

# PAUL WHITEMAN IN AMERICAN MUSIC

A Symposium at Williams College

Bernhard Music Center

August 27, 2022

## PROGRAM

Ryan Raul Bañagale, Colorado College

Stephanie Doktor, Temple University

John Howland, Norwegian University of Science and Technology

Katherine M. Leo, Millikin University

Sarah Caissie Provost, University of North Florida

W. Anthony Sheppard, Williams College

Catherine Tackley, University of Liverpool

Michael Tanksley, Temple University

Elijah Wald, writer, musician, and independent researcher

Christi Jay Wells, Arizona State University

*This symposium has been funded by the Special Collections department at Williams College to encourage scholarly interest in the Paul Whiteman Collection. Special thanks are due to Lisa Conathan, Head of Special Collections, and to the Department of Music. The symposium has been organized by W. Anthony Sheppard, Marilyn and Arthur Levitt Professor of Music.*

## **SCHEDULE**

8:00-8:30: Welcome remarks

### Session I.

8:30-9:15 John Howland

“Paul Whiteman and Modern Metropolitan Impressions, 1927–1940”

9:15-10:00 Sarah Caissie Provost

“Legitimacy, Whiteness, and the Concert Music of Two Early Jazz ‘Kings’”

10:00-10:30 Break

### Session II.

10:30-11:15 Christi Jay Wells

“‘In Order to Keep the Wolf Away from the Door’: Paul Whiteman and Race Discourse in Dave Peyton’s ‘The Musical Bunch’”

11:15-12:00 Ryan Raul Bañagale

“Arranging Asians in the Whiteman Archive”

12:00-12:45 Michael Tanksley

“Jazz Studies, Structural Racism, and Paul Whiteman”

12:45-2:00 Break

### Session III.

2:00-2:45 Stephanie Doktor

“Black Music, White Bodies: Disciplining Early Jazz”

2:45-3:30 Katherine M. Leo

“Paul Whiteman: Radio Performance Rights Advocate”

3:30-4 Break

Session IV.

4:00-4:45 Catherine Tackley

“‘Symphonised Syncopation’: The Impact of Paul Whiteman in the UK in the 1920s”

4:45-5:30 W. Anthony Sheppard

“Integration and Segregation in Whiteman's Music Television, 1948-1955”

5:30-6:00 Elijah Wald

Afterword and Response to Papers

# ABSTRACTS and SPEAKER BIOS

## Ryan Raul Bañagale

“Arranging Asians in the Whiteman Archive”

This paper explores the realms of “musical Orientalism” that emerge through the lens of Arrangement Studies using materials from the Paul Whiteman Archive. Since the late 1990s, scholars have drawn out the ways that Tin Pan Alley songs established and maintained a lexicon of Orientalisms designed to identify and other both Asians and Asian Americans, including studies by Tsou (1997), Hisama (2000), Garrett (2004), and Sheppard (2019). Their respective lines of inquiry focus on the rhythmic, melodic, lyrical, and iconographic analysis of published piano-vocal sheet music. The present paper considers how such elements come together and are extended through the unpublished musical arrangements of Asian-themed songs performed by the Paul Whiteman Orchestra.

Although Whiteman’s second hit record, “Japanese Sandman” (1920) stands as his ensemble’s first such example of Orientalist popular song, the archives contain nearly 100 additional examples that extend up through the late-1940s. Focusing on East Asian pieces, this includes such mainstays as “Limehouse Blues,” “Chinatown, My Chinatown,” and “China Boy.” These three particular songs were arranged and recorded multiple times over the course of Whiteman’s career, but many others were placed on disc only once or not at all. In fact, more than half of the arrangements found in the archive remain unaccounted for in the literature on Whiteman.

The first part of this paper documents the scope of East Asian-themed arrangements performed by the Whiteman Ensemble. But rather than simply account for such items, this paper also recovers what these non-recorded songs sounded like, providing reconstructions based on the individual parts located in the archives at Williams College to address a set of questions: What might audiences have heard in the live performance of these songs versus what survives on extant recordings? Do stock techniques—such as instrumentation—emerge akin to the musical Orientalisms encountered in the published sheet-music renderings of these songs? Do arrangers use a variety of techniques or simply follow established patterns over time? Ultimately, my goal is to model additional ways to understand how sonic stereotypes were arranged and circulated during the first half of the twentieth century.

**Ryan Raul Bañagale** is an Associate Professor and Chair of the Music Department at Colorado College. He received his Ph.D. at Harvard University with the support of the American Musicological Society’s AMS-50 and Howard Mayer Brown fellowships. Ryan has published widely on the music of George Gershwin, including his book *Arranging Gershwin: Rhapsody in Blue and the Creation of an American Icon* (Oxford University Press, 2014). He is co-editor of *“We Didn’t Start the Fire”*: *Billy Joel and Popular Music Studies* (Lexington Books, 2020) and is currently compiling the *Oxford Handbook on Arrangement Studies*. His scholarship also

appears in the *Journal for the Society for American Music*, *Jazz Perspectives*, and the *Cambridge Companion to Gershwin* (Cambridge University Press, 2019). Previously, Ryan has served as Director of The Arts at CC. As a faculty administrator, he amplified the role of the arts in the academic mission of the college, supporting the collaborative and creative impulses of the campus and community. Between the endeavors of the academic arts departments, the innovative co-curricular student groups, and the expansive programming of the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center at Colorado College, he facilitated the cross-disciplinary connections that remain an essential component of the liberal arts experience.

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## **Stephanie Doktor**

### “Black Music, White Bodies: Disciplining Early Jazz”

Paul Whiteman dominated the early jazz market. In an industry seeking white interpreters of Black music, Whiteman made quick work of establishing an entertainment empire as the self-proclaimed “King of Jazz.” In 1922, “Whispering” made him the best-selling recording artist for Victor Talking Machine. By the end of the decade, he had over fifty satellite orchestras, a weekly radio show paying him \$5,000 for a one-hour broadcast, and his very own feature film. Much like those of his contemporaries Jean Goldkette, Roger Wolfe Kahn, and Vince Lopez, the appearance of Whiteman’s band determined their success in an era marked by the emergence of what Richard Dyer calls the star system. The presentation of high-class, professional musicians was especially important given the controversy surrounding Black music in Jim Crow America. Most dance bands adhered to 1920s beauty standards coalescing around a middle-class and disciplined white masculinity. Whiteman, on the other hand, did not. He was considered “overweight” in a decade when the diet industry formed, and his weight was discussed in print media as a problem that needed to be fixed. Yet, he still surpassed all other bandleaders in record sales and profits.

In this paper, I explore the entanglement of music, race, and the body. Using Whiteman as a case study, I ask how white male bodies shaped the reception of Black music. As Ronald Radano argued, turn-of-the-century Black music was misheard as exclusively rhythmic. Jazz was “Euro-America’s blackened musical other,” and white Americans feared its “disabling effects.” How, then, did they negotiate the most famous jazz musician whose body deviated from white masculine norms? Drawing on queer theory, fat and disability studies, and Afro-pessimism, I answer this question by analyzing the visual media surrounding his star persona in the 1920s, including news coverage of his diet plan as well as the litany of caricatures mocking his physical features. I contend that Whiteman’s body served as a cautionary tale about what jazz might do to white bodies at the same time it operated as a symbol of authenticity for those seeking intimacy with Blackness.

**Stephanie Doktor** is Assistant Professor of Music Theory at Temple University, and her research and teaching ask, “How can we *hear* inequality?” Her most recent article, “Finding

Florence Mills: The Voice of the Harlem Jazz Queen in the Compositions of William Grant Still and Edmund Thornton Jenkins,” published in the *Journal of the Society for American Music* (2020), was awarded the 2021 Best Essay in Popular Music Scholarship by the Popular Music Study Group of the American Musicological Society and the 2022 Irving Lowens Article Award by the Society for American Music. Her current book project, *Reinventing Whiteness: Race in the Early Jazz Marketplace* (under contract with University of California Press), examines how white supremacy profoundly shaped the emergence of the recording industry. Doktor presents regularly at national conferences including the Society for American Music and the American Musicological Society, and she has forthcoming publications in the *Oxford Handbook of Arrangement Studies* and a co-edited special issue of *Jazz & Culture*.

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## John Howland

“Paul Whiteman and Modern Metropolitan Impressions, 1927–1940”

Beyond the dance-band realm, the symphonic jazz idiom of the Paul Whiteman orchestra formed an important arranging and stylistic model for the orchestras of interwar radio, Broadway musicals, deluxe movie palaces, and film studios. This present paper builds upon my research concerning Whiteman’s “Modern American Music” (MAM) concert works, as well as both how this music and Whiteman’s dance-band arranging and repertory adhered to period variety entertainment aesthetics, and how symphonic-jazz stylistic topics were employed as a means to “glorify” American popular music. Published by Robbins Music, the MAM concert works were often premiered at Whiteman’s formal concerts, but this music was additionally disseminated via a host of period media contexts. This paper concentrates on the related “Modern Metropolitan Music” stylistic trope across various entertainment traditions of the era. Whitemanesque Modern Metropolitan Music embodied a lexicon of style and topic conventions tightly connected to MAM. *Variety* often referred to music in this mode as “jazzique.” This term denoted a culturally-elevated, jazz-indebted popular-music entertainment mode. The coinage combines 1920s popular notions of “jazz” plus “classique,” meaning “classical” in a glorified French spelling, but *classique* likewise invokes notions of “classy” culture. I argue that the class airs of MAM jazzique were a musical analogue to the class pretensions in Broadway and Hollywood’s invented “mid-Atlantic accent.” This paper frames its discussion of 1920s-1930s Whitemanesque musical entertainments via two key media examples, the 1936 screwball class comedy, *My Man Godfrey*, and Whiteman’s 1940 *Album of Manhattan: Metropolitan Impressions by Louis Alter*, both of which use the popular 1928 “Manhattan Serenade,” an early hit in the MAM repertory. Within this framing, this paper illustrates topical transmissions of the Whitemanesque idiom from the 1927-1928 founding of the MAM score series, Whiteman’s Publix-Paramount movie-theater prologue shows, and the Third Experiment in Modern Music Concert, to early radio shows and early sound films across the late 1920s and early 1930s. These examples focus on spectacular “production”-style arranging, historical Whitemanesque framing, and articulating topical facets of Modern Metropolitan Music. Each provides insights into the ways in which “Manhattan Serenade” is employed in *Godfrey* and *Album of Manhattan*.

**John Howland** is Professor and chair of musicology at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. He divides life between work in Trondheim, Norway, and home in Lund, Sweden. His research examines the interrelations among class hierarchy discourse and arranging, production, and entertainment aesthetics in popular music and jazz-related orchestral idioms. Howland is author of the books *Ellington Uptown: Duke Ellington, James P. Johnson, and the Birth of Concert Jazz* (University of Michigan Press, 2009), *Duke Ellington Studies* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), and *Hearing Luxe Pop: Glorification, Glamour and the Middlebrow in American Popular Music* (U. California Press, 2021), among other writings and editorial work, and is the former editor/co-founder of the Routledge Press journal, *Jazz Perspectives*. He is formerly a professor of music, jazz studies, and American Studies at Rutgers University-Newark. Howland's latest book project (*Disco Gold!: Pop Music and the Making of Mainstream Discomania, 1974-1980*) extends the themes of *Hearing Luxe Pop* through a study of the mainstream, international disco craze across the late 1970s.

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## **Katherine M. Leo**

“Paul Whiteman: Radio Performance Rights Advocate”

When we imagine Paul Whiteman, our thoughts likely turn first to his gregarious public persona as the beloved “King of Jazz.” We might think comparatively less, however, about Whiteman’s role as a charitable celebrity and music industry advocate. Whiteman notably served as a dedicated leader of the American Society of Composers Authors and Performers (ASCAP), the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), and the National Association of Performing Artists (NAPA). In this capacity, Whiteman played a pivotal, albeit reluctant, role as advocate for the rights of recording artists and performers to receive just compensation for their music broadcast over radio airwaves.

This project seeks to map the historical terrain of Whiteman’s advocacy activities specific to radio performance rights, which culminated in the landmark federal copyright lawsuit of *RCA v. Whiteman*. Although Whiteman’s business and personal records have been inconsistently preserved, extant archival and legal records housed at Williams College and the National Archives and Records Administration Kansas City branch document that Whiteman devoted his time, talent, and treasure to a variety of charitable and industry causes, with specific emphasis on radio performance rights. After a review of the legal landscape created by the 1909 Copyright Act and 1912 Radio Act, this project traces the efforts of Whiteman and his fellow radio personality-bandleaders to end the exploitation of musicians and recorded sound broadcast over radio airwaves. They began by forming professional organizations, specifically the NAPA, and speaking in Congressional hearings before turning to the U.S. judicial system for common law solutions. Although Whiteman’s litigation was one of several brought concurrently between 1932 and 1936, his suit against regional radio stations and RCA-Victor carried out between 1936 and 1940 resulted in an immediate and lasting impact on the music industry. Through its



multidisciplinary archival investigation, this project seeks to expand historical perspectives on Whiteman to include his legacy as a radio performance rights advocate.

**Katherine M. Leo** is assistant professor of music at Millikin University, where she teaches a variety of courses in western art and commercial music histories, ethnomusicology, and legal issues in music. Dr. Leo holds both a Ph.D. in musicology from The Ohio State University and a J.D. from its Moritz College of Law. Her research investigates US music and legal histories, with emphases on matters of authorship and originality as well as musical style and similarity in federal copyright law. This work is most notably featured in her monograph, *Forensic Musicology and the Blurred Lines of Federal Copyright History* (Lexington 2021), but has also recently appeared in the *Oxford Handbook of Public Music Theory* and *Music & Politics*. As a specialist in early-twentieth-century US commercial musics, Dr. Leo presents and publishes on intellectual property issues specific to the US piano roll industry, Duke Ellington, the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, and Paul Whiteman, with work recently featured in *Jazz Perspectives*. Dr. Leo has notably presented at annual national meetings of the American Musicological Society, the College Music Society, the Society for American Music, and the Society for Music Theory, as well as at international jazz conferences hosted in Austria, England, and Germany.

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## **Sarah Caissie Provost**

“Legitimacy, Whiteness, and the Concert Music of Two Early Jazz ‘Kings’”

The monikers “The King of Jazz” and the “King of Swing” are ironic and revealing in equal measures. Both Paul Whiteman, the “King of Jazz,” and Benny Goodman, the “King of Swing,” were White performers who benefited greatly from their appropriations of Black music. Scholars have extensively documented the ways that both “Kings” appropriated and modified jazz in order to make it attractive to a White audience. One of the ways both legitimized their music was to perform it in the concert hall. On the surface, Whiteman’s “Experiment in Modern Music” concert series and Goodman’s Carnegie Hall concert seem dissimilar. Goodman’s concert primarily featured his band’s hits, while Whiteman incorporated expansively structured pieces like Gershwin’s “An American in Paris” and suites orchestrated by Ferde Grofe alongside light dance fare like waltzes and his band’s jazzier hits. However, both struggled with their music’s legitimacy both on the concert stage and the bandstand. In this paper, I will discuss the programming of Whiteman’s Experiment in Modern Music series and Goodman’s Carnegie Hall concert, focusing on the ways that the two bandleaders negotiated the tension between the popular and the authentic. I will detail the ways that Whiteman and Goodman utilized and evaded their relationships with Blackness, and the audience’s responses to their programming. Both framed themselves as jazz educators and ambassadors, even if their educational aims were often flawed. Looking at Whiteman and Goodman collectively reveals the way that both musicians negotiated their musical identities on and off the stage.

**Sarah Caissie Provost** is an Associate Professor of Musicology at the University of North Florida. Her scholarship is primarily in the areas of early jazz and its intersections with gender, historiography, and creativity. Her work has appeared in *Jazz and Culture*, *Music and the Moving Image*, *Jazz Perspectives*, and a recent piece titled “Accessing Jazz’s Gendered Places and Spaces” appears in the *Routledge Handbook of Jazz and Gender*. She will present a recent project on prison music and podcasting at the AMS conference in November 2022. Dr. Provost is currently the President of the Southern Chapter of the American Musicological Society.

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## **W. Anthony Sheppard**

“Integration and Segregation in Whiteman’s Music Television, 1948-1955”

Paul Whiteman was an early promoter of the possibilities of television for the music industry and television dominated his late career. Whiteman held the position of Vice President and Music Director at ABC and hosted four musical shows: *TV Teen Club* (1949-1954), *The Paul Whiteman Goodyear Revue* (1949-1952), *On the Boardwalk With Paul Whiteman* (1954), and *America’s Greatest Bands* (summer 1955). Whiteman’s shows encompassed American popular music from ragtime and Tin Pan Alley to jump blues and the advent of Rock ’n’ Roll. *TV Teen Club*, an amateur competition variety show, reveals the full range of American teenager musical experience c. 1950 and it shaped subsequent music television, most directly with *American Bandstand*. *Goodyear Revue*, in contrast, primarily featured adult performers in a deluxe presentation of middlebrow musical culture, one that persisted in such programs as *The Lawrence Welk Show*. *TV Teen Club* and *Goodyear Revue* diverged most strikingly at the intersection of music and race.

Nationally broadcast in the early Civil Rights Era, these two Whiteman shows were shaped by racial politics. *TV Teen Club* was a remarkably integrated show and its filming, scripts, and promotional materials indicate that integration was a conscious goal. Multiple episodes included Black contestants, occasionally in integrated groups, and some of these children became adult stars (Leslie Uggams; Diahann Carroll). The Goodyear chorus included approximately 10% Black teenagers and the live audience of several thousand, which stayed each week for a dance party, was integrated as well. Though the show was not without aspects of racial prejudice, its efforts were recognized at the time and resulted in Whiteman receiving several awards, including from the Black press. In contrast, *Goodyear Revue* was rigorously segregated, avoiding Black performers save for the single appearance of the Hampton Institute Choir. This avoidance shaped particular episodes in peculiar ways.

Whiteman held significant artistic control over these shows and helped determine who would appear. By simultaneously embracing integration (on *TV Teen Club* and *America’s Greatest Bands*) and maintaining segregation (on *Goodyear Revue*), Whiteman furthered his mixed legacy with regards to acknowledging the contributions of Black musicians to "modern American music."

**W. Anthony Sheppard** is Marylin and Arthur Levitt Professor of Music at Williams College where he teaches courses in twentieth-century music, opera, popular music, and Asian music. He earned his B.A. at Amherst College and his M.F.A. and Ph.D. from Princeton University. His first book, *Revealing Masks: Exotic Influences and Ritualized Performance in Modernist Music Theater* received the Kurt Weill Prize, his article on *Madama Butterfly* and film earned the ASCAP Deems Taylor Award, an article on World War II film music was honored with the Alfred Einstein Award by the American Musicological Society, and "Puccini and the Music Boxes" received the AMS H. Colin Slim Award. *Extreme Exoticism: Japan in the American Musical Imagination* appeared in 2019 and received the AMS Music in American Culture Award and the SAM Irving Lowens Book Award, and his edited volume, *Sondheim in Our Time and His*, appeared in 2022. Sheppard's research has been supported by the NEH, the American Philosophical Society, the ACLS, and the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. He has served as Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* and as Series Editor of *AMS Studies in Music*. In recognition of "excellence in teaching," Williams College named Sheppard the John Hyde Teaching Fellow for 2020-2023.

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## **Catherine Tackley**

“‘Symphonised Syncopation’: The Impact of Paul Whiteman in the UK in the 1920s”

Whiteman made two visits to the UK in his developmental years as a bandleader, exemplified by his appearance in the *Brighter London* revue at the London Hippodrome in 1923 progressing to a concert at the Royal Albert Hall three years later; but noting that in both cases the visits were underscored by performances in London's leading nightclubs, in particular the Grafton Galleries and the Kit-Cat Club. This paper seeks to contextualise these visits as rare, exceptional opportunities for British musicians and audiences to encounter Whiteman in person, and to commensurately identify and evaluate more sustained patterns of his influence in the UK in the 1920s. The paper argues that both Whiteman's music and rhetoric had a substantial influence on the development of popular music practice and criticism in the UK during the 1920s. Specifically, the paper firstly interrogates the ways in which British bands and bandleaders responded to Whiteman, following his progression towards a more 'symphonic' style and presentation during the decade, often referred to in Britain as 'symphonised syncopation'. This will include close comparative analysis of British recordings of the time, in particular Jack Hylton and the Savoy Hotel Bands who sought to emulate Whiteman. Secondly, the paper assesses the critical reception of Whiteman in the UK, including the controversies that were provoked around foreign labour, and the resultant pronouncements on jazz, dance music, race and nationality. Rather than solely focussing on Whiteman's high-profile activities in the capital, the paper will assess his regional reception and impact through examination of his try-out period in Liverpool in 1923 and national tour in 1926.

**Professor Catherine Tackley** will shortly take up a Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship to write a book on British Dance Bands, having completed a six-year term as Head of Music at the University of Liverpool, UK. She previously held posts at The Open University and Leeds Conservatoire. A jazz specialist best-known for her work on British jazz, she is the author of *The Evolution of Jazz in Britain: c. 1880-1935* (Ashgate, 2005) and *Benny Goodman's Famous 1938 Carnegie Hall Jazz Concert* (OUP, 2012) and she co-edited *Black British Jazz: Routes, Ownership and Performance* (Ashgate, 2014). In 2018, Catherine curated "Rhythm and Reaction: The Age of Jazz in Britain," an acclaimed exhibition in London based on her research. She is Vice President of the Royal Musical Association, a member of the UK Government's Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport's College of Experts, a member of the Arts and Humanities Research Council's Peer Review College, a Trustee of the National Jazz Archive (UK) and Musical Director of Dr Jazz and the Cheshire Cats Big Band.

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## **Michael Tanksley**

"Jazz Studies, Structural Racism, and Paul Whiteman"

In his ethnography of two notable jazz studies programs, cultural anthropologist Eitan Wilf highlights how "...the racial politics that [were] part and parcel of the history of the music almost never surfaced in class in any explicit manner" (Wilf 2014, 158). Wilf uses that book section to elaborate on the issues arising from the decontextualized presentations of jazz. Avoiding racial topics should also alarm historians because racial ideologies significantly shape jazz historical narratives (Panish 1997). Music scholar Paul Roth (2022, 50) asks, "How might we equally center the ethical implications these globalist potentials presuppose, those emerging *from* and *indebted to* original Black syncretisms, of improvising against heavy odds toward ideals of a more dignified liberating existence?" Roth believes the lack of emphasis on instructional approaches rejecting decontextualized jazz narratives presents a global problem for jazz enthusiasts. Current studies on historical band leader Paul Whiteman offer an ideal research setting since the field often deals directly with how racial ideologies affected Whiteman's historical reception and impact.

Conducting a structural analysis of Whiteman's reception during the Jazz Age contextualizes the full magnitude of his impact on American culture in a highly ethical manner. Emphasizing how racial ideologies contributed to Whiteman's impact on American Music History provides an opportunity for jazz programs to reject the tendency to disseminate color-blind narratives. Data suggests that jazz programs may avoid mentioning Whiteman because he represents the dominance of anti-black structural racism in the American music field during the Jazz Age. Not discussing structural racism leads to the dissemination of colorblind historical narratives (Burke 2019) and perpetuates structural racism within American music institutions. This project demonstrates how analyzing structural ideologies provides much of the political context needed to disseminate jazz history ethically. Scholars should do more research to explore ways to discuss all socially relevant topics that contribute to the significance of historical figures and

events in jazz history. This paper aims to encourage jazz educators and scholars to educate themselves about structural racism and comfortably engage with students on the subject.

**Michael Tanksley** is a Ph.D. Candidate in the Music Studies Department at the Boyer College of Music and Dance, Temple University. His research interests explore the dynamics between jazz historical narratives and theories of race and racism. Michael aspires to be an asset to a college or university. He hopes to share the knowledge gained from his experiences with jazz studies, instrumental performance, music education, and athletic band programs with any inquiring mind. A native of Augusta, GA, Michael has received his Bachelor of Music Education from The Jackson State University and his Masters of Instrumental Performance from The Pennsylvania State University. Michael recently received the Milton Sutter Award from the Department of Music Studies at Temple University. In his free time, Michael enjoys playing online chess listening to hip-hop/rap music, watching sports commentators, and bingeing stream-able content.

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## **Elijah Wald**

Afterword and response to papers.

**Elijah Wald** is a musician, writer, and historian. He studied guitar with Dave Van Ronk and spent fifteen years traveling and performing in North America, Europe, Asia and Africa, recorded an LP (best forgotten) and a CD (much better), studied with the Congolese guitar masters Jean-Bosco Mwenda and Edouard Masengo, and toured for five years with the African-American string band master Howard Armstrong. Wald began writing for the *Boston Globe* in 1981, and covered “world” and “roots” music there through the 1990s. His dozen books include *How the Beatles Destroyed Rock 'n' Roll: An Alternative History of American Popular Music*, which foregrounds Paul Whiteman as (for better and worse) the most influential musical figure of the 1920s; *Escaping the Delta: Robert Johnson and the Invention of the Blues*; Dave Van Ronk’s memoir, *The Mayor of MacDougal Street*, which inspired the Coen Brothers’ *Inside Llewyn Davis*; *Narcocorrido*, about the Mexican ballads of drug smuggling and political corruption; and *Dylan Goes Electric!* He won a 2002 GRAMMY for album notes to *The Arhoolie Records 40th Anniversary Box*, an ASCAP-Deems Taylor award, and an honorable mention for the American Musicological Society’s Otto Kinkeldey award. He has taught at UCLA, Boston College, and Temple University, and completed a PhD in ethnomusicology and sociolinguistics from Tufts University in 2015. For further information: <https://www.elijahwald.com>

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## Christi Jay Wells

“‘In Order to Keep the Wolf Away from the Door’: Paul Whiteman and Race Discourse in Dave Peyton’s ‘The Musical Bunch’”

From 1925 to 1930, bandleader Dave Peyton penned a weekly column in the *Chicago Defender* entitled “The Musical Bunch.” In his column, Peyton offered notes on Chicago’s Black musicians, bands, and orchestras as well as prescriptive advice for musicians and commentary on the state of the music business, particularly for Black artists. Peyton expressed a clear aesthetic preference for organized, well-regimented orchestras and for sight reading and precision over “the sloppy New Orleans hokum.” While he accepted and at times lauded the growing popularity of jazz, he advised musicians to educate themselves in symphonic music to maximize their versatility and access to professional opportunities should the demand for jazz begin to fade. At times, Peyton discussed issues of racism quite openly, often noting the ways Black musicians and bandleaders were deprived of opportunities and compensation comparable to those colleagues he often referred to as “the white brothers.” In outlining both the achievements of and advantages enjoyed by white orchestras, Peyton situated Paul Whiteman’s band as on the one hand an orchestra to emulate and on the other a group that could readily be surpassed by Black musicians sufficiently dedicated, driven, and disciplined. In addition, Peyton notably outlined a historical lineage of orchestral popular music and jazz that included a somewhat inconsistent treatment of the Whiteman orchestra. At times, Peyton credited Whiteman’s orchestra as meaningfully innovative but at others implied his work was merely derivative of Black orchestra leaders such as Will Marion Cook and James Reese Europe. Rather than seek to reconcile these ostensible contradictions, this paper places Peyton’s sporadic discussion of Whiteman within his column’s broader context, goals, and discursive arcs.

**Christi Jay Wells** is an associate professor of musicology at Arizona State University’s Herberger Institute School of Music, Dance and Theatre and affiliate faculty with ASU’s Center for the Study of Race and Democracy. A social jazz and blues dancer and teacher for nearly two decades, they are the author of *Between Beats: The Jazz Tradition and Black Vernacular Dance* (Oxford, 2021). Their articles appear in the journals *Women & Music*, *Jazz & Culture*, *Journal of the Society for American Music*, and *Daedalus*. They have received both the Wiley Housewright Dissertation Award and Irving Lowens Article Award from the Society for American Music, and they are currently working on a history of the Smithsonian Institution’s jazz programming and patronage, supported by a summer stipend from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

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