jazz*, from 1963), and festivals (Breda Jazz Festival, from 1971).⁸⁴

⁸⁰ For an account of the reception of jazz in the Netherlands during the reconstruction period see Kleinhout, Henk. 2007. *Jazz als een Probleem: Receptie en Acceptatie van de Jazz in de Wederopbouwperiode van Nederland, 1945–1952*. Hengelo: Elbertinck.

⁸¹ Vaal, Hans de. 1949. *Jazz: Van Oerwoudrhythme tot Hollywoodsymphonie*. Amsterdam: Jacob van Campen. and ten Kate, Rolf. 1958. *6 over Jazz: Kaleidoscoop van een Deels Miskende Muze*. Zaandijk: Heynis.

⁸² Hulsing, Ber. “Ze Waren Werkelijk Gek: Lionel Hampton Brak Jazz en Concertgebouw Af” (*De Waarheid*, 22 September 1953), p. 2. Translation LR. Original text: “[N]iemand zat meer, men stond op de leuning van de stoelen, broodronken pubers bestormden het podium en probeerden voor de microfoon of aan de drums te komen; enkelen uit het publiek hadden zich tot een danswoede opgezweept; een meisje dat het hysterische schokken niet meer kon laten was de zaal uitgedragen; boven het gejoel, gefluit en hee-barbariba-gekrijs uit waren alleen nog wat vertwijfelde kreten van het koper en het gebonk van de drums te horen.”

⁸³ Elsen, Ed van der. 1991 [1959]. *Jazz*. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij.

⁸⁴ Consult <http://www.doctorjazz.nl> for more information on the Dutch traditionalist jazz scene.

In the 1950s a new generation of jazz musicians emerged, modelling their music on the small group format of American “modern jazz” musicians such as Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie. The Dutch modern jazz players included combo and big band musicians, such as drummer Wessel Ilcken (1923–1957), pianists Rob Madna (1931–2003) and Frans Elsen (1934–2011), vocalist Rita Reys (b. 1924), trumpet players Ack and Jerry van Rooyen (b. 1930; 1928–2009), and bass player Ruud Jacobs (b. 1938). Many of these well-known artists are featured on what became known as the first Dutch modern jazz recordings – the series *Jazz Behind the Dikes* (Phonogram, 1955–1957) and *Jazz from Holland* (Bovema, 1956).

4.2 Organizing jazz: professionalization and institutionalization

Before WWII, amateurs and enthusiasts had dominated the organization and dissemination of jazz; after the war, however, these fields were increasingly taken over by (semi-) professional journalists and producers. Thanks to this growing group of committed jazz professionals, the organization of festivals, foundations, venues, and jazz writing increased, gradually becoming something resembling an infrastructure.

Paul Acket (1922–1992), for example, became an important figure of jazz life in the Netherlands. He organized concerts, jam sessions, booked international musicians for the night concerts at the Concertgebouw and was responsible for several publications on jazz. For instance, between 1949 and 1961, he co-edited the monthly magazine *Rhythme*, which focused on “modern music”. Acket would become most famous, however, for initiating the legendary North Sea Jazz Festival in 1978.

Producer and radio host Pete Felleman (1921–2000) also played a key role in the organization of Dutch jazz life. He was responsible for many jazz writings, including the short-lived magazines *Swing and Sweet* and *Philharmonic* (both published around 1950). As a radio host, Felleman made several radio programs, starting in 1947 with V.A.R.A.’s *Swing and Sweet, from Hollywood & 52nd Street*.

Another iconic radio producer of jazz was Michiel de Ruyter (1926–1994). As compiler, presenter, and editor, he contributed to at least ten jazz program series successively for the A.V.R.O., VARA and N.O.S. Further, he initiated *Jazz Behind the Dikes*, produced the three albums and wrote the liner notes.⁸⁵

In 1963, journalists Ben Bunders, Frank Visser and Harm Mobach formed the first committee of the *Stichting Jazz Nederland* (Netherlands Jazz Foundation, or SJN). The SJN was founded with the intention of setting up a jazz library, supporting young jazz musicians, and stimulating historical research for radio and television. The foundation’s first initiative was the establishment of a yearly award, the Wessel Ilcken Prijs, in 1963. The award, named after drummer Ilcken, who had died six years earlier, was sponsored by the state-funded Prins Bernard Foundation. The winners would include so-called modern musicians as well as representatives of more progressive forms of improvised music.⁸⁶

85 For more information on Michiel de Ruyter, see <http://www.jazzarchief.nl>.

86 The award was renamed the *Boy Edgar Prijs* in 1980, then the *VPRO / Boy Edgar Prijs* in 1992. The following musicians and groups have received the prize: Herman Schoonderwalt (1963), Boy Edgar (1964), Piet Noordijk (1965), Misha Mengelberg (1966), Han Bennink (1967), Harry Verbeke (1968), Hans Dulfer (1969), Willem Breuker (1970), Gijs Hendriks (1971),

5 1966–1980: factional struggles

Public interest in jazz music declined during the 1960s – partly as a result of the growing popularity of pop and rock and roll – forcing jazz musicians to search for other forms of employment. The decline became more noticeable as jazz associations disbanded and jazz clubs, including the once popular Sheherazade, were forced to close their doors.

However, jazz was simultaneously reaching new audiences through the emerging medium of television. The radio broadcasting associations were responsible for the television broadcasts, consequently increasing the scope of the radio orchestras. Jazz was increasingly featured in special programs, starting with the VARA's *Romance in Jazz* (1958–60), presented by reed player and composer Theo Loevendie. In the phonetically spelled *Dzjes Zien* (1964–1966) for the Protestant N.C.R.V. – “zien” means “to see” and is at the same time a word play on “scene” – pianist Pim Jacobs' trio and vocalist Rita Reys accompanied international musicians such as Astrud Gilberto, Wes Montgomery, and Herb Ellis. In general, most musicians involved in the broadcasting orchestras and televised jazz programs were linked with modern jazz.

5.1 Improvising musicians

From the late 1960s, developments in jazz were shaped by the growing tensions between established modern jazz musicians and the emerging Amsterdam-based “improvising musicians”, including reed player and bandleader Willem Breuker (1944–2010), drummer Han Bennink (b. 1942), and pianist Misha Mengelberg (b. 1935).⁸⁷ A significant moment in the establishment of the Improvised Music scene was the controversial performance of Breuker's “Litany for the 14th of June, 1966” at the finals of the Loosdrecht Jazz Concours (Loosdrecht Jazz Competition) in July 1966.⁸⁸ The piece's unconventional line-up, social-political theme and the use of largely pre-composed material – unprecedented in the annals of the rather conventionally organized jazz competition – provoked controversy and spread discord among the members of the jury.⁸⁹ Until then, jazz musicians of different generations had played side by side, most notably in the Boy Edgar's (1915–1980) popular modern big band, a band noted especially for its exceptional saxophone section, with Tinus Bruijn (1914–1997), Piet Noordijk (1932–2011), Theo Loevendie (b. 1930), Herman Schoonderwalt (1931–1997), Toon van Vliet (1922–1975), and Harry Verbeke (1922–2004). While other young musicians also developed

Kees Hazevoet (1972), Leo Cuypers (1973), Leerorkest De Boventoon (1974), Ohm (1975), Stichting Claxon: Maarten Altena & Michel Waisvisz (1978), Theo Loevendie (1979), Rein de Graaff (1980), Guus Janssen (1981), Alan Laurillard (1982), Nedly Elstak (1983), Martin van Duynhoven (1984), Ernst Reijseger (1985), Michael Moore (1986), J. C. Tans (1987), John Engels (1988), Ab Baars (1989), Greetje Bijma (1990), Willem van Manen (1992), Willem Breuker (1993), Franky Douglas (1994), Wolter Wierbos (1995), Michiel Braam (1997), Corrie van Binsbergen (1997/1998), Paul van Kemenade (1998/1999), Sean Bergin (2000), Eric Vloeimans (2001), Tony Overwater (2002), Tobias Delius (2003), Luc Houtkamp (2004), Benjamin Herman (2006), Bert van den Brink (2007), Pierre Courbois (2008), Ernst Glerum (2009), Anton Goudsmit (2010), Ferdinand Povel (2011), and Yuri Honing (2012).

⁸⁷ Bas Andriessen has interviewed improvising musicians in *Tetterettet* (Ubbergen: Tandem Felix, 1995). Likewise, Kevin Whitehead collected many anecdotes on this particular scene in *New Dutch Swing* (New York: Billboard Books, 1998).

⁸⁸ The competition was part of the Loosdrecht Jazz Festival, which was organized annually from 1958 and which continued under various names until 1989.

⁸⁹ Rusch, Loes. 2011. “Common Ground: 1970s Improvised Music as Part of a Cross-genre Dutch Ensemble Culture”, in: *Jazz Research Journal* 5.1/5.2, pp. 123–141.

in different directions – drummer Pierre Courbois (b. 1940), for example, experimented with free jazz, jazz-rock and other progressive styles –, these self-acclaimed improvising musicians explicitly distanced themselves from earlier jazz styles and presented their music as progressive, rebellious and non-conformist.⁹⁰ Their critique was aimed particularly at the Hilversum-based radio orchestra musicians, who they criticized as “commercial”, parochial, and slavish imitators of American jazz praxis. More traditional musicians such as Elsen, Reys, and Pim Jacobs (1934–1996) retorted by dismissing improvised music as “not swinging” and, in the words of Elsen, suffering from an “originality obsession”.⁹¹ The improvising musicians were responsible for both musical and organizational changes within Dutch jazz life. The founding of flexible collectives, such as the Instant Composers Pool (ICP, 1967) and the Willem Breuker Kollektief (1972), offered improvising musicians both an escape from the hierarchical organization of big bands and combos as well as new possibilities of musical expression. The musicians aimed at combining composed and improvised music, different musical traditions and art forms. As such, these collectives and their approach to jazz reflected the founders’ ideas of social criticism and anti-establishmentarianism.

To attract official recognition and encourage a restructuring of Dutch cultural life, improvising musicians consciously collaborated with Dutch contemporary composers (Louis Andriessen, Peter Schat, among others). By doing so, they were responsible for the first union of jazz musicians (BIM, 1971), the establishment of the Netherlands’ main jazz venue, the Bimhuis, and – after having taken over the SJN in 1970 – the first direct government funding of jazz. Furthermore, the initiation of independent record labels, most notably ICP and Willem Breuker’s BVHaast, reflected the improvising musicians’ ideals of workers’ control and democracy.⁹²

5.2 Formal jazz education⁹³

During the 1970s, jazz education became institutionalized, gradually developing in conservatories from optional courses to full-fledged, independent educational programs in “jazz” and “lichte muziek” (light music). While the conservatories initially reserved their courses for classical western music practices, students increasingly demanded jazz education. Around 1970, Ruud van Dijk, Rik Elings, and Henk Zomer – all students at the conservatory of Zwolle – initiated a jazz-arranging class, given by pianist and arranger Elsen. Elsen gave assignments in solfège, the theory of harmony, instrumentation, and composition – and simultaneously offered the means to try newly acquired skills out with the big band, which he also led.

Although the early jazz programs depended largely on the views and knowledge of independent teachers, Elsen’s views had a strong influence on the development of formal jazz education. As co-founder of the jazz departments in Rotterdam, Den Haag,

90 For more on the life and career of Pierre Courbois, see: Kusters, Paul and Titus Schulz (eds.). 2010. *Pierre Courbois: Révocation*. Utrecht: Van Gruting.

91 For an account of these debates, see the author’s MA thesis, “Jazzpracticum: Over de Institutionaliseren van jazzonderwijs in Nederland” (University of Amsterdam, MA-thesis, 2007), pp. 34–35.

92 Robert Adlington gives an account of the political implications of these musicians’ activities in “Organizing Labor: Composers, Performers, and the ‘Renewal of Musical Practice’ in the Netherlands, 1969–1972” (*The Music Quarterly* 90/3–4, 2008, pp. 539–577).

93 This section on the development of Dutch jazz departments derives to a large extent from Rusch 2007.

and Zwolle, as well as a piano and arranging teacher in Hilversum and Utrecht, Elsen was closely involved in the education of students, the appointment of teachers, and in developing the rough outlines of the educational programs. With his aesthetics and didactic ideas firmly based in Western classical harmony and the bebop idiom, he was both appreciated and criticized for his single-minded views.

Musicians had previously mastered the jazz idiom by listening to other musicians, transcribing from records, visiting jam sessions and workshops, and sitting in with bands and orchestras. Now, though this praxis-based learning remained crucial, institutionalized jazz programs were becoming an integral part of Dutch jazz life. During the 1980s the number of jazz departments at conservatories grew to eleven: in the order of their founding, Rotterdam, The Hague, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Hilversum, Groningen, Maastricht, Tilburg, Enschede, Zwolle, and Arnhem.

While improvising musicians preferred workshops as their main educational tool, many studio musicians, including trumpeters Ack van Rooyen, Jan Oosthof, trombonists Erik and Bart van Lier, saxophonists Piet Noordijk, Herman Schoonderwalt, and Ferdinand Povel, became teachers at the conservatories. These studio musicians turned to teaching partly as a result of the decreasing work in broadcasting orchestras – the K.R.O., VARA, and AVRO orchestras were disbanded in 1964, 1986, and 1997, respectively.

The jazz department in Amsterdam differed significantly from those of the other conservatories. In order to reflect the views of Mengelberg, Bennink, Breuker, and other staff members, the “lichte muziek” department in the 1980s changed its name into “Improvised Music” (IM). However, partly as a result of a lack of coherence – the main focus was on individual expression rather than developing technical skills or analytical and historical awareness – the educational program of the IM department did not prove very successful.

6 1980–2000: jazz professionalism

After 1980 processes of professionalization and institutionalization continued, further establishing the musico-cultural infrastructure of venues, festivals, educational programs, competitions, and foundations. Journalists attempted to capture this community and its activities in historical overviews, handbooks and annuals. In 1981, a Dutch jazz and blues discography was published and from 1982 on, jazz annuals recapitulated the most significant jazz activities of the year.

Jazz en Geïmproviseerde Muziek in Nederland (1978), a “handbook for the Dutch jazz world” offers particularly interesting insight into the Dutch jazz community.⁹⁴ Besides historical accounts of events and overviews of jazz publications, concerts, and venues, the book lists the addresses, phone numbers and short biographies of jazz musicians, journalists, and impresarios involved in Dutch jazz.

⁹⁴ Eyle, Wim van (ed.). 1978. *Jazz en Geïmproviseerde Muziek: Handboek voor de Nederlandse Jazzwereld*. Utrecht/Antwerpen: Het Spectrum.

It also includes profiles of jazz journalists (Hans Dulfer, Herman Openneer, Jan Mulder, and Bert Vuijsje, among others), offering a sense of the growing network and importance of jazz journalists.

Since the 1980s, the percentage of conservatory-trained Dutch jazz musicians has been on the rise. Several skilled soloists have surfaced from the first generation of conservatory-trained jazz artists, including the guitarists Anton Goudsmit (b. 1967), Martijn van Iterson (b. 1970), Jesse van Ruller (b. 1972), trumpeter Eric Vloeimans (b. 1963), saxophonists Benjamin Herman (b. 1968), Yuri Honing (b. 1965), Jasper Blom (1965), and pianists Michiel Borstlap (b. 1966) and Peter Beets (b. 1971). By now most of these musicians have also been involved as teachers in the jazz programs, either as private teachers or on a more temporary basis.

Many large jazz ensembles have also sprung up over time; some have managed to survive. Some older ensembles from the 1940s and 1970s, such as the Metropole Orkest, the ICP, and the Willem Breuker Kollektief, are still very much alive. The New Cool Collective, founded in 1994 by Benjamin Herman and the Cubop City Big Band, founded in 1995 by drummer/percussionist Lucan van Merwijk (b. 1961) both combine jazz with percussive, Latin elements. The New Concert Big Band (1996), now known as the Jazz Orchestra of the Concertgebouw, has continued to perform in the tradition of mainstream big bands, regularly featuring star soloists such as Elvin Jones, Toots Thielemans, Chick Corea, and Lee Konitz.

Among the larger ensembles continuing to experiment with free improvisation are Bik Bent Braam (1986) and Tetzepi Bigtet (1997). As a consequence of yet another generation of jazz musicians entering the field, the heated factional debates have largely faded: in 1993, the jazz departments at Hilversum and Amsterdam fused into the Conservatorium van Amsterdam, bridging the gap between two different worlds. Likewise, Amsterdam's Bimhuis is no longer exclusively the home base of improvising musicians but also features modern jazz musicians as well as representatives of world music.

7 Recent years: online

At the beginning of the third millennium, musico-cultural developments in the Netherlands have been shaped by increased technological possibilities – particularly the Internet – further facilitating cross-cultural and transnational collaboration and expanding the musical spectrum with new sounds. With the diminishing control of record industries and decreasing governmental support for the arts, the Internet offers musicians new opportunities to promote and sell their music through *iTunes*, *Facebook*, and other websites. In particular the latest financing option of *crowd funding* enables artists to realize their projects and re-establish their relation with new audiences. Benjamin Herman, for example, recently announced that he would write the music for a crowd-funded romantic comedy by Dutch film director Eddie Terstall.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ www.jazzenzo.nl

While the government increasingly tightens its cultural budget – in 2011, Halbe Zijlstra, the Secretary for Education, Culture, and Science, announced that the current €900 million government arts budget would be cut by €200 million – there is once again a growing need for versatility in order to continue performing. The Metropole Orchestra – the only broadcast jazz and pop orchestra that has managed to survive governmental budget cuts – continues its crossover performances with pop, jazz, and classical musicians, performing at a variety of venues and festivals. Likewise, the ever-successful North Sea Jazz Festival – moved from The Hague to Rotterdam in 2006 – continues to expand its boundaries and attract new audiences by including Snoop Dogg, Prince, Tom Jones, and the FIFA World Cup finals (2010) in its program.

The development of unique, local jazz scenes is garnering increasing recognition in historical writings and academic research, demonstrated by the remarkably large number of books published in the last decade focusing on the specific jazz scenes of Tilburg (2011), Breda (2010), The Hague and Scheveningen (2008), Hengelo (2008), Leiden (2008), Rotterdam (2006), the Zaanstreek (2004), and Delft (1996).⁹⁶ Scholars are studying Dutch jazz from different social, economic, and musico-cultural perspectives, resulting in an ever-increasing stream of bachelor and master studies and dissertations. Jan Mulder has compiled all Dutch writings on jazz in a series of bibliographies entitled *Jazz op Schrift* (Names & Numbers, 2005, 2008, 2010), supplemented with a bibliography of jazz photography (*Names & Numbers*, 2011).⁹⁷

Jazz criticism is also impacted by the new possibilities of the Internet. While experienced Dutch journalists and radio makers have found their place on the websites of the Dutch Jazz Archive, online jazz magazines *Jazzflits* and *Jazzenzo*, and the digital Radio 6, with its “soul & jazz” format, their authority is challenged by *Facebook*, *Twitter*, and other social media on which audiences can directly exchange their experiences.⁹⁸

The youngest Dutch bands currently active – often including non-Dutch members – make use of the jazz idiom in different ways, varying from eclecticism to remaining more or less faithful to a particular genre or style. In general, conservatory-trained jazz musicians are not restricted to one band or style, but are found in different settings and projects (pop concerts, jam sessions, big bands, as a soloist with DJs).

The former conservatory students of the band Tin Men and the Telephone, for example, cunningly fuse their personal knowledge, combining jazz-related idioms, improvisational techniques, Balkan music, traditional Dutch songs, Christmas songs, and street sounds with the latest technologies (samples, live electronica).

The Hammond organ quartet Bruut! on the other hand, deliberately strives to wed its collective conservatory-based knowledge of the jazz idiom with catchy tunes,

96 Heijden, Rinus van der [et al.]. 2010. *Jazz in Tilburg: Honderd Jaar Avontuurlijke Muziek*. Tilburg: Self-published; van de Kar-Vervooren, Hennie. 2010. *Breda Jazz Festival 1971–2000: 40 x een Beleving*. Rotterdam: Trichis; Gout, Cor. 2008. *En dan nu de Polonaise: Muziek in Den Haag en Scheveningen*. Den Haag: Trespassers; Kleinhout, Henk. 2008. *Swing Is the Thing: Hengelo en de Jazz 1920–1960*. Hengelo: Smit van 1876; Koopman, Piet. 2004. *Jazzkroniek van de Zaanstreek 1925–2000*. Krommenie: Stichting Elitèr; van Bergen, Peter [et al.]. 1996. *Smørrebrød: Kroniek van 33 Jaar Jazz & Geïmproviseerde Muziek – te Delft, Europa – in Woord, Beeld en Geluid*. Delft: Stichting SMØR.

97 Mulder, Jan J. 2010 [1999]. *Jazz op Schrift: Een Bibliografie van Nederlandse Jazzliteratuur: Deel 1: Boeken en Bladen: Herziene en Vermeerdere Editie*. Almere: Names & Numbers; ibid. 2005. *Deel 2: Muziektijdschriften 1923–2003*. Almere: Names & Numbers; ibid. 2008. *Deel 3: Verborgene Klanken*. Almere: Names & Numbers; ibid. 2011. *Jazz Photography: A Bibliography Spanning 75 Years*. Almere: Names & Numbers.

98 www.jazzarchief.nl, www.jazzflits.nl, www.jazzenzo.nl, and www.radio6.nl.

creating singable and danceable music.⁹⁹ In 2009, conservatory-trained jazz vocalist Caro Emerald (b. 1981) scored worldwide hits with “Back it Up” and “A Night Like This”. By combining a mambo-derived musical style with Billy Holiday-inspired fashion and images of 1920s Hollywood, Emerald draws from both the musical practices and the imagery associated with jazz.

Another young Dutch artist indebted to the jazz idiom is trumpeter and bandleader Colin Benders (b. 1986), alias Kytteman. Kytteman reached the charts with his flexible and eclectic hip-hop orchestra – a formation with a rhythm section, string quartet, and brass instruments as well as several MCs – performing semi-improvised songs that fuse French and English rap with improvised solos, jazz riffs, and danceable beats. In 2012, Kytteman performed at the North Sea Jazz Festival with Kytcrash, a project jointly realized with Vloeimans’ band Gatecrash. The local government of Kytteman’s hometown of Utrecht played a key role in the development of these projects, having offered him an abandoned woodworking company to develop his Kytopia, a working place for artists with studios, offices, and even apartments.

As a praxis, jazz in the Netherlands has evolved into a subcultural scene, informing other subcultural movements as well as popular music practices. However, it has also enriched Dutch cultural life with imagery and language. Perhaps most revealing is the way jazz appeared in the widely popular sketches of the Dutch cabaret group Jiskefet, and comedian and jazz crooner Hans Teeuwen: as something cool but unnecessarily complicated and difficult, as demonstrated in Jiskefet’s 1994 stereotyped “jazz-act” of three men quasi-nonchalant snapping their fingers, nodding their heads, and tapping their feet to Miles Davis’ “Budo” while trying to light their cigarettes. However, as demonstrated by Teeuwen’s 2003 scat of Charlie Parker’s solo on “Bird of Paradise” it is also seen as an acquired taste beyond all knowledge learned at school, and for that reason utterly beautiful.¹⁰⁰ We are now charting the ripple effect as jazz moves through the medium of culture, becoming ever more difficult to document in its progress and attenuation yet always instantly recognizable – a familiar language, whether at the center or on the periphery.

99 Alto saxophone player Maarten Hogenhuis on the ideas behind the formation of Bruut!: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jool8LUfqCY&feature=related>.

100 Jiskefet’s “jazz-act” (1994): <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DzR6c0MXnw8>; Hans Teeuwen sings Charlie Parker’s 1947 solo on “Bird of Paradise”: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rxgvWoePcuY>.

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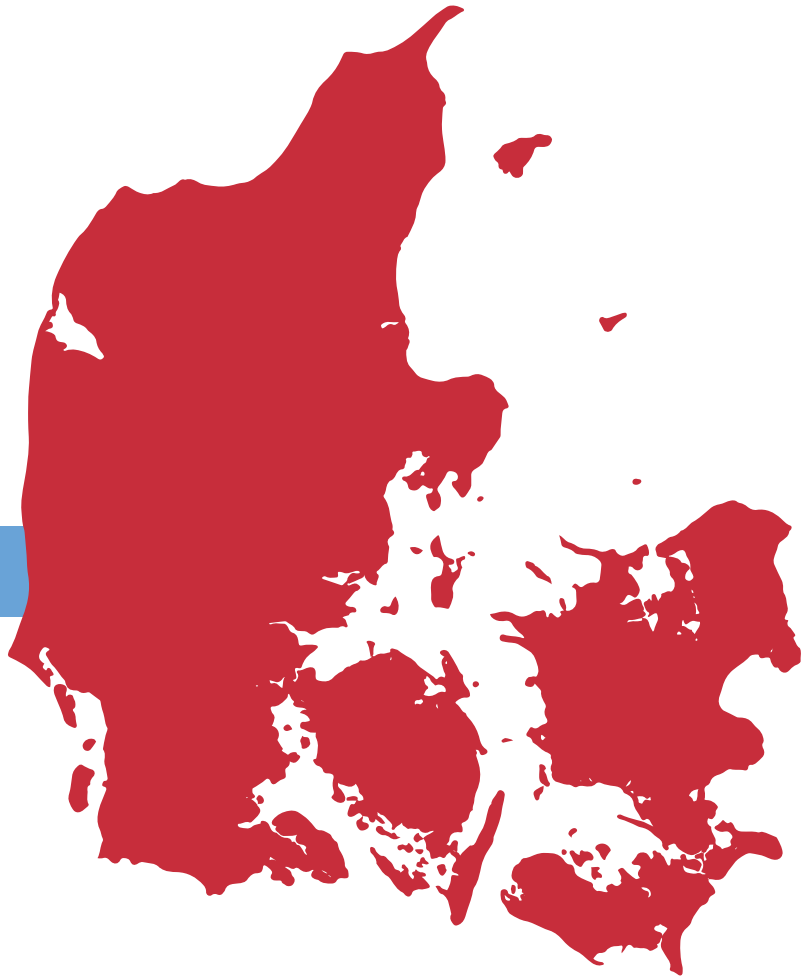
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1 Precursors and early jazz: 1891–1929

Interest in jazz-related music in Denmark can be traced back to the turn of the 20th century, when the Danish population encountered African American music and vaudeville acts, such as “The Black Opera” (1891/92), the “Fisk Jubilee Singers” (1895), and “The American Black Troubadours” (1900) (Wiedemann 1990: 484f.). As the very first black vaudeville show to visit Denmark, “The Black Opera” left a strong impression. The company, listed in the Danish press as James Dodd & Co’s Coloured Troupe, consisted of singers, dancers and comedians. Mamie Flowers, a soprano, made a favorable impression, but it was comedian and dancer George Jackson who charmed the Copenhagen audience, introducing them to tap dance and cakewalks (Wiedemann 1982: 39).¹⁰²

From the late 1900s till early 1920s, jazz was associated with dance styles rather than a particular form of music. Thus, the gramophone was initially not the primary medium for jazz dissemination, but rather live orchestras playing in the numerous restaurants, dance-clubs, variety theatres, cafés and night clubs. As Wiedemann also notes, those recordings that were imported by Danish record companies, such as the Original Dixieland Jazz Band’s “At the Jazz Band Ball / Ostrich Walk” (1917) and “Bluin’ the Blues / Sensation Rag” (1918) as well as Paul Whiteman’s “The Japanese Sandman / Whispering” (1920), did not necessarily give the general Danish public a very accurate idea of what jazz could be (Wiedemann 1982: 88 and Lord 1997: 138f.).

The first jazz concerts in the 1920s mainly featured symphonic jazz, combining elements of classical music and jazz. In 1923, the saxophonist Valdemar Eiberg (1892–1965) founded a band, which is regarded as the first Danish jazz band and the first ensemble to produce two jazz records in 1924 (“I’ve Got a Crossed-Eyed Papa” and “In Bluebird Land”).

In the same year, “The Hungarian Dixie Boys”, one of the first foreign jazz bands to perform in Denmark, played a concert. Also in 1923, the black American trumpeter and saxophonist Egberth E. Thompson visited Copenhagen with his jazz band, announced as “Thompson’s Original Jazz Band from New York”. According to Clausen, Thompson was the musician who introduced the Copenhageners to real jazz music (Clausen 1988: 151, 174). It is worth noting that Thompson’s background as well as some members of his band and other black musicians in Europe and Denmark at the time were not “American” in

¹⁰¹ This article has originally been published by Dvinge, Anne, Bruckner-Haring, Christa and Caterina Kehl. 2013. “Historical Overview of the Development of Jazz in Denmark”, in: *Jazzforschung / Jazz Research* 44 (2012). Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, pp. 7–25.

¹⁰² Various sources in Danish jazz historiography seem to have perpetuated certain errors regarding these early African American theatre companies in Europe. James “Dodd” was in fact Col. James Todd, who had taken over a troupe from the prolific William Foote in September 1891; and Mamie Flowers is frequently cited as “Black Patti”, also known as Sissieretta Jones. However, the “Black Patti” epithet seems to have been attributed somewhat capriciously to black female opera singers and Mamie Flowers and Sissieretta Jones were not the same individual (Abbott/Seroff 2002: 150 and Peterson 2001: 91).

any simple sense of the term. Rather, Thompson's background reflected the complicated dynamics of black movement across the Atlantic as well as trans-hemispheric movements.¹⁰³ Furthermore, numerous American jazz musicians and bands performed in Denmark, such as Sam Wooding's orchestra (also known as the "Chocolate Kiddies"), Louis Armstrong, Coleman Hawkins, Fats Waller and Benny Carter.

The tendency in the Danish press to label every black performer in Copenhagen as American, regardless of nationality, speaks of the links made between jazz as an American art form, blackness, and ideas of authenticity, and it reveals the heavily racialized discourse that permeated the reception of jazz well into the 1940s. Jazz and its black musicians were associated with "jungle music", "primitivism", and "monkeys" (Wiedemann 1993: 43ff.). In Erik Wiedemann's comprehensive study of jazz in Denmark between the 1920s and 1940s he lists a series of myths that formed the discourse surrounding jazz, some of them continuing to prevail until the very end of this period (Wiedemann 1982: 374f.).

The earliest myths were deeply racist and negative. Spurious connections between race, primitivism, and sexual impropriety served as ammunition in the battle against jazz. It was an "uncivilized witticism"; the "negro music 'howls' of melodic poverty", and its "effect on today's youth is mainly due to its incitement to a certain animalism that has nothing to do with music and only very little with dancing" (ibid.: 117f.). Another myth, with a negative cultural emphasis rather than racial, at least on the surface, saw jazz as something foreign that not only did not belong, but might also be damaging to Danish culture and music. The Danish romantic composer Carl Nielsen, who initially showed some interest in jazz, suggested that jazz would not maintain a hold in Denmark as it had "no content and no roots in our culture", but then preceded to note, with some alarm, that it was spreading, "planting the bacteria of putrefaction in higher music" (ibid.: 115). The contradiction between dismissal and warning that lies in these statements clearly denotes the anxiety of a generation and mindset that had cultivated and benefitted from the national romanticism of the late 19th century. On the side of positives was the equally racist idea (what Wiedemann lists as the third myth) that jazz could only be played by black musicians as it was something you had to be born with. As a fourth myth, Wiedemann points to the perception of jazz as a "natural" music, with an emphasis of the body and rhythm – one that could be learned by everyone, but most easily by children or people that had not been corrupted by European artificiality. In continuation with this is the fifth and final of Wiedemann's myths; that of jazz as a folk music.

None of these myths were unique to Denmark. Both in the US and elsewhere in Europe, variations on the same themes were widely circulated. What differed in Denmark was how the Danish critical movement of Cultural Radicalism, through an investment in particularly the last two myths, came to function as a catalyst for the entry of jazz into Danish culture, on a level that went far beyond art and entertainment.

¹⁰³ He was born of Jamaican parents in 1883 in Sierra Leone, grew up in Jamaica, trained as an army bandsman in London, emigrated to New York in 1907, served in France during WWI, resettled briefly in New York and spent the 1920s touring and working in Europe until his death in Paris in 1927 (Clausen 1988: 161f.).

2 Jazz pedagogy and cultural radicals: 1930–1939

The 1920s saw a generation that acutely felt the crumbling of the fabric of the pre-WWI society and culture. For them, the music (and the dancing) offered not just a new and liberating way of listening and interacting, but a lifestyle that formulated an alternative to the status quo. The after-hours dancing and musicking in the nightclubs in the 1920s and 1930s signified a critique of a Biedermeier society that had closed in on itself. The Danish saxophonist and bandleader Kai Ewans, who was to become one of the pioneers in Danish jazz, said of his first encounter with American jazz on the phonograph that (Wiedemann 1982: 26)

[...] there was something about them, something that resonated with an inner feeling we had, something that made us cock our ears and excited our interest. It wouldn't be wrong to say that we felt this was something new that specifically called to us because it was something we, fundamentally, also understood.

Writer Tom Kristensen declared himself, tongue in cheek, a barbarian for loving jazz. He gaily acknowledged the apocalyptic elements that the debunkers heard in jazz, but welcomed it as a call for a revolution. A revolution against what he saw as a repressed and inhibited culture. Yes, jazz had an erotic element, but it was an honest and straightforward eroticism. Whatever lewdness opponents saw in jazz was their own, for “jazz was not lewdness, it was a free body culture” (ibid.: 120f.).

The free body culture that Tom Kristensen advocated was part and parcel of what later came to be known as “Cultural Radicalism”. When the Danish literary scholar and critic Elias Bredsdorff described the term in 1955, he defined it as¹⁰⁴

a way of thought that is founded on respect for humanity, thinks in international perspectives, and is burdened with a social consciousness [...] a spiritual heresy that reveals habitual thinking, hypocrisy, phrases, and clichés; a spiritual openness that refuses to look only at the labels, but takes an unbiased stand towards the realities behind them.

The reform movement of cultural radicalism had its heyday in Denmark between the two World Wars, but has continued to have an effect on Danish critical thought and the arts through the turn of the 21st century. Independent of party politics, cultural radicalism was based in rational-humanistic ethics and influenced by Kant's critical epistemology, Marxist historical materialism, and Freudian psychoanalysis. Through the journal *Kritisk Revy* (“Critical Review”, which ran 1926–1928), the movement sought to liberate thought and art, taking a stand against myopic nationalism, Victorian morals, and sentimentalism.

Architect, writer, and critic Poul Henningsen (popularly known as PH in Denmark), together with composer Bernhard Christensen and literature professor Svend Møller Kristensen (all central figures in cultural radicalism), were strong advocates for jazz in the 1920s and 1930s. In the early 1930s Henningsen and Bernhard Christensen were commissioned by the Danish foreign ministry to create a film that would promote

¹⁰⁴ Quoted in “Kulturradikalisme” (*Den Store Danske Encyklopædi Online*), <http://www.denstoredanske.dk/index.php?sideId=112135>.

Denmark and Danish culture. The resulting *Danmarksfilmen* (The Denmark Film) premiered in 1935 to immediate controversy. The film's juxtaposition of Danish countryside, the spires of Copenhagen, young girls on bicycles, and jazz was deemed unpatriotic, a misrepresentation of Danishness.¹⁰⁵ Journalists and critics alike objected to "Negroes making noise" and to the use of "Negro rhythms" that would "transport the audience to Africa or a New York ballroom". The bizarre but strangely common correlation between Africa and New York – primitivism and modernity – aside, it is clear that the perceived foreignness of the music was enhanced by invoking its blackness, even though it had been composed and performed by Danes. Poul Henningsen defended his choice (Wiedemann 1982: 231):

I believe [...] that we have made the right choice in using mainly entirely modern Danish music, internationally oriented, as music always is, and using international instruments. By doing so we are provided with an important effect, as the music speaks a language understood everywhere, in rhythmic and atmospheric correlation to the images. The music alone needs no translation. It is understood everywhere and we must take advantage of that.

Henningsen thus insisted on the use of jazz as a cosmopolitan language that would be understood precisely by the film's core audience, that abroad. But what is also notable here is an understanding of "modern Danish music" and Danishness as something other than a narrowly defined ethnic nationalism.

The Danish cultural radicals considered jazz an expression of something essential in a modern and contemporary Western culture. They insisted on its universality, precisely because of its "naturalness", "physicality", and "primitivism". Their focus on the so-called primitive elements was less in terms of exoticism, but more as a means to move toward something less artificial. As noted by Wiedemann in his listing of the various jazz myths, a discourse that emphasizes primitivism in an understanding of blackness as something positive rather than something negative is no less racialized – and this understanding of jazz did blind the cultural radicals to the more complex elements of jazz, resulting in criticism from serious jazz musicians and listeners alike (Pedersen 2009: 76). However, the infatuation with jazz from the cultural radicals of the 1930s and onwards placed the music at the center of the cultural debate in Denmark in a way that had no contemporary parallel elsewhere in Europe. In particular, cultural radicalism tapped into jazz in a wholesale reform of music pedagogy.

The cultural radical jazz pedagogy evolved parallel to the folk music movement in the 1930s. The first Danish folk music school opened in 1931 and the first Danish jazz music school, founded by "Dansk Jazzmusik-Forening" [Danish jazz music association], opened in 1935. The rhythmic nature of jazz was to support a pedagogy based on the same free body culture that Tom Kristensen advocated, one that allowed children to create music based on natural patterns of movement and breath. Mere passive reception was not a productive route and the purpose of the school was to stimulate amateurs and

¹⁰⁵ It was not just the music that was seen as offensive, but also the way Henningsen had juxtaposed certain images. Case files from the Foreign Ministry show that after the first screenings in April 1935, it was deemed necessary (by the Foreign Ministry and the Federation of Danish Industries) to make a number of changes. For example, a scene showing a number of official guests to the royal palace – all coming out of the same car in a seemingly endless stream – was followed by a shot of beer bottles on a production line. This sarcastic commentary on systems and shows of power did not sit comfortably with the authorities (Petterson 2009).

children into active creation and create a “FOLK MUSIC SCHOOL based on jazz music” (Wiedemann 1982: 216).

“Dansk Jazzmusik-Forening” (from 1931 to 1935) was a jazz appreciation club with some similarities to the “hot clubs” proliferating throughout the US and the rest of Europe in the early 1930s. However, it differed in being based on a specific pedagogical purpose: All members were to gain knowledge of jazz through practice. To put it differently, it emphasized a holistic approach to body-muscular awareness along with featuring spontaneous improvisation and creativity. This new pedagogy was initiated by several members of the cultural radical movement, but central were composer Bernhard Christensen (1906–2004), writer and critic Svend Møller Kristensen (1909–1991), and music pedagogue Astrid Gøssel (1891–1975) (Müller 1990: 14).¹⁰⁶ “Dansk Jazzmusik-Forening” became the stepping-stone of jazz music education in the 1930s. Furthermore, the club was the first to organize so-called “jazz oratorios”, compositions that incorporated elements of both jazz and classical music. These oratorios, written by Christensen and Kristensen, were satires depicting school education and the conflict between jazz and classical music and were intended to be used in schools and by amateur bands. Examples of these oratorios are “Skolen pa ho’ det” [The School Upside Down], 1935, and “De 24 timer” [The 24 Hours] (Wiedemann 1990: 486 and Larsen).

Kristensen also published the first Danish attempt toward a theoretical explanation for jazz, *Hvad Jazz er* [What Jazz Is] (1938), as well as the Danish jazz-magazine *h.o.t.* Other jazz magazines followed, such as *Jazzrevy*, published by Timme Rosenkrantz (1911–1969). Rosenkrantz was also known as the Danish “Jazz Baron”, one of the first European journalists to report on the jazz scene in Harlem, and who later became instrumental in bringing bebop to Denmark after World War II (Wiedemann 1990: 486 and Harsløf/Slumstrup 2011: 8f.).¹⁰⁷

3 The Danish “golden age of jazz”: 1940–1945

In April 1940, the German forces occupied Denmark but guaranteed the Danes relative political independence under Danish governance. The Danish government initially collaborated with the Wehrmacht in order to spare the country’s resources and people, forming an official “Policy of Negotiation” (Dethlefsen 1990: 196). In addition, although jazz was considered “entartet”, degenerate, under German National Socialism, it was never officially banned by the Nazis.¹⁰⁸ These factors made it possible for the period to become known as the “golden age” of Danish jazz.

¹⁰⁶ See also <http://www.goessel.dk/917> Astrid Goessel.htm.

¹⁰⁷ See also <http://www.donaldclarkemusicbox.com/encyclopedia/detail.php?s=968> and <http://www.jazzbaron.com>.

¹⁰⁸ For instance, a number of German record companies continued to (re)issue jazz records well into the 1940s, but making use of the less ideologically laden terms, “Swing” and “Rhythm”. These records were mainly intended for export, to ensure much needed income, but not a small number trickled through to domestic fans. The radio also continued to broadcast popular and dance music, both in line with Goebbels’ stated policy of normality, but also to keep German listeners on German channels, away from the BBC and other enemy stations. The propaganda machinery even went so far as to establish dance and jazz orchestras such as the Deutsche Tanz- und Unterhaltungsorchester and the notorious band “Charlie and His Orchestra”, led by Lutz Templin (http://www.swingtime.de/swings/swings_en.html and Kater 2003: 33).

As Erik Wiedemann notes, although the core audience for jazz remained fairly constant during the German occupation, there was a marked rise in a marginal or contiguous audience. As the first shock of the occupation died down and the Danes started going out again, new dance restaurants featuring jazz opened and huge swing concerts sold out in a matter of days. Significantly, the number of jazz records produced soared, jumping from 29 records in 1939 to 101 in 1940, a rise of more than 300%. The production numbers peaked in 1942 with 169 records, tapered off in 1943–1944, and then suffered a severe drop in 1945 to just 26 records produced (Wiedemann 1982: 262). These numbers point to mainly two things: First, the import of American records ended almost completely with the occupation, creating a new market for Danish jazz albums. Second, the rise in popularity for jazz seems to have been fully contingent on the presence of the German Wehrmacht in Denmark and subsequently died down after the liberation. Thus, the symbolic value of jazz markedly increased during the years of World War II.

The parallel between Danish folk music and jazz also manifested itself during the German occupation. As a form of cultural resistance there was a marked rise in interest in both musics. The Danish song tradition and particularly the tradition of community singing received renewed attention as affirmation of Danish culture and history, whereas jazz became a signifier for internationalism and anti-fascism. Unlike in the 1930s, there was no longer a debate whether jazz was a racially and culturally foreign form, or any strong opposition to the idea of jazz as alternative vernacular. Jazz was no longer seen in opposition to folk music, but as part and parcel thereof.

During the occupation many foreign musicians were not able to enter Denmark. Hence, local jazz musicians were in great demand and consequently were not only able to make a living from their music, but also had the opportunity to focus on and improve their craft. Some of the most important figures of Danish jazz educated out of the time of the German occupation, for instance Kai Ewans (1906–1988, piano, bandleader), Leo Mathisen (1906–1969, piano, arranger, composer, singer, bandleader), Peter Rasmussen (1906–1992, trombone, bandleader) and Bruno Henriksen (1910–1984, piano, arranger, bandleader), who were also leaders of the most important big bands of that period. Ewan's big band's playing style for example resembled that of Benny Goodman and Count Basie as well as occasionally Duke Ellington. The band considered the biggest and most stable was headed by Henriksen, who played mainly arrangements inspired by Glenn Miller. Mathisen's ensemble was the most popular of the period; a sextet which played almost without interruption in a club called "Munich" until the Liberation. Mathisen was inspired by Fats Waller, especially his rhythm, reflected in the instrumentation as well as his playing style (Wiedemann 1993: 48). Another band was the "Harlem Kiddies", a mixed race group formed by drummer Kaj Timmermann (1912–1995) and the two brothers Jimmi and Jonny Campbell (1916–2009 and 1917–2010), guitarist and saxophonist respectively. Timmermann's father was the Congolese Joseph Tchicai (who later fathered saxophonist John Tchicai), who had settled in Denmark around 1910. The Campbells' African American father, William Campbell, arrived in Denmark in 1891 as a cast member in the aforementioned "Black Opera". The band's popularity was due both to its hard-swinging jump style and its mixed-race personnel, which was perceived as a delightful slap in the face of the Germans.

4 Enter bebop and revival jazz: 1946–1959

With the end of the Second World War the Danish jazz scene had to face a number of changes. Jazz was no longer considered a sign of an anti-German attitude. Due to the lack of working possibilities, many musicians had to go to other countries such as Sweden, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and the American zone in Germany (Holt 2002: 173ff.). Generally, restaurants, swing music and professional jazz musicians lost importance during those years. Instead, jazz clubs, traditional jazz, and amateur musicians gained more and more importance (Wiedemann 1990: 484). But the end of the war also introduced the Danish jazz audience and musicians to bebop, Timme Rosenkrantz was the man behind bringing Don Redman and his band to Copenhagen in September 1946. When visiting Denmark immediately after the war in 1945, he noted that the jazz being played was lagging behind to what was going on in the States (Harsløf/Slumstrup 2011: 8). Due to restriction on imports during the war, the Danish musicians had not had much chance to keep up with developments in the US and were not prepared for bebop. As saxophonist Egon Esbensen (1921–1975) said on his first listening to Dizzy Gillespie “It’s terrible, you become corny overnight” (Wiedemann 1982: 345). But the confusion and shock was quickly replaced by excitement. The Don Redman visit was important as the band spent a full week in Copenhagen before their concert on September 15th, rehearsing during the day and jamming with the Danish musicians at night. This meant an unprecedented opportunity to listen to and talk with the American musicians, both at public and private sessions (Harsløf/Slumstrup 2011: 12). Musicians such as Boris Rabinowitsch (b. 1925, piano), Max Brüel (1927–1995, alto sax), Jørgen Ryg (1927–1981, trumpet), Erik Moseholm (1930–2012, double bass) and Jørgen Lausen (piano) were among the first generation of what became known as the “modernists”.

Another important trend that began in the postwar years was the revival of New Orleans or Traditional jazz. As with the case of bebop, there was a delay in picking up this movement from the States and the UK, but once the isolation of the occupation was lifted it became a veritable youth movement. Young people in Denmark quickly appropriated this music as dance music, and jazz clubs and amateur bands shot up all over the country. One of the central organizers was Karl Emil Knudsen, who in 1952 founded the record label “Storyville”, the original mission of which “was simply to reissue US recordings for Scandinavian revivalist fans” (May). The label recorded artists such as Benny Goodman, Ken Colyer, Louis Armstrong, Ben Webster and Count Basie (ibid.), but later recordings with local and visiting musicians became the primary focus for the label, most notably recordings of the Jazzpar Prize winners in the 1990s (Harsløf/Slumstrup 2011: 133).

As in other jazz cultures, the differences between the “modernists” and the “traditionalists” spurred some debate. The divide ran along the lines of art vs. entertainment, technical prowess vs. authenticity, new vs. old, but more so between fan bases rather than between the musicians, who would often play on both sides of the proverbial fence. Traditional and modern jazz in Denmark in the 1950s were both primarily fueled by “amateur” musicians – musicians who did not rely on performing as their primary means of income. “Professional” musicians continued to play swing and dance music, catering to the audiences in the dance restaurants, whereas amateur musicians were free to pursue the style of their own choice. However, as these amateurs were often highly, even fervently dedicated, their skills soon closed the gap, and the boundaries between “professional” and amateur began to blur (ibid.: 35).

5 The Montmartre era: 1959–1976

There is no overestimating the importance of the “Jazzhus Montmartre” in the 1960s and 1970s. The club had actually existed since the 1930s as a dance restaurant, the “Club Montmartre”, but it was after Anders Dyrup took it over in 1959 and later, when it was run by Herluf Kamp-Larsen from 1961 to 1976, that it came into its own as one of the most important jazz venues in Europe.

During that decade and a half, the “Jazzhus Montmartre” had a tremendous impact on the Danish jazz scene, hosting American jazz musicians such as Stan Getz, Oscar Pettiford, Dexter Gordon, Ben Webster, Kenny Drew, and Ernie Wilkins, who influenced and inspired Danish musicians such as Niels-Henning Ørsted Pedersen (1946–2005, bass), Mads Vinding (b. 1948, bass), Jesper Lundgaard (b. 1954, bass), Bo Stief, (b. 1946, bass), Alex Riel (b. 1940, drums), and Palle Mikkelborg (b. 1941, trumpet). According to Wiedemann, these Danish jazz musicians “received optimal jazz schooling [by] accompanying the American musicians”. Furthermore, “Danish jazz musicians also found working conditions which had not hitherto existed in Denmark. Thus, the club came to be the most important single factor in the establishing and flowering of professional jazz music in Denmark since about 1960” (Wiedemann 1995: 275).

The Montmartre also played a vital part in establishing an avant-garde scene in Copenhagen. When Kamp-Larsen in 1962 booked Cecil Taylor for three consecutive weeks at the club, he did so because he felt that new directions in the music ought to be represented. Taylor’s stay evoked bewilderment and excitement; once again the definitions of jazz were up for debate. A packed Q-&-A session with Taylor was held in Copenhagen and reviews of the concerts reflected the confusion his playing had engendered but also the sense that something important and new was at stake (Büchman-Møller/Wolsgaard-Iversen 2010: 53). As critic Torben Ulrich exclaimed: “*we are at the crucible*, nose all the way in, and we can sit for weeks” (Ulrich 2003: 237). Albert Ayler and the New York Contemporary Five (with John Tchicai) also prompted enthusiastic responses from critics and audiences.

The booking policies of Kamp-Larsen were, whilst artistically uncompromising, not necessarily financially viable and the economy of the club began to suffer in the early 1970s. Several attempts to raise money through benefit concerts, grants, and the involvement of the Danish Jazz Musicians’ Union fell through and the club closed its doors in St. Regnegade in February 1976 (Büchman-Møller/Wolsgaard-Iversen 2010: 218).¹⁰⁹

An important offshoot of Montmartre was the record label “SteepleChase”. It was founded by Nils Winther in Copenhagen in 1972; Winther had been recording on the side at the club and it was more by chance than by design that a recording with Jackie McLean became the first official release. The releases of the label reflected Montmartre’s transatlantic focus, featuring musicians such as Ben Webster, Duke Jordan, Dexter Gordon and Stan Getz. Over the years, “SteepleChase” has also started to promote younger, talented musicians trying to establish themselves on the jazz scene (Harsløf/Slumstrup 2011: 263).

¹⁰⁹ A second reincarnation of “Jazzhus Montmartre” was opened on a different location, Nørregade 41, in September 1979 by Kay Sørensen, also known as JazzKay. After the death of Sørensen in 1988 the club’s jazz format came under pressure. Nevertheless, the club remained in operation under different owners until 1995.

6 Jazz on the State budget and in the streets: 1976–1980s

In May 1976, the Danish Parliament passed the Music Act, the world's first music-centered legislation for state support of the arts. The effort to bring the Act about was mainly due to the work of the National Music Council, founded in 1971. However, in the first version of the Act, close to 75% of the funds were devoted to classical music; it was not until the 1986 revision that the imbalances were significantly addressed (Slumstrup 2001: 10).

Measures to place music and jazz more centrally on the political map in Denmark had been underway for a couple of decades, starting with "Den Danske Jazzkreds" [The Danish Jazz Circle], founded in 1956 at the initiative of Erik Wiedeman. It was created to promote jazz and among its chief measures was the "Jazz Musicians of the Year" awards from 1957 to 1975. In 1971 "Det Danske Jazzcenter" followed, an archive and knowledge and advocacy center for Danish jazz. It was founded by trumpeter Arvid Meyer and run from his house in the countryside south of Copenhagen. From 1975 it was partially funded by the Music Council and by 1995 it received 1.7 million DKK (Hørslef/Slumstrup 2011: 370). When Meyer retired in 1997 the Danske Jazzcenter and the Danske Jazzkreds was merged to form "Dansk Jazzforbund", the precursor to today's "JazzDanmark", "the central, joint guild for jazz in Denmark" (<http://www.jazzdanmark.dk>).

The one organization on the Danish jazz scene most widely recognized by a general audience is the Copenhagen Jazz Festival. It was first held in July 1979, with 75 concerts over eight days, mainly in clubs and bars with a few outdoor concerts as well. Over the last 30 years it has grown to huge proportions: The festival in 2011 totaled over 1,000 concerts in more than 100 venues over ten days ([http://www.jazzroom.dk/Analyse af Copenhagen Jazz Festival 2011.pdf](http://www.jazzroom.dk/Analyse%20af%20Copenhagen%20Jazz%20Festival%202011.pdf)).

One important factor in the growth of the festival is its relatively flat structure and organization. The core events (about 160 concerts) and the printed program are organized and produced by the Copenhagen Jazz Festival Foundation, which is financially supported by a number of state and private funding organizations, municipalities and sponsors. According to Esben Christensen (one of the festival's project coordinators), the foundation's aim is (Christensen 2011):

[...] to strengthen the jazz milieu in Denmark. The foundation produces an annual international jazz festival in Copenhagen and, to the degree possible, produces or partakes in implementing other jazz festivals and events.

The foundation may award grants and arrange and manage national and international marketing, as well as carry out any activity that in the eyes of its governing body promotes jazz and is thereby suited to strengthening the Danish jazz milieu.

The majority of the concerts during the festival are actually produced by clubs, cafés, local cultural and business associations, libraries, music schools etc. Most of these events are listed in the official program (all the organizers have to do is to send their listing to the festival's office before the deadline in the spring) and the Copenhagen Jazz Festival thus functions as an umbrella for a wide variety of music and events. This inclusive and open structure does not lead to a weakening of the jazz profile of the festival; rather, the program is highly representative of the latest trends in Danish and international jazz

(Harsløf/Slumstrup 2011: 403). A specialty of the festival is its use of the city's public space; a great number of concerts take place at various open-air venues throughout the city of Copenhagen. According to *Down Beat* contributor Michael Bourne, "no other event symbolizes the liveliness of Danish jazz more than Copenhagen's annual summer jazz fest" (Bourne 2001: 54). Finally, the Copenhagen Jazz Festival Foundation is also involved in the arrangement of a number of other concerts and festivals that feature Danish and international acts during the rest of the year, including the "Nordic network partnership", the "Copenhagen Jazz Festival Experience", "JazzVisits" and "Jazz for Kids". In addition, it collaborates with the "WOMEX" trade fair and showcase for world music (2009–2011); the Media Conference in partnership with the Danish Newspapers' Association (Danske Dagblades Forening) (2008–2010); "Nordjazz", a Nordic network, project management and secretariat; the Jazz Brunch at Thorvaldsen's Museum four Sundays in November; and the Movable Platform, a development project in Tanzania (Christensen 2011).

7 Developments in Danish jazz since the 1980s

According to Jakob Baekgaard, since the 1980s the jazz scene in Denmark is no longer concentrated around a specific place but has developed in terms of geography as well as style. In the course of this development two associations have become important factors in the promotion of jazz in Denmark: "Jazz Club Loco" in Copenhagen and "Sunship" in Aarhus. "Jazz Club Loco" aims at developing the Danish avant-garde by arranging concerts as well as releasing records featuring musicians open to experimenting with genres and improvised music. Musicians from different genres cooperate, for example rock meets jazz; "concept artists, composers and electronic wizards [unite] to make music filled with energy and passion" (Baekgaard). "Jazz Club Loco" is also supported by the label "ILK" (Independent Label of Kopenhagen). According to drummer Kresten Osgood (b. 1976), the label was initiated by twelve Danish musicians in 2000. Today, the group has increased to 20 musicians, whose aim is to promote new music in Denmark as well as internationally (Osgood and <http://www.ilkmusic.com>).

Similar to "Jazz Club Loco", "Sunship" aims at presenting new, creative music. Both institutions are keen on promoting talented Danish artists. One of them is guitarist and composer Jakob Bro (b. 1978), who received a "Danish Music Award" in 2010. Another one is Osgood, considered the "embodiment of new Danish jazz" (Baekgaard): His musical diversity stems from his insistence on focusing on music in and of itself, not caring about genres. As Baekgaard points out, "this is the strength of contemporary jazz in Denmark – it's unfolding in all shapes and sizes right now" (Baekgaard).

Regarding the strengths of the current national jazz scene, interviewed Danish musicians, representatives of media, press and organizational institutions mainly share the same view on this issue. They all highlight the artistic variety of Danish musicians, since many of them do not restrict themselves to just one music genre but create music by uniting a variety of musical styles. According to Sidsel Storm, a young jazz singer, there seems to be a development towards experimental music within jazz, as well as an

open-mindedness towards a fusion of various music genres, for example jazz and pop or jazz and rock. The strong connections to the American music scene, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, are also regarded as an aspect which has contributed to the current Danish jazz scene. Numerous young Danish jazz musicians are inspired by jazz legends such as Ben Webster, Oscar Pettiford or Dexter Gordon (Storm 2011). The Transatlantic connections continue to be explored by musicians such as Jacob Bro, Kresten Osgood, Nikolaj Hess, Søren Møller etc.

Furthermore, the influence of so-called world musics has also proliferated: In the 1990s Brazilian (Bossa Quatro), Argentinean (Tango Orkestret), North African (Peter Dansrup), Israeli (Dalia Faitelson) and even Inuit (with the album *The Thule Spirit* 1998) influences flourished. In the 2000s bands such as “Ibrahim Electric” and “Passborg’s Odessa 5”, along with Pierre Dørge’s “New Jungle Orchestra” (NJO)¹¹⁰ continues to mix world music, jazz, and other musical genres irreverently and creatively.

When asked if there had been any changes within the national jazz scene, Fabian Holt insists that the scene is still strong artistically. But in terms of mainstream media visibility and playing a central role politically and socially, jazz has declined in importance. “I believe that this phenomenon is not confined to Denmark but can also be seen in other countries in the world”, says Holt (2011). However, this may only be the case when focusing on mainstream media. Holt also points to new communication technologies which, in his opinion, have heralded a positive change in provoking a kind of “networking spirit”. For instance, there are small jazz communities where young people are exploring and making connections in the jazz scene; collaborations have become more mobile with the advent of social media (Holt 2011).

8 The “rytmisk music” in music education and jazz research in Denmark

In the mid-1980s, the first comprehensive jazz education programs geared toward professional training were established in Denmark, such as the “Rytmask Musikkonservatorium” (Rhythmic Music Conservatory, RMC), founded in 1986 in Copenhagen. Müller explains that “the term ‘rytmisk music’ is an exclusively Danish term with the exception of a Norwegian adaptation of the term, due most likely to a close cultural and linguistic connection between Denmark and Norway” (Müller 2008: 12). Moreover, the term “rhythmic music” is only used in reference to music education; hence not used by professional musicians and the music industry in general. The origins of the term go back to the early 1930s and the pedagogy of Christensen and Gøssel, who are considered the pioneers with regard to the roots of “rhythmic music”. In the 1960s and 1970s the term was officially acknowledged in the cultural-political and institutional world, mainly initiated by Bent Haarstrup, a jazz musician, writer, educator and one of the first teachers of “rhythmic music” at the Copenhagen University. On the website of the Rhythmic Music Conservatory the term is defined as (<http://www.rmc.dk>)

¹¹⁰ “New Jungle Orchestra” has been a constant proponent of world-influenced jazz since its formation in 1980. The orchestra has recorded and toured regularly to great international acclaim. In 1993 to 1996 NJO was funded by the Danish Music Council as a Danish State Ensemble (http://www.denstoredanske.dk/Kunst_og_kultur/Teater/Danske_teatre/statsensemble).

[...] music emerging from the cultural melting pot constituted by the Europe-Africa-America triangle. As rhythmic music in Europe gradually found its own and often unique identity, an increasing number of European music conservatories and academies took the step to provide higher education in rhythmic music. This change has provided RMC with a new platform for promoting the European dimension in rhythmic music education in co-operation with European partners.

With regard to the music concept of RMC, Henrik Sveidhal, the conservatory's principal, explains (Sveidhal 2011):

RMC has a broad attachment to many different kinds of music. Our main idea is the common origin in terms of values and culture of music genres such as jazz, blues, rock and pop. We try to look for possibilities within the music genres but also for possibilities between those genres by uniting them because we think that jazz music and other art forms of music are all developed in "cultural meetings". All the important developments in jazz have to do with "meeting" of other genres.

Concerning jazz research, numerous organizations have been active in building up a large number of materials on Danish jazz, including the "Centre for Danish Jazz History" (CDJ) at Aalborg University and "The jazz collection" at the University Library of Southern Denmark (SDUB). The CDJ was established by students and staff members of the Aalborg University in 2006 and occupies a major role within the field of jazz research in Denmark as it is responsible for the research and collection of material with regard to Danish jazz history.¹¹¹ The jazz collections at the University Library of Southern Denmark received a large part of Arvid Meyer's collection for the Danish Jazz Centre when it closed in 1997. Situated in the music department, the SDUB houses the following collections: Timme Rosenkrantz's collection, Ben Webster's collection, Radio Jazz's collection, The Danish Jazz Centre's collection, Erik Lindemann's collection, Svend Asmussen's private collection, Richard Boone's private collection, and SDUB's other collections (http://www.sdu.dk/Bibliotek/Om_biblioteket/Om_samlingerne/Jazz.aspx?sc_lang=en).

The Nordic Jazz Conference is another recent initiative in jazz research. The conference is managed by the jazz archives in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland. University scholars, archivists, journalists and musicians meet in order to examine various topics, primarily connected with Nordic jazz research – but the conference has been moving towards a more international profile. Thus, when the 8th Nordic Jazz Conference took place at Aalborg University in Denmark in 2009, all presentations were in English (www.jazzconference.net).¹¹²

As far as research on Danish jazz history is concerned, Danish scholar and critic

¹¹¹ The centre's website offers links to different categories which provide researchers with information about various jazz-related issues. The categories are: Jazz and Blues collection, Danish Jazz Bibliography, Research and Network for Danish History (<http://www.jazz.aau.dk>). Most of the Jazz and Blues collection was provided by Erik Wiedemann, Peter Tage, and Karl Emil Knudsen. The Danish Jazz Bibliography was established in 1974 by Stig Ahrensbach. According to CDJ, the bibliography comprises more than 600 literary entries including magazines and books covering Danish jazz history (<http://www.jazz.aau.dk/jazzsamlingen>). The Danish Jazz Bibliography is divided up into the sub-categories magazines, books, discography, article reviews, concert reviews, literature reviews, jazz institutions.

¹¹² The 9th Nordic Jazz Conference took place at the Finnish Jazz & Pop Archive in Helsinki in 2010 (http://www.jazzconference.net/2010_njc.html), and the 10th Nordic Jazz Conference was organized by the Center for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research, held in Stockholm in 2012 (http://www.jazzconference.net/2012/2012_njc.html).

Erik Wiedemann (1930–2001) is regarded as one of the most important figures. Working as associate professor at the University of Copenhagen, his contribution to jazz research in Denmark has been most valuable (Dybo 2010: 118). Wiedemann's comprehensive history of jazz in Denmark from the 1920 to the 1940s was the first of its kind. Since then only a scattering of articles appeared until the publication of *Jazz i Danmark 1950–2010*, a 624-page tome that picks up where Wiedemann ended his work.

9 The “homely” in Danish jazz

Violinist Svend Asmussen already began to develop a unique Danish jazz sound in the late 1930s as he started to perform Danish popular music and folk songs within a jazz setting. A number of jazz researchers have tried to pin down what that entails. According to Stuart Nicholson, this Danish jazz sound is partly being influenced by the Nordic tone, a concept which has risen within the past 30 to 40 years and which is considered as something uniquely Scandinavian, mostly associated with Norwegian musician Jan Garbarek (b. 1947, saxophone). In terms of what makes the Nordic tone so distinctive, Nicholson cites the Norwegian bass player Arild Andersen (b.1945), who explains one of the important features of the Nordic tone as follows (Nicholson 2005: 198):

[...] The sound is very important, the space in the music is very important, the transparency is important, the dynamic is important, not how clever you can play your instrument, how fast you can play or how impressive you could be but how impressive you are.

In other words, as Nicholson adds, the Nordic tone focuses on the internal emotions by emphasizing melody, tone, space and intensity rather on “external” patterns such as extroverted technique (ibid.: 196). However, leaving aside the discussion of the validity of the Nordic Tone as a blanket term even for Norwegian jazz, in Denmark the acoustic characteristics that influence a “Danish” sound seem to have a more intimate relationship with certain aspects of Danish culture.

Christopher Washburne thus points to two examples of Danish sound in jazz: Svend Asmussen's recording of the traditional “Det var en lørdag aften” (It Was a Saturday Evening) on the album *Scandinavian Songs*¹¹³ in 1964 with Alice Babs (b.1924, Swedish jazz singer), and “I skovens” (1973) by Niels-Henning Ørsted Pedersen and pianist Kenny Drew (1928–1993, USA, since 1964 in Copenhagen)¹¹⁴ (Washburne 2010: 192f.). Washburne argues that the recordings unite a unique Danish jazz sound with American bluesy expression. This Danish sound is underpinned by a mode that is an important feature of Danish culture: “hygge” (pronounced “hew-ga”), which is (Washburne 2010: 145f.)

113 Svend, Asmussen. 1989. *Scandinavian Songs*. Swedish Society Discophile SWEDCD 402.

114 Drew, Kenny and Niels-Henning Ørsted Pedersen. 1995. *Duo*. (rec. 1973). Steeplechase SCCD 31002.

[...] a culture-specific term that roughly means cosiness, pleasantness, and a communal way of being underpinned by a strong sense of family, hearth, and home [...], being central to Danish culture. [...] When applied to jazz, this mode of being can be seen as an aesthetic in the production and performance of Danish jazz.

According to Fabian Holt, Ørsted Pedersen's arrangement of "I skovens dybe stille ro" is characteristic for his approach. Ørsted Pedersen's interpretation is a simple, lyric ballad embellished with discreet jazz harmonies. Moreover, he perpetuates the basic rhythmic feel of the song declining to move into swing rhythm at any point. Holt further describes Pedersen's performance of the song as follows (Holt 2012: 8):

His phrasing is sure-footed and has a powerful stateliness in the slow tempo. There is a certain emotional intimacy in his performance but he is not as wildly romantic as some of his colleagues in the "world jazz" domain or the folk-jazz of his Norwegian and Swedish colleagues. The relatively earthy and straightforward emotional style has been the norm in Denmark.

Other examples are Ole Kock Hansen's (b. 1945, piano) record *På en grøn bakketop* (1978),¹¹⁵ Ørsted Pedersen's and Palle Mikkelborg's collaborative album *Hommage* (1990),¹¹⁶ and Hans Ulrik's (b. 1965, saxophonist, band leader) release *Danske Sange* (1998).¹¹⁷ As Holt points out "up to the 1990s, Pedersen and Hansen were the only leading artists to record and tour with a traditional vernacular repertoire. They continued to do so until Pedersen's death in 2005" (Holt 2012: 8). According to Washburne, the incorporation of traditional Danish folk songs in jazz music proved to be very influential as a great number of other musicians have since been open to experiment with folk and traditional songs. However, Washburne notes that "not all Danish jazz [should be reduced] to the Nordic tone [...] or hygge-jazz" as there exists a "considerably wide range of styles and approaches that make up jazz in Denmark" (Washburne 2010: 146). Nevertheless, he argues that (ibid.: 148)

those sounds associated with the Nordic tone and *hygge-jazz*, in particular, have played a significant role in the aforementioned re-bordering project both by attributing culture-specific qualities to Danish jazz and by carving out a space for Denmark's contribution to jazz at-large.

In general, there are differing views as to whether such a Danish national jazz sound exists or not. Some Danish jazz musicians believe that there is a national feeling that impacts on Danish jazz, for instance Chris Minh Doky (Danish Radio Big Band), who argues that "I consider it rather a national feeling" (Doky 2011). Others, however, deny the existence of such a Danish sound and for example like Heenrik Sveidhal (Principal of RMC) think that Danish jazz is more influenced by the American sound due to the number of collaborations (Sveidhal 2011).

115 Kock Hansen, Ole. 2008. *Pa en grøn bakketop*. (rec. 1978). Music Mecca CD 1002-2.

116 Ørsted Pedersen, Niels-Henning and Palle Mikkelborg. 1990. *Hommage*. Sonet SLPCD 1662.

117 Ulrik, Hans. 1998. *Danske Sange*. Stund Records 19809.

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