# UNIVERZITA PALACKÉHO V OLOMOUCI FILOZOFICKÁ FAKULTA

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# Soul music in American culture

Bakalářská práce

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#### 1 Introduction

Music as an art form is said to touch the human soul since the days of Plato or Lao Tze. Centuries later, soul music came and did the same. In modern popular music, trends often disappear as quickly as they come, so the decade long reign of soul music as the most popular music genre at the time when other genres were forming may seem as a surprise. It was the combination of two worlds, the religious black one with the secular white, that stood behind the popularity among all people. Soul is primarily the music of the Sixties and the Seventies, but the impact of the genre on today's popular music is bigger than a regular listener might expect. Although soul as a genre is commercially negligible, its elements can be heard on almost every song played on the radio, because modern R&B, hip-hop, rock and even electronic dance music develops methods used in soul.

The aim of this thesis is to provide a comprehensive look at the development of soul music since the early influences in the 1940s until its decline in the late 1970s, with respect to social events of the time. The first chapter defines soul as a term and a genre that has its own characteristic sound that is distinctive even to a person with no musical training such as me. This sound was a result of combining different techniques from different sources, but mostly from gospel.

The following chapter is focused on the evolution from R&B when singers sang in a way that was later typical for soul. It was established as a new genre after it became more than a style of two or three artists and their sound became universal and was picked up by increasing number of their colleagues. Some artists within the genre started experimenting with the music and the result was funk.

The third part deals with the state of society at the time soul was emerging. The civil rights movement of the Sixties influenced soul music and vice versa, as the provided examples of socially conscious songs and actions proves.

The final part describes the production of soul in three major record labels and cities that are almost synonymous with the genre. Motown's pop-soul from Detroit stood in contrast with the Memphis sound of Stax, while Atlantic from New York was somewhere in the middle.

#### 2 What is soul

Like every other modern music genre, soul is an outcome of combination of other genres and was not created overnight. One artist added one element, the next one followed him and added something of his own style. This way the originally seperate genres merge together in time and create new sound. In case of soul it is a combination of rhythm and blues with black gospel music. There were other influences, such as jazz or doo-wop, but R&B and gospel are the most important and obvious. Josef Vlček says: "It is a variation on black rhythm-and-blues, typical for the music of the sixties with expressive gospel based expression." Internet music database AllMusic.com lists soul as a sub-genre of R&B and says it is a "result of the urbanization and commercialization of rhythm and blues in the 1960s." Vlček also claims that soul is a commercialized R&B. More simple definition is that soul music is gospel music with secular, non-religious, lyrics.

The word soul means pride and culture in black American culture. But the term entered English through music, when gospel groups from the 1940s and the 1950s used the word soul in their names, e.g. Soul Stirrers.<sup>3</sup> It was also a part of jazz slang, dating back to 1946 and meaning "instinctive quality felt by black persons as an attribute."<sup>4</sup> Later in the the 1950s, jazz musicians such as John Coltrane and Horace Silver used the term to "to characterize a movement within jazz to reclaim and revitalize a musical tradition that had been repeatedly co-opted by mainstream and corporate culture."<sup>5</sup> African-American community adopted the term soul and applied it to other fields of their lives and culture so they started to cook "soul food" and call each other "soul sister" and "soul brother". "Soul" for today's use for musical genre was first attested in 1961.<sup>6</sup> Soul was also used as an umbrella term for all African-American popular music after August 1969 when Billboard magazine renamed Hot Rhythm & Blues Singles to Best Selling Soul Singles and later to Hit Soul Singles, because soul "more properly

Josef Vlček, *Rockové směry a styly* (Praha: Ústav pro kulturně výchovnou činnost, 1988), 59.

<sup>2 &</sup>quot;Soul," Allmusic, accessed April 30, 2014. http://www.allmusic.com/subgenre/soul-ma0000002865.

David Brackett, "Soul music," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 17 (London: Macmillan, 1991), 756.

<sup>4</sup> Douglas Harper, "Soul," *Online Etymology Dictionary*, accessed April 30, 2014, www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=soul.

<sup>5</sup> Joel Rudinow, *Soul Music: Tracking the Spiritual Roots of Pop from Plato to Motown* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2010), 9.

<sup>6 &</sup>quot;Soul," Online Etymology Dictionary.

embraces the broad range of song and instrumental material which derives from the musical genius of the black American." Later, in 1982, the soul chart was renamed to Hot Black Singles, because soul was no longer an adequate label for all black music.

This is the description of the word soul, but how can be soul characterized as a music? Being a derivative form of rhythm and blues, both genres share some musical elements. Although soul itself has many different forms, they all share the same features. The most prominent is the one that came from gospel and it is the call and response principle. The name suggests what the structure of call and response is. The singer or musician sings or plays such a phrase that asks for a response. The response can be verbal or musical and can be affirmative, disapproving or it can even redirect the dialogue and become a new call that is asking for a response. The person who started this exchange is usually the focal point of the dialogue. 8 Call and response at its core is "the African American form of critical analysis, a process that draws on the experience and insights of the entire community." Gospel is full of emotions and they were passed on to soul as well. The emotions come out in a form of improvised moaning and shouting and handclaps and other, also unprepared, body moves. Not only the form, but also the content, the lyrics of soul songs, are emotional and the singer should be able to evoke the same type of emotions in the listener. Instruments are as important as the voice of the singer and piano, tambourine or Hammond organ are used to enhance the gospel-like atmosphere. Other instruments typical for soul are wind instruments, especially saxophone, trumpet and trombone, combined in a horn section that differentiated soul from other genres, mainly white rock and roll.

Ray Charles' single "What'd I Say", that is considered to be the first soul song, uses the twelve-bar blues structure, which is typical for all black American genres as it is the biggest influence of blues on Western popular music, and has all the previously mentioned key elements from gospel. Second half of the song is a call and response dialogue between Charles and his backing vocalists The Raelettes filled with screams and moans. The song starts with an electric piano riff and the piano remains to be the

<sup>7 &</sup>quot;R&B Now Soul," *Billboard*, August 23, 1969, accessed April 22, 2014, <a href="http://books.google.cz/books?id=rykEAAAAMBAJ">http://books.google.cz/books?id=rykEAAAAMBAJ</a>, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Craig Werner, *A Change is Gonna Come: Music, Race & the Soul of America*, rev. ed. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 11.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 14

main instrument through the whole song, supported by drums and then by horn section as well.

#### 3 Development of soul music

Johnny Otis says that in order to study the development of soul music, a person has to study rock music and rhythm and blues as well, because these three forms are interrelated. <sup>10</sup> This connection was established in the 1950s when the black R&B was transformed into white rock and roll through cover versions of popular rhythm and blues songs. As a newly created style soul was seen as the new truly black genre and a return to the roots of black music, mainly the gospel, after rhythm and blues was depreciated by white musicians.

Singers, writers, producers and other musicians who were creating soul were, without question, the key figures in the development of the genre. However, they needed to get their music to the people to be heard and this would not be possible without record labels. Music was a growing industry in the beginning of the second half of the 20th century and a number of record labels were established at this time. Some of them specialized only on one genre and this caused that they became synonymous with specific regional sound. This happened in numerous cities, for example in Memphis and Philadelphia and in Detroit, the home of Motown Records, probably the most famous record label associated with soul music. Motown was nicknamed Hitsville for producing a hit after hit in their peak, while Soulsville in Memphis was the place of true soul sound in the eyes of many people. In contrast to gritty Memphis soul, Motown sound was polished to have a commercial appeal and typical was use of tambourines and other additional percussions, handclaps, string sections and arranged background vocals with no complex arrangements.

Another important regional soul scenes was the one in Chicago. Chicago soul had gospel tradition similar to the one in the South and was recognized mainly for the accomplishments of Curtis Mayfield and his politically conscious music that "captured the optimism of the civil rights movement with a vibrant, fully unique sound that earned him an endless string of hits." Chicago was known for its blues scene, mainly coming from Chess Records. Rising popularity of soul made them step into the world of this

<sup>10</sup> Johnny Otis, "R & B, Soul and the Roots of Rock," in *Encyclopedia of Pop, Rock & Soul*, ed. Irwin Stambler (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974), 1.

<sup>11</sup> Bob Gulla, *Icons of R&B and Soul: an Encyclopedia of the Artists Who Revolutionized Rhythm* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2008), 233.

phenomenon where they reintroduced blues and jazz singer Etta James as the Queen of Soul.

# 3.1 Early developments

Atlantic Records, founded in 1947 by Turkish immigrant Ahmet Ertegün together with his friend Herbert Abramson, was the place where Ray Charles created songs such as "I Got a Woman" and "What'd I Say" that were the foundation for future evolution of soul music. Atlantic Records played pivotal role in lenghty creation of soul, not only for signing Ray Charles in 1952 and other other influental artists later on, but also for laying a foundation for soul to be born and that was realized by having a wide range of R&B singles released in the late 1940s and then in the 1950s. One of these artists was Clyde McPhatter who was one of the first artists to use gospel style in his songs, but not the very first. This milestone is credited to Roy Brown, giving him the title of "original soul singer and in turn made him a major influence on future soul luminaries."<sup>12</sup> Roy Brown and Charles Brown popularized gospel vocal techniques during the late 1940s and Little Richard combined the style of both Browns in his early recordings from 1951.<sup>13</sup> McPhatter's million selling single "A Lover's Question", released in 1958 by Atlantic, "contains arrangements that are very similar to those used by gospel groups." <sup>14</sup> He had included features of gospel in his previous recordings as well, using call and response and melismas more than other R&B artists did.

One of the biggest stars Atlantic had was Ruth Brown who gave the company a nickname "The house that Ruth built." Her 1950 single "Teardrops from My Eyes" was the first million selling single for Atlantic. It topped the R&B chart for almost three months and had another primacy – it was Atlantic's first 45-rpm 7-inch vinyl. Ruth Brown had a number of commercially successful songs and the money her music generated allowed Atlantic to retain or even increase the number of artists they could sign and to invest money to up and coming soul artists. One of them was Ray Charles

<sup>12</sup> Stephen Cook, "Roy Brown - Laughing but Crying," *Allmusic*, accessed April 30, 2014. <a href="http://www.allmusic.com/album/laughing-but-crying-mw0000861091">http://www.allmusic.com/album/laughing-but-crying-mw0000861091</a>.

<sup>13</sup> David Hatch and Stephen Millward, *From Blues to Rock: an Analytical History of Pop Music* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1989), 37.

<sup>14</sup> Charlie Gillet, The Sound of the City: the Rise of Rock and Roll (London: Souvenir Press, 1996), 201.

who even used Brown's touring band for his own recording. Brown had more of an indirect influence on soul music, because her music was mainly R&B; however, her music inspired next generation of prominent soul singers – Stevie Wonder and Aretha Franklin. Atlantic was able to add two influential soul artists to their roster in the 1960s. First of them was Solomon Burke in 1961, who is said to be "key transitional figure in the development of soul music from rhythm and blues" and after the expiration of her contract with Columbia Records in 1967 the Queen of Soul herself, Aretha Franklin.

Clyde McPhatter, together with Jackie Wilson and Sam Cooke, represents the new generation of singers "whose gospel-inflected singing styles, urban orchestrations, suave personalities, and crossover success fronted the broadly accessible side of black music's general transition from 1950s rhythm and blues to 1960s soul." All three achieved success after they left their groups and pursued solo careers. Sam Cooke was the lead singer of a successful gospel group the Soul Stirrers, but the life on tour with the group did not satisfy him and he decided he wants to crossover to popular music. This transition was seen as a betrayal in the gospel community, because singing secular songs was taken as a waste of talent given by god. And he would not be able to return back to gospel circles if his pop attempts flopped. His first pop single was "Lovable" released in 1957. It was a remake of a gospel song "Wonderful". Similarly to Ray Charles and his song "I Got a Woman", which was based on "It Must Be Jesus" by Southern Tones, Sam Cooke changed the religious lyrics ("God, he's so wonderful. He's been my mother and my father too. There's no limit to what my Lord can do.") to a secular song ("My girl, she's so lovable. She's just an angel, a sweet little angel to me. When I'm without her I know I'm in misery"). He released it under an alias Dale Cook, not to alienate his gospel fan base. The name was unknown, but his smooth voice was unique and everybody recognized him. The single did not achieve large sales and Cooke was forced to leave the group and Specialty Records for deserting them. But his next single, "You Send Me", now using his own name under small label Keen Records, was picked up by a disc jockeys and they turned it into a number one hit. This completed his transition to secular superstar. He was able to capture the white audience with gospel in a form that was appealing to them and at the same time did not lose the blacks, because

<sup>15</sup> Peter Guralnick, "Soul," in *The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll*, rev. ed., ed. Jim Miller (London: Picador, 1980), 206.

<sup>16</sup> Gulla, Icons, 130.

his solo music was "polite, sweet, and smooth, and not all that different in the sentiment than what he was doing with the Soul Stirrers." <sup>17</sup>

#### 3.2 Sam Cooke's crossover

Sam Cooke's effective crossover proved that there is a market for this new black music and it encouraged a number of artists to follow his path. One of them was Solomon Burke, who was active in church since very early age. First preaching and then also singing with his own quartet. While he did not have big chart success, none of his singles climbed up to Top 20 on pop chart, his recordings from the early 1960s are considered soul classics and he was one of first singers to be categorized as soul artist. His time in church was reflected in the single "Everybody Needs Somebody to Love", in which he used the march from the church and preacher's calls towards the people in the church service. Guralnick wrote: "Soul started, in a sense, with the 1961 success of Solomon Burke's "Just Out Of Reach". [...] [Ray Charles, James Brown and Sam Cooke] could be looked upon as an isolated phenomenon; it was only with the coming together of Burke and Atlantic Records that you could begin to see anything even resembling a movement."18 Ben E. King also started his solo career in 1961, after leaving the Drifters. That year he released "Stand by Me", a single inspired by the spiritual "Lord Stand By Me" and a song Sam Cooke wrote and sang with the Soul Stirrers "Stand By Me Father". The song topped the R&B chart and was voted as one of the twenty-five Songs of the Century in 2001. Part of the impact these songs, that referenced traditional gospel songs, was that they were directed at an audience familiar with the originals. The songs did not sound the same, but they resonated with the people in a similar way.<sup>19</sup>

Sam Cooke did not only pave the way for other singers coming from gospel circles, he was also active in the business side of music. Early 1960s was the time when black artists wanted to control their art and destiny and Cooke was an iconic figure for this generation. He established a publishing company for his music in 1959 and a year

<sup>17</sup> Gulla, Icons, 117.

<sup>18</sup> Guralnick, "Soul," in Illustrated History, 206.

<sup>19</sup> Soul Deep: The Story of Black Popular Music, "The Gospel Highway," BBC Bristol, 2005.

later he negotiated a lucrative contract with major record label RCA, under which he released a number of top 10 R&B singles, so RCA have given him a creative freedom. He even started his own record label SAR Records in 1961, to which he signed singers from the Soul Stirrers or the Womack family group the Valentinos. Sam Cooke was already a successful black businessman at a time when Berry Gordy started his business with Motown that became even more successful.

#### 3.3 From soul to funk

He was the hardest-working man in show business as well as the Godfather of Soul. During his long and rich career, James Brown changed the sound of popular music, not just black music, and while soul music later served as a foundation for new genres, it was Brown himself who turned it into a new genre in the 1960s. He took the gritty and earthy vocals of gospel and wrapped them around a new sound which was "raw, intense, and indisputably black in its diction and delivery, and it could not be easily emulated or copied by white perfomers."<sup>20</sup> The new style was named funk, by back-formation of jazz term funky, and its signature feature is the shift in emphasis from the traditional blues second and fourth beats to the weak first and third beats. The chord progression and harmonic movement was replaced with rhythmic single chords provided by horns, guitars and other instruments. Bass guitar lines served as main riffs. Brown's "I've Got Money" was to funk what "I Got a Woman" was to soul. It was obvious Brown was moving into new direction with his 1964 song "Out of Sight" where he tried to "get every aspect of the production to contribute to the rhythmic patterns."<sup>21</sup> This songs marks a point when melody is suppressed and rhythm becomes everything. Every instrument and voice was treated as a drum while guitars and drums played syncopated single-notes.<sup>22</sup>

Soul started to decline in the early 1970s, when it "passed through the prime of its creative artistic achievement, as well as its social and political relevance."<sup>23</sup> At that

<sup>20</sup> Gulla, Icons, 212.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 219.

<sup>22</sup> Robert Palmer, "James Brown," in *The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll*, rev. ed., ed. Jim Miller (London: Picador, 1980), 140.

<sup>23</sup> Rudinow, Soul Music, 11.

time, the sound was getting sweeter and had "crisp, clear recordings enhanced by the generous sweetening of strings and bass."24 The sweet style turned into disco and funk became the new popular black genre. Other artists and groups picked up Brown's style. Sly & the Family Stone and George Clinton with his groups Parliament and Funkadelic form, together with James Brown, the holy trinity of funk. And funk was not just a black music. It was a music of black people and an outlet for their opinions, same as soul. Brown himself recorded a number of songs influenced by the social situation in America. His first social commentary was "Don't Be a Drop-Out" from 1966 that was a response to high dropout rates at the time and a message to children not to undervalue education. Although Brown made more socially conscious songs, his most known is "Say It Loud – I'm Black and I'm Proud" from 1968 that calls for black empowerment. Funk became connected with the black power movement and Sly & the Family Stone called for end of racial prejudice in "Everyday People". Funk also influenced the production of Motown in the 1970s. Stevie Wonder released a number of funk infused albums in the first half of the decade and the Temptations made funkier and heavier music with producer Norman Whitfield.

Soul lost its position to funk and later electronic music turned soul into contemporary R&B. Neo-soul of the 1990s was seen as a soul revival movement. Soul and funk music are also pivotal in the production of hip-hop, where bits of old songs are sampled and rearranged in a new way. The most sampled artist is James Brown and others, such as Isaac Hayes, Marvin Gaye and the Isley Brothers, were reused numerous times as well. Furthermore, James Brown's vocal performance was a very early form of rap that influenced hip-hop performers in the end of the 1970s.

<sup>24</sup> Brackett, "Soul music," in The New Grove Dictionary, 758.

# 4 Black American society at the birth of soul

Commercially and critically successful music can leave its mark on culture even years after its release. But this mark can be even deeper if the music is connected to the events that form the history of a nation. Soul music is the music of black Americans who were fighting for equal rights at the time of rising popularity of soul music. These times of the 1950s and 1960s are called "one of the most significant developments in American history."<sup>25</sup>

# 4.1 The Civil Rights Movement

This movement was not caused by a single event, not even by more events. It was an outcome of America's segregational politics and the Jim Crow laws based on the social structure of United States in second half of the 19th century. Majority of African-Americans submitted to the law and order that had been established by end of the 19th century. The minority that was against tried to protest by migrating, from the South to the less oppressive but still not non-discriminating North. There were organization such as National Equal Rights League or Afro-American Council fighting for equality, but they failed to improve the situation because of number of factors - "[lack of] adequate finances, political leverage, influential white allies and the support of large number of blacks."<sup>26</sup> The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, founded in 1909, achieved at least some kind of success with victories in court battles, but it took another twenty years until the government took action in this issue. More than a hundred of blacks was appointed to administrative posts during Franklin Roosevelt's presidency and his Administration also began the desegration of federal restrooms, cafeterias and secretarial pools. These changes were only minor and did not improve the fields of life that were important. Black Americans still worked the lowest-paid jobs and "[the] majority of whites, enslaved by fear, ignorance, and prejudice, favored neither desegregation nor equal opportunities for blacks. And most blacks, still plagued by poverty and powerlessness, could not yet battle the inequities destroying them."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Harvard Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality, 1954-1992*. Rev. ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), vii.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 11.

Second World War brought a change and a bit of hope. President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 in order to silence dissatisfied blacks who threatened with massive march on Washington. The Order, which prohibited racial discrimination in war-related work, was the first federal action to promote equal opportunity. The war gave work to more than two million African-Americans; however, it also weakened the protests. The main concern was winning the war and everything else was secondary to this aim. Post-war United States had very fast growing economy and industries became more industrialized. This caused another migration. From rural South to the cities, meaning the racial problem was no longer a regional problem. The war also changed the structure of NAACP. It became more a lobbying agency, trying to end the discrimination through education and litigation and they achieved a landmark judicial decision on May 17, 1954 in the Oliver Brown, et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka case. Earl Warren, who was the Chief Justice at that time, said in the ruling: "We conclude that, in the field of public education, the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs [...] are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment."28 This decision overruled the doctrine of "separate but equal" that justified segregation since 1896 decision known as Plessy v. Ferguson, or simply Plessy. It was also a proof that change of the system is possible and the fight of African-Americans is not pointless.

However, the implementation of the ruling was not done in a way that would correspond with the demand of NAACP, which wanted instant desegration. The Court chose slow approach and gave no deadline to local authorities. Furthermore, President Eisenhower, who appointed Warren to the Supreme Court, refused to approve the ruling. He did neither support nor disapprove it. On the other hand, 101 members of Congress from the South put together a declaration in which they asked their states to refuse the order of the court. And the South responded in a way that by 1960 less than 1 percent of black children were attending desegragated schools. On top of that, most of the Southern states passed measures that were meant to distract NAACP from the legal battles, for example requiring public membership lists.

<sup>28</sup> Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

Resistance of white Southerners once again strengthened after the government's reluctant approach. More than 500,000 people joined White Citizens' Council in 1956, a white supremacist organization that was blocking school integration. In addition to this, some whites revived the tactics used by Ku Klux Klan and this was a reason why some black parents reenroled their children back to segregated schools. Not all of them though. They endured the new wave of hatred, same as nine black students from all-white high school in Little Rock, Arkansas did in September 1957. The state's governor ordered a National Guard contingent to the school to prevent these students from entering the school. They could enter the school the following days, when the guards were replaced with angry white crows yelling at them chants such as "Go back to the jungle." The fear of violent outcome of this situation caused President Eisenhower to send one thousand federal troops to Little Rock and later nationalizing the Arkansas National Guard. With this act Eisenhower became first president since Reconstruction to use armed troops to protect African-Americans and their rights.

A change that many blacks and the whole NAACP were expecting with the Brown decision was still not coming, although Congress declared illegal the disenfranchisement of African-Americans. Nevertheless, the South remained segregated with "white" and "colored" signs in public places. If the law could not take away these signs and disenfranchisement, the black leaders decided to protest. Peacefully and nonviolently.

One of the protests was the Montgomery Bus Boycott in Alabama, that lasted from December 1955 to next year's December. This boycott was started after Rosa Parks, seamstress and a member of local NAACP branch, decided she will not give up her seat on a city bus to a white man, as the law required. She was arrested for her resistance, saying "I felt it was just something I had to do." Rosa Parks was not the first person arrested for this kind of resistance, but her arrest led into a unified action of the black community in Montgomery. The boycott was directed by Montgomery Improvement Association, led by a Baptist minister Martin Luther King, Jr., who was inspired by Gandhi's passive resistance. Members of the black community stayed off the buses, using other means of transport for 381 days after which the bus company almost

<sup>29</sup> James A. Henretta et al., America's History, 2nd ed. (New York: Worth Publishers, 1993), 947.

bankrupted. And in November 1956, the Supreme Court ruled that the bus segregation is illegal. This boycott was organized by future key personalities of the whole Civil Rights Movement – aforementioned Martin Luther King, Jr. and his colleague Ralph Abernathy.

The resistance went on by sit-ins. One of them was started when four black student sat at "whites only" seats in lunch counter in North Carolina until they were served. More people followed their tactic until the owners realized that their business cannot grow with such disruption and they desegregated a large number of the lunch counters throughout the South by the end of the year 1960. The following year, John Fitzgerald Kennedy became the president. His administration failed to respond to the agenda of civil rights during its first years in the office. Events in 1963 made them change their stand on this issue. Kennedy promised major civil rights legislation on June 11, 1963 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 became law a year later. Two events took place in those twelve months. First of them was the March on Washington on August 28, 1963, where about 250,000 demonstrators gathered at the Lincoln Memorial. This is where Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his speech known for its first words as "I Have a Dream", that solidified his position as the leader of African-Americans. The speech was recorded and later released on an album under Motown, together with his speech from Great March on Detroit in June. In September, Kennedy was assassinated and Lyndon B. Johnson succeeded him in the office. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, that outlawed discrimination based on sex, religion, race or national origin, was signed into law by Johnson, as well as Voting Rights Act of 1965, that prohibited discrimination in voting. This gave voting right to millions of blacks.

The legal segregation was over, but the society itself still had to become desegregated. And a group of black activists wanted this to happen quickly and in a different way. The Nation of Islam was a black separatist organization, associated with names such as Malcolm X, Elijah Muhammad and Muhammad Ali. Their ideology inspired other young activists who formed a new movement called Black Power. Militant attitude of this community together with their anger towards white Americans turned into violent and devastating riots between 1964 and 1968 in a number of cities. Final stage of the riots began in more than a hundred cities after King, Jr. was

assassinated in April 1968. His death marks the end of the whole civil rights movement. The fragmented black community lost its leader and the political climate in the 1970s was not so liberal to push for further change. Nevertheless, the movement was able to overturn segregation in the 1950s and the 1960s and African-Americans were granted their basic civil rights, even though some issues that are deep-rooted in the society are still alive even today. In addition to actively fighting for the rights of African Americans, this movement encouraged other groups and minorities, native Americans, Hispanics, homosexuals and women, to demand equality.

### 4.2 Soul music and the civil rights movement

Soul music is not called the music of the African-American Civil Rights Movement only because the timelines of both phenomenons overlap. And soul was not involved in politics a social issues since its beginning. It was mainly a party music for young blacks in the 1950s and the 1960s with lyrics about love and relationships. More serious matters were covered in the songs after the artists established themselves and the record companies knew they will not lose money releasing these songs. Change of atmosphere in black community played its role as well.

Sam Cooke's "A Change Is Gonna Come" is the song that was given the title of the anthem of the movement. But he has other songs that describe the racial divide of those times. In one of his songs from 1960, "Chain Gang", he depicts the working of prisoners and it is highly possible, that majority of the prisoners in chains Cooke actually saw prior to writing this song, were black by the look at incarceration rates of black and white Americans in 1960. And the first rhyme in "Wonderful World" ("Don't know much about history, don't know much biology."), is more than a cliché at a second look, because "if there are two things that a black man in pop music needed to encourage the white audience to forget, they were history and biology, at least the parts involving skin color and sexuality."<sup>30</sup>

Cooke's masterpiece, "A Change Is Gonna Come", was a reply he wrote after hearing Bob Dylan's "Blowin' in the Wind", which carried him away with the message

<sup>30</sup> Werner, Change, 37.

and the fact it was written by a white man. Cooke's previous singles were light-hearted and although he felt the need to address the social situation through music, he did not, scared of losing his white fanbase. But then he had a run-in with Jim Crow laws in Louisiana and this experience is reflected in the lyrics ("I go downtown/Somebody keep telling me don't hang around"). However, the verse with these lyrics was not present in the original single release. Despite everything Cooke had to go through, intensified by the loss of his son, resonating in the final verse ("There have been times that I thought/I couldn't last for long"), he believed in a change. Unfortunately, he did not live to see the change and the song was released as a single shortly after his death in December 1964.

Curtis Mayfield was already mentioned for his politically conscious music. Since 1964, his group the Impressions focused more on the social and racial subjects in music. That year they released "Keep On Pushing", a song about black pride and the determination of blacks to reach the higher goal and move a big stone wall. They followed up the next year with "People Get Ready". The lyrics with Biblical allegory of freedom train came from the church origins of the group's members. "We're a Winner" was released in 1967. That was after the signing of the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act, when there was a hope that the change is really coming and the Impressions sing about being persistent in the fight for equality and following the leaders, such as King, Jr. They thought the "blessed day" is coming, but with the death of King, Jr., the movement took a step back. Curtis Mayfield and the Impressions made more socially conscious music, whether it was "Choice of Colors", "Mighty Mighty (Spade and Whitey)" and "This Is My Country" or Mayfield's solo work in "Move On Up" and "If There's a Hell Below, We're All Going to Go".

Later in 1964, "Dancing in the Street" by Martha and the Vandellas was released. The originally dance song was seen as "a protest song about airing one's grievances in the middle of America's large and unequal metropolises" and was used at civil rights protests. The song was written by Marvin Gaye, who in 1971 created not just a song, but a concept album "What's Going On", where he dealt with issues such as the

<sup>31</sup> Cord Jefferson, "Motown, Vietnam, The Civil Rights Movement And One Iconic Song," *NPR*, July 12, 2013, accessed April 30, 2014, <a href="http://www.npr.org/2013/07/15/199053938/motown-vietnam-the-civil-rights-movement-and-one-iconic-song">http://www.npr.org/2013/07/15/199053938/motown-vietnam-the-civil-rights-movement-and-one-iconic-song</a>.

Vietnam War, inequality, drugs and poverty. The album was released after the 1965 Watts riots and the 1967 Detroit riots. These events, together with his brother's service in the Vietnam War and the death of his singing partner Tammi Terrell changed the course of his career, in which he was focusing mostly on love songs. The album turned out to be a great commercial success, turned Gaye into serious artist who could write and produce music the way he wanted and was named as one of the best albums of all time by various outlets.

Racial riots were frequent in the 1960s and a wave of them happened after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. in early April 1968. Boston was one of the major cities that was affected less thanks to the concert of James Brown on April 5<sup>th</sup>. The city decided to broadcast his show on local television in order to keep the people who would not go to see Brown live at home rather than on the streets. This action had the intended effect, as less crimes happened that night. Brown later emerged as a peacemaker who promoted black capitalism and urged the youngs not to express their anger with violence and to "cool their passions and build instead of burn."<sup>32</sup>

Stax in Memphis sent a message to the world only with its existence. Racially integrated company from the South that publicly presented itself this way was an anomaly so they rarely made songs with a social commentary. One of the exceptions was "Respect Yourself" by the Staple Singers that calls for self-empowerment and respect towards women, similarly to Aretha Franklin's "Respect". Stax also organized Wattstax festival in Los Angeles to commemorate the seventh anniversary of the Watts riots. The festival was recorded and made into a documentary that features a look at the lives of people in South Central Los Angeles.

Although he had the biggest fanbase in the South, Ray Charles decided not to play a concert in Augusta, Georgia in 1961 after he learned it will be segregated. Charles was sued by the promoter, but he returned to Georgia two years later when he played a desegregated concert at the same venue.

<sup>32</sup> Palmer, "James Brown," in Illustrated History, 140.

#### 5 Record companies and soul

As it was previously stated, record labels had an important role in the popularisation of soul, as well as the lengthy development. Numerous companies published soul records as a part of their diverse portfolio, like Atlantic Records did. Other companies focused solely on soul music and had a short, but very successful run with it. That is the case of Motown and Stax Records.

# 5.1 The sound of young America

Late 1950s brought radicalism to African-American community and some leaders, such as Elijah Muhammad, called for economical self-sufficiency of black people. One man from Detroit took this route and started his own company in 1959. Berry Gordy, Jr. started his career in music business in 1953 as an owner of a record store. He was obsessed with jazz as a person and a store owner and his store went bankrupt two years after he opened it. After this failure he shifted his focus to a more profitable genre – rhythm and blues. He began writing songs for local R&B artists, creating a name and reputation for himself. He scored his first hit in 1957 as a songwriter for Jackie Wilson's "Reet Petite". They created six more songs together before Gordy left the following year after royalty disputes and because of his ambition to produce music by himself.

Gordy then started working with another singer from Detroit, William "Smokey" Robinson and his group the Miracles. Together they started their own company in January 1959, with a loan from Gordy's family. Gordy chose the name Motown, because he was previously working in one of Detroit's automobile assembly lines. The label was originally founded as Tamla Records and Motown was a separate company, until he merged them together into Motown Record Corporation after few months of their existence. The black community saw his business as a positive act, because Gordy was employing African-Americans, who had hard times finding jobs at that time. 33 Although Motown was not the first black-owned independent record company, there was Peacock in Houston and Vee Jay in Chicago, it evolved into the most successful one

<sup>33</sup> Soul Deep: The Story of Black Popular Music, "The Sound Of Young America," BBC Bristol, 2005.

after few years. He achieved this by creating a musical equivalent of the assembly line he used to work on. When Gordy wanted a followup to the Four Tops' "I Can't Help Myself" in summer 1965, his producers, songwriters and recording band put together "It's the Same Old Song" in less than a day and within three days the song was released to local radios.

Artists were the product on the end of the line and Motown had several acts or solo artists that were popular. The first ever artist with a single under Tamla was Marv Johnson with "Come to Me", produced and co-written by Gordy. Johnson was influenced by gospel same as Jackie Wilson and Clyde McPhatter and Gordy decided to add a female background vocals for call and response trades, that later became a distinctive element of Motown sound as well as the tambourine, which is also used here. Gordy saw this pop-gospel fusion as a promising feature and created more similarly styled singles with Johnson. The most notable were "You Got What It Takes" and "I Love The Way You Love" that reached top ten on pop chart. Although all these songs did well in the charts, their sales did not correspond with the chart positions. This applied to the rest of Motown's releases in 1959 and early 1960. Motown was already releasing singles for a number of artists at that time, but the Miracles were the first to sell larger numbers of records. Their front man Smokey Robinson was not only Gordy's partner in songwriting and producing. He also had business interest in the company, because he served as a vice president until 1988. Motown's first release in 1960, the Miracles' single "Way Over There" sold 60,000 copies. This was seen as a big number at first, actually it was the best selling single for Motown at that time.

This changed with their next single "Shop Around" that became Motown's first real hit, reaching number one on R&B chart and number two on pop chart and it became the first million seller for Gordy, although initially it did not look it will be this successful. It took three different version and three releases to reach its status. Each version is different, but the first two, released within one week, share blues-influenced arrangements and slower tempo, compared to later Motown productions. They were regional releases and did just a little noise in Detroit radios. One night, Gordy got an idea for the hit version and he called the Miracles into the studio at three in the morning to record it. This final version with faster tempo, a bit different instrumentation and a

cleaner and more radio-friendly sound was released nationally one month after the regional versions and was used on their debut album "Hi, We're the Miracles". Gordy's plan to make black music for white kids, who had the money to buy records, was finally coming together. He wanted to do music for all people, with no racial boundaries<sup>34</sup>, but he also understood that white Americans had bigger purchasing power than African-Americans and his main goal was to make money off music, so he decided that cover of the Marvelettes' single "Please Mr. Postman" from summer 1961 will have a picture of mailbox on it, instead of a picture of the girl group, because Gordy was scared that white people would not buy music made by black artists.<sup>35</sup> The Marvelettes had Motown's first pop number one record with this song, which was also best-selling record in United States.

The Marvelettes started Motown's domination of popular music for the following years. Motown's Hitsville U.S.A. studio on Detroit's West Grand Boulevard was teeming with activity, since the roster of artists was growing larger. Stevie Wonder, Marvin Gaye, Martha and the Vandellas, the Contours, the Temptations, the Supremes and others were divided into growing family of imprints Gordy created. Next to Motown and Tamla were Gordy, Soul and V.I.P. and all of them were producing hits. Motown is remembered for two things and having hits is one of them. The other one is the distinctive Motown sound that was still in the making. Early 1960s Motown produced different types of music. The Marvelettes were Motown's first girl group, Mary Wells was the seductive type and the Contours and Marvin Gaye were almost a gospel or blues act.<sup>36</sup>

The sound came few months later, in 1963, when the songwriting and production trio Holland-Dozier-Holland was already together and creating number of songs for different artists on Motown. The Holland brothers Eddie and Brian worked with Gordy since the early years of Motown and Dozier was working with Gordy's sister Anna as a recording artist. Individually they did not achieve as much as they did together working behind the scenes. They perfected the production techniques Gordy used since his

<sup>34</sup> Soul Deep, "The Sound Of Young America."

<sup>35</sup> Karel Veselý, *Hudba ohně: radikální černá hudba od jazzu po hip hop a dále* (Praha: BigBoss, 2010), 34.

<sup>36</sup> Joe McEwen and Jim Miller, "Motown," in *The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll*, rev. ed., ed. Jim Miller (London: Picador, 1980), 237.

works with Mary Johnson and gave them a system. And this system was rather simple. They mainly used ABABCC pattern instead of standard song forms, examples of this can be Martha and the Vandellas' "Heat Wave" and "Come and Get These Memories" or the Supremes' "Where Did Our Love Go?". Next to this, their music was based on repetition, whether the repeated element was a hook line or whole refrains. Using this formula meant that once a listener heard one song made by them, all the subsequent ones were familiar to him, with little differences between each other. This is a part of the trio's production and the whole Motown sound that is more implicit and does not strike the listener as much as the strong bass line, echoing drums, emphasis on rattling tambourines and hand clapping, chord progression and vocal harmonies, which were mostly the call and response phrases, but also harmonizing of multiple voices. Some examples, where all these pieces were put together into one unit and can be called signature Motown songs could be the Supremes' "You Can't Hurry Love" and "Reach Out I'll Be There" by the Four Tops. Cars played an important role in the productions, because Gordy knew people were listening to the radio through their car stereos, so he and other producers either listened to the music in cars or through a radio that emulated the sound of car radio before the singles went out to radio stations and record shops.

Probably even more important for the unique Motown sound were the musicians who played all the instruments in the studio. According to Motown arranger Paul Riser, they were the Motown sound and the essence of Motown. The studio band was nicknamed the Funk Brothers and have played on majority of Motown releases from 1959 until 1972, when Motown moved to Los Angeles. Individual musicians were mostly jazz or blues players who started their musical careers in the clubs of Detroit, where Gordy found them and offered them a job at his company. Some of them were originally from Detroit, others moved in from the South to get jobs in Detroit car factories. A number of people recorded for Motown as members of the Funk Brothers, but only a few of them were more than ordinary studio musicians, such as the bass player James Jamerson, who was using techniques that were not common in popular music, thus influencing other generations of bass players. At first he was playing on double bass and later started using electric bass, but still used both instruments for

<sup>37</sup> Standing in the Shadows of Motown, directed by Paul Justman (2002; Santa Monica, CA: Artisan Entertainment, 2003), DVD.

recording. Motown bass line is a combination of two and so is the drum beat. Benny Benjamin and Richard "Pistol" Allen played together on most recordings or even with another drummer, which is the case of Marvin Gaye's "I Heard It Through the Grapevine", where three drummers played together, each of them different drum parts. Although today the importance of their role in Motown is indisputable, it was very different at the time they were playing and recording in Motown Studio A. They were unknown to people until Marvin Gaye's album "What's Going On" from 1971. This was the first album where individual studio musicians were credited. Only known member prior to this was the keyboardist Earl Van Dyke. He released few singles and albums on Motown either under his own name or as Earl Van Dyke and the Soul Brothers, which was just a different name for the Funk Brothers.

Motown had an image of one happy family in the 1960s, but the reality inside the company was not so idealistic. Gordy was deciding what the artists sang, what singles were released and how the royalties were divided. The trio Holland-Dozier-Holland left Motown in 1967 and entered a dispute over profit-sharing and royalties. Motown still had other songwriters such as Norman Whitfield and Smokey Robinson, but other issues soon followed. The Four Tops and the Supremes were losing their popularity since the departure of the songwriting trio and out of the new artists only the Jackson 5 and Gladys Knight & the Pips got the same recognition as previous Motown acts. Gordy loosened the production rules and gave bigger creative control to the artists, which lead to a number of critically acclaimed albums by Marvin Gaye and Stevie Wonder in the early 1970s. With creative control came deeper and more sophisticated lyrics that contrasted with typical production of love songs at Motown. Motown did not explicitly comment on social issues in their music, because Gordy was scared of the negative influence these comments might have. The Detroit riot in 1967 and other events in personal lifes of the artists changed this attitude. Additionally, Gordy was more focused on re-locating to Los Angeles and starting a film career for Diana Ross.

More and more artists later left Motown, most notably the Jackson 5, but losing their stars was less devastating than losing their blueprint for hits. Their production became less distinctive, ranging from pop to disco and funk. By the mid-1970s, the duo Gamble and Huff and Philadelphia International Records replaced Motown as the

leading force in black popular music. Even though the album sales of the 1970s and the 1980s were way above those of the 1960s, Motown is remembered for "the hits of the Sixties that revolutionized American popular music" and the achievement of being the largest black-owned business in the United States in times of turmoil and prejudice, as well as being one of the most successful independent record companies in history. Motown was an independent company for almost 30 years, when Gordy decided to sell his ownership in 1988. He started it with an \$800 loan and sold it for almost \$400 million. Motown has then went through a number of owners and different names, but survives to this day, although its unique soul does not.

#### **5.2** Southern soul of Stax

In the 1960s, when Motown was at its peak generating a hit after hit, they had to compete with soul music produced in other cities. The main rival was the South and Stax Records, based in Memphis, Tennessee. Same as Atlantic, Stax was founded by non-African-Americans. Stax Records, or Satellite Records for its first four year of existence, was started in 1957 as a family business by two siblings from Tennesee – Estelle Axton and her brother Jim Stewart. Both worked in banks and Jim also played in a local country band. Memphis was a cultural capital of Mississippi as blues, gospel and rockabilly had their history in Memphis. It also served as a stop-off point in migration northward, although many of the migrants, black and white, stayed in Memphis. And soul music was about to be the next gift of Memphis to the world.<sup>39</sup>

Early music of Stax reflected Stewart's taste. First singles were rockabilly and country or country-pop songs from local artists that sold a three hundred copies at best. They were recorded in a garage with a portable recorder. So Estelle, who sang in family gospel quartet as a teenager and was a fan of pop music, got involved and mortgaged her house which got them finances for new tape recorder and a building they turned into a temporary studio in Brunswick, near Memphis. Here, they met producer and songwriter Chips Moman and recorded their first black R&B with the Veltones. The

<sup>38</sup> McEwen and Miller, "Motown," in Illustrated History of Rock & Roll, 246.

<sup>39</sup> Rob Bowman, *Soulsville, U.S.A.: the story of Stax Records* (New York: Schirmer Trade Books, 2003), 1-2.

result, "Fool in Love", was released in summer 1959 and Mercury Records picked it up for national distribution for an advance which was the first money Stewart and Axton made in the business. After a year, they returned to Memphis, into former Capitol Theatre they renovated and turned into a proper recording studio. Although it was not constructed perfectly, the studio had unique acoustics which gave deep sound to their recordings. The renovations swallowed up most of their finances, but luckily for them their first hit was just around the corner.

It came from Rufus Thomas, a R&B singer and a disc jockey whom Stewart met while promoting his Veltones release. Rufus and his daughter Carla were the first artists recorded in the new studio. Their first single was "Cause I Love You" and it did well around Memphis. The company got their first successful record after three years of existence and while the money it generated was needed, the musical direction it provided was more important in the long run. 40 The song also started a long relationship with Atlantic Records. At first it only covered national distribution for Rufus and Carla Thomas' music, but few months later a new deal was made that gave Atlantic rights on the distibution of any Satellite release. This took away the need to market and promote the music and Satellite could focus on the creative aspects as Atlantic had no input on the production. Although "Cause I Love You" managed to sell a few more thousands nationwide, the next single from Carla Thomas finally "broke things wide open for the fledgling company."41 "Gee Whiz (Look at His Eyes)" reached number 10 on the pop chart three months after its initial release. Next hit was few months away. "Last Night" by an all-white band the Mar-Keys was a hard instrumental track, first on the line for Stax, that had signs of what later turned into the Memphis sound. It was based on twelve-bar blues structure with hard-hitting drums backed by electric organ and "exceedingly prominent horns, all contributing to an enticing, swinging groove that was purely southern."42

"Last Night" reached number 3 on pop chart and another Satellite Records from California claimed this name as theirs. Instead of paying for the rights a new name was created from first two letters from last names of the siblings. That was in 1961 when a

<sup>40</sup> Bowman, Soulsville, U.S.A., 9.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 27.

subsidiary label Volt Records had been established, similarly to Motown's subsidiaries, in order to avoid accusation of payola when radio played too many songs from one record label. In comparison to black business of Gordy in Detroit, Stax was ethnically-integrated and not only behind the scenes. The studio was located in a black ghetto where future artists of Stax lived, one of which was Booker T. Jones. Others, such as the songwriter David Porter, either worked in the neighborhood or were regular customers in the Satellite Record Shop, like Steve Cropper or Duck Dunn. The store was not only a place where neighborhood relations were developed and people were recruited, it also served as a test market for new Stax releases which could be changed or shelved, depending on the reactions of the customers. Moreover, the shop functioned as a source of inspiration, a workshop where writers and musicians could hear what music other popular musicians made and reflect it in their production.

The Mar-Keys evolved into new formations – the Memphis Horns and Booker T. & the MG's. The latter reached higher levels of stardom, although the band was made up by two black and two white musicians which was at least disturbing in the still segregated South at that time. The segregation disappeared behind the doors of Stax recording studios. Unlike the Motown's Funk Brothers, Stax gave bigger recognition to their musicians. Their production style "gave equal weight to instrumental and vocal tracks." The raw energy and emotions in Southern songs could come out as "mistakes' that Motown would have edited out. The horn section on "Hold On, I'm Coming" gets lost on the second chorus." Apart from being the house band of Stax, playing instruments on most of the recorded material, the MG's were a successful recording act since their first single "Green Onions" from September 1962. Like "Last Night", it was an instrumental song with outstanding electric organ line, supported by strong bass line and Cropper's signature electric guitar. The song became a national hit, it topped the R&B chart and went to number 3 on pop chart.

Otis Redding, the future biggest star of Stax, was already a part of the label around that time. Otis, just like his childhood idol Little Richard, grew up in Macon, Georgia. At age of 10 he began to play the drums, guitar and piano and sing in church choir as well. His admiration of Little Richard and his style led to a win in local talent

<sup>43</sup> Werner, Change, 77.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 77.

contest and ultimately to a group called the Pinetoppers where Otis replaced their previous lead singer. He toured on the Chitlin' circuit with his new band and one of the band members was guitarist Johnny Jenkins, who was to record for Atlantic in Stax studio. Otis drove Jenkins to Memphis and helped him with his equipment. His set ended early and Otis got his chance to perform. Two songs were recorded during that session. "Hey Hey Baby" was like his previous two recordings a shouting style song imitating Little Richard that was used as a B-side for his ballad "These Arms of Mine". The single came out in October 1962 as one of the first releases on the newly founded Volt imprint. Although it was only a minor hit and it took months to chart, the importance of the song is in its introduction of Redding's begging and crying style that expressed honesty. He developed this Sam Cooke influenced style during 1963 and 1964 on songs such as "That's What My Heart Needs", "Pain in My Heart" or "Mr. Pitiful", based on his nickname. Those years were relatively quiet as no big hit came, but Stax got more charting singles from Rufus and Carla Thomas, Booker T. and the MG's and William Bell and started to release albums as well.

1965 was a breakthrough year for Otis Redding and the whole Stax. A new contract with Atlantic was signed and as the southern sound was becoming more popular and dominant, Atlantic sent their artists to record in Stax studios. Wilson Pickett recorded his hit single "In the Midnight Hour" with Stax and it, together with eight other songs from his three Stax sessions, defined an international soul style which was emulated by the Beatles and the Rolling Stones. <sup>46</sup> Pickett was an Atlantic artist who recorded at Stax, but the duo Sam & Dave were leased to Stax in exchange for publishing rights. Newly established songwriting duo of Isaac Hayes and David Porter started writing for Sam & Dave, who became the most commercially successful act of Stax. Their pre-Stax recordings resembled R&B production of Ray Charles, Sam Cooke or Jackie Wilson. Hayes and Porter gave them a different and more lively direction.

Their energetic vocal dialogues granted them popularity among black audiences, while catchy hooks, memorable horn lines and uptempo dance beats appealed to whites. <sup>47</sup>
"You Don't Know Like I Know" was first in the line of 10 consecutive top 20 R&B hits

<sup>45</sup> Soul Deep: The Story of Black Popular Music, "Southern Soul," BBC Bristol, 2005.

<sup>46</sup> Robert Palmer, "The Sound of Memphis," in *The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll*, rev. ed., ed. Jim Miller (London: Picador, 1980), 216.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 217.

with this formula that climaxed in "Hold On, I'm Comin" and the Grammy Award-winning black pride hymn "Soul Man".

Otis Redding established himself as the King of Soul in 1965 after the death of Sam Cooke. That year he released two albums where he covers Sam Cooke songs or sings in similar fashion as Cooke did. On the other hand, he finally began to find his own style which had two sides. First one was the slower one he already practiced in his ballads and it became popular with "I've Been Loving You Too Long", one of his first bigger hits. The other side was more energetic and faster in tempo. "Respect" is an example of this style and although Aretha Franklin's cover version is a crossover hit, Otis' original was a hit for him, too. He unleashed his energy on his version of the Rolling Stones song "I Can't Get No (Satisfaction)" which is rather his own reading of the song than a simple cover, as he changed the words and improvised in the studio. This is most notable when Redding sings "fashion" instead of "faction". Otis was comfortable in both positions and from this point on, "extremes become more apparent: tempos become either faster or slower and the parts hit harder or are treated in a gentler fashion."48 Redding's popularity was on the rise and so was that of the Memphis sound and the rest of Stax roster. Jim Stewart said that the sound is influenced by blues and folk music of the South, with accent on heavy weak beats and rhythm. Instead of sweetening the sound they used horns that produce "a rough, growly, raspy sound, which carries into the melody. To add flavor and color there is topping with the piano and frills with the guitar or vocal group."49

Memphis soul had a strong fanbase in Europe and the reception to their concerts in 1966 and 1967 was incredible. Redding received the biggest attention as he was the main star. He and the rest of Stax artists achieved in Europe what they failed to in United States – attract large white audience. Although their relationship with Atlantic helped them with distribution, majority of their sales still came from African-Americans in the South. California was untouched by Stax and soul music in general until Redding played in Hollywood and San Francisco in 1966. The concert promoters took risk with these shows as the local white audience was primarily rock oriented and knew soul only

<sup>48</sup> Bowman, Soulsville, U.S.A., 58.

<sup>49</sup> Elton Whisenhunt, "Memphis Sound: a Southern View," *Billboard*, June 12, 1965, accessed April 22, 2014, <a href="http://books.google.cz/books?id=qCgEAAAAMBAJ">http://books.google.cz/books?id=qCgEAAAAMBAJ</a>, 6.

through the British Invasion. Luckily for them and for Redding, the mainstream audience received him rapturously and this opened him the door to the Monterey Pop Festival in summer 1967 which introduced him to even wider audience outside of the South and it was a "natural progression from local to national acclaim [...] [and a] decisive turning-point in Otis Redding's career." He closed his set with his new hit "Try a Little Tenderness" which, according to Jim Stewart, is the one songs that expresses who Otis Redding is. It starts slowly same as his well known ballads, but the tempo is slowly building up into a frenetic conclusion. Its false ending allowed him to leave the stage and return to finish his performance with one last chorus. Unfortunately for Redding, his first big performance in front of mainstream audience was also one of his last, as he died in a plane crash on December 10, 1967 together with all but two of the members of his backing band the Bar-Kays. While Redding, or anybody else from Stax, never reached for the number one single during his life, his first posthumous release "(Sittin' On) The Dock of the Bay" topped the pop chart in early 1968.

His death was a crushing blow for Stax as he was their most important artist. Additionally, shortly after his death Atlantic was bought by Warner Bros. and during the renegotiation of a new contract Stewart found out that Atlantic owned all Stax masters through a clause he was unaware of. He felt betrayed by Wexler and Atlantic and signed a contract with Gulf and Western instead. Although they lost Sam & Dave in this break up, their former songwriter Isaac Hayes became the new star of the company. He was able to redefine soul in the end of the 1960s when soul was considered a genre of three minute long radio hits. His albums "Hot Buttered Soul", "The Isaac Hayes Movement" and "...To Be Continued" had only four of five tracks, some as long as twenty minutes, that were full of long instrumentals and slowly building mood. One of the last big hits for Stax was "Theme from Shaft" from the soundtrack Hayes composed for the blaxploitation film Shaft. Although his albums were successful, it was obvious that Stax had already passed its peak. Their music lost its uniqueness as the producers and musicians either left or became executives and the newcomers chose different approach

<sup>50</sup> Sarah Hill, "When deep soul met the love crowd. Otis Redding: Monterey Pop Festival, June 17, 1967," in *Performance and Popular Music: History, Place and Time*, ed. Ian Inglis (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 34.

<sup>51</sup> Gulla, Icons, 409.

<sup>52</sup> Veselý, Hudba ohně, 34.

with "orchestral sweetening." Hayes left Stax in 1975 when the label had serious financial problems that led to bankruptcy and a sale of all Stax-owned recordings. The former studio at East McLemore Avenue in Memphis was reopened in 2003 as Stax Museum of American Soul Music. But southern soul did not disappear with Stax. Al Green and another Memphis label Hi Records produced soul in the 1970s that was very similar to that of Stax a decade earlier. Furthermore, Aretha Franklin had a very successful run with soul with a southern flavour.

#### 5.3 Soul in New York City

Although New York did not develop soul with its own distinctive style, like it happened in Detroit, Memphis and elsewhere, it still has its position in history of soul music. The reason for it is that New York is the capital of the music industry and a home to a number of large record companies, one of which is Atlantic Records. Soul music at Atlantic started in 1952, when Ray Charles signed a contract with this company. Charles is a man of many honorary titles. His album titles called him The Genius, he was dubbed the High Priest of Soul and even his colleagues in music industry approved of these nicknames. Frank Sinatra called him the only true genius in show business and fellow musicians Bobby Womack said: "Ray was the genius. He turned the world onto soul music." His unique voice, together with passionate style of playing the piano and his image, underlined with trademark dark glasses, turned him into one of the most influential artists of modern music.

Ray did not have to wear dark glasses since he was a child. He started to lose sight when we has five and went completely blind by the age of seven. At that time he was living with his mother in north Florida, where he attended the St. Augustine School for the Deaf and the Blind. He discovered music before he lost his sight and with no eyes, he heard it all around him, in "the raw, emotional sounds of gospel music in the church, the jukebox at the general store that blasted out the blues, the boogie-woogie that the store owner would play on piano with the attentive young boy at his side." The

<sup>53</sup> Palmer, "The Sound of Memphis," in Illustrated History, 218.

<sup>54</sup> Soul Deep: The Story of Black Popular Music, "The Birth of Soul," BBC Bristol, 2005.

<sup>55</sup> Hal Jacobs, "Ray Charles (1930-2004)," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, May 15, 2003, accessed April 30, 2014, <a href="http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/ray-charles-1930-2004">http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/ray-charles-1930-2004</a>.

school is where he learned to read Braille and play classical music. When his mother died in 1946 he pursued the career of a professional musician, moving to Jacksonville and later to Orlando and Tampa where he played piano gigs in black dance halls. With these shows, he "learned the ins and outs of the state's biggest cities, played enough to build his piano chops, his entertainment moves, and his songwriting/arranging abilities."<sup>56</sup> In 1948, he moved again, this time to Seattle. There he met young Quincy Jones and also utilized his songwriting abilities for his first ever recording that resulted in "Confession Blues" that had a sound similar to Nat King Cole's music, who Charles tried to emulate. This song and the following "Baby, Let Me Hold Your Hand" climbed to top five in R&B chart and gave Charles national attention as well as money. Charles started doing drugs in Seattle, mainly heroin and was arrested three times during his sixteen-year long addiction. The addiction influenced some of his music after he went through rehab. First album he released after kicking the habit was "Crying Time" in 1966 and it has a song "Let's Go Get Stoned" on it. It seems as a song about smoking marijuana, but actually it is about gin ("When your baby won't let you in/Got a few pennies, a bottle of gin") he used to drink in large quantities after leaving rehab. It was his substitute together with marijuana. But his drug habit did not negatively affect his career, as he was able to beat the addiction. Additionally, Charles himself admits he made his best music while on drugs.

During his first years at Atlantic, 1953 to 1955, Charles started putting together his innovative sound that included gospel lines, structure, chords and the feel of gospel mixed with jazzy sounds and R&B.<sup>57</sup> This combination gave him his first number one R&B records, as well as accusations of being sacrilegious and doing devil's work. The hit song "I Got a Woman" was a result of Charles' effort to put together his new sound, which he failed to accomplish on previous recordings, but here he "removed himself from the polite music he had made in the past." That meant he was singing with wild, raspy baritone voice that could also scream and shriek in falsetto, both together in harmony and was accompanied by a seven-piece group of jazz musicians he put together. The combination of gospel with jazz and blues was well received and since it

<sup>56</sup> Gulla, Icons, 8.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>58</sup> Peter Guralnick, "Ray Charles," in *The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll*, rev. ed., ed. Jim Miller (London: Picador, 1980), 111.

worked, Charles repeated this pattern and transformed other gospel tunes into secular songs with "This Little Girl of Mine" (originally Clara Ward's "This Little Light of Mine" and "What Kind of Man Is This" by the Caravans), "Hallelujah I Love Her So" and "Talkin' 'Bout You" (originally gospel hymns). These songs sold well, even to white audience.

In 1955, Charles added an element that allowed him to create vocal calls and responses. The female trio the Raelettes recorded and performed with him since then, notably on the record "What'd I Say" from 1959. This song started as an improvisation at one of his shows after he ran out of material and the club owner wanted him to keep going. The audience responded in a very positive way and Charles reworked the jam into a commercial release. The original improvisation is present in the studio version as well, but in a way it does not "threaten the continuity of the song's gospel-derived metric and harmonic structure."<sup>59</sup> Similarly to "I Got a Woman", the song did great on R&B chart as well as on pop chart, which meant Charles crossed-over for the first time and also got him his first million-seller. Next to this, the song caused controversy as well. Some radio stations banned it for its sexual connotations and part of the black audience did not like the fact, that black gospel music was misused and marketed for the white audience, as the end of the 1950s was still a time of deep racial segregation and music, as a part of culture, was not always treated equally. One of the side effects of its popularity was that it popularized electric piano, "an instrument many in the industry teased him for playing."60

Later in 1959, Charles decided to leave Atlantic and accept offer from ABC Records that granted him both economic and creative freedom. With new record label he focused more on creating cohesive albums than just singles. He created traditional pop and R&B albums, jazz and instrumental jazz albums and helped to bring country and western music into mainstream with his production. He was a pioneer in this sense as it was "unheard of for an artist to combine those concepts, not only because it made little marketing sense, but also because few were even capable of it." He proved it is marketable, with a number of top 20 albums and even more high-charting singles. He

<sup>59</sup> Robert Palmer, "Rock Begins," in *The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll*, rev. ed., ed. Jim Miller (London: Picador, 1980), 4.

<sup>60</sup> Gulla, Icons, 13.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 14.

eventually returned to soul music, although it was not accepted in the same manner as his previous recordings, since the music climate changed much since "What'd I Say" and other genres and formats were popular. Ironically, it was him who in a way helped Motown and the British Invasion get so popular.

Unlike Charles who started his career at Atlantic, Aretha Franklin was a gospel singer in her beginnings. Her father was a popular black minister in Detroit and her mother was a gospel singer. She sang her first solo when she was 10 and it was in her father's church. Four years later, she went on a gospel circuit and her first album was released when she was 16. Although gospel music was around her all the time, she was no stranger to pop music either, as it was hard to avoid it in the radio and in the streets of Detroit. Her decision to pursue a career in pop world was influenced by the increasing popularity of former gospel singer, Sam Cooke. Besides, her father encouraged her to sing secular music, because he was a liberal man and knew the financial differences in gospel and popular music. She was in talks with Motown and RCA, where Cooke was recording at that time, but in the end she chose Columbia Records.

The management of Columbia wanted her to be another Nancy Wilson – a black singer popular within white people, so they gave her all the necessary training, producers and musicians, which also meant she did not need to accompany herself on piano anymore, and her repertoire consisted of jazz and pop tunes. This approach lacked direction and did not turn her into a hit maker and as the executives later admitted, "this nearsighted approach to her ability doomed her tenure on the label." Aretha was not comfortable in this position either and it is audible in her recordings. Sometimes the music does not support her vocals enough, at other times her vocal performance does not have the same strength throughout the whole song. But her time at Columbia gave her a vocal training and discipline, as well as musical versatility and knowing she will decide what she wants to sing. When her contract with Columbia expired, she was contacted by Atlantic's vice-president Jerry Wexler who offered her the opportunity to play her own material, accompanied by piano and with her sisters as backup vocalists.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 385.

<sup>63</sup> Russell Gersten, "Aretha Franklin," in *The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll*, rev. ed., ed. Jim Miller (London: Picador, 1980), 251.

Furthermore, Atlantic was where Franklin's favorite R&B artists such as Ray Charles and Ruth Brown recorded.

For her first session Wexler took her to FAME Studios in Muscle Shoals, Alabama, because Stax had put a ban on all non-Stax recordings, and they could not hope for a better restart of her career. The southern soul sound was popular at the time and its popularity did not skip Aretha and her first Atlantic release "I Never Loved a Man (The Way I Love You)" that became her first number one R&B hit and broke to top 10 on pop chart. The B-side on the release was "Do Right Woman, Do Right Man" that also went to top 10 and this two-sided hit exceeded everything she did with Columbia. And her biggest hit, "Respect", was yet to come. Although the lyrics does not differ significantly from Otis Redding's measured original, new production with her forceful performance turned the song into a statement of a strong woman who demands respect of her man. This attitude was in contrast with the sweet girl groups of the 1960s and it made the song a part of feminist movement and, inadvertently, it also "became a battle hymn for the civil rights movement."64 The song also earned her first two Grammy Awards in 1968 in R&B categories and became her best known song, in addition to being her first number one hit. The commercial success came naturally, with no intention to go pop during the production. Franklin was slowly becoming the most prominent representative of soul music, after the previous figures Sam Cooke and Otis Redding passed away.

While most soul and pop artists relied on two or three singles and built the rest of their albums around them, Franklin used the format of albums to showcase her versatility. Singles could be uptempo dance songs, while on slower ballads from her albums, such as "Soul Serenade" or "Baby, Baby, Baby", she could utilize her jazz experience. With the help of Jerry Wexler, she found her direction and gained focus with her first Atlantic album. Together they made 14 albums in eight years and Franklin released 5 more albums under Atlantic with different producers, such as Quincy Jones and Curtis Mayfield. Most of her Atlantic production was soul music with few exceptions – jazz album of covers "Soul '69" and live gospel album "Amazing Grace" which is not only her best selling album, but the best selling live gospel album as well.

<sup>64</sup> Gulla, Icons, 388.

The return to her roots "includes some of Aretha's best vocal work [...], it soars with the majesty that great gospel deserves."<sup>65</sup>

Her involvement with the civil rights movement was deeper than just "Respect". Both personally, as her family was often visited by Martin Luther King, Jr., and musically. She did not explicitly express her political views in every song, just when she felt the need to. And she did it on her albums of early 1970s that "speak to the inner depths of what was happening in America with far greater accuracy than any political manifesto of the period. [...] [Her music] testifies to the feeling of a community still holding on to a vision of possibility, but aware that the revolutionary moment may be slipping away."66 These albums also mark the end of a successful streak with the help of Jerry Wexler and her new material "became erratic and a bit bloated." In addition to losing commercial appeal, disco was on the rise in mid-1970s and all the soul and R&B veterans who chose not switch to the new sound suffered from it, including Franklin. Nevertheless, she overcame this period when she left Atlantic for Arista. With new environment came new energy, that produced more top 10 hits. Even though it meant rejuvenating her sound with pop and rock, Aretha Franklin is still the only Queen of Soul and one of the most praised singers ever, which was validated in 1987 when she was the first female inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame.

Another artist who had his best soul days at Atlantic was Solomon Burke. Same as Aretha Franklin, Solomon Burke was brought up in church. Not only as a singer, but a preacher and later a pastor as well. Due to his religious roots he refused to be called an R&B singer and rather called himself soul singer, being one of the first people to use the term soul music. Burke came to Atlantic shortly after Ray Charles left it and the company was looking for their next star. His first two singles at Atlantic were "Just Out of Reach" and "Cry to Me". Both went to top 10 on R&B chart and Burke put his gospel experience in them, which was nothing unusual for black singer. But both songs have a strong country influence as well. Few months later, Ray Charles elaborated on this combination of R&B and country on his "Modern Sounds" albums which attracted

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 390.

<sup>66</sup> Werner, Change, 122-123.

<sup>67</sup> Gersten, "Aretha Franklin," in Illustrated History, 253.

<sup>68</sup> James Porter, "Songs of Solomon - Solomon Burke Interview," *Roctober*, accessed April 30, 2014, <a href="http://www.roctober.com/roctober/solomonburke.html">http://www.roctober.com/roctober/solomonburke.html</a>.

wider attention. Burke's blend of black and white music, that features his strong voice and distinctive rhythm, predefined not only soul music, but early rock music as well.<sup>69</sup>

Burke had a number of high-charting R&B hits in the first half of the 1960s; however, he did not manage to gather a bigger pop following like his Atlantic colleagues Aretha Franklin and Wilson Pickett did. Although he is often overlooked, as he never had a top 20 pop hit, his influence on soul music in its early development is indisputable. His "smooth, powerful articulation and mingling of sacred and profane themes helped define soul music."

<sup>69</sup> Hatch and Millward, From Blues to Rock, 88-89.

<sup>70</sup> Ben Sisario, "Solomon Burke, Influential Soul Singer, Dies at 70," *The New York Times*, October 11, 2010, accessed April 30, 2014, <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/11/arts/music/11burke.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/11/arts/music/11burke.html</a>.

#### **6 Conclusion**

The aim of this thesis was to provide a record of the origins of soul music in the United States starting in the late 1940s with focus on the period of the 1960s and the most influential artists and the three most important record labels connected with this genre: Motown, Stax and Atlantic.

The thesis begins with the description of soul. The word soul itself has a strong connotation in African-American community as black jazz and gospel musicians were the first to use it in their fields. Gospel as a major influence on soul music gave it its vocal techniques and energetic performance. This is covered in subchapter 3.1. Some of the most known soul singers were formarly gospel singers who crossed over to secular music, e.g. Sam Cooke covered in subchapter 3.2, although they had to face allegations of being sacrilegious for singing originally gospel songs to mainstream audience.

Nevertheless, the popularity of this new style was growing fast and it soon replaced rhythm and blues as the biggest genre of black music, thanks to the record companies that put more and more emphasis on soul in their production.

The fourth chapter deals with the topic of civil rights movement. The first part with the history of the movement itself, while the second part is focused on the involvement of soul musicians. It is hard to segregate music and the artists had not only black fanbase, their music was popular among white people as well. Some of the singers hoped for a change, while others called for actions in their songs or through their attitude.

The last chapter shows that an idea and devotion together with patience was all the founders of the two biggest soul record labels needed. Their overwhelming success did not come overnight and although their run did not last for more than two decades, their music has its place in the history. Their fall was caused by the same thing as their rise – their unique sound which lost its appeal after years and they were unable to adapt to new trends. This did not happed to Altantic Records that released records before their soul years and did so after its decline until today.

#### 7 Resumé

Cílem této práce je seznámit čtenáře s vývojem hudebního žánru soul, který v současnosti stojí na okraji zájmu, ale moderní hudba z něj mnohé čerpá, a nejdůležitějšími interprety tohoto stylu, stejně jako s nahrávácími společnostmi, které nejvýraznější soul produkovaly.

Úvodní část práce popisuje soul jakožto žánr a slovo v anglickém jazyce, které se do něj dostalo skrze hudbu jazzovou a gospelovou a následně získalo důležitý význam v afroamerické komunitě. Gospel má nejznatelnější vliv na soul, který si z kostelů vzal hlasový přednes a techniky. Velká část soulových zpěváků byla ve svém mládí součástí sborů a této zkušenosti využili v kariéře v populární hudbě. Jedním z těchto zpěváků byl i Sam Cooke, jehož úspěch a sláva následně inspirovaly další k přechodu ke světské hudbě pro masy, jak popisuje část 3.2. Část 3.3 se zaobírá stylem soulu, který proslavil James Brown. Odlišné hudební postupy daly vzniknout funku, který se navíc stal i stylem bojovníků za práva černochů.

Bojem afroameričanů za lidská práva se zabývá čtvrtá kapitola, jejíž druhá část se soustředí na to, jak tohle hnutí ovlivnilo tvorbu soulových zpěváků. Mezi nejznámější písně ovlivněné společenským děním patří "A Change is Gonna Come" od Sama Cookea. Přestože texty soulových písní byly převážně zaměřeny na téma lásky, stále více interpretů cítilo potřebu vyjádřit se ke společenskému dění. Ať už ve svých textech nebo ve svých postojích a prohlášeních.

Závěrečná část je zaměřena na tři nahrávací společnosti nejčastěji spojované se soulem. Těmi jsou Motown z Detroitu, Stax z Memphisu a newyorský Atlantic. První dvě jmenovaná jsou známa díky svým odlišným přístupům k soulu. Soul z Motownu byl uhlazenější a typický svou silnou basovou linkou, doprovodnými vokály a používáním tamburín. V sedmdesátých letech se z něj vyvinulo disco. To v Memphisu a celkově na jihu USA vznikal soul tvrdší a více energický, hudebně založený na dechové sekci a elektronických varhanech. Tyto společnosti zažily svůj největší úspěch v šedesátých letech. Soul následně ztratil na oblíbenosti a Stax ani Motown se nedokázaly přizpůsobit novým hudebním směrům. To Atlantic vznikl už ve čtyřicátých letech jako label pro jazzovou a rhythm and bluesovou hudbu a s nástupem soulu začal vydávat i

hudbu tohoto žánru. Ray Charles pro Atlantic nahrál písně, které jsou považovány za předchůdce soulu a Aretha Franklin následně na přelomu let šedesátých a sedmdesátých zpopularizovala jižanský zvuk soulu i mezi bělošským publikem a její úspěchy z ní udělaly nejúspěšnější soulovou zpěvačku, královnu soulu.

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# 9 Annotation

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The main aim of the thesis is to provide a look at the development of soul music from its origins through the evolution into funk until its influence on modern music. It describes the style of the genre, how it was created and what were the largest influences as well as the productions of the most prominent soul artists and labels Motown, Stax and Atlantic. One chapter is dedicated to the role of civil rights movement in soul music.

#### Anotace

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Tato práce pojednává o vzniku hudebního žánru soul od jeho prvopočátků, přes evoluci ve funk, až po to, jak soul ovlivnil současnou hudbu. Popsán je žánr po hudební stránce, co nejvíce ovlivnilo jeho vznik a také tvorba nejvýraznějších soulových interpretů a společností Motown, Stax a Atlantic. Jedna kapitola je věnována hnutí za práva afroameričanů a vlivu tohoto hnutí na soulovou hudbu.