Aspects of Black American Music

Selected materials related to University of Washington course AFRAM 330 "Music, Folklore & Performance in Black Society" taught winter 2014 by Professor Tyina Steptoe, Dept. of American Ethnic Studies, and compiled by Michael C. McGoodwin (MCM). Content last updated 8/30/2014

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Overview

These notes derive from the course handouts, notes I took in class, assigned texts, and various Web resources. I have only summarized portions of the material we covered, with my primary interest and focus being the musical forms. If you are viewing this document on your computer, the URLs shown in the footnotes in blue are all hyperlinks (hot links), and clicking on them will take you to many informative articles and fascinating YouTube musical examples.

This well-taught and provocative course was a cultural history course focusing on "expressions created by people of African descent in the United States since 1900", with emphasis on music, folklore, dance, and film. It explored "important messages about race, class, gender, sexuality, and social justice in the 20th-century United States". Black musical forms touched on included ragtime, blues, "race records" and "rhythm and blues", gospel, jazz, soul, disco, hip hop, reggae and other Caribbean music. We explored how these musical idioms often reflect the African diaspora. Other topics included black cultural and folkloric practices (often tracing back to West African religious beliefs including Orishas), and some elements of black performance (including unfavorable black stereotypes, toasting, masking, and tricksters).

The assigned texts studied included

(1) Alan Lomax's lengthy but often moving 1993 memoir, *The Land Where Blues Began*. This text is well worth reading, but I will not attempt to further summarize it.

(2) Craig Werner's remarkably detailed 2006 musical survey, A Change Is Gonna Come: Music, Race & the Soul of America (Revised & Updated), hereafter referred to as ACIGC

(3) William L. Van Deburg's 1997 Black Camelot: African-American Culture Heroes in Their Times, 1960-1980.

We viewed several films relevant to black cultural history: *Baby Boy*, 2001 (depicting Jody, a young father who badly needs to grow up); *When We Were Kings*, 1996 (documentary set at the time of Muhammad Ali's 1974 prize fight in Zaire); *Paris is Burning*, 1990 (poignant documentary depicting the 1980's NYC drag ball scene); *Rize*, 2005 (dance film set in South Los Angeles and Watts area, presenting the battle between krumping and clowning); and Wattstax, 1973 (a moving documentary on the 1972 Wattstax music festival that commemorated the seventh anniversary of the 1965 Watts L.A. riots).¹

¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wattstax

The course material was often deeply disturbing and sometimes frankly controversial. I have not previously had a course in which abuses and oppression inflicted by whites on black Americans, especially in the deep South during the Jim Crow era, were so extensively explored. It also touched on some of the self-destructive actions and motifs which have complicated the black societal struggle, such as celebration of pimps and gangster types (including gangsta rap), infidelity and back door men (like "Jody"), drug abuse, violence, rioting, etc. I highly recommend this course if you are prepared for some discomfort and having your complacent assumptions challenged.

My wife and I appreciated the opportunity to audit this course, and thank Prof. Steptoe for allowing us to do so. In her we found a number of commonalities, among which are our passion for music and our starting out in Houston Texas.

Do Black Singers Have a Characteristic Sound?

An article² by Nina Sun Eidsheim asks the question, does a black singer have an unmistakable vocal timbre based on physical features (producing *acousmatic blackness* making him/her suitable only for black roles), or is the black sound simply a matter of socialization and acculturation, one that can be trained away? With rising *ethnosympathy* and interest in black singers, the door to conventional opera began to crack open to black performers with well-trained voices [including Harolyn Blackwell in Seattle], singing what were once viewed as non-black roles.

Blacks and African Americans Defined

These terms are somewhat slippery. Blacks, paraphrasing the professor, are a global people of African descent, especially those who live in the Americas or Caribbean region and whose ancestors were from Sub-Saharan Africa, who arrived by the slave trade, and have a sense of diaspora. According to Wikipedia:

"The term *black people* is an everyday English-language phrase, often used in socially-based systems of racial classification or of ethnicity to describe persons who are defined as belonging to a 'black' ethnicity in their particular country, typically having a degree of Sub-Saharan African ancestry, or who are perceived to be dark-skinned relative to other 'racial groups'... Different societies, such as Australia, Brazil, the United Kingdom, the United States and South Africa apply differing criteria regarding who is classified as 'black', and these criteria have also varied over time. In some countries, social variables affect classification as much as skin-color, and the social criteria for 'blackness' vary. For example, in North America the term black people is not necessarily an indicator of skin color or ethnic origin but is more of a socially-based racial classification related to being African American, with a family history related to institutionalized slavery... ³

The term *African American* (or *Afro-American*) signifies a black person of African descent and living in the USA (not Jamaica, etc.). it is an ethnicity, a term popularized in the 1970's and 1980's. Wikipedia expands:

"African Americans, also referred to as Black Americans or Afro-Americans, are citizens of the United States who have total or partial antebellum ancestry from any of the native populations of Sub-Saharan Africa... African Americans constitute the second largest racial and ethnic minority in the United States. Most African Americans are of West and Central African descent and are descendants of enslaved blacks within the boundaries of the present United States. However, some immigrants from African, Caribbean, Central American, and South American nations, and their descendants, may be identified or self-identify with the term... African-American history starts in the 16th century, with Africans forcibly taken to Spanish and English colonies in North America as slaves. After the founding of the United States, black people continued to be enslaved and treated as inferiors. These circumstances were changed by Reconstruction, development of the black community, participation in the great military conflicts of the United States, the elimination of racial segregation, and the Civil Rights Movement."⁴

² Nina Sun Eidsheim, "Marion Anderson and Sonic Blackness in American Opera" *American Quarterly* 63:641 September 2011.

³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black_people

⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African_American

Common Characteristics of Black Ethnic Music

The distinctive and recurring features of black ethnic (vernacular) and popular music include:⁵

(1) Polyrhythm

Two or more differing rhythms play simultaneously, originating probably from drumming (an important means of communication). Examples:

- o DrumTalk.⁶
- \circ Sunny & The Sunliners Get Down^7
- o Konono N°1 Lufuala Ndonga.⁸
- An interesting polyrhythmic performance is given by Chuck Brown & The Soul Searchers in the 1979 *Bustin' Loose.*⁹ Here, Chuck Brown serves as the director or *front man*, creating the circle.

Of considerable historical interest, drumming was originally used in Africa to convey a variety of messages such as marriages or warfare, but enslaved Africans in the Americas used drum talk to communicate over great distances, including from plantation to plantation, in part to stage slave revolts. These included the 1733 St. John Revolt in the West Indies, the 1791–1804 revolt in Haiti leading to independence, and the 1811 River Road or German Coast Uprising (a revolt of black slaves in parts of the Territory of Orleans on January 8–10, 1811).¹⁰ After 1811, drumming was banned by southern plantation owners:

"Slave owners throughout the Americas tried to ban drumming among their slaves, fearing that slaves were talking to each other, communicating with their spirits, and fomenting rebellion through the drums. Slaves did indeed use drums for communication. In planning the Stono River Rebellion of 1739, slaves used drums to signal to surrounding plantations when the revolt would begin. In the planning stages of the 1791 Haitian Revolution, enslaved Africans used drums to communicate with one another across many plantations. When drums were banned from plantations, slaves developed ways to imitate the polyrhythms of drumming, using European instruments, household items (spoons, jugs, washboards) and their own bodies-a style that became known as 'slapping juba' or 'patting juba.' "¹¹

Patting Juba:

" 'Patting Juba' was first described and derided as a 'secular amusement' practiced by slaves in Kentucky by Henry Bibb in the 1820s... Bibb's frustration with slaveholders' indulgence of slaves 'patting juber' was not shared by poets, who were interested in the metrical complexities of the rhythms involved by those patting juba. Patting or clapping juba was described as percussive sounds made on the body, usually with hands, thighs, and feet. The music was performed in a circular formation customarily with variations on the basic rhythm, in the form of syncopation and shifting accented notes. Patting juba was not linked exclusively to the song Juba, but these dance movements were used to a variety of songs."¹²

⁵ An excellent detailed review of black American Muisc may be found in Richard Crawford, et al. "USA, §II, 2: Traditional music: African-American" *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* Oxford University Press. Web. 22 Aug. 2014. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com ... >

⁶ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aOOZheIrqmk DrumTalk

See also http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Drums_in_communication for drums as communication

⁷ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x2EyFH5DRgw ⁸ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dcwvEtg14Iw *Konono N*

w Konono N°1 - Lufuala Ndonga

⁹ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wwHi10qX8u8 Bustin' Loose

¹⁰ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1811_German_Coast_Uprising

¹¹ http://www.pbs.org/theblues/classroom/defbeat.html

¹² http://www.library.pitt.edu/voicesacrosstime/LessonPlans/PattingJuba.htm See also http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Juba_dance

Examples of ring shouts with claps and other rhythms:

- McIntosh County Shouters: Gullah-Geechee Ring Shout from Georgia¹³
- McIntosh County Shouters: CNN video¹⁴

Stomps and claps create polyrhythm in Hip Hop culture. Patting Juba, from West Africa, is further described here.¹⁵

In the Caribbean, drumming was not banned, and there was an infusion of Caribbean rhythms into American ethnic music in the 1960's and 1970's. Example of the Latin American flavored Caribbean music called Boogaloo:

 Ray Barretto's Soul Drummers¹⁶ 1967 (he is an American born of parents who immigrated from Puerto Rico)

(2) Call and Response

This is not unique but common in African-American (AfrAm) music, including gospel. It represents a shared circumstance, and is community building. The response can be sung or spoken, physical, clapping, verbal, raising of the hand, etc. There is a metaphorical building of the circle which diminishes hierarchy, the "I" becomes "we", individual experience becomes collective communal experience.

Good example in early hip hop:

o The Masterdon Committee's 1982 Funk Box Party¹⁷

Go-go music was "inspired by artists such as [The Young Senators, Black Heat, and notably singer-guitarist Chuck Brown and The Soul Searchers]. Go-go is a blend of funk, rhythm and blues, and early hip-hop, with a focus on lo-fi percussion instruments and funk-style jamming in place of dance tracks, although some sampling is used. As such, it is primarily a dance hall music with an emphasis on live audience call and response. Go-go rhythms are also incorporated into street percussion."¹⁸

Example by Chuck Brown in Go-Go Funk:

o Chuck Brown & The Soul Searchers, Bustin' Loose¹⁹,²⁰

(3) Vocalization

Common in hip hop, this is use of the voice to sound like something else. Examples:

- o Louis Armstrong's scatting in imitation of the trumpet. Here, Armstrong scats near the end.²¹
- In *Beat Boxing* (or *beatboxing*), the voice imitates percussion. An example is Doug E Fresh & the Get Fresh Crew in *The Show*.²² 1985
- *Soul Makossa*²³ by saxophonist and songwriter Manu Dibango, best known for the chanted vocal refrain "ma-mako, ma-ma-sa, mako-mako ssa".

Ring Shout Shouters

Ray Barretto Soul Drummers 1967 Funk Box Party Go-Go music description, play begins at 9:55. The "Godfather of Go-Go" speaks about his Go-Go hit Bustin' Loose Bustin' Loose, call & response heard at 3:19. Louis Armstrong, scatting at 1:28 Beat boxing The Show 1985 listen also to Doug E fresh beatboxing, starting at 0:53

¹³ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uxPU5517u8c

¹⁴ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aBd1Xwq8Xx4

¹⁵ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Juba_dance

¹⁶ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T2DiXEv3SL0

¹⁷ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FTK_69B6Rgs

¹⁸ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=idu1P3JdcGs

¹⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XHHNXesVW88

²⁰ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wwHi10qX8u8

²¹ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P3fGrQYHHBI

²² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bhuupz0fr5I https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=usGSaGyx-Rw

(4) Functionality

Music often serves a functional purpose other than mere entertainment. In slave settings, work songs helped to keep time or tempo and establish a sense of community while performing labor. Examples:

- The Texas prison camp song, Grizzly Bear²⁴ 1960s
- o Field hollers (work songs) such as Rosie Camp Holler and Levee Camp Holler.²⁵

Such songs were often melancholy and improvisational, and led directly into the Blues.

(5) Improvisation

A cardinal feature of Jazz. Often played within a structure (such as 12 bar blues). Example of improvisation:

• The free-style hip hop song Southern Gurl, sung by Erykah Badu²⁶

Black Migrations

Partly in response to Jim Crow laws (c. 1890 to c. 1965) and other abuses but also the lure of industrialization, blacks made the Great Migration(s) from the South to the northern cities:²⁷

1st Great Migration1910 - 1930, mostly migration from S to NE2nd Great Migration1940 - 1970), from S to the Midwest, California, and other western destinations

These newly urban blacks were hungry for their own music recalling their home cultures.

There was also an earlier migration within the South, especially in 1880 - 1910, from rural to urban centers such as New Orleans and Memphis. New Orleans had an unusual mix of freed urban slaves, creoles, and recently arrived rural blacks. The individuals of mixed ancestry were also called *gens de couleur libres* (free people of color or *creoles of color*), many of whom had been free even before the Civil War.²⁸ New Orleans tended to be Catholic, and had the Storyville red light district where prostitution was legal from 1897 to 1917.

Race Records and Segregation of Black Music

The term Race Records, in use from c. 1920 to c. 1948, was applied to popular music by black performers.

They "were 78 rpm phonograph records marketed to African Americans during the early 20th century, particularly during the 1920s and 1930s. They primarily contained race music, comprising a variety of African American musical genres including blues, jazz, and gospel music, though comedy recordings were also produced. These records were, at the time, the majority of commercial recordings of African American artists in the US (very few African American artists were marketed to the 'general audience'). Race records were marketed by Okeh Records, Emerson Records, Vocalion Records, Victor Talking Machine Company, Paramount Records, and several other companies."²⁹

In the segregated music industry especially before the late 1940s, this music could be played for the most part only on black stations.

"In 1948, Jerry Wexler of Billboard magazine coined the term *rhythm and blues* as a musical term in the United States... It replaced the term *race music*, which was deemed offensive in the postwar

²³ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aWK_Josc0Og	Soul Makossa	
see also http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soul_Makossa		
²⁴ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wm3ZOiMiEyU	Grizzly Bear	
²⁵ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fjv0MYIFYsg	Rosie Camp Holler and Levee Camp Holler	
	(?1947) recorded by Alan Lomax	
²⁶ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hahod3aUxH0	Southern Gurl	
²⁷ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Migration_%28African_American%29		
see also http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Great_Migration_%28African_American%29		
²⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Creole_peoples and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gens_de_couleur		
²⁹ 1 three difference difference difference and		

world... The term *rhythm and blues* was used by Billboard in its chart listings from June 1949 until August 1969, when its *Hot Rhythm & Blues Singles* chart was renamed as *Best Selling Soul Singles*."

Black Christian Worship

During the Second Great Awakening to American Protestant worship, c. 1790–1840,³⁰ slave owners took their slaves to their own churches, and many slaves became Baptists or Methodists (in the process giving up their indigenous and Islamic religions). These were popular Christian denominations because they did not require special education to be a church leader (unlike the exclusive priesthood of Catholicism), and they involved no special privations. Protestantism especially appealed because of its emphasis on a savior who, like Moses with the Hebrews, could lead the enslaved to the Promised Land. Camp meetings were attended by both whites and blacks, an early example of acceptable interracial gatherings in the otherwise segregated society.

Slaves developed their own songs pertaining to being freed (with themes taken especially from *Exodus*) and introduced *spirit possession* (deriving from West Africa), including with *speaking in tongues*—called "getting happy" in the Pentecostal church. Expressive *moaning* in response to the preacher represented, according to Cornel West, the core of black expression, the yearning cry by enslaved blacks displaced from Africa and now strangers in a strange land.

Black slaves learned to disguise their inner thoughts in subtly subversive *spirituals*, songs with ostensibly Biblical themes that were therefore acceptable to the masters, but which contained coded messages of defiance and themes of escape and freedom.

"The meaning of these songs was most often covert. Therefore, only Christian slaves understood them, and even when ordinary words were used, they reflected personal relationship between the slave singer and God. The codes of the first negro spirituals are often related with an escape to a free country. For example, a 'home' is a safe place where everyone can live free. So, a 'home' can mean Heaven, but it covertly means a sweet and free country, a haven for slaves. The ways used by fugitives running to a free country were riding a 'chariot' or a 'train'. The negro spirituals 'The Gospel Train' and 'Swing low, sweet chariot' which directly refer to the Underground Railroad, an informal organization who helped many slaves to flee..."

Practices such as *ring shouts* (example shown above) were adopted, performed in a circle to better contact the spirits. Black churches sprang up and became visible after the abolition of slavery in 1865, slaves became poorly compensated sharecroppers, and religion in the South was again segregated.

Blues

Prison camp songs and *field hollers* evolved directly into the Blues by around the end of the 19C. Hart Wand's 1912 D*allas Blues* became the first copyrighted blues composition.³² The blues were one of the first major genres of black music.

Examples of authentic black voices singing the Blues included

- o Blind Willie Johnson's John the Revelator³³
- o Joe "King" Oliver's West End Blues performed by Louis Armstrong & His Hot Five, 1928³⁴
- o Bessie Smith singing W. C. Handy's 1914 Saint Louis Blues (1925)³⁵
- Joe Turner, a master of the stride piano, plays *St. Louis Blues* in a remarkable piano version³⁶ (Enjoy also a more up-tempo *Carolina Shout* here³⁷.)

John the Revelator West End Blues Saint Louis Blues Saint Louis Blues (piano)

³⁰ The Great Awakenings were led by evangelical Protestant ministers: First Great Awakening (c. 1731–1755), Second GS (c. 1790–1840), Third GA (c. 1850–1900), and Fourth GA (c. 1960–1980).

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Awakening

³¹ http://www.negrospirituals.com/

³² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blues

³³ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5hucTDV1Fvo

³⁴ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pXHdqTVC3cA

³⁵ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jNWs0LsimFs

³⁶ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5mSaFNYssmE

- Joe Turner Blues³⁸
- Mamie Smith, Crazy Blues³⁹ 1920
- Robert Johnson, Hellhound On My Trail (1937)⁴⁰
- Aretha Franklin *Chain Of Fools* (1967)⁴¹ (blues impulse)

The blues tended to be improvisational and repetitious, and have a sad, melancholy, or depressed mood. The first two lines were often repeated, often in variations, so the blues often had a 12-bar AAB structure.

"The blues originated around the end of the 19th century from spirituals, work songs, field hollers, shouts and chants, and rhymed simple narrative ballads... The lyrics of early traditional blues verses probably often consisted of a single line repeated four times. It was only in the first decades of the 20th century that the most common current structure became standard: the so-called AAB pattern, consisting of a line sung over the four first bars, its repetition over the next four, and then a longer concluding line over the last bars... Two of the first published blues songs, 'Dallas Blues' (1912) and 'Saint Louis Blues' (1914), were 12-bar blues featuring the AAB structure."⁴²

"A 12-bar blues is divided into three four-bar segments. A standard blues progression, or sequence of notes, typically features three chords based on the first (written as I), fourth (IV), and fifth (V) notes of an eight-note scale. The I chord dominates the first four bars; the IV chord typically appears in the second four bars...; and the V chord is played in the third four bars."⁴³

The blues were sung for entertainment, not for functional purposes. Instruments included piano, guitar or slide guitar, banjo (added to field hollers in the 1880's), and harmonica, and eventually included drums, double bass or bass guitar, trombone, cornet or trumpet (by 1900), ?clarinet, and saxophone.

Blues usually deals with sex or money or both, and thus often involve domestic violence. Listen for example to this blues piece, in which the singer's character is drunk and threatens to shoot her unfaithful man with a Gatlin' gun:

o Gertrude 'Ma' Rainey, *Leaving This Morning*⁴⁴

Langston Hughes said, "Sad as Blues may be, there's almost always something humorous about them--even if it's the kind of humor that laughs to keep from crying."⁴⁵ B. B. King (Riley B. King) said, "Singing the blues is like being black twice."

Ralph Ellison (1914 – 1994) eloquently described the blues as an *impulse*:⁴⁶

"The blues is an impulse to keep the painful details and episodes of a brutal experience alive in one's aching consciousness, to finger its jagged grain, and to transcend it, not by the consolation of philosophy but by squeezing from it a near-tragic, near-comic lyricism. As a form, the blues is an autobiographical chronicle of personal catastrophe expressed lyrically."⁴⁷

³⁷ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ooiez45ustI Carolina Shout ³⁸ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LLcGgTBbIuE Joe Turner Blues, sung by Big Bill Broonzy 1951, start at 1:04 ³⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gaz4Ziw CfO Mamie Smith sings Crazy Blues, the first AfrAm female singer to make a blues recording ⁴⁰ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3UVgH9JqSnQ Hellhound On My Trail Robert Johnson (1937) ⁴¹ http://www.voutube.com/watch?v=gGAiW5dOnKo Aretha Franklin Chain Of Fools (1967) ⁴² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blues ⁴³ http://www.pbs.org/theblues/classroom/essays12bar.html ⁴⁴ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KFMNi8bnKNE Leaving This Morning ⁴⁵ ACIGC, p. 68

⁴⁶ MCM: I understand that an *impulse*, used in this sense, is a feeling, emotional desire, reason, or drive to express something musically, or a theme the music tells us. It does not necessarily correspond to a particular genre. For instance, a song may have a gospel impulse but be secular rather than Christian or even conventionally religious, a hip hop work may have blues impulse.

⁴⁷ Ralph Ellison, "Living with Music", orig. publ. in *High Fidelity* in Dec. 1955, p. 60 ff.

Quoting ACIGC in excerpts gathered from p. 69-72,

"For Ellison, the blues present a philosophy of life, a three-step process that can be used by painters, dancers, or writers as well as musicians. The process consists of (1) fingering the jagged grain of your brutal experience; (2) finding a near-tragic near-comic voice to express that experience, and (3) reaffirming your existence. The first two steps run parallel to the gospel impulse... But where gospel holds out the hope that things will change, ... the blues settle for making it through the night.... Affirmation, which is to say, reaffirmation and continuity in the face of adversity... On the human level, evil's not something you can change, just something you have to deal with."

Ragtime

Ragtime was a dance music popular with newly urban free blacks in the South (New Orleans, Memphis, St. Louis, etc.) who frequented entertainment districts or owned homes and pianos, especially in the final two decades of the 19th C. "Ernest Hogan [1865 - 1909] was an innovator and key pioneer who helped develop the musical genre, and is credited with coining the term *ragtime*."⁴⁸ Its popularity crossed over to whites, including Teddy Roosevelt. The "ragging" of an existing song was accomplished by the addition of complex and more syncopated polyrhythms in the black fashion. The left hand kept the foot-stomping rhythm, the right gave the melody and flourishes.

Ragtime "... is a musical genre that enjoyed its peak popularity between 1895 and 1918. Its main characteristic trait is its syncopated, or "ragged" rhythm. It began as dance music in the red-light districts of African American communities in St. Louis and New Orleans years before being published as popular sheet music for piano. Ernest Hogan was an innovator and key pioneer who helped develop the musical genre, and is credited with coining the term ragtime. Ragtime was also a modification of the march made popular by John Philip Sousa, with additional polyrhythms coming from African music. The ragtime composer Scott Joplin became famous through the publication in 1899 of the 'Maple Leaf Rag' and a string of ragtime hits such as 'The Entertainer' that followed, although he was later forgotten by all but a small, dedicated community of ragtime afficionados until the major ragtime revival in the early 1970s. For at least 12 years after its publication, the 'Maple Leaf Rag' heavily influenced subsequent ragtime composers with its melody lines, harmonic progressions or metric patterns."⁴⁹

Examples:

- o Eubie Blake performs the Stars and Stripes Forever in his ragtime version.⁵⁰
- The Scott Joplin rag, *The Entertainer* (1902),⁵¹ was popularized in the 1973 movie *The Sting* and led to a ragtime revival.
- *Maple Leaf Rag*⁵² (also by Scott Joplin) was authentic black ragtime music.

Ragtime is related to earlier styles of music, including the cakewalk dance and other dances, the "coon song", and the characteristic march.⁵³ Unlike minstrelsy (in which blacks [or whites in blackface] played for whites), ragtime was often blacks playing for blacks. Ragtime was typically played by professionals, like the blues.

Jazz

Werner states, "Ralph Ellison defines the jazz impulse as a constant process of redefinition. The jazz artist constantly reworks her identity on three levels: (1) as an individual, (2) as a member of a community; and (3) as a 'link in the chain of tradition'..." In W. African tradition, time is cyclical, not linear, and one could meet spirits of past ancestors at a crossroad. Werner quotes Ellison, "True jazz is an art of individual assertion within and against the group. Each true jazz moment (as distinct from the uninspired commercial

Blake - Stars And Stripes Forever Joplin The Entertainer, M. Hamlisch soundtrack. Maple Leaf Rag

⁴⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ernest_Hogan

⁴⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ragtime

⁵⁰ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EwnKRxmRNtQ

⁵¹ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_WxfjWnuEno

⁵² http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pMAtL7n_-rc

⁵³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ragtime

performance) springs from a contest in which each artist challenges all the rest; each solo flight, or improvisation, represents (like the successive canvases of a painter) a definition of his identity: as individual, as member of the collectivity and as a link in the chain of tradition."⁵⁴ Werner says that the jazz impulse should touch on, not just what is beautiful in the world, but also "those parts that don't fit: the dreams, desires, unanswered questions. Part of the reason jazz comes out of the African American tradition—though it reserves the right to go absolutely anywhere—has to do with what conventions have meant to black folk. Stay in your place, over on the other side of the tracks... Jazz does its best to blow that kind of complacency away. Which is why jazz sounds revolutionary even when it doesn't pay much attention to next week's election or anybody's party line."⁵⁵

I must confess, my literal mind gets lost in some of this. However, it appears that important features of jazz can include improvisation often drawing on existing melodies and motifs, individual often free musical expression, syncopation, and swung notes producing swing.

Buddy Bolden (1877–1930) played New Orleans blues on the *cornet* beginning c. 1895—he could make the cornet moan like a human voice, and his playing represented an early form of Jazz in New Orleans.⁵⁶ "He created an exciting and novel fusion of ragtime, black sacred music, marching-band music, and rural blues."⁵⁷ Cornets had been incorporated into early black jazz music by c. 1900.

The rich black subculture of New Orleans included *jazz funerals* (aka *funerals with music*, prevalent by 1900)⁵⁸ and *second line parades*. The latter was a mini-parade consisting of brass instruments and the unofficial and spontaneous paraders and dancers who followed them. It is

"a tradition in brass band parades in New Orleans, Louisiana. The 'main line' or 'first line' is the main section of the parade, or the members of the actual club with the parading permit as well as the brass band. Those who follow the band just to enjoy the music are called the 'second line'. The second line's style of traditional dance, in which participants walk and sometimes twirl a parasol or handkerchief in the air, is called 'second lining'. It has been called 'the quintessential New Orleans art form – a jazz funeral without a body.' "⁵⁹

"Youngsters would be so obsessed and delighted with the music emanating from the band, they would gather at each event to dance and prance and strut to the tempo as they would emulate the motions of the musicians and the Grand Marshall."⁶⁰

Jazz rhythms came from Africa—they were African sensitivities played on European instruments. Early jazz great performers and band leaders—such as Jelly Roll Morton (piano, 1890 - 1941), Joe "King" Oliver (cornet, 1885–1938), and Louis Armstrong (cornet, vocals, 1901–71)—came from New Orleans. People began to refer to "Jazz" around the time of WWI, when the First Great Migration to northern industrial cities was taking place (1910–1930), including for instance King Oliver to Chicago.

Jazz instruments evolved: banjos fell out of favor, cornets became trumpets (by 1935), trombones, clarinets and saxophones were introduced, along with piano, double bass, and drums. Larger orchestras of 16 or more members were formed, with whole horn and sax sections... The Jazz Age of the 1920s evolved to the *Swing Era* (*Big Band Era*) of jazz of c. 1935–1946.

The *Bebop* movement arose in the early 1940s as a reaction against the regimentation of large bands playing fully notated non-improvisational music. Some musicians wanted more opportunity to express themselves individually and creatively. It had little melody and was not particularly danceable, and was intended instead for listening. They used fewer instruments and few vocals other than scatting. *Hard bop* was an extension of bebop. The term arose in the mid-1950s to describe jazz which incorporated more African elements: rhythm and blues, gospel music, and blues, especially in saxophone and piano playing. Proponents of hard bop

Buddy Bolden's Blues

⁵⁴ ACIGC, p. 132.

⁵⁵ ACIGC, p. 132-133.

⁵⁶ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6jirqq-c7E0

⁵⁷ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buddy_Bolden

⁵⁸ http://www.neworleansonline.com/neworleans/multicultural/multiculturaltraditions/jazzfuneral.html

⁵⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_line_%28parades%29

⁶⁰ http://www.neworleansonline.com/neworleans/music/musichistory/secondlines.html

included Horace Silver, Charles Mingus, Art Blakey, Cannonball Adderley, Miles Davis, Charlie "Bird" Parker, and Tadd Dameron.⁶¹ It evolved into modern Jazz by the 1960s.

(I will not attempt a further history of jazz in this document—it justifies a course in itself.)

Examples:

- West End Blues originally by Joe "King" Oliver, played jazzily by Louis Armstrong and his Hot Five 1928.⁶² They are playing in Chicago, but recalling the blues song from an earlier time in the New Orleans / Lake Pontchartrain area.
- o Lionel Hampton on the vibraphone playing Hoagy Carmichael's 1927 Stardust.⁶³
- Flying Home, written by Lionel Hampton, Benny Goodman, and others c. 1939, played by Lionel Hampton & his orchestra, with Illinois Jacquet on tenor sax. (1942)⁶⁴
- Miles Davis, So What by Miles Davis 1959 (on trumpet)⁶⁵, also with John Coltrane on tenor sax, Julian Edwin "Cannonball" Adderley (alto sax), and Bill Evans (piano).
- o Count Basie One O'Clock Jump (1943)⁶⁶
- Count Basie and his orch. play works by many composers at Carnegie Hall 1981⁶⁷,
- My Favorite Things, Outkast from album Speakerboxxx / The Love Below⁶⁸ 2003

Gospel

This was another race records genre of music, marketed to urban blacks who wanted to recall their rural religious practices. Some churches had full bands or orchestras. Church attendance was declining, but gospel music helped to attract people back, men included.

The gospel impulse, according to *ACIGC*, consists of three steps: (1) acknowledging the burden (to yourself), (2) bearing witness (expressing or *testifying* publicly in church about the burden or pain you feel), also called "laying down your burdens"), and (3) finding redemption. The latter distinguishes it from the Blues, and affirms that this is generally (but not always) a Christian genre. The burden may be individual or communal. The words may include well known calls and responses, such as: "God is Good ... All the Time" and "He may not come when you want Him, but He's right on time, right on time", and "Can I get a witness".⁶⁹ Mahalia Jackson says, "Gospel songs are the songs of hope. When you sing them you are delivered of your burden."⁷⁰

Ray Charles is quoted in ACIGC p. 29:

"Gospel and the blues are really, if you break it down, almost the same thing. It's just a questions of whether you're talkin' about a woman or God. I come out of the Baptist Church and naturally whatever happened to me in church is gonna spill over. So I think the blues and gospel music is quite synonymous to each other."

Thomas Andrew Dorsey ("Georgia Tom", 1899 - 1993) was known as "the father of black gospel music".

⁶¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hard_bop

⁶² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pXHdqTVC3cA

⁶³ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JI5ShftxgSQ

⁶⁴ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=45sVjkW6d30

⁶⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DEC8ngT6Rrk

⁶⁶ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=08jyOwx96Ig

⁶⁷ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1LXS1OEFqX4

⁶⁸ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=34-lvMf_sMY

West End Blues Lionel Hampton - Stardust Lionel Hampton Flying Home Miles Davis So What One O'clock Jump, Count Basie Count Basie & his orchestra Outkast My Favorite Things 2003

⁶⁹ "There is a tradition among some African-American congregations for a speaker to seek affirmations when sharing a personal testimony or spiritual insight. As a way of inviting others to clap or shout 'Amen', the speaker will ask the question, 'Can I get a witness?' It proves to be an effective means of allowing others to voice their agreement based on their own personal experience."

http://www.christianpost.com/news/can-i-get-a-witness-54979/ ⁷⁰ ACIGC p. 27

Examples of gospel include:

- Thomas A. Dorsey, (There'll Be) Peace In The Valley, sung by R. H. Harris⁷¹
- The Clark Sisters, Is My Living In Vain⁷²
- Bob Marley *No Woman no cry*⁷³ (a reggae piece with gospel impulse)
- Chuck Brown & The Soul Searchers's 1979 *Bustin' Loose*⁷⁴ (in which, per our professor, the gospel impulse for redemption comes from busting loose)
- Earth , Wind & Fire, *Keep Your Head To The Sky / Devotion*⁷⁵ (of ambiguous Christianity but the use of organ and shared crowd participation seem church-like).
- Mahalia Jackson 1947 or 1954 [I'm gonna] Move on up a little higher⁷⁶
- Mahalia Jackson- *I've Heard of A City Called Heaven* (gospel)
- Oh Happy Day The Edwin Hawkins Singers ⁷⁷
- Sam Cooke *A Change Is Gonna Come* 1964⁷⁸ This became an anthem of the American Civil Rights movement.
- Martha And The Vandellas *Nowhere to Run* 1965⁷⁹
- Aretha Franklin Spirit in the dark⁸⁰ (1970)
- Al Green, Love and Happiness. This is about love, not religion, but has a gospel feel.⁸¹

The Devil, Orishas, Heroes, and Other Black Characters

The folk gods and spirits of Western African people, especially the Yoruba, find their way into American black music. The devil is real in early blues, and gospel aims to vanquish him (whereas blues shakes hands with him). The itinerant blues musician Robert Johnson⁸² said he sold his soul to the devil in order to be the best bluesman. They met at the *crossroads* where, according to the Yoruba tradition, the spiritual and material worlds intersect. Crossroads are in fact where we engage spirits, and are a place of power as well as danger. The gods or spirits, called *Orishas*, included Èsù aka *Eshu-Elegba* aka Elegbara, the keeper of the crossroads. (He occurs in Haitian Vodou as *Papa Legba*.) This Orisha decides fortune and misfortune. There is a whole pantheon of Orishas. They are *tricksters* and tempters and can't be trusted—for instance, they introduce chance and accident into the human experience. Slaves gave the Christian devil the qualities of Eshu-Elegba.

The notion of heroism is explored in *Black Camelot*. He notes a paucity of black heroes in early books, and identifies these 5 non-heroic stereotypes of blacks perpetuated by whites: (1) The noble savages / Tragic mulattoes; (2) the Loyal Servants; (3) the Comic Minstrels; (4) Cowards; and (5) Brutes. (This densely academic book left little impression and I'll not attempt to summarize it further.)

Black heroes and other folk figures and icons (some not so heroic, and often subverting authority) include:

- o John Henry, the Steel Driving Man⁸³
- Huddie William Ledbetter (Lead Belly), a blues musician and another "hard man"⁸⁴

⁷⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WS6Ix62wWQw

⁸³ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FIL9Vc3EAnk

(There'll Be) Peace In The Valley Is my living in vain No Woman No Cry Bustin' Loose Head To The Sky - Devotion Move On Up A Little Higher Нарри Даи Sam Cooke A Change is Gonna Come Martha And The Vandellas Nowhere to Run 1965 Aretha Franklin Spirit in the dark (1970) Love and Happiness Hellhound On My Trail Robert Johnson (1937) also Me and the Devil Blues also by Robert Johnson John Henry (The Steel Driving Man), sung by Furry Lewis, 1928

⁷¹ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_f5vEJV8418

⁷² http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u1xR016vEac

⁷³ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SV2hshsChlk

⁷⁴ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wwHi10qX8u8

⁷⁶ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=06gAdro-62E

⁷⁷ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EfGDvDGE7zk

⁷⁸ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nOYuhLNwh3A

⁷⁹ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ABbc-O_3_Ac

⁸⁰ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qvGmbsLxF0w

⁸¹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rqqAnjY2Rmo

⁸² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3UVgH9JqSnQ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3MCHI23FTP8

- Stagger Lee (Stagolee)⁸⁵ (a black mack or pimp) 0
- Tricksters, often animals like Br'er Rabbit and the briar patch,⁸⁶ or The Signifying Monkey. Stories 0 about the Signifying Monkey typically depict him "insulting the Lion, but claiming that he is only repeating the Elephant's words. The Lion then confronts the Elephant, who soundly beats the Lion. The Lion later comes to realize that the Monkey has been signifyin(g) and has duped him and returns angrily."⁸⁷ Tricksters were amoral, often emphasizing survival over ethics, and employed cleverness, smooth talking, and playing dumb (just like many blacks had to do).
- Shine, the black stoker who saved himself on the Titanic after his warnings were ignored, celebrated in 0 a common "toast".⁸⁸ He subverts white authority. His name is laced with stereotype, a nickname for a very dark skinned black.⁸⁹
- Pimps (aka macks, including reformed ones like Iceberg Slim and the rapper Ice-T), hustlers, and (after 0 WWII) drug dealers. They often had material wealth, dressed well, and commanded respect, notably in the Jim Crow era. They were also admired when industrial downturns diminished economic opportunities for blacks by the late 1950s and 1960s, and as black urban communities became centers of vice and crime.
- Blaxploitation film heroes depicted some of the above types, including 0
 - ▶ Goldie is a drug dealer, prisoner, and pimp in the 1973 film "The Mack"
 - ▶ Nicky Barnes, a drug lord and crime boss depicted in American Gangster (2007)
 - ▶ Youngblood Priest in the 1972 Blaxploitation film Super Fly starring Ron O'Neal, depicting an
 - African American cocaine dealer, with soundtrack by Curtis Mayfield⁹⁶

▶ John Shaft is a black P.I. in the 1971 film *Shaft*, with soundtrack by Isaac Hayes.⁹¹

- Jody, a mythical and remarkably pervasive figure whose name probably derives from the sexually 0 suggestive "Joe the Grinder". He is young, well-dressed and sexually desirable to women. He hustles for a living, did not participate in the Great Migration, is not dependent on wages, yet has money despite his lack of wage labor because others (mostly women) pay him for his work as a hustler. He lives outside of state authority, is free (unlike prisoners and draftees who look up to him). Jody is a "back door man" who services a wife's needs when her husband or boyfriend is off at work. We read an impressive scholarly article on Jody.⁹² Examples of Jody types include:
 - ▶ "Back door man"⁹³ by Howlin' Wolf
 - ▶ Johnny Taylor sings, "Ain't no sense in going home / Jody's got your girl and gone" 1972 ⁹⁴
 - ▶ The female rebuttals to Taylor is given by Jean Knight in Don't Talk About Jody,⁹⁵ and in
 - ▶ Barbara Carr in "When You Was Out Playing Jody", also called "While You Was out Playing Jody"⁹⁶
 - ▶ LL Cool J has an especially irritating version, I'm That Type Of Guy.⁹⁷ 1989

⁸⁴ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a6yCEsDsGx4 Lead Belly Where Did You Sleep Last Night ⁸⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FCPutYaGFIE Lloyd Price 1952 Stagger Lee, gospel impulse ⁸⁶ The Uncle Remus folktales were created by slaves but compiled by white author/journalist Joel Chandler Harris (1845 – 1908), published in book form in 1881 as Uncle Remus, His Songs and His Sayings: The Folk-Lore of the Old Plantation.

- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uncle_Remus:_His Songs and His Savings
- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Signifying monkey
- ⁸⁸ http://www.louisianafolklife.org/LT/Articles_Essays/creole_art_toast_tradition.html Louis Armstrong singing Shine (1942)
- ⁸⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LcsfxP9oEoA
- ⁹⁰ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-cmo6MRYf5g
- ⁹¹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nFvRvSxsW-I
- ⁹² Michael Hanchard, "Jody", Critical Inquiry, Vol. 24, No. 2, Intimacy, Winter, 1998
- ⁹³ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aVIA1n5ng4Y also https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lsVWNbAqbJs

⁹⁴ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E4MzSU44ewc

Howlin' Wolf 1961, Back Door Man

Curtis Mayfield - Superfly soundtrack

Shaft, 1971, soundtrack recorded by Isaac Hayes

Blind Blake- Back Door Slam Blues

Johnnie Taylor Jody's Got Your Girl and Gone.

(A black soldier Pvt. Willie Lee Duckworth is credited with creating the Duckworth chant or military cadence incorporating these words.)

- http://www.army.mil/article/51827/us-army-jody-call-has-black-roots/
- ⁹⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cs1wDbtB4js
- ⁹⁶ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gWhw-9SMppg
- ⁹⁷ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BZlxvn_jWgM

Jean Knight Don't Talk About Jody When You Was Out Playing Jody LL Cool J - I'm That Type Of Guy

▶ We heard in class an interesting song, probably called *Joe the Grinder and G.I. Joe*, about a military man who returns to find Jody with his wife and confronts him.

"African Americans boast a lively verbal art tradition that includes tales, *toasts*, and adventures of bad guys who confront and vanquish any adversary instantly and guiltlessly. [Toasting] was an extended celebration of a heroic figure... Christopher Wilkinson, defines the toast as a mostly male event. [He] is aware that some women and men are often offended by versions including profanity, negative views of Black women, or sexual explicitness. However, he feels that most men find a release and celebration in the heroic deeds of the central character in the toast.⁹⁸

R&B, Record Companies, Rock, Soul, Disco, Funk, Hip Hop, & Recent Black Genres

In *rhythm and blues*, the focus is on the electric guitar, often with saxophone, piano and keyboards. Boogie woogie emphasized piano. There is a long history of segregation and discrimination in R&B versus Rock and Roll and mainstream pop music, etc. *Rock and Roll* (aka *Rock 'N' Roll* and later just *Rock*) was originally the marketing of rhythm and blues style songs sung by whites like Elvis Presley, Carl Perkins and Jerry Lee Lewis. However, this term traced back to black usage in the 1920s that was often implicitly sexual, and centuries earlier to mariners describing their ships. Pioneering black singers who helped launch the rock era included Little Richard, Chuck Berry and Bo Diddley. Other black noteworthy rock musicians include Jimmy Hendrix, Lenny Kravitz, and Tina Turner.

Examples of R&B and Rock and Roll:

- o Big Joe Turner. Shake, Rattle & Roll, 1954⁹⁹ (the black version)
- Bill Haley and his Comets, *Shake, Rattle & Roll*, also in 1954¹⁰⁰) (the white version, one of the first commercially successful rock works)
- Willie Mae "Big Mama" Thornton *Hound Dog* (1952, black version)¹⁰¹
- Elvis Presley, Hound Dog^{102} (white version)

Blacks (including Booker T. Washington) often had to resort to *masking* to conceal their inner thoughts—anger, resentment, and a desire to end discriminatory practices—by projecting a bland, unrevealing, or misleading demeanor.

At Motown, the Detroit record company, Berry Gordy had his black performers train to "think, act, walk and talk like royalty, so as to alter the less-than-dignified image commonly held of black musicians by white Americans in that era"¹⁰³ They were told to avoid excess sexuality and emphasize romance, minimize hip movements, make fewer moans, hollers, and vocal riffs, and be generally wholesome and non-threatening to whites (no politics or talk about civil rights protests). This led to a distinctive Motown popular music sound that was often more acceptable to white than black listeners. The Funk Brothers were the instrumental musicians behind the sound of Motown, but were mostly out of sight.¹⁰⁴ Motown was the first African-American-owned record label to reach widespread national acclaim.¹⁰⁵ Motown broke down racial prejudice by becoming the most successful independent record company in history and the most successful African-American-owned business in America. Well known performers included Marvin Gaye, Martha Reeves and the

⁹⁸ http://www.louisianafolklife.org/LT/Articles_Essays/creole_art_toast_tradition.html

Big Joe Turner Shake, Rattle & Roll Bill Haley Shake, Rattle & Roll Willie Mae "Big Mama" Thornton, Hound Dog Elvis Presley, Hound Dog

Funk Brothers Motown Singles Collection 1959 - 1971, also The Soul Of Motown Part 2 Soul Of Motown Part 3 Soul Of Motown Part 4

⁹⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YhELpSeeipg

¹⁰⁰ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8B7xr_EjbzE

¹⁰¹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yoHDrzw-RPg

¹⁰² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lzQ8GDBA8Is

¹⁰³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Motown

 ¹⁰⁴ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M_GnSeuko2o
¹⁰⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6p1YQqOLtIM
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7DDQMqiOOi4
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EeF1YrLogdk

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QMrJu03kqy8

Vandellas, Diana Ross and The Supremes, The Temptations, William "Smokey" Robinson, Jr. and The Miracles, Michael Jackson, Stevie Wonder, and Lionel Ritchie.

"Motown defined the term 'crossover' not only on record and stage, but also behind the scenes. After breaking down barriers and having pop radio embrace Motown artists, Berry Gordy set his sights on television, movies. He booked his artists on popular shows such as American Bandstand and The Ed Sullivan Show. After captivating national audiences with repeat performances on these shows, The Supremes were the first R&B act to play the country's most prestigious night club, New York's Copacabana, which paved the way for other R&B acts into the top cabaret circuits around the world."¹⁰⁶

Some crossover performers went to considerable efforts—objectionable to many proud blacks—to achieve acceptance among whites by hair straightening, skin lightening, nose thinning, etc.

More generally (and paraphrasing Werner on Robert Stepto): Should blacks undergo "ascension" in society, moving up to freedom but losing their black cultural identity and connectedness through assimilation? Or should they seek "immersion" by returning to their own cultures and roots, recapturing their communal literacy?¹⁰⁷

Stax Records in Memphis retained a more authentic black sound and more gospel in its recordings. It included greater sexuality without masking, and made more explicit references to Civil Rights. The Staple Singers used less refined diction that was more natural and country-like, more acceptable to black listeners. Freedom Riders were depicted favorably, not as unpatriotic troublemakers. The Staple Singers were more provocative and challenging to white listeners. Stax artists were allowed to be activists, and many performed at the 1972 Wattstax concert. Their house artists were the interracial Booker T. and the M.G.s.¹⁰⁸

The term *black power* was in use by 1965. The *black pride* movement encouraged people to take pride in being black, the wearing of afros and African garb, etc.¹⁰⁹ Growing black radicalism and concerns about revolution, riots, and chaos were prominent in the 1960s and 1970s. Televised images of rioting contributed to a conservative backlash and the elections of Richard Nixon in 1968, Ronald Reagan in 1980, and George H. W. Bush in 1988. At the close of the 1960s, after assassinations and riots, there was a sense of great loss and despair among blacks as poverty became more concentrated in the "chocolate cities" ironically described by George Clinton.¹¹⁰ Werner summarizes the new "Reagan Rules" in effect: (1) Reality is determined by image and anecdote, (2) The purpose of life is to make a lot of money, (3) Go ahead, make my day, and (4) AIDS is God's judgment on "them".¹¹¹ Andrew Hacker, in his 1992 *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal*, summarized the deleterious effects of the Reagan era on blacks.¹¹²

Listen to, for example:

- Gil Scott-Heron *The Revolution Will Not Be Televised* (1970)¹¹³ (rap)
- The Last Poets When The Revolution Comes (rap)¹¹⁴
- o Frank Zappa and The Mothers of Invention Trouble Every Day 1966¹¹⁵

Soul music is a loosely defined hybrid subgenre of R&B and popular music that retains gospel elements and church influence and includes jazz elements. By 1960 it had become linked with the Civil Rights movement.

http://www.motownmuseum.org/story/motown/

¹⁰⁷ http://mseffie.com/assignments/invisible_man/stepto.html

Time Is Tight, Booker T. and the M.G.s James Brown *Say It Loud, I'm Black & I'm Proud* George Clinton, Parliament *Chocolate City* 1975 (funk)

Gil Scott-Heron *The Revolution Will Not Be Televised* The Last Poets - *When The Revolution Comes* (rap)

Zappa says in Trouble, "I'm not black, But there's a whole lots a times I wish I could say I'm not white."

¹⁰⁸ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=50xx1_CbJTI

¹⁰⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j0A_N-wmiMo

¹¹⁰ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DZaVA3NS7zE

¹¹¹ ACHGC p. 248-9

¹¹² ACHGC p. 255

¹¹³ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qGaoXAwl9kw

 ¹¹⁴ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8M5W_3T2Ye4
¹¹⁵ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=girnJH7tvpM

According to the professor, it is "an international conversation connecting the African Diaspora". Some of the well-known performers identified with *Soul* include Clyde McPhatter, Hank Ballard, and Etta James, Ray Charles, Otis Redding, Fats Domino, James Brown, Sam Cooke, Wilson Pickett, Aretha Franklin, Whitney Houston, Curtis Mayfield, several of those named above in the Motown roster, The Staple Singers, etc. Soul [music] is

"A term originating with some black American gospel groups of the 1940s and 50s (e.g. the Soul Stirrers). In the late 1950s, jazz which was influenced by gospel style was known as 'soul jazz'. The adoption of these styles in the 1960s led to soul becoming an umbrella term for black American popular music, and in 1969 Billboard changed the categorization of its black record chart from 'rhythm and blues' to 'soul'... Among the early performers associated with the idiom are Clyde McPhatter and Ray Charles. Some of their work extends to secularizing the style of the sung sermon of a church service. In the mid-1960s, the work of James Brown, Otis Redding, Aretha Franklin, Stevie Wonder, and others acquired rhythmic riffs in the accompaniment, syncopated bass, and horn sections, and moved away from a ternary shuffle beat towards the binary subdivision of the beat; these developments prefigure funk and disco. The lyrics include formulaic gospel cries (e.g. 'feels all right') and they are often delivered in the fervent style of gospel music. In the 1970s soul divided into two strands: a 'sweet' soul (on the Tamla Motown label) and a more funky Southern style (on the Stax and Atlantic labels). By the mid-1970s, even the up-tempo 'sweet' style was being called 'disco'. As a result, Billboard recognized in 1982 that 'soul' was no longer the appropriate general term for black American pop, and the chart category was changed to 'black music'. "¹¹⁶

Other record companies promoting black music included Philadelphia ("Philly") International Records (called by Werner "the last of the soul music empires"), Black Patti, Black Swan Records, Vee-Jay, Duke-Peacock Records, Lu Pine, Enjoy Records, SAR Records, Sugar Hill Records, and a variety of rap and gospel labels. Atlantic Records in its first 20 years specialized in jazz, R&B and soul recordings by African-American artists.¹¹⁷

After WWII, American black music diffused more rapidly to the Caribbean via radio. Jamaican *Ska* in the 1950s was adapted from Motown music. *Rocksteady* followed in Jamaica. *Reggae*, which appeared in Jamaica in the late 1960s, is influenced by the Rastafari movement (a Caribbean-based spiritual ideology that arose in the 1930s in Jamaica),¹¹⁸ has links to ska and rocksteady, but is close to *Soul*.

Americans living in Spanish Harlem and with Puerto Rican ancestry, such as Ray Barretto (1929 – 2006), also evoked the diaspora Soul.

Mambo is "a musical form and dance style that developed originally in Cuba, with further significant developments by Cuban musicians in Mexico and the USA. The word 'mambo' means 'conversation with the gods' in Kikongo, the language spoken by Central African slaves taken to Cuba."¹¹⁹ Mambo was popularized in New York City in part by second generation Puerto Rican immigrants. "The *clave rhythmic pattern* is used as a tool for temporal organization in Afro-Cuban music, such as abakúa, rumba, conga de comparsa, son, son montuno, mambo, salsa, Latin jazz, songo and timba. The five-stroke clave pattern represents the structural core of many Afro-Cuban rhythms... An important North American contribution to clave theory is the worldwide propagation of the 3-2/2-3 concept and terminology, which arose from the fusion of Cuban rhythms with jazz in New York City."¹²⁰

Boogaloo "is a genre of Latin music and dance that was popular in the United States in the 1960s... Boogaloo originated in New York City among teenage Cubans, Puerto Ricans and others. The style was a fusion of popular African American R&B and Soul, with Mambo and Son Montuno."¹²¹

¹¹⁶ Wilton, Peter. "soul." The Oxford Companion to Music. Ed. Alison Latham. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press. Web. 22 Aug. 2014. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com...>

¹¹⁷ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Atlantic_Records

¹¹⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rastafari_movement

¹¹⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mambo_%28music%29

¹²⁰ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clave_%28rhythm%29

¹²¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boogaloo

The piece *Manteca* is "one of the earliest foundational tunes of *Afro-Cuban jazz*. Co-written by Dizzy Gillespie, Chano Pozo and Gil Fuller in 1947, it is among the most famous of Gillespie's recordings... 'Manteca' is the first tune rhythmically based on the clave to become a jazz standard."¹²²

Disco music is an outgrowth of soul and R&B, and was popular among black Americans in the 1970s. It contained celebratory themes with gospel impulse (redemption), and a spirit of solidarity and resistance. It was embraced by gays and blacks including black women, and perhaps this contributed to a backlash that arose by 1979 (as we neared the conservative Reagan years).¹²³ Several disco pieces became anthems, like Sylvester's 1978 *You Make Me Feel (Mighty Real).* "Musical influences include funk, Latin, psychedelic and soul music. The disco sound has soaring, often reverberated vocals over a steady 'four-on-the-floor' beat [all 4 beats equally stressed]."¹²⁴ It is "characterized by hypnotic rhythm, repetitive lyrics, and electronically produced sounds."¹²⁵

Funk and disco are similar, but funk is a mixture of R&B, soul, and jazz originating in the late 1960s. It deemphasizes melody and harmony in favor of "The One" (a strong rhythmic emphasis on the first of 4 beats in the bar in the electric bass and drums), giving it a spiritual link.

Paraphrasing and quoting portions of this article on funk:¹²⁶

"Like much African-inspired music, funk typically consists of a complex groove with rhythm instruments such as electric guitar, electric bass, Hammond organ, and drums playing interlocking rhythms. Funk bands sometimes have a horn section of several saxophones, trumpets, and in some cases, a trombone, which plays rhythmic 'hits'... The word *funk* is postulated by the anthropologist/art historian Robert Farris Thompson to "have its semantic roots in the Kikongo word 'lu-fuki', which means 'bad body odor'... Both jazzmen and Bakongo use funky to praise persons for the integrity of their art... Hence, 'funk' in American jazz parlance can mean earthiness, or a return to fundamentals.... The style later evolved into a rather hard-driving, insistent rhythm, implying a more carnal quality... The music was identified as slow, 'sexy', loose, riff-oriented and danceable... Musicians would encourage one another to 'get down' by telling one another, 'Now, put some stank on it!'. As late as the 1950s and early 1960s, when 'funk' and 'funky' were used increasingly in the context of jazz music, the terms still were considered indelicate and inappropriate for use in polite company."

The Hip Hop movement taps the blues and jazz impulse and connects African traditions from across the diaspora. It arose in the marginalized subcultures of South Bronx in the early 1970s from the urban decay accompanying deindustrialization, economic decline, white flight, burned out buildings (partly from greedy owner-prompted arsons), declining school attendance, rising drug dealing and crime, and gang proliferation. (Bruce Springsteen's 1983 My Hometown also eloquently depicts the urban decay in his New Jersey hometown.¹²⁷) Hip hop quickly spread to Harlem and other parts of NYC, and beyond to become an international phenomenon. Features include rapping (MC-ing), DJ-ing/scratching (turntablism), break dancing (by b-boys and b-girls), and graffiti art (tagging). Also often utilized street or outdoor settings, toasting, beatboxing, sampling, dub and mixing incorporating the sound system culture brought from Jamaica, dance movements from Puerto Rico, etc. Contributors include Clive Campbell (b. 1955, stage names Kool Herc, DJ Kool Herc and Kool DJ Herc—the founding father in 1973 of Hip Hop), Joseph Saddler (b. 1958, stage name Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five), Kevin Donovan (b. 1957, stage name Afrika Bambaataa and who formed the formed the Universal Zulu Nation), the California group N.W.A (Niggaz Wit Attitudes, including Easy-E, Dr. Dre, DJ Yella, Ice Cube, and MC Ren), Jay-Z, LL Cool J, Eminem, 50 Cent, Tupac Shakur, Run-DMC, and Public Enemy. Many rap lyrics have been strongly criticized for their glorification of drugs, violence, gangsters, abuse of women or misogyny, anti-Semitism, etc.. An anti-violence theme (or at least the

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A5tRGMHfKrE

Bruce Springsteen My Hometown

Manteca

¹²² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manteca_%28song%29

¹²³ Disco Demolition Night in Chicago in 1979 was organized by Steve Dahl, with motto 'Disco Sucks'. The backlash against disco was mainly by white heterosexual men who were rock music fans.

¹²⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Disco

¹²⁵ http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/disco

¹²⁶ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Funk

¹²⁷ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=77gKSp8WoRg

consequences of black violence) is given in KRS-One's 1990 *Love's Gonna Get'cha¹²⁸* and Ice Cube's 1991 *My* Summer Vacation.¹²⁹

Other black artists of note include Duke Ellington, Nat King Cole, Billie Holiday, Ella Fitzgerald, Sarah Vaughan, Fats Waller, Prince Rogers Nelson (b. 1958), and Beyoncé Giselle Knowles-Carter (b. 1981). Madonna Louise Ciccone, b. 1958, is a white dancer and performer who straddled racial lines in her MTV videos and appealed to black listeners—as in *Like a Prayer*, which included a black St. Thomas. Mary J. Blige is the "queen of Hip Hop Soul".¹³⁰ Her songs include the 1994 *My Life*¹³¹ and the 1999 *Your Child*.¹³²

Songs by selected white artists: (1) Bruce Springsteen eloquently depicts the urban decay in his New Jersey hometown in his 1983 *My Hometown*.¹³³ (2) *Livin' in the Wasteland of the Free* by Iris DeMent (1996) depicts a grim landscape where the poor have become the enemy.¹³⁴

I wish I were more familiar with much of the important soul, R&B, disco, pop, Latin and Caribbean musical genres. However, for now I am out of time and certainly out of expertise, and will not attempt further summarization. I apologize that I have mostly neglected the last 60 to 80 pages of *ACIGC* (which describe the most recent developments in the world of black music).

More Examples:

- o You Can't Hurry Love, Diana Ross and the Supremes, 1966¹³⁵
- Ray Charles I Got A Woman 1954¹³⁶ (a riff on The Southern Tones's It Must Be Jesus¹³⁷ 1954)
- o Little Richard Tutti Frutti 138
- The Staple Singers Respect Yourself¹³⁹
- Staple Singers 1981 Why Am I Treated So Bad ¹⁴⁰
- The Staple Singers Freedom Highway (1965)¹⁴¹
- Sam & Dave Hold On I'm Comin' (Live in 1967, with Booker T. & the M.G.s)¹⁴²
- Sam and Dave Soul Man (1967)¹⁴³
- Ben E King, Stand By Me, 1961¹⁴⁴
- Bar Kays Soulfinger ¹⁴⁵
- Isaac Hayes Soulville¹⁴⁶
- Marvin Gaye What's Going On (1971)¹⁴⁷ R&B/Soul
- \circ Rufus Thomas The Breakdown Pts.1 & 2 $^{\rm 148}$ 1971

¹²⁸ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HxwlyV8QxZ4
¹²⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RMqfRey10gA

KRS-One Love's Gonna Get'cha 1990 (rap) Ice Cube 1991 My Summer Vacation (anti-gangsta rap)

Mary J Blige *My Life* Mary J. Blige - *Your Child*

Bruce Springsteen My Hometown *Livin' in the Wasteland of the Free* by Iris DeMent Diana Ross & the Supremes You Can't Hurry Love Ray Charles I Got A Woman Southern Tones It Must Be Jesus Tutti Frutti Staple Singers Why Am I Treated So Bad Staple Singers Freedom Highway Sam and Dave Soul Man Stand by me Soulfinger Soulville Marvin Gave What's Going On (1971) R&B/Soul Breakdown 1971

¹³⁰ ACIGC p. 319

¹³¹ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rph8POwRvqI ¹³² http://www.voutube.com/watch?v=bQWOEaQfuEQ ¹³³ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=77gKSp8WoRg ¹³⁴ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SYqDpL0YCvI ¹³⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mrd14PxaUco ¹³⁶ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mrd14PxaUco ¹³⁷ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AvCbVLZW4EY ¹³⁸ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F13JNjpNW6c ¹³⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-1pYKdqD1ls ¹⁴⁰ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kFBHOtN5ssc ¹⁴¹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f7_b_jyRVRc ¹⁴² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3ND4P-gy1PM ¹⁴³ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZVx2i6jGzf8 ¹⁴⁴ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hwZNL7QVJjE ¹⁴⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=16DduIqoRwE ¹⁴⁶ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u_SQq0Pxp3c ¹⁴⁷ https://www.voutube.com/watch?v=H-kA3UtBj4M ¹⁴⁸ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JXxpEwlwUkc

- Higher Ground Stevie Wonder (1973)¹⁴⁹
- Aretha Franklin I Never Loved a Man (1967)¹⁵⁰
- o Aretha Franklin *Think* [1968]¹⁵¹
- o Sam Cooke A Change Is Gonna Come (Original Version)¹⁵²
- o Martha & The Vandellas Dancing in the Street 153 1964
- The Impressions We're a Winner¹⁵⁴
- o James Brown I Don't Want Nobody To Give Me Nothing¹⁵⁵
- o Joe Cuba Bang Bang ¹⁵⁶ (boogaloo)
- o Johnny Colon Boogaloo Blues¹⁵⁷ 1967
- o Jimmy Cliff The Harder They Come ¹⁵⁸
- o Joe Bataan It's a Good Feeling (Riot)¹⁵⁹
- o Laurel Aitken and The Skatalites Rude Boy Dreams¹⁶⁰
- o Alton Ellis & The Flames Girl I've Got A Date (soul version, c. 1966)¹⁶¹
- o Bob Marley & The Wailers Buffalo Soldier¹⁶² reggae
- Bob Marley One Drop ¹⁶³ reggae
- Bob Marley *No Woman no cry*¹⁶⁴) reggae
- Willie Colon Willie Whopper¹⁶⁵
- o Gloria Gaynor, I Will Survive ¹⁶⁶ (a disco feminist anthem, 1978)
- Silver Convention 1975 *Fly Robin Fly* (disco)¹⁶⁷
- Diana Ross 1980 I'm Coming Out¹⁶⁸ (disco)
- o McFadden & Whitehead Ain't No Stopping Us Now (disco, long Version)¹⁶⁹
- Cheryl Lynn *Got to Be Real* 1978 (disco)¹⁷⁰
- o Sylvester [James, Jr.]- You Make Me Feel (Mighty Real)¹⁷¹ disco 1978
- o Drake Started From The Bottom (warning: explicit offensive lyrics)¹⁷²
- The Isley Brothers Fight The Power 1975¹⁷³ (rock, funk, hip hop, etc.)

¹⁴⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X00XdLhFLSg ¹⁵⁰ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pxb-9p5hdRY ¹⁵¹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hsL9UL9qbv8 ¹⁵² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nOYuhLNwh3A ¹⁵³ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CdvITn5cAVc ¹⁵⁴ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uLMRzDFMvEo ¹⁵⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3lkFPW7uHqs ¹⁵⁶ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MenOmqIBmIM ¹⁵⁷ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qXQm-QzJ7ig o ¹⁵⁸ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Znh0OM9jiA ¹⁵⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=poFXwf25TNo ¹⁶⁰ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DtHbxkASFmc ¹⁶¹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dWXBHtIk9gk ¹⁶² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uMUQMSXLIHM 163 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G7DnJayOlOk ¹⁶⁴ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SV2hshsChlk ¹⁶⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d8Vc7f3toNs ¹⁶⁶ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZBR2G-iI3-I ¹⁶⁷ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dZ-QL75KGdk ¹⁶⁸ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F-mjl63e0ms ¹⁶⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VuAZTWGfQTs ¹⁷⁰ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EoXvDleWJ5U ¹⁷¹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oG2ixYJ79iE ¹⁷² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RubBzkZzpUA

Higher Ground Aretha Franklin - I Never Loved a Man (1967) Think Cooke A Change is Gonna Come Dancing in the Street We're a winner I don't want Nobody To Give Me Nothing Joe Cuba, Bang bang Johnny Colon Boogaloo Blues The Harder They Come It's a good feeling Skatalites Rude Boy Ellis Girl I've Got A Date Bob Marley, Buffalo Soldier Bob Marley, One Drop Bob Marley, No Woman No Cry Willie Colon, Willie Whopper *I will survive* (a disco feminist anthem) Silver Convention 1975 Fly Robin Fly (disco) Diana Ross, I'm Coming Out (disco) McFadden & Whitehead. Ain't No Stopping Us Now Cheryl Lynn Got to Be Real 1978 (disco) You make me feel (disco) Drake Started From The Bottom (explicit!)

- Sly and family Stone Thank you for letting me be myself, again ¹⁷⁴ (funk) 1969 (also known as *Thank You Falettinme Be Mice Elf Agin*)
- o George Clinton Flash light ¹⁷⁵ (funk)
- The Temptations Papa Was A Rolling Stone¹⁷⁶ (funk)
- Funkadelic Cosmic Slop ¹⁷⁷ (funk)
- o George Clinton and the Parliament-Funkadelic- The Mothership Connection (1976)¹⁷⁸
- Funkadelic One Nation Under A Groove (1978) ¹⁷⁹ (funk and rock)
- Max Romeo War ina Babylon¹⁸⁰ (reggae) 1976
- o Bruno Mars Locked Out Of Heaven¹⁸¹ (funk, reggae, rock, etc.)
- Afrika Bambaataa & The Cosmic Force Zulu Nation Throw Down Volume #1¹⁸² (hip hop)
- N.W.A. Dopeman¹⁸³ (gangsta rap and West Coast hip hop) 1987 (drugs, violence, sex :& misogyny)
- o Run DMC It's Like That (Original)¹⁸⁴ (hip hop) 1983
- o Grandmaster Flash The Message¹⁸⁵ (hip hop) 1982
- The Sugar Hill Gang Rapper's Delight¹⁸⁶ (early 1979 rap, explicit sex)
- o Public Enemy-Welcome To The Terrordome 1990 (rap, anti-Semitic)¹⁸⁷
- o Eric B. & Rakim Juice (Know The Ledge) (gangsta rap)¹⁸⁸
- $\circ~$ Eric B. & Rakim 1990 In The Ghetto $\left(rap \right)^{189}$

¹⁷³ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wO2ebiuV3hU Fight the Power (rock, funk, hip hop, etc.) ¹⁷⁴ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T0aG1VCW1GQ Thank You (funk) ¹⁷⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RHCLF07_EbQ Flash Light (funk) ¹⁷⁶ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pJV2pWFyfn4 Papa was A Rolling Stone (funkadelic) ¹⁷⁷ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PKr0gn4o1YM Cosmic slop (funk) ¹⁷⁸ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CiTh8BQ4oVU Mothership (P-Funk) ¹⁷⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3WOZwwRH6XU One Nation(funk and rock) 180 https://www.voutube.com/watch?v= ILiMmfAGXO War ina Babylon (reggae) ¹⁸¹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e-fA-gBCkj0 Locked Out Of Heaven (funk, reggae, rock, etc.) ¹⁸² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6qjsZJWjKM0 Zulu Nation Throw Down (hip hop) ¹⁸³ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=irn9FYJP2fY Dopeman (hip hop) ¹⁸⁴ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_hN1SKVx31s Its Like That (hip hop) ¹⁸⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O4o8TeqKhgY Grandmaster Flash The Message (hip hop) 1982 ¹⁸⁶ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rKTUAESacQM The Sugar Hill Gang - Rapper's Delight ¹⁸⁷ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lWTE1Uj9Z8c Public Enemy-Welcome To The Terrordome 1990 ¹⁸⁸ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OPkWYTUiPTo Eric B. & Rakim Juice (Know The Ledge) (rap) ¹⁸⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JEgKRuA_eSw Eric B. & Rakim 1990 In The Ghetto (rap)