INSTRUMENTS IN EVERY CLASSROOM

By Meredith Soeder

If you ask a long-time Pittsburgher, or even a recent transplant to the city, where and when jazz music was at its height in Pittsburgh, they will surely answer "The Hill in the '50s." There is much truth to that, with dozens of clubs like the Hurricane and the Crawford Grill having been a dominant part of nightlife along Wylie and Bedford Avenues.

The best-known jazz musicians of the era, such as Duke Ellington, Count Basie, and Art Tatum, made Pittsburgh a regular stop on their tours of major clubs and theaters across America. Some jazz artists who got their start in Pittsburgh eventually made it big, among them Earl 'Fatha' Hines, Erroll Garner, Billy Strayhorn, Mary Lou Williams, and Art Blakey. Others left the city but influenced the development of jazz music elsewhere. Their careers highlight the importance of Pittsburgh as a foundation for creating and performing music, including swing, bebop, hard bop, funk, fusion, and more.

LEFT: Raised in East Liberty, Mary Lou Williams became a New York City jazz icon in the 1940s and '50s. She often performed at the famed Café Society and impromptu gatherings at her home in Harlem.
William P. Gottlieb; jazzphotos.com.

ABOVE: Opened in 1943, Crawford Grill No. 2 at Wylie Avenue and Elmore Street in the Hill District operated for nearly six decades.
History Center.

Primary school group with music instruments, date unknown.
HHC Detre L&A, Pittsburgh Public Schools Photographs 1880–1982 Collection, MSP117, B009, F05.

Most jazz histories, however, ignore the unknown African American jazz musicians who filled nightclubs night after night for decades. The strong musical community that formed in Pittsburgh's North Side, Hill District, Homewood, and East Liberty neighborhoods grew partly from the emphasis on music in schools; the Pittsburgh Public School District was one of the first in the nation to develop music education into its curriculum. Local musicians also learned lifelong disciplinary skills from participating in military bands or entertaining troops during World War II and the Korean War. In postwar years, Pittsburgh's African American musicians used the support of their union and tight-knit community at the Musicians Club to dominate the stages of music clubs and dance halls across the city. Throughout this entire period, however, black musicians regularly faced racial discrimination.

Despite economic misfortune and racism, the perseverance of ordinary black jazz musicians in seeking out a firm foundation in musical education and training was as significant to Pittsburgh's musical legacy as the musicians who made Pittsburgh jazz famous.

THE FORMATIVE YEARS

By the early twentieth century, Pittsburghers had embraced the culture of music performance in the home.[1] In this blue-collar town, the learning and playing of music became an effective and affordable form of psychological release from the daily grind of working in steel mills.[2] African American parents appreciated the value of musical education and paid for their children's music lessons, which typically went for 50 cents per hour at local churches, the YMCA/YWCA, music shops such as Volkwein's, private teachers' homes, and schools.[3] However, jazz music in church settings was controversial and typically frowned upon within the African American community.[4] But the broader musical enrichment of young people in churches cannot be denied.

More specifically, many young people received their training from long-time trumpet tutor Tony Pasquarelli, saxophone teacher Max Atkins, or drum instructor John Hammond. African American students who studied with Pasquarelli included Joe Patton, Pete Henderson, and Will Austin. Henderson, for example, fondly remembered learning to center the trumpet in the middle of his mouth.[5] While attending Carnegie Tech (now Carnegie Mellon University) for music, Austin recalled that Pasquarelli wanted him to pursue education—not composition, as Austin had hoped—and made him change his major back to education because there were no opportunities for composers.[6] Unfortunately, Austin had to take care of his family and could no longer afford his lessons. Moreover, saxophonist Art Nance first learned to play guitar from a Mr. Smith on Kedron St. in Homewood before switching to saxophone.[7] And Bill Burns took lessons for steel guitar at school for one dollar per week.[8] Many of these teachers like Pasquarelli, in fact, were members of the renowned Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra or played for the Civic Light Opera. In each of these cases, the wealth of available music instructors and the passion to learn created a strong music culture in the city.

For some musicians, minimal beginnings with private lessons later paid off. Alyce Brooks, for example, proved to be a rarity in Pittsburgh. She started taking piano lessons

Bobby Boswell, Tommy Turrentine, and other musicians playing music, circa 1951.
Carnegie Museum of Art, Charles "Teenie" Harris Photograph Collection, 1920-1970, 1996.69.154.

twice a week at age nine and practiced at the local community center or her teacher's house. When she was 15, she honed her craft further by regularly playing in her living room for all of the neighborhood kids to be able to hear from outdoors. Beyond that, Brooks' determination and tenacity led to her position as one of few female jazz musicians in Pittsburgh—she frequently performed with bassist Bobby Boswell at the Crawford Grill. In 1939 her group, the Rhythm Maniacs, played a three-month engagement that included Art Blakey on drums.[9] Her strong work ethic gave her the rare opportunity to challenge gender stereotypes and break the color line in Pittsburgh's downtown clubs and lounges, which had been exclusively off-limits for black musicians.[10] Brooks took her humble beginnings in music and built a successful career that allowed her to tour the country.

Those parents and other family members who knew how to play music taught their children themselves. Walt Harper, known for having led a big band reminiscent of Count Basie or Duke Ellington, learned to play piano on an old upright his contractor father was fortunate enough to receive from a client. Walt then learned piano from his brother Ernie[11] Harold Betters of Connellsville, Pennsylvania, a trombonist known for leading a combo at the Encore nightclub in Shadyside for many years, came from a very large musical family. Each of his siblings played music. Though his family and later his high school faculty discouraged him from playing jazz, Betters nonetheless looked up to musicians like Jack Teagarden, whom Betters was thrilled to meet once at Pittsburgh's Savoy Ballroom.[12] Moreover, parents urged children to stick with their lessons. Carl Arter, a pianist who later became president of the African American Musicians' Protective Union, Local 471 of the American Federation of Musicians, was the son of a classical pianist who had studied in Europe. Arter initially resisted learning piano in hopes of playing baseball, but his father's persistence paid off and Arter stuck with it.[13]

Alternatively, many young people were not raised in musical families or could not afford private lessons, so local schools that saw the value of musical education began to offer music classes. Curtis Young, who had been a drummer in the 1930s and '40s, remembered Pittsburgh's schools legitimizing musical

Yearbook photo of the Schenley High School orchestra, which included Ray Brown, Bobby Boswell, and Dan Lealy, and other musicians who stayed active in the Pittsburgh music scene, 1944.
HHC Detre L&A, Yearbook Collection, *The Schenley Journal* (1944).

instruction: "when the Board of Education put instrumental music in the curriculum and they furnished the instruments and the instructors, that is when we become competitive, the old-timers who didn't have this opportunity, it's all in there … jazz is inheriting where you express your inner feelings to an instrument."[14] Young did not benefit from the formal education of music, but he could still appreciate the effect it had on the next generation of musicians.

The opportunities these schools offered were overall quite beneficial for Pittsburgh's blacks, but their experiences did not come without moments of racism. The blue-collar roots of Pittsburgh's ethnic whites led to a racial identity that viewed African Americans and other minorities as inferior because they were competing for the same desirable, well-paying jobs.[15] Pittsburgh's jazz musicians had to contend with a city with a significant degree of *de facto* segregation, meaning it was not by law, as was the case in Jim Crow South. Trumpet player Pete Henderson went to Baxter Elementary School and was nine years old when his father bought him a used trumpet. He remembered that his school gave horns to white boys, and because the teacher claimed his lips were too big for trumpet, they wanted him to play baritone (though he settled on French horn instead). Henderson overcame and played trumpet at home. A family friend offered to buy him the nicest trumpet Volkwein's had, a Bach Stradivarius, which he paid off by delivering papers.[16]

Indicative of larger problems that Pittsburgh's black musicians faced, Henderson dealt with racism head-on at Volkwein's in downtown Pittsburgh too. A friend of his, Fritzy, took music theory and wanted to buy a music book at Volkwein's. However, the salesman hassled him: "What do you want with a book like that? Is this for you? You don't know nothing about that." Then Fritzy started playing the piano and even drew in people from off the street. In awe, the salesman responded, "Where did you get this guy?" Henderson recalled, "But that was his attitude, and it was the same attitude when I went to get the trumpet. They said, 'Niggers don't know nothing, man.' But Fritzy lit the place up."[17] Despite these setbacks, Henderson and Fritzy did not waver in their determination to learn and play music.

The discrimination some musicians faced at Volkwein's were not necessarily the norm for all musicians. In addition to purchasing music and musical instruments, many of Pittsburgh's African American musicians went through some form of training at Volkwein's. Many of them did not recollect particularly challenging experiences because of the color of their skin. Instead, they attributed much of the success of their training to the instructors at Volkwein's. Roy Jones, who had started playing trumpet at age 15 at Schenley High School, took lessons at Volkwein's for four or five years. Not only did he hone his trumpet playing, but he also learned how to write and arrange music.[18] In addition, James Payne, who played both piano and trumpet, took trumpet lessons with Joe Stefan, a trumpet player for Ringling Brothers Circus in Uniontown. Later on at Volkwein's he learned harmony for three years from Max Atkins.[19] These musicians, among others, learned foundational skills at Volkwein's that

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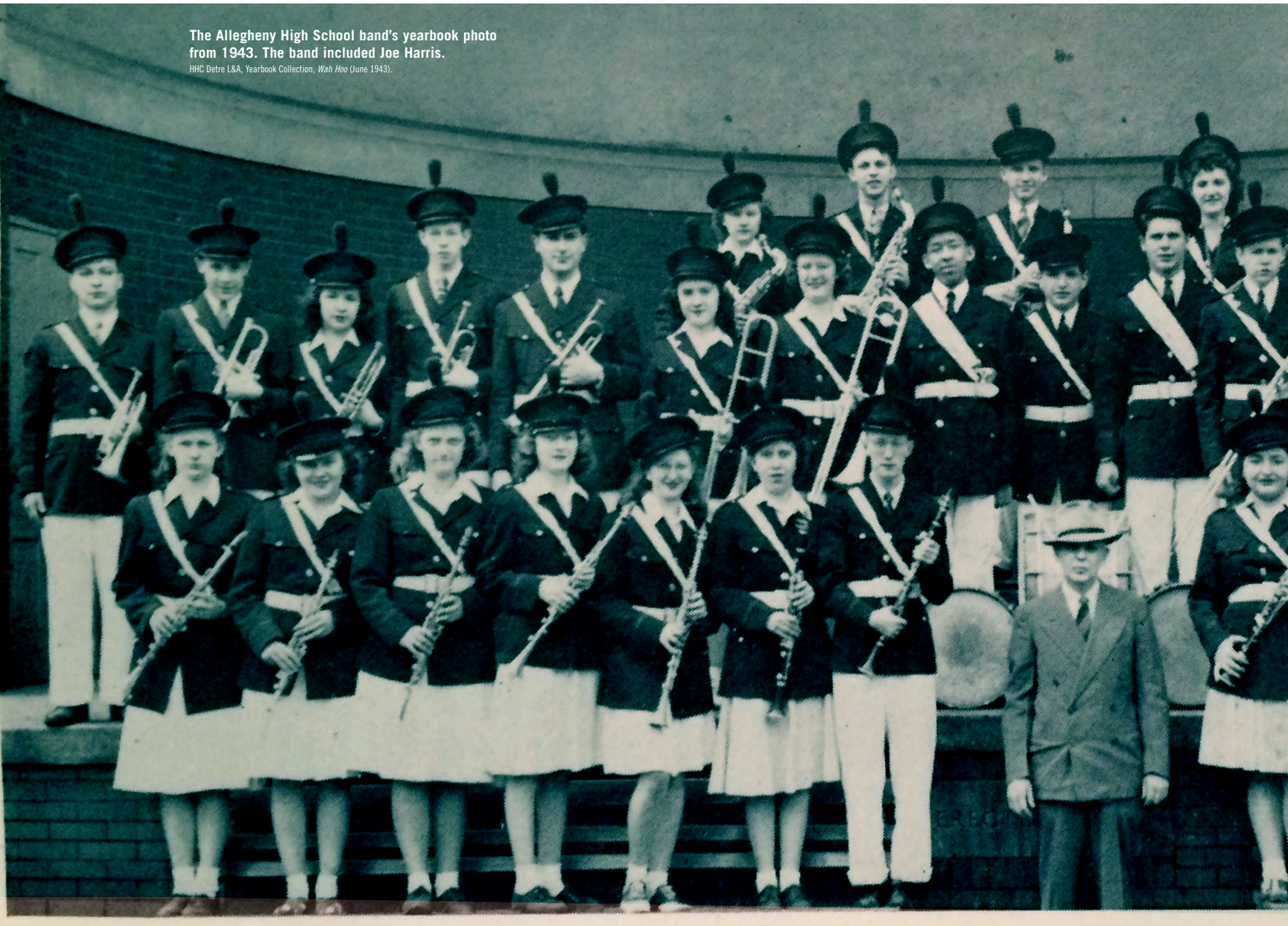
Established in 1888, Volkwein's was a staple in downtown for sheet music, instruments, repairs, and lessons for all Pittsburghers. The store was located on Liberty Avenue in this 1943 photo.
University of Pittsburgh, Archives Service Center, Pittsburgh City Photographer Collection, 1901-2002, AIS.1971.05.

allowed them to build lasting careers in the lively Pittsburgh music scene.

A significant segment of Pittsburgh's disadvantaged youth benefited from their schools' musical programs during their formative years. Drummer Joe Harris, born in Braddock, recalled the Braddock Junior High School having burnt down, and when a new school was built government funding allowed for the purchase of new musical instruments. These instruments could be loaned out to students one semester at a time. Harris added, "All they had left was trombone, tuba, and drums. I didn't want to pick no trombone or tuba, so I took the drums."[20] He was then a drummer for the rest of his life. Moments such as this may seem innocuous, but they, in fact, paved the way for young Pittsburghers to become musicians for the rest of their lives.

Local high schools, including Fifth Avenue High School, Schenley High School, Allegheny High School, and Westinghouse High School, continued musical programming in their class offerings and through loaning instruments to students who wanted to learn to play. Westinghouse, in particular, is well-known for its contribution to the education of famous jazz musicians like Billy Strayhorn, Ahmad Jamal, and Erroll Garner. Young people at Westinghouse and other schools took advantage of opportunities to play music in school orchestras, bands, and swing bands. Westinghouse had the Swing Cadets, a swing band led by orchestra teacher Carl McVicker. The Cadets regularly played for pep rallies, school dances, and other school events. The students who formed their own non-school music groups took their skill set a variety of events within the city like other schools' dances. This professionalization of musicians from such a young age allowed for the growth of a musical community that could capitalize on popular forms of entertainment. Lesser known Westinghouse musicians who became professional musicians in Pittsburgh, including Art Nance, Jerry Elliott, Grover Mitchell, Pete Henderson, Frank McCown, Joe Henderson, and Joe Westray, all came out



The Allegheny High School band's yearbook photo from 1943. The band included Joe Harris.
HHC Detre L&A, Yearbook Collection, *Wah Hoo* (June 1943).

of a vibrant music program that combined a solid background in musical knowledge and training with their jazz interests.

Though not a jazz teacher, Carl McVicker did indeed play a formative role in teaching Westinghouse kids the foundations of music. Trumpeter Al Aarons, for example, recollected his experience with McVicker: "I started taking private lessons [with him]. I used to go to his home and study with him, which was a very important part, you know, of my development."[21] McVicker fondly remembered "my beloved school, where I have so many happy memories of Erroll [Garner] and other fine musicians."[22] This mutually beneficial relationship with McVicker and his students proved to be a key aspect of the development of jazz in Pittsburgh beyond the training of those musicians who made it big. It created a strong sense of community.

Pittsburgh Musicians Go to War

During the Great Depression, an era when musicians were out of work and the local union could not support them, the WPA stepped in to pay musicians.[23] Through WPA grants, a small but influential generation of musicians could remain active in Pittsburgh's clubs, hotels, and riverboats. Curtis Young had joined a WPA band in 1939, and Adolph Doug Cook remembered playing with these bands as well.[24] Groups like the Rhythm Rascals, who had formed at Westinghouse Electric, were also recipients of WPA funds.[25] Many of these musicians were responsible for teaching younger musicians how to play, where to find gigs, and how to comport themselves in Pittsburgh's diverse neighborhoods and outlying towns. Musicians remembered seeing WPA bands play at community gatherings, such as the bathhouse at Crawford Street and Wylie Avenue in the Hill District.[26] The fact that up-and-coming musicians could learn from those performing all over Pittsburgh highlights the centrality of music in the city even in times of economic woe.

The sharp boost to Pittsburgh's economy came from World War II. Namely, American aid to the United Kingdom with the lend-lease program and then the American entry into the war in 1941 allowed for Depression-era government programs to cease. Pittsburgh's steel industry was galvanized to contribute to the war effort in what ended up being a central role as the "Arsenal of Democracy." Consequently, the war was especially influential on an entire generation of Pittsburgh's African American musicians.

Men who came of age in the 1930s and early '40s were often drafted into the military directly out of high school. Young men went to basic training all across the country, including the South where they faced Jim Crow discrimination and racism, the depth of which was somewhat unfamiliar to them in the North. In the meantime, school-age men and women in Pittsburgh could take advantage of job openings and play in local bands, which boosted morale on the home front. Women like pianist Ruby Young and singer Reva George, for instance, put together a long-standing gig at the Crawford Grill.[27]

Quite a few Pittsburgh musicians were entrepreneurial with their musical education and passion to play, and performed in official and unofficial army bands. Trumpet player Dave Barnett, for instance, played in army

Alyce Brooks performing at Crawford Grill No. 2, c. 1945.
Carnegie Museum of Art, Charles "Teenie" Harris Photograph Collection, 1920-1970, 2001.35.5695.

bands alongside other Pittsburghers; Joe Patton did not join any Navy bands when he was serving in the Great Lakes from 1944 to 1946, but he did have a black pick-up band on the base; and, Eldridge Smith was part of an all-black Army band of the 325th Service Corps. Smith entertained soldiers nightly when he was stationed at Aberdeen Proving Grounds in Maryland.[28] Each of these musicians recognized that although serving in the military had its own set of challenges, the disciplined lifestyle of the army, the availability of instruments, and the captive audiences of black and white servicemen of all ranks afforded them a unique opportunity to hone their craft.

Some musicians who were either young enough or lucky enough to avoid serving during World War II joined just after the war. After finishing school in the summer of 1946, bassist Bobby Boswell joined the Army. Boswell had been in the Schenley High School orchestra alongside bassists Dan Lealy and famous jazz bassist Ray Brown. Of his Army time, he recalled playing with two different army bands: the 529th and at the Lowry Air Force Base in Denver. Even though Boswell did have the chance to play in Army bands, difficult moments stuck with him into his later years. He remembered an argument with a sergeant who did not like that there were black musicians in the band. Despite the fact that there were only two. Boswell challenged long-held racial norms when he did not back down and even used his tenacity to play in the Air Force's dance band.[29]

LEFT: Taylor Allderdice High School yearbook photo of trumpet player Will Austin, 1946.
HHC Detre L&A, Yearbook Collection, *The Allderdice* (1946).
RIGHT: Walt Harper's 1944 yearbook photo from Schenley High School.
HHC Detre L&A, Yearbook Collection, *The Schenley Journal* (1944).

The Korean War, which lasted from June 1950 to July 1953, also impacted Pittsburgh musicians. Even though the American military had nominally racially integrated in July 1948, it was by no means a peaceful integration. Several Pittsburgh musicians who served during the Korean War experienced a military that had uncompromising racial barriers. Harold Betters endured segregated dorms at Camp Edwards in Massachusetts. Betters had attended Ithaca College for music and was certainly qualified to play in the 308th Army band. But it was not until his mother came to the barracks demanding that the Army give him a chance to play that leaders allowed him to take a musical test. To his surprise, he was one of two blacks selected to join. Years later, he recalled the racial tension of the whole experience, especially when he learned upon discharge that his best friend voted against him joining the band. In the end, he admitted, "I hate to bring up race. But I gotta say, honestly, it bothered me."[30] Once Betters proved his musical worth, he was part of three bands and even led one. John Hughes, a pianist originally from Washington, Pennsylvania, played with Betters in the Army. They remained close partners in music, even playing together at Encore until 1967.[31] Once again, Pete Henderson faced discrimination based on his race. When he went into the Air Force, he was told he was not good enough to play in the band because it was all college boys—in other words, white boys. Yet when he tried out, the sergeant and another commander heard him play and let him into the band. Henderson played in army bands for the entire time he served from 1953-57.[32]

Those who did not play in military bands still found ways to play music in informal bands that entertained servicemen. Alto saxophone player Robin Webster recalled that Army bands were like school in themselves. Webster remembered that his black unit did not have a band, but that did not stop him from playing. He found a saxophone and played in the latrine at night. Eventually an audience gathered, and, finally, when another band came into their unit, Webster joined them and regularly played gigs in town.[33] Dan Lealy was able to avoid service until the Korean War when he joined the Army and was trained as a teletype operator at Camp Gordon in Georgia. Even though he did not play in army bands, he used his musical skills to entertain at service clubs in town.[34] Pianist Adolph Doug Cook did both. Cook served from 1951-53 and was the leader of a ten-member battalion band. He played at non-commissioned officers' (NCO) clubs as well as clubs of white service members. It was not uncommon, he remarked, to cancel gigs for black service members because whites could pay the band more money.[35]

While joining the military did not show a lot of promise for Pittsburgh musicians who had to face racism, discrimination, and very little chance for promotion, these men were determined to continue to play music while they served their country. Some were able to convince hesitant white commanders that they were talented musicians and could play in military bands. And others used their talents to make a little bit of extra money entertaining their fellow servicemen. During this period they could learn from other musicians, improve their skills, and develop the self-discipline needed to practice on a regular basis.

MUSICIANS' POSTWAR TRAINING IN PITTSBURGH

Pittsburgh's jazz musicians did their part in the military in World War II and the Korean War, but most longed to come back home to pick up the lives they left behind. In their time in the military, they were reminded that American society did not always view them as equals. But they had access to the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, also known as the GI Bill, and took advantage of it readily. The GI Bill offered benefits in unemployment compensation, education and training, and loans for farm, business, and home ownership. With the GI Bill, veterans could attend college for free and even receive a living stipend while studying.[36]

Pittsburgh musicians used the GI Bill to their benefit in a number of ways. Some attended musical training programs, while others went to local universities like Carnegie Tech or Duquesne University. One common school these musicians went to was Pittsburgh Musical Institute (PMI), which once stood at 131 Bellefield Avenue in Oakland in the 1950s. Among the many musicians who used the GI Bill at PMI were Adolph Doug Cook, pianist Chuck Cottrell, trumpet player Chuck

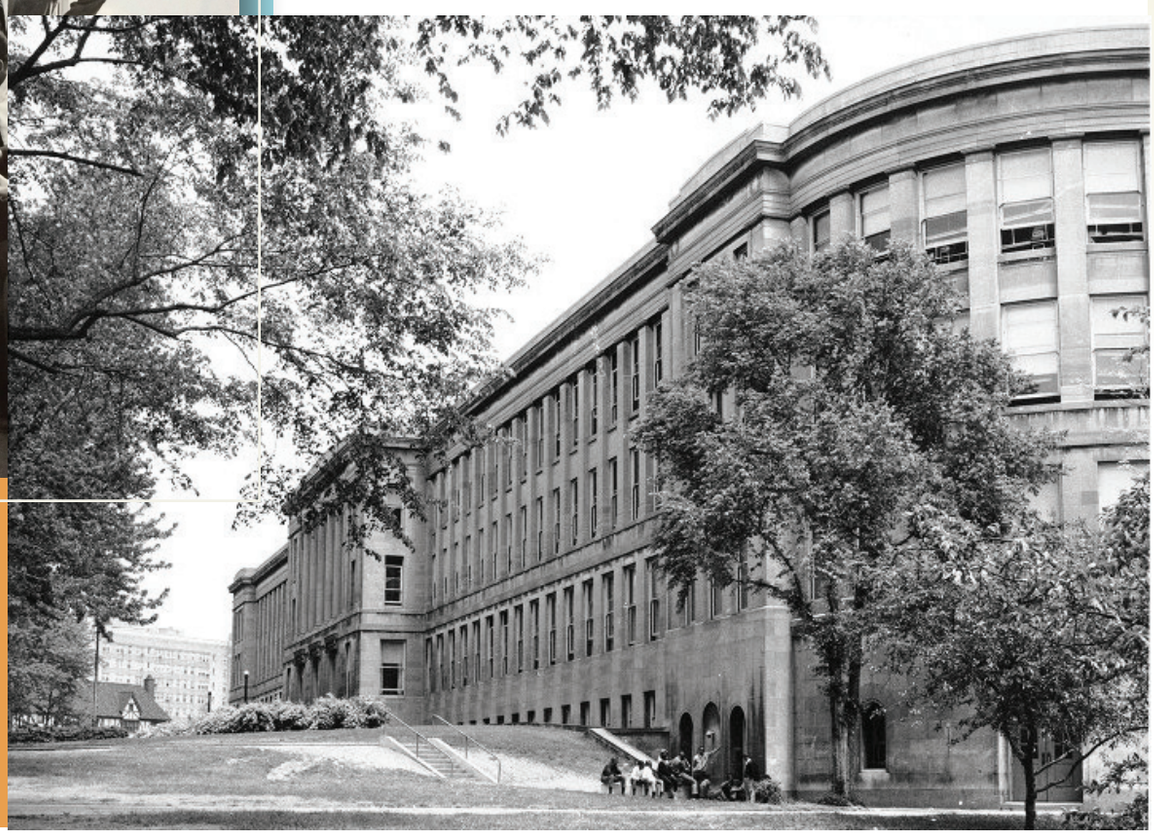
Austin, and Robin Webster. Pianist Jesse Kemp remembered veterans, including his brother, went to PMI or another music conservatory on Fifth Avenue and S. Aiken Avenue.[37] Most of the musicians who received further training wanted to improve their "chops" as musicians—though a few aspired to be composers or teachers.

Through the networks created on Pittsburgh's streets, the military, and in Pittsburgh schools and conservatories, tight-knit communities of musicians formed. The Musicians Club in the Hill District was *the* place to be for musicians to keep their art fresh. "Get lined up with the musicians now, because this is going to be the entertainment center of Pittsburgh," advertised the *Pittsburgh Courier* in November 1941.[38] The *Courier* had the foresight to recognize that the club would be a hotspot for Local 471 musicians and their friends.

Under the leadership of "Hence" Jackson, the Musicians Club was first located at 1213 Wylie Avenue (since demolished in 1953, a victim of urban renewal). It provided musicians, who performed gigs all over the city and Southwestern Pennsylvania region, the opportunity to participate in after-hours jam sessions, enjoy Mr. Williams' five-day-old chili, and partake in conviviality. It was here that many musicians, such as saxophonist George Thompson, could show off their skills, learn new styles, and even get steady music jobs from their peers.[39] Thompson recalled having had to learn a particular song each week for the jam sessions. If a musician did not know the piece, they could not jam. Beyond convening with their peers, musicians could meet big-name musicians who came to Pittsburgh for shows. North Side drummer Joe Harris, among others, fondly remembered listening to Art Tatum play piano until six in the morning, if not later. Walt Harper remembered camaraderie developed at the Musicians Club. Even big shots like Max Roach and Ahmad Jamal went to the club to jam.[40]

The camaraderie spread far and wide. Before playing with bebop's stars Dizzy Gillespie and Charlie Parker in New York, Harris was a teen when he was active in the Chicago music scene. It was there that he was hanging out with Art Blakey who introduced Harris to Pittsburgh-born singer Billy Eckstine who proceeded to ask Harris: "What's happening in that pokey Pittsburgh?"[41] The warmth and fraternity that was so easily found in Pittsburgh spread nationally among

In the 1960s, Pittsburgh Public Schools had a program called Centers for the Musically Talented. Pictured here with other teachers is Tony Pasquarelli (standing, third from the left) at the Instrumental Center at Fifth Avenue High School in 1969.
HHC Detre L&A, Pittsburgh Public Schools Photographs 1880-1982 Collection, MSP117.B009.F04.



Schenley High School, date unknown.
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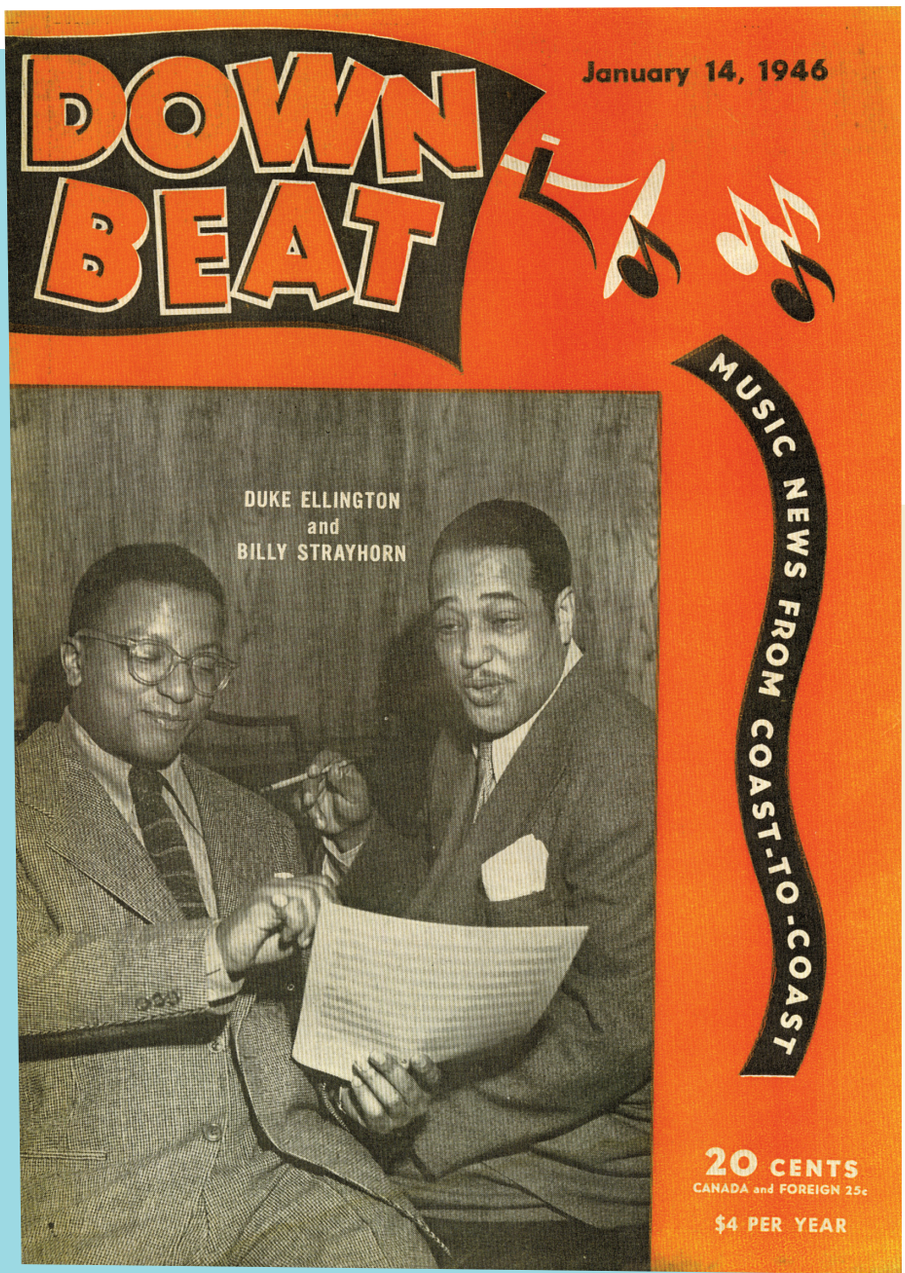
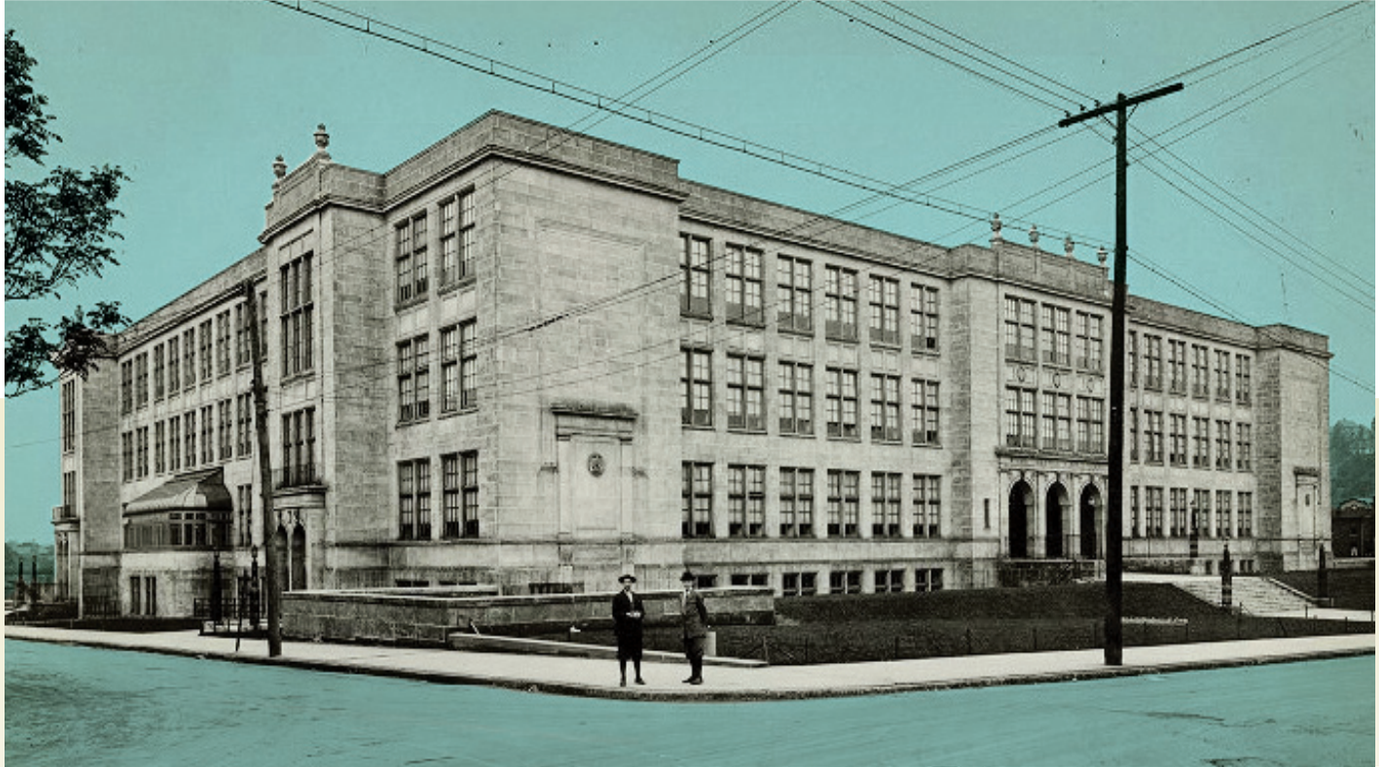


Billy Strayhorn and Duke Ellington shared the cover of this leading jazz publication. In 1945 Strayhorn garnered *Down Beat* magazine's "Arranger of the Year" award.
Billy Strayhorn Songs, Inc.

its famous musicians who never forgot their home.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

Major social changes gripped Pittsburgh in the 1950s. Rock 'n Roll's quick rise in popularity pushed jazz aside. In trying to keep Pittsburgh's economic boom alive, urban renewal programs forced the destruction of major parts of Pittsburgh's blighted neighborhoods for the expansion of Pittsburgh's urban landscape.[42] Eminent domain swallowed up the Musicians Club, so they found a new home on Frankstown Avenue in East Liberty in January 1954. The *Pittsburgh Courier* touted the successes of the club with a quote from former Benny Goodman vibraphonist Lionel Hampton who said, "This is the foxiest musicians club in the country bar none."[43] The club tried to make due, but many musicians, particularly from the Hill District, felt left behind and no longer frequented the club. In addition to these issues, the Civil Rights movement led to further divisions within the Pittsburgh music community. Not all African American musicians in Local 471 accepted a planned merger with the white union, Local 60. When Local 60-471 finally came to fruition in 1965, some even left the union when it



Westinghouse High School, 1924.
HHC Detre L&A, Pittsburgh Public Schools Photographs 1880-1982 Collection, MSP117.B009.F06.

Big band leader Walt Harper performing at Latimer High School in 1968.
HHC Detre L&A, Pittsburgh Public Schools Photographs 1880-1982 Collection, MSP117.B009.F06.

became clear that the integrated union did not, in fact, value equal rights.

The final blow to Pittsburgh's thriving music scene came in the late 1970s and early 1980s when dozens of steel mills in the region closed for good, hurting the local economy. George Thompson understood how the domino effect reached musicians: "Our demise as black musicians was the economic structure of Pittsburgh when the mills and things went down. The black owners who owned those places, they were wiped out, basically. People just don't go out on Saturdays and Fridays and Thursdays or whatever night of the week. A lot of those joints closed up. Automatically, when they close up that means the music gets cut. That's what happened."[44]

But if the many forgotten Pittsburgh jazz musicians have one story to tell, it is that they were fighters. They overcame the Great Depression, poverty, two major wars, racism, urban renewal, and the end of steel production in the region. Those who are still with us today can be found at the few existent local jazz clubs, concerts, and other events that memorialize the thriving Pittsburgh jazz life that once was.

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[1] Jayson Kerr Dobney, "Nineteenth-Century Classical Music," in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/amcm/hd_amcm.htm (October 2004), accessed November 8, 2016.

[2] Joe W. Trotter and Jared N. Day, Race and Renaissance: African Americans in Pittsburgh since World War II (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010).

[3] There is a long history of musical training in African American churches. Eric C. Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya's *The Black Church in the African American Experience* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990) argues that music was nearly as central to the African American church as preaching. The focus on music in churches impacted the high cultural value of music and the education of music for African Americans beginning at a very young age. See pps. 346-7. See also Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History,* 3rd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997).

[4] Lincoln and Mamiya, 380.

[5] Pete Henderson, oral history by Chuck Austin, March 8, 1997, Archives Service Center, University of Pittsburgh, African American Jazz Preservation Society of Pittsburgh, Oral History Project, Box 2 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 6, transcript, 7. All remaining citations from this oral history project will be denoted "AAJPSP Oral History Project."

[6] Will Austin, oral history by Chuck Austin, July 15, 1997, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 1 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 4, transcript, 8.

[7] Art Nance, oral history by Chuck Austin, October 5, 1998, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 3 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 3, transcript, 2.

[8] Bill Burns, oral history by Chuck Austin, July 21, 1998, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 1 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 12, transcript, 2.

[9] Lee A. Matthews, "Swinging Among the Musicians," *Pittsburgh Courier,* October 21, 1939, 20.

[10] Alyce Brooks, oral history by Cathy Cairns, June 24, 1997, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 1 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 10, transcript, 2-6.

[11] Walter Harper, oral history by George Thompson, July 21, 1997, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 2 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 2, transcript, 1-2.

[12] Daniel Cocks, "Harold Betters HD," recorded November 21, 2014, accessed September 1, 2016, https://youtu.be/VYQMy2IPR-s.

[13] Carl Arter, oral history by Chuck Austin, October 5, 1995, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 1 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 2, transcript, 23. Arter remembered playing "house ward parties" in Clairton. It was common practice in poor African American communities for someone to host these "rent" parties which had the goal of raising rent for a local family. Hosts of rent parties hired musicians to provide entertainment.

[14] Curtis Young, oral history by Chuck Austin, June 9, 1995, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 4 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 18, transcript, 27.

[15] David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York: Verso, 1991).

[16] Henderson, 1-2.

[17] Ibid., 18.

[18] Roy Jones, oral history by Chuck Austin, March 12, 1998, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 2 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 12, transcript, 2.

[19] James Payne, oral history by Chuck Austin, July 31, 1998, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 3 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 7, transcript, 7.

[20] Joe Harris (Murtland St.), oral history by Chuck Austin, August 7, 1998, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 2 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 4, transcript, 2-3.

[21] Al Aarons, oral history by Chuck Austin, November 27, 1999, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 1 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 1, transcript, 2-3.

[22] Carl McVicker to Martha Glaser, letter, July 30, 1990, Archives Service Center, University of Pittsburgh, Erroll Garner Collection, AIS.2015.09, Series I. Correspondence, Box 3, Folder 14.

[23] William H. Young and Nancy K. Young, *Music of the Great Depression* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005). The WPA introduced the Federal Arts Project in August 1935, which allowed for musicians and composers to receive an income from the federal government.

[24] Curtis Young, 3. Adolph Doug Cook, oral history by Chuck Austin, August 21, 1998, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 1 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 13, transcript, 19.

[25] Burns, 13.

[26] Joe Odum, oral history by Chuck Austin, September 17, 1997, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 3 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 5, transcript, 12.

[27] Lee A. Matthews, "Swingin' Among the Musicians," *Pittsburgh Courier,* November 8, 1941, 21.

[28] Dave Barnett, oral history by Chuck Austin, March 13, 1997, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 1 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 5, transcript, 7; Joe Patton, oral history by Chuck Austin, July 25, 1998, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 3 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 6, transcript, 3; Eldridge Smith, oral history by Chuck Austin, July 10, 1997, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 3 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 9, transcript, 2-3.

[29] Bobby Boswell, oral history by Chuck Austin, April 22, 1996, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 1 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 9, transcript, 13.

[30] Cocks, "Harold Betters HD."

[31] John Hughes, oral history by Ms. Yamu, April 14, 1996, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 2 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 8, transcript, 9.

[32] Henderson, 7-8.

[33] Robin Webster, oral history by Chuck Austin, September 25, 1997, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 3 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 16, transcript, 4.

[34] Dan Lealy, oral history by Chuck Austin, November 2, 1996, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 2 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 16, transcript, 5. Lealy's name is spelled Laley in the oral history transcript but spelled Lealy in the 1944 Schenley High School yearbook.

[35] Adolph Doug Cook, 5-6.

Portrait of Earl "Fatha" Hines in New York, 1947.
LOC, Gottlieb Jazz Photograph Collection, LC-GLB13-0415.

[36] "Education and Training: History and Timeline," *Department of Veterans Affairs,* accessed on November 22, 2016, http://www.benefits.va.gov/gibill/history.asp.

[37] Jesse Kemp, oral history by Cathy Cairns, December 15, 1997, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 2 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 14, transcript, 2.

[38] John L. Clark, "Wylie Avenue," *Pittsburgh Courier,* November 29, 1941, 14.

[39] George Thompson, oral history by Chuck Austin, February 23, 1996, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 3 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 13, transcript, 5-6.

[40] Harper, 8.

[41] Joe Harris, oral history by Chuck Austin, December 6, 1995, AAJPSP Oral History Project, Box 2 – UE/LAB 98:4, Folder 3, transcript, 4.

[42] Kate Benz glosses over the impact of urban renewal in "Music in the Hill was a way of life until 'progress' silenced venues," *TribLive,* published February 20, 2015, accessed November 30, 2016, http://triblive.com/aande/music/7660763-74/hill-district-crawford.

[43] "New Musicians Club Jumps All The Time; Harper Plays Friday," *Pittsburgh Courier,* January 23, 1954, 18.

[44] Thompson, 15.