"Jazz for Myself"
WATANABE SADAO AND JAZZ IN POSTWAR JAPAN, 1945-1969

BY

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Abstract

The present thesis provides a historical analysis of the development of jazz in Japan with specific emphasis on the life and career of Japanese jazz musician Watanabe Sadao. Issues of race, culture and authenticity, as they relate to jazz, are discussed in reference to Watanabe's life and prominent career in both the U.S. and Japan during the period from 1945 to 1969. As well, this work serves to underscore the need for a critical reassessment of jazz as more than solely a musical genre, but also as an artistic expression imbued with rich social, cultural and historical meaning and significance.

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Introduction

The academic study of popular music has often been limited by the assumption that the sounds must somehow 'reflect' or 'represent' the people. However, as practice has shown, tracing the connection back from the music or song to the groups who produce and consume it is often a difficult if not futile task. The analysis of popular music reveals that there are, in fact, many levels of meaning having to do with music, lyrics, images and movement as negotiated by individuals within specific historic, social and cultural settings.[1] These levels can often act in contradictory ways.

More recently, identity politics and notions of cultural essentialism have made for more forceful arguments that, for example, only African-Americans can appreciate African-American music and that the globalization of music such as jazz is tantamount to cultural genocide.[2] In reference to the specific example of jazz, the question of cultural origins and authenticity has assumed greater significance as this music has proliferated and become a truly global phenomenon. Global manifestations of jazz are increasingly accepted or dismissed as inauthentic based upon their relative distance, geographically, racially, or culturally, from a shifting point of origin.[3]

In this regard, the influence of Western, and in particular American, culture on Japan since the turn of the century provides an interesting point from which to investigate the reception and interpretation of jazz in Japan. The cultural legacy of America has had a definitive and lasting impact on the social, cultural and economic make-up of the contemporary nation of Japan. Oftentimes, however, we fail to consider the cultural,

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[1] John Shepherd, *Music as Social Text* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991). pp. 174-85.

[2] Wynton Marsalis is one jazz musician who engages in claims of the cultural authenticity in jazz. For a discussion of national musical identities see Deanna Robinson, Elizabeth Buck, and Marlene Cuthbert, eds., *Music at the Margins* (London: Sage, 1991).

[3] See Joe B. Moore, "Studying Jazz in Postwar Japan: Where to Begin?," *Japanese Studies* 18, no. 3 (1998) and Joel Rudinow, "Race, Ethnicity, Expressive Authenticity: Can White People Sing the Blues?," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 52, no. 1 (1994)., who consider the issue of race, ethnicity and shifting notions of authenticity.

political and economic values that these cultural exports of the U.S. carry with them when they cross cultures. Indeed some scholars have gone so far as to suggest that jazz was utilized as a kind of ideological weapon by the U.S. State Department through its sponsored overseas tours during the 1940s and 1950s to supposedly reinforce U.S. 'democratic values' in Occupied Japan, and had a leading role in the cold war effort.[4]

A leading Japanese jazz critic, Kubota Jiro, has speculated on the appeal of jazz to the Japanese, and observes:

> Perhaps jazz is thriving in Japan as a form of intellectual snobbery. It is an American symbol, like chewing gum and chocolate. The diatonic scale has become more natural to the postwar generation than the pentatonic, and the young jazz fan's ears are really attuned to the modern sounds. Moreover, there is no stigma attached to an association with jazz, as there still is in so many areas in the U.S. I have never in my life been looked down on for my jazz work.[5]

Kubota's comments highlight several interesting points, first is his affirmation of the strong association of jazz and America for many Japanese and second, that jazz in Japan is somehow different from that of its American counterpart; that there is no 'stigma' attached to it in Japan.

Jazz had an overwhelmingly popular reception in Japan during the decades of the 1950s and 1960s as indicated by the numerous Japan tours by American jazz artists and the proliferation of jazz and popular music broadcasts on Japanese radio and television. However, the process and the extent to which the American cultural icon of jazz was established and entrenched requires further study and is part of the purpose of this thesis. The legacy of jazz in Japan continues to this day; Japan has become a regular stop on the concert itineraries of most popular jazz artists from Herbie Hancock to Wynton Marsalis. In the production sector, Japanese recording companies have made strategic purchases of numerous foreign jazz recording companies and their extensive recording vaults, most

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[4] E. Taylor Atkins, "This is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980" (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996). pp. 173-75.
[5] Leonard Feather, "Tokyo Blues," *Down Beat*, September 10, 1964. p. 22.

notably Sony's purchase of Blue Note in the mid-1980s. Foreign ownership by Japanese of American cultural industries, such as the film and recording industries, has been greeted with a great sense of fear and anxiety. As Japan's economy recovered and prospered after World War Two it became both the world's largest consumer and producer of jazz music. Despite Japan's dominant place in the world 'jazz market', the increasingly global appeal of jazz music, and the increasing numbers of talented and creative Japanese jazz artists, for the most part, Japanese jazz musicians remain glaringly absent from the ranks of international jazz stardom. There are exceptions to this rule, among them the big band leader, composer and arranger Akiyoshi Toshiko, avant-garde pianist Yamashita Yosuke, percussionist Togashi Masahiko and several of the younger generation of jazz musicians, like pianist Onishi Junko and guitarist Watanabe Kazumi. One of the most influential Japanese jazz artists associated with the emergence of jazz in Japan during the 1950s and 1960s, is Watanabe Sadao, the figure who is the focus of this thesis.

Watanabe Sadao, Japan's leading alto-saxophone export, has been an ambassador for his native homeland of Japan, jazz, and the musics of Brazil and Africa. His sound, and his career as a professional musician, result from his immersion in the American popular culture exported to Japan during the period of post-war occupation from 1945 to 1952. Following the war and during his formative years, Watanabe listened to swing, big band, rhythm and blues and bebop. He was first exposed to the raw gutsiness of R&B as an adolescent listening to American Forces Radio in Tokyo during the late 1940s. He later took an interest in the complex chordal structure and harmonics of bop which followed the decline of the big band era. Later in his career, and with the encouragement of bandleader Akiyoshi Toshiko, Watanabe left Japan to study and play music in the United States from 1962-1965. Unlike Akiyoshi however, Watanabe eventually chose to live and manage his career from Japan.

Watanabe Sadao occupies a seminal yet intriguing position within the Japanese jazz pantheon; that is to say, as a Japanese jazz musician his identity derives both from his ethnic

Japanese heritage and his training in and influence from American jazz music. Other scholars have argued that this is an incommensurable position, requiring many Japanese artists to formulate their own "authentication strategies" to overcome this apparent cultural paradox and legitimate their careers.[6] One way that Japanese artists have historically tried to authenticate their roles as jazz musicians has been by attempting to 'get to the roots' of jazz through travel, study and performing in the U.S.. Watanabe, like so many of his generation, was attracted to the products of American mass culture which influenced the foundation of his style, and continued to influence the trajectory of his career. Thus, one question to be asked is, what has been the impact of American jazz culture on Watanabe, and how has he used America as a point of reference for his own career?

This study presents the thesis that Watanabe Sadao, through his ethnic background and his assimilation of various jazz styles, challenges dominant notions of authenticity in jazz, and represents the need for a different approach in understanding his success and contributions to jazz. I argue that Watanabe exemplifies neither the 'authentic' nor the 'in-authentic' jazzman and instead serves to recontextualize the jazz idiom in Japan through a process of assimilation. Incorporating an interdisciplinary approach and drawing upon the disciplines of history, sociology, and music as a form of popular culture, this thesis aims to explicate the background for the development of Watanabe's individual musical style, and to explore its relation to the social and political climate of Japan during the late 1950s and the 1960s. Through this type of analysis I will discuss Watanabe's rise to icon status in the Japanese jazz scene, and consider his capacity in the evolution of the jazz scene in Japan. There will be particular emphasis on Watanabe's music and career as recounted by Watanabe

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[6] E. Taylor Atkins, "This is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980" (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996). Atkins argues that Japanese jazz musicians have historically formulated "strategies of authentication", which he describes as "attempts to replicate the exact sounds of American jazz and the social and cultural contexts in which jazz is produced".

himself in his 1969 autobiography *Jazz For Myself*[7], and his role in the development of the jazz movement in Japan.

Jazz has been a significant phenomenon of twentieth-century world culture. I set out to trace its social roots and history and the reasons for its extraordinary appeal in Japan, referring along the way to key musician both Japanese and foreign who were part of the changing world of jazz in Japan. It is not the purpose of this thesis to construct general theories or a 'sociology' of jazz per se. However, as I have found in my research, it is virtually impossible to look at the development of jazz in Japan without considering, however crudely, how it fits into the social framework of that nation, first as it set out on the path of modernization, and later through the hardships and injustices of war, into the ensuing decades of post-war rebirth and transformation.

A study such as this must be historical and sociological as well as musical in its focus, for the advent of the musical art form called jazz is part and parcel of social history. Whatever else it might be, jazz is a reflection and expression of the historical and social circumstances in which its creators and patrons lived and worked. Viewed from this perspective, Japanese jazz cannot be considered to be solely a form of musical expression, but must be seen as well as a music encoded with cultural and historical meaning. It is specifically how jazz was received, interpreted and expanded upon by Watanabe, his fellow musicians, critics, and audiences, which will be of great importance to the thesis. A primary purpose of this thesis, then, is to locate jazz culture in the broader context of Japanese society during the post-war years of reconstruction and rapid economic growth during the 1960s.

Further, this thesis has three related purposes: (1) to make use of the best of the work in English and Japanese which has been written on this topic; (2) to contribute to the

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[7] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969).

field of cultural/jazz studies; and (3) to begin to fill in the margins of an important section of world jazz and popular music history which has remained largely overlooked.

Chapter one provides the methodological framework of the thesis, presenting a survey of the existing resources available on the topic of jazz in Japan, a discussion of the study of jazz within a sociological context, and the importance and relevance of jazz studies in providing a unique historical perspective on contemporary Japanese society. I examine the historical symbolic links for the Japanese between jazz, American culture, and modernism, which, as I argue in later chapters, form a key consideration in understanding the rise and popularity of jazz in Japan.

In the second chapter I retrace a general history of jazz in Japan building upon existing sources to provide a portrait of this developing sub-culture during the postwar era. Beginning with the introduction of Western music during the Meiji Era, I construct a general history of the development of jazz in Japan up until 1969 when Japanese jazz musicians were becoming widely recognized abroad, the same year that Watanabe Sadao published his autobiography and achieved superstardom in Japan.

Chapters three, four, and five provide a comprehensive look at the life and career of Watanabe Sadao and his influence upon the stylistic and professional development of jazz in Japan through three key periods: (1) his early career after World War Two, (2) his time in the U.S. in the early sixties, and (3) his return to Japan and assumption of leadership of the Japanese jazz scene in the second half of the sixties.

The concluding chapter examines a number of highly problematic issues directly related to the study of jazz across cultures, and to the socio-historical specificity and distinctiveness which accompanies the evolution of jazz in Japan.

Through this discussion of jazz in Japan and the life and career of Watanabe Sadao, my intention has been to provide an accessible and informative scholarly work, appealing to a broad audience while at the same time contributing to the expanding genre of cultural and jazz studies.

Chapter One: Theory, Analysis and All That Jazz

Jazz can be and has been described as folk culture, as high culture, as mass culture and as popular culture. One of the reasons for the wide variance in the definition of jazz is the fact that in the approximately 100 years since its inception, jazz has changed with startling rapidity. There is a great difference stylistically and in terms of the variety between, say, the jazz of the 1920s and what we conceive of as jazz today. Not only has it developed into a basic idiom of popular music, but also it has in more recent decades matured into a sophisticated art music. In order to understand the uniqueness of jazz as a foreign element introduced to Japan, it is first necessary to find a working definition of what exactly 'jazz' is. To find a single definition that will satisfy all may indeed prove impossible and to embark on such an endeavor, which alone is the topic of numerous works, would prove pointless for the purpose of this thesis. What I intend to provide in this chapter however is a cursory description, what some have called a "recognition-model," of jazz and list some of the easily identifiable characteristics of the music.[8]

In this chapter I will consider a number of theoretical issues concerning the study of jazz in Japan, and establish the methodological framework by which this thesis approaches the topic of jazz in Japan. Specifically, I will be concerned with how race, culture and nation interact in the historical reception and development of jazz in Japan. Further, I will provide a survey of the literature available on the topic of jazz in Japan, highlighting those works of particular use to this research and providing a brief evaluation of those resources.

Popular culture, which I define as the everyday lived experience of ordinary Japanese, remains a vast and relatively uncharted territory. In an empirical sense it is safe to conclude that most Japanese spend great amounts of time in front of the television, listening to popular music, reading *manga* (comic books), and participating in other popular cultural

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[8] Eric J. Hobsbawm, *The Jazz Scene* (New York: Pantheon, 1993). p. vii.

activities. These types of leisure activities have not been adequately studied by social scientists outside of Japan.[9] Hence, of key importance in this thesis is the development of an understanding of jazz in Japan that takes into consideration the historical and social context of its creation and consumption.

Towards a Definition of Jazz

"If you have to ask what it is," Louis Armstrong supposedly said, "you'll never know."[10] Nevertheless, numerous critics, artists and fans have asked about jazz and defined it in countless ways, and there oftentimes remains as much contention as agreement on how to define this style of music. Indeed, the process of defining jazz is one which by its very nature has the power of inclusion or exclusion, and one which numerous artists and critics have utilized for this very purpose.

For example, by formulating a definition of jazz based upon the possession of particular racial knowledge or background, it effectively restricts access to jazz as a medium of artistic expression. This is precisely the ethnocentric definition that jazz critic Ralph J. Gleason asserted in his 1969 article "Can White People Sing the Blues?" Gleason writes,

> [T]he blues is black man's music, and whites diminish it at best or steal it at worst. In any case they have no moral right to use it.[11]

Accepting that jazz has developed from the same historical experiences of African-Americans that gave rise to the blues, this ethnocentric argument has been easily extended to the realm of jazz as well.

To many, jazz is purely a music of entertainment, which one might listen to for personal enjoyment. To these people it would perhaps be pointless to consider jazz music as

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[9] Richard Gid Powers and Hidetoshi Kato, eds., *Handbook of Japanese Popular Culture* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989).
[10] Lewis Porter, Michael Ullman, and Ed Hazell, *Jazz: From its Origins to the Present* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1993). p. 1.
[11] Gleason quoted in Joel Rudinow, "Race, Ethnicity, Expressive Authenticity: Can White People Sing the Blues?," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 52, no. 1 (1994). p. 127.

a serious art form worthy of scholarly pursuit, artistic recognition or respect. While some forms, particularly big band swing and dixieland have been used primarily as dance music or as entertainment, other jazz forms such as bebop, avant garde and third stream jazz have been classified largely as 'art' music. Still other jazz forms have been classified primarily as African American folk music, particularly those that incorporate a standard 12 bars blues progression.[12] The New Harvard Dictionary of Music, which some may call an 'authoritative' source, defines jazz as:

> An eclectic, expanding collection of 20th century styles, principally instrumental and of Black American creation. Swing and improvisation are essential to several styles, but only an emphasis on characteristic timbres spans all music called jazz, whether functional or artistic, popular or esoteric, instrumental or vocal, improvised or composed, 'hot' or 'cool'.[13]

This passage provides great insight on the dynamic nature of jazz.

Porter, Ullman and Hazell's comment in their introductory text on jazz that "What binds together the jazz of the twenties with that of the nineties is not the theories of the historians, but the beliefs and practices of the musicians. Perhaps one appeal of jazz is that it has a rich, available tradition, and yet it thrives on freedom and innovation."[14]

The emergence of jazz in the U.S. and the notion of America as the 'birthplace of jazz' have been well established, and are relatively uncontested.[15] Yet the persistent dissemination and diffusion of Western music in general, and jazz music in particular around the world has led ethnomusicologists and media and cultural specialists to probe more deeply into the appeal and the role(s) of this music within the intercultural realm. While the origins of jazz as a music that was created predominantly by African-American musicians

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[12] Lewis Porter, Michael Ullman, and Ed Hazell, *Jazz: From its Origins to the Present* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1993). p. 7-18.
[13] Don Michael Randel and Willi Apel, *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1986). p. 413.
[14] Lewis Porter, Michael Ullman, and Ed Hazell, *Jazz: From its Origins to the Present* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1993). p. 5-6.
[15] Lewis Porter, Michael Ullman, and Ed Hazell, *Jazz: From its Origins to the Present* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1993); Martin Williams, *The Jazz Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).

have been defined by jazz critics and historians, it has become increasingly difficult to identify contemporary jazz as a music performed primarily by African-Americans or even by Americans.

Today, jazz has come to comprise musicians and fans of virtually every age, race, sex and nationality, in the United States as well as Europe, Africa and Asia. This is particularly the case in Japan, where jazz has been historically well received and has reached remarkable levels of commercial success in recent decades. Yet the means by which jazz has been introduced, accepted by, and adapted to Japan, differ greatly from the development of jazz in America. As a music rooted in the culture of African-Americans and encoded with their struggles against racism, for freedom, tolerance and self-expression, the uniqueness of the jazz idiom as a foreign element in Japan emerges and becomes more apparent. Possessing these specific racial, political, social and historical implications, jazz then becomes a unique aspect of American culture to be adopted by the Japanese.

At the same time, when we acknowledge the development of a Japanese jazz sub-culture separate to that in the West, it also becomes apparent that this co-existing and dynamic form of jazz has gone largely unnoticed and undocumented in the West. What lies at the root of this seeming indifference towards jazz in Japan by Western audiences and critics?

The Sociology of Jazz

Jazz has only recently become accepted within academe as a field worthy of legitimate study. Since the 1980s jazz studies in general and jazz literature in particular have proliferated. There has been a steady increase in the production of jazz books and reissues, and more scholarly works such as dissertations and journal articles. Traditionally the realm of critics and fans, jazz has now begun to assume a scholarly dimension.

In order to approach these rather broad and general questions, one must initially consider some of the theoretical issues surrounding the study of jazz and culture. First is the

issue of jazz and sociology; deeply encoded in the music of jazz are long-standing historical issues surrounding race and ethnicity. How are these values reflected in the performance and reception of jazz in Japanese society, and how does jazz differ there from its performance and reception in the West? More specifically I want to focus on how Watanabe has negotiated and navigated these values in his own career. This is complicated by the broader issue of 'representing jazz'. Given historically shifting jazz paradigms, the idea of a jazz canon has become problematic.

That one can find Japanese musicians playing jazz in the middle of winter in the far northern reaches of the Japanese archipelago is nearly as amazing as the fact that this music emerged from the American south in the first place. In contrast to strictly musical considerations of jazz in Japan, my purpose in this thesis is to consider issues that relate to the larger social context of Japanese jazz. The question naturally arises as to why the Japanese are attracted to this style of music, which might appear on the face of it, in sharp contrast to many of our pre-conceived notions about what Japanese culture encompasses. We can certainly acknowledge that jazz is a powerful musical idiom that transcends cultural specificities, and reaches across cultures.

The social study of musical styles is by no means an overworked field, and the notion of a particular 'sociology of jazz' is a relatively new creation. During the 1960s, a number of pieces were written on the interaction between jazz and society in the U.S. Among these are Howard S. Becker's 1963 study, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*, Edward Harvey's "Social Change and The Jazz Musician," written in 1967, Charles Nanry's Ph.D. thesis, *The Occupational Subculture of The Jazz Musician: Myth and Reality*, and finally Robert A. Stebbins' 1964 study, *The Jazz Community: The Sociology of a Musical Subculture.*[16]

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[16] Howard S. Becker, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York: Free Press, 1963); Edward Harvey, "Social Change and The Jazz Musician," *Social Forces* 46, September (1967); Charles Nanry, "The Occupational Subculture of The Jazz Musician: Myth and Reality" (Ph.D., Rutgers University, 1970); Robert A. Stebbins, "The Jazz Community: The Sociology of a Musical Subculture" (Ph.D., University of Minnesota, 1964).

Sociologist Phillip Hughes, in reviewing the sociological literature on jazz, has identified key difficulties in approaching a sociology of jazz, which, while not specifically dealing with the issue of jazz in Japan, are important issues to consider. Hughes writes:

> I have attempted...to demonstrate the lingering influence of the appreciative (or "normative") attitude among sociologists. It seems that even when we aim for detachment, it is difficult to shake off the legacy of our socialization into the mythologies and mystique of jazz, which for most of us precedes our professional socialization. Hence are derived some of the romanticized notions about jazzmen still current. Not only does the sociological literature disclose subtle biases that inflect our theoretical stance toward jazz, it also reveals problems of a considerable magnitude in synthesizing the findings of particular studies into generalizations that may serve as productive guides for future research.[17]

The jazz world is a stratified world, a geographically differentiated world, and a world in the process of change. The problem for sociologists and cultural specialists alike remains how to extend findings from one stratum in one place and one time to other places and other times.

Finding the Meaning in Jazz: A Universal Language?

Oftentimes when we speak of culture, we use it as a general reference point, in the sense that culture is complex and covers a broad range of individual activity which represents some kind of trend and pattern. When dealing with contrast and comparison of cultures, such as this paper does in the case of Japan and the West, more specifically the U.S., we must be particularly aware of the discursive correspondences that have been, and are still being, developed between the U.S. and Japan, the 'West' and the 'Other'.

The importance of the arts in any given society cannot be emphasized enough; they embody a set of intellectual/aesthetic responses to ever-changing socio-historical conditions, and act as a repository for the values and beliefs of a people. Yet, in this age of late capitalism the traditional function and status of the arts have changed as culture itself has

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[17] Phillip S. Hughes, "Jazz Appreciation and the Sociology of Jazz," *Journal of Jazz Studies* , June (1974). pp. 92-3.

been commodified and turned into an export product that can be mass-produced, packaged, and sold in the global marketplace.[18]

Yet this notion of the arts as cultural artifact, often portrayed as stagnant and unchanging, has more recently come under fire. When considering the value of jazz as a cultural artifact, one cannot deny its African-American heritage and one is instinctively drawn to the notion of jazz as 'America's classical music'. But this notion is less convincing in the everyday practice of jazz performance and appreciation, and begs the question, how do we make sense of the obvious love of Japanese musicians and fans of this music? Who is expressing what when Sadao Watanabe plays Charlie Parker? When Nobuo Hara plays jazz-styled arrangements of Japanese folk songs at the Newport Jazz Festival?

The problem here is not just the familiar postmodern point that we live in an age of plunder in which music made in one place for one reason can be immediately appropriated in another place for quite another reason. The central problem is how race, culture and hegemony play into the relationship between Japan, the West and jazz.

Ethnomusicologist Robert Francesconi points out that:

> Music, as any other art form, does not exist in a social vacuum. The internal relationships of a musical composition acquire social meaning from the comparison of the composition as a whole to other compositions of a similar style or juxtaposed (in the case of avant-garde music) to compositions of a contrasting style, and, of course from the correlation the listeners make between the composition and events in their social environment. In this respect musical meaning opens outward from the "internal aspects of a composition to a socially constructed range of stylistic conventions."[19]

The meaning of music is never static; it arises from the interactions of many social and cultural forces across time and space. This process is further complicated by the ways

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[18] David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Cambridge, London: Blackwell Publishers, 1990). For an interesting discussion on the commodification and consumption of popular music with a global perspective, see Robert Burnett, *The Global Jukebox: The International Music Industry* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

[19] Robert Francesconi, "Free jazz and Black nationalism: A rhetoric of musical style.," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, March (1986). p. 37.

musicians and listeners themselves interpret and construct meaning for themselves. In this way meaning is not the same for all who produce and consume it, let alone for one person at different times or places.

The question of meaning in a music as abstract as jazz is perhaps one of the most difficult, let alone problematic, that one can undertake. More recently, the rise of identity politics has meant new assertions of cultural essentialism, more forceful arguments than ever that, for example, only African-Americans can appreciate jazz. When carried to its extreme, it leads to assertions that the 'globalization' of local sound is a form of cultural 'genocide'.[20]

Indeed, a major source of innovation in jazz is from experiencing and adapting music of other cultures. In 1989 Simon Frith made this observation:

> Popular music in the USA, the sounds that now echo round the world, were shaped by the powerless, by black musicians and poor white communities, by migrant tunes and rhythms coming in from Latin America and the Caribbean, by old forms being played back by new audiences. If nothing else, popular music study rests on the assumption that there is no such thing as a culturally "pure" sound.[21]

While certainly not the only source of innovation and change in jazz, cultural exchange in jazz is becoming more prevalent as it operates within an increasingly globalized space.

Signifying Jazz: Race, Nation and Jazz.

When considering the popularity and rise of jazz in Japan, one must realize that the appeal of this music goes far beyond simply its artistic or aesthetic quality, to encompass social values as well. E. Taylor Atkins, referring to his Japanese informants, has written that they "considered 'jazz' to mean more than a genre of music, but rather an entire culture, system of thought, and way of life that passively symbolized *and* actively induced the condition of 'Americanism.'...on the discursive level jazz had in the recent past been used to measure Japan's similarities to the modern world (as increasingly shaped by America's

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[20] For discussion of national musical identities see Deanna Robinson, Elizabeth Buck and Marlene Cuthbert, *Music at the Margins*, Sage, London, 1991.

[21] Simon Frith, ed., *World Music, Politics and Social Change* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989). p. 3.

cultural vision)."[22] Japanese commentators, such as Uenoda Setsuo, too, noted the semiotic, or signifying value of jazz as early as the 1920s. He writes:

> Jazz has come to Japan as part and parcel of the American civilization that has been pouring into the country with irresistible force. It is a product of the spirit that made present-day American commerce, industry, enterprise, engineering, philosophy and literature possible. Jazz was borne here on the mighty stream of American civilization with Oxford pants and soda fountains floating on its surface.[23]

Whether or not we agree with Uenoda's claims with regards to the origins of jazz is of little concern here. What is of significance, however, are the symbolic and discursive elements which the music of jazz embodies for so many Japanese who listened to the music, and associated with the 'jazz culture' specifically because of the music's signifying value.

Accepting that many Japanese acknowledge the foreign 'roots' of jazz, which then places the jazz subculture within an intriguing intercultural realm, how then do we begin to approach the semiotic value of jazz, and does this account in some part for the popularity of jazz in Japan? Further, how has this relationship between jazz and the U.S., real or perceived, affected the real-life experiences of Japanese jazz musicians?

Jazz in Japan has existed for the better part of a century now—almost as long as the existence of jazz as a musical genre in the U.S. However, jazz in Japan has arisen out of very different social and cultural circumstances from those of its U.S. counterpart. For this reason alone, one can expect that the symbolism and meaning associated with the jazz idiom and culture in these two countries has been historically, and will continue to be different.

In his provocative book on jazz history, *Reading Jazz*, David Meltzer notes in the introduction that "[t]he issue of racism is inseparable from the history of jazz as practice and culture in relationship to itself and the world outside it." Indeed, the issue of race has been central to jazz since its inception in the American south, and has been debated for decades

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[22] E. Taylor Atkins, "This is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980" (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996). p. 152.
[23] Setsuo Uenoda, *Japan and Jazz: Sketches and Essays on Japanese City Life* (Tokyo: Taiheiyosha Press, 1930). p. 31.

in the U.S.[24] This continues to be the case in Japan as well as the U.S. Attempts to discredit the 'authenticity' or 'validity' of Japanese jazz by western jazz critics and musicians in many ways mirror the racism and prejudice faced by African-American musicians decades earlier when jazz as a distinct style of music was first emerging in the American south. In fact many Japanese artists drew parallels between their marginalized position as 'Orientals' and that of African Americans. How does race play a role in the Japanese jazz subculture? Commenting on the notion of ethnicity and authenticity in jazz in Japan Atkins writes,

> Today, while there is considerable respect for the "progress" that Japanese jazz artists supposedly made in the 1960s, the authenticity of the music of that period is questioned because it is *not enough like American jazz*. Most of my informants regard the use of Japanese instruments, melodic scales, or folk songs as an annoying contrivance that is too distant from the "black" soul of the music. The marketplace reflects this prejudice: virtually all of the classic recordings from the heyday of "neo-nationalist" jazz are now out of print and unavailable. The jazz market in the 1990s thrives on the reissues of American recordings and on the proselytizing efforts by Japan's "young lions," the so-called Jazz Restoration in Japan, to return to the classic sounds and aesthetic principles of American jazz from the fifties and sixties. This is partially due to the fact that nostalgia is profitable in the jazz market in particular and in Japan's popular culture in general. But it is also because Japanese jazz musicians have yet to convince purity-minded audiences that their music is as "real" as any American's.[25]

The depth of understanding Japanese jazz fans and artists have about the implication of jazz as a cultural movement varies a great deal. It is for this reason that it is difficult to allocate with any precision the symbolic value that jazz in Japan might hold for a particular group. As a result of the increased commercialization of jazz in Japan, the music has cut across socio-economic boundaries and garnered a broad following further complicating the process of signification.

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[24] See Charles Hamm, *Putting Popular Music in its Place* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1995), particularly chapter one where he discusses what he calls 'The First Narrative of Authenticity', referring to the use of ethnicity and race in authenticating forms of popular music.

[25] E. Taylor Atkins, "This is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980" (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996). p. 18.

I would argue, however, that this same process of commercialization and resulting shifts in the signification of jazz and concepts of authenticity is occurring in America as well. Jazz as a musical art form is based heavily upon innovation and change, and just as the music changes stylistically across time, from ragtime to swing, from bop to fusion and so on, so too do the implicit and implied meanings of jazz shift. On the topic of authenticity and jazz, musicologist Charles Hamm writes,

> My point is not at all to dispute that the roots of jazz lie in African-American culture and that the best jazz musicians have been black, but to suggest that the argument that only a certain repertory played by certain black musicians is authentic, and that the genre has otherwise been subverted by media exploitation and the appropriation by inferior white musicians, distorts two aspects of the history of popular music: the critical role played by the mass media in the development of jazz and other genres by black musicians themselves, and the historical reality of repertories created by white musicians and accepted by contemporary audiences and performers as "jazz," even though these were stylistically different from the music of black performers.[26]

Hamm denounces the assumption that authentic expression by certain groups can be defined by ethnicity. The notion of a stable, authentic, isolated and culturally pure form of jazz has become highly problematic with global transmission and commercialization of jazz.

If we are to accept the argument that authentic jazz cannot be determined by ethnicity, and by extension nationality, then the question of whether Japanese musicians can play authentic jazz becomes irrelevant. Why then do commentators from both countries continue to be so preoccupied with the issue of authentic jazz? Atkins, suggests the following:

> In the end, the principal reason for this deeply-ingrained "authenticity complex" is the persistent system of beliefs in the fundamental and immutable racial and ethnic differences between Japanese and Americans, and intractable mentality that equates authentic jazz with American nationality and African descent, which has historically convinced Japanese

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[26] Charles Hamm, *Putting Popular Music in its Place* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1995). pp. 14-5.

> musicians that their own ethnonational identity impeded their potential as innovative, authentic jazz artists.[27]

Indeed this may well be the case why many Japanese to this day still look towards the U.S. either to validate their music or as a point of reference from which to substantiate its authenticity.

Jazz in Japan vs. Japanese Jazz

The difference between "Japanese jazz," and jazz in Japan is a key point that needs to be clearly differentiated. Firstly, this is an issue of stylistic differences, wherein Japanese jazz musicians have the cultural knowledge to incorporate into their music the scales, rhythms, and instrumentation of traditional Japanese music prior to the introduction of western music. Jazz in Japan, on the other hand, is a much more inclusive category, incorporating not only "Japanese jazz," but also the music of foreign musicians playing in Japan. Thus, when we speak of Japanese jazz, we engage a dialectic of power, wherein it is assumed that only a musician raised in the Japanese culture can play Japanese jazz, marginalizing all other attempts. According to Atkins, the attempt to define "Japanese jazz" in this way is one in a number of "authentication strategies" employed by Japanese musicians historically in an attempt to legitimize and differentiate 'their' music from 'ours'.

Yet the notion of a Japanese style of jazz based upon nationality and culture mirrors the same argument in the U.S., which argues for authenticity in jazz along similarly constructed racial boundaries. As has been argued earlier in this chapter, this type of definition based upon culture, ethnicity or nationality has become highly problematic, as the very concepts of race, nation and culture have come under attack as highly mutable, socially constructed categories.[28] The philosophy of a jazz drawn upon these lines, would then

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[27] E. Taylor Atkins, "This is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980" (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996). p. 22.

[28] Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995); Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Re-Inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation*, ed. Mark Selden, *Japan in the Modern World* (Armonk, New York: M.E.Sharpe, 1998).

confirm the existence of racial stereotyping and would seem to deny the ability of this music to communicate across national or cultural boundaries.

Authenticity is a term closely connected with identity, hence authenticity is not some innate property of music or musicians. Authenticity is a concept that has shaped the way we understand music, how we perceive it and talk about it. When the discourse of authenticity becomes refracted across national boundaries, as is the case with Japan and the U.S., it then begins to take on aspects that go far beyond musicological consideration and in the case of jazz, transforms it into a highly charged cultural icon. Jazz emerges as a common form of culture between Japan and the U.S. through which notions of national and cultural identity are challenged and formulated, and the point of reference by which Japanese jazz musicians have historically compared themselves.

I would argue that we need to turn from questions directed towards defining the essential and 'authentic' traces of identity in music, a question with which much nationalist and essentially racist folklore and ethnography is concerned, to the questions of how music is used by individuals, subcultures and societies in specific local situations. Issues regarding how jazz is used to erect boundaries, to maintain distinctions between us and them, and how terms such as 'authenticity' are used to justify these boundaries become of key importance when we begin to abandon notions of an essentialized jazz, a jazz whose sole point of reference is based in the African-American tradition.

The Study of Jazz in Japan

The history of jazz in Japan is long, yet it remains relatively undocumented in English. Jazz as a commercial entity is ever pervasive in contemporary Japan. Like other forms of popular culture, jazz permeates the mainstream through the media, festivals and concerts, film soundtracks and television commercials and programming. As early as 1946, jazz was being used in Japanese motion picture soundtracks, and was broadly heard on

television programming throughout the 1960s.[29] Still today, jazz artists such as Watanabe Sadao make popular television and radio appearances, decades after they first rose to fame. The biographical approach to jazz in Japan which this thesis undertakes, is one of many possible approaches to understanding the history of jazz in Japan. Previous research on the topic has focused on providing musicological and broadly historical approaches to the topic.

However, in the case of jazz, and especially in the case of jazz in Japan, there is often the difficulty of working only with what's available. "What's available" often has to serve as the cornerstone for a historical monument. When approaching the study of jazz in Japan, we encounter three primary difficulties: one, the lack of studies in English, two, the lack of material in translation from Japanese, and three, the lack of formal histories in either language. Much of the research assembled for this thesis has been gathered from previously conducted interviews, magazines, and the vernacular press. Yet this vernacular approach to research is very much in keeping with current trends towards incorporating popular cultural and mass media resources into academic work.

Jazz recordings also act as a kind of popular artifact, useful in their documentation of particular artists at particular moments in musical history. In Japan, one such recording has been accorded legendary status, the 1954 recording, "The Historic Mocambo Session '54." This album is considered one of the only musical documents about the modern jazz scene in Japan for the early fifties, and captures the early performances of such Japanese jazz notables as Watanabe Sadao, Akiyoshi Toshiko, Moriyasu Shôtarô, Shimizu Jun and Miyazawa Akira.[30] Yet one must also be aware of the potential biases presented by working with available recordings and discographys, for the process of their production is indeed a highly selective practice, as author and professor Krin Gabbard explains:

> From the beginning, discographers have been intimately and unavoidably involved with the work of canon-building. When Charles Delaunay published his first *Hot Discography* in 1938, he created a guidebook for

[29] Bob Downer, "Honorable Horn Men Play But Sour In Japan," *Down Beat*, May 6, 1946; Leonard Feather, "Tokyo Blues," *Down Beat*, September 10, 1964.
[30] *The Historic Mocambo Session '54* (Rockwell/Polydor: POCJ-1878/9, 1990).

> those who agreed with him that the music had more than ephemeral value. He was also committing an act of exclusion, declining to catalog certain performers from "race records," blues, ragtime, and dance music whom he considered to be outside the charmed circle of jazz.[31]

Gabbard's comments serve to warn us to the potential pit-falls of such exclusionary jazz projects which may serve to fetishize the recordings of specific musicians, rather than provide a broad historical inventory of music to the extent that that is an accomplishable task. It is often difficult to decide where the boundaries between jazz and other music should be drawn and which recordings by which artists should be included in the jazz canon. Furthermore, attention needs to be drawn to this kind of project which is necessarily grounded in debatable critical judgements. This issue is less problematic, however, for this thesis because it deals specifically with the body of work of one musician, Watanabe Sadao, who has been chosen more for the uniqueness of his career than for his contribution to the jazz canon.

While thoroughly removed from academic circles, jazz history in Japan can be charted through the various accounts of individual musicians, critics and fans. Of these, perhaps some of the best known accounts come from Iwanami Yôzô, Segawa Masahisa, and Uchida Koichi, three Japanese jazz critics whose works are published extensively within Japan.[32] Biographical works by Japanese jazz artists such as Watanabe Sadao and Akiyoshi Toshiko also combine to provide insightful first-hand accounts and important factual data of the development of jazz in Japan.

English-language sources on jazz in Japan begin principally during the era of American occupation of the late 1940s. With the exception of the authors of tourist and travel guides to Tokyo written during the 1920s and 1930s, it was foreign reporters writing for American magazines and newspapers who first provided a glimpse into the world of jazz

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[31] Krin Gabbard, ed., *Jazz Among the Discourses* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995). p. 9.
[32] Masahisa Segawa, *Jazu de Odotte: Hakurai Geino shi* (Tokyo: Simul Press, 1983); Kôichi Uchida, *Nihon no Jazushi: Senzen, Sengo (Jazz History of Japan: Pre and Postwar).* (Tokyo: Swing Journalsha, 1976); Shoichi Yui, *Jazu Rekishi Monogatari (A History of Jazz)* (Tokyo: Swing Journal, 1972).

in Japan. *Down Beat* is one such American magazine which began to run articles on Japan in the 1940s and has continued to do so up until the present. To date no books have been published in English that address the subject of jazz in Japan, although the publication of a book on the history of jazz in Japan by E. Taylor Atkins is imminent.

Among foreign scholars, the works of Sidney Brown, Elizabeth Sesler-Beckman, E. Taylor Atkins, and Joe Moore have in more recent years addressed the topic adding to the limited amount of English-language materials available on this topic. Dr. Sidney Brown is often credited with having pioneered the North American study of jazz in Japan during the 1980s and 1990s with a number of unpublished papers presented at various Asian history conferences. It is unfortunate that, with the exception of a German translation of his 1980 paper, *Jazz in Japan: Its Sources and Development, 1925-1952*, Dr. Brown's work has not been published, and made widely available.

Sesler-Beckman's 1989 M.A. Thesis, *Jazz is my Native Language: A Study of the Development of Jazz in Japan*, provides an interesting ethnomusicological study of the topic, contrasting the development of jazz in Japan with that in America. Starting from the position that jazz is a uniquely American musical style, Sesler-Beckman, building on the earlier work of Dr. Sidney Brown, presents a brief historical study of the introduction and development of jazz in Japan and investigates issues of creativity and self-expression as it pertains to the practice of jazz in Japan. Her thesis begins to depict the contemporary jazz scene in Japan, and introduces several famous Japanese jazz musicians, including Togashi Masahiko, Hino Terumasa, Sato Masahiko, and Takase Aki, all currently living and working in Japan. Sesler-Beckman's thesis draws on a broad range of materials, including interviews, musical transcriptions and secondary sources, and incorporates them into a general but useful study. However, it is limited to English language materials only, consequently missing not only important primary source materials, but perhaps also the perspective of key music critics in Japan.

E. Taylor Atkins has taken the subject one step further in his 1996 Ph.D. dissertation titled, *This Is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980.* In his study on the historical development of jazz in Japan, Atkins has compiled perhaps the most exhaustive bibliography on the topic outside of Japan, and the most comprehensive work in English on the subject to date. Working from both a historical and social perspective, Atkins delves into issues of authenticity, identity and nationalism in the jazz subculture in modern Japan, and posits it against the broader history of "modern Japan's attempts to reconcile a distinct national cultural identity and a persistent fascination with American cultural power."[33] More specifically, Atkins work attempts to debunk the myth of authenticity based on ethnicity in jazz, proffering instead a definition based in personal experience, discipline, imagination, and the artistic vision of the individual musician.[34]

What has been highlighted in this chapter are the oftentimes intense debates and multiplicity of discordant ideas concerning the study of jazz as a cultural and social practice. Does music present a ready-made vehicle for realizing a kind of politics of difference, or does it in fact act to enslave artists to predetermined paradigms of acceptance and authenticity serving to reinforce cultural stereotypes? What is the connection of race, ethnicity and symbolic values across the divergent historical and geographic development of jazz?

There are no simple answers to these and many other difficult questions. In fact the state of the field is such that the basic materials are not available to allow this thesis to approach these theoretical questions in more depth than to touch on them briefly. However, while my purpose is not to provide definitive answers, what is of crucial importance is the awareness it brings to jazz and popular culture as a site of struggle that not

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[33] E. Taylor Atkins, "This is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980" (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996). p. iii.
[34] E. Taylor Atkins, "This is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980" (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996). p. 40-1.

only can be won but also can redefine and rupture the institutional boundaries that separate artists and academics.[35]

This thesis represents an attempt to raise the general awareness of the presence of Japanese musicians playing within the idiom of jazz and serves to present a number of the theoretical issues surrounding such a project. More precisely, it provides a biographical study of Watanabe Sadao from the end of World War Two until he consolidated his personal jazz style and became a central figure in Japanese jazz at the end of the 1960s.

[35] Stuart Hall, David Morley, and Kuan-Hsing Chen, *Stuart Hall : Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies, Comedia* (London: Routledge, 1995).

Chapter Two: The Origins of Jazz in Japan

Although Japanese traditional music has a history of more than 1,000 years, it has only been about 100 years since Western music was introduced to Japan. Yet in spite of the limited time involved, the popular and classical music of the West has had an enormous impact on the aesthetic tastes of Japanese society as a whole, and changed the very foundations of Japanese musical composition, notation, and instrumentation.[36] The first Western music received in Japan was either based in the European classical tradition or performed by military bands. Soon to follow, however, was the popular music of jazz. Introduced to Japan around 1920, the rise in popularity of jazz in Japan coincided with a wave of Western influence during the Taisho period (1912-1926) which affected virtually every aspect of Japanese life from diet and housing to dress and entertainment.

Most would trace the present-day Japanese interest in jazz back to late 1945 or 1946, soon after World War II, when Japan was under occupation and the American occupying forces had brought with them their entertainment and culture. However, even well before the war, various forms of popular music, jazz, bluegrass, tango and Hawaiian music were commonly heard in urban centers, and by the 1920s had acquired quite a following.[37] The Japanese interest in American popular music of the time sprung up not very many years after it became available in the form of phonograph records and musical scores for the U.S. domestic market. While the availability of jazz was often quite limited and sporadic because of the scarcity of published musical scores as well as the exorbitant costs they would command, an enthusiastic crowd of listeners and musicians had been established early on that worked to ensure the survival of this music in Japan.

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[36] Mamoru Watanabe, "Why do the Japanese like European music?," *International Journal of Music Education* , no. 2 November (1983). For an interesting discussion on the impact of Western music on the musical traditions of the non-Western world see Bruno Nettl, *The Western Impact on World Music: Change, Adaptation, and Survival* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1985) and Richard C. Kraus, *Pianos and Politics in China: Middle-Class Ambitions and the Struggle Over Western Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[37] Setsuo Uenoda, *Japan and Jazz: Sketches and Essays on Japanese City Life* (Tokyo: Taiheiyosha Press, 1930).

In the decades since its introduction, jazz and other forms of Western popular music in Japan have undergone various attempts by the state to appropriate the music for its own nationalist ends, to wartime prohibition by the state which disallowed it as "the music of the enemy."[38] As in North America and Europe, jazz in Japan has been demonized and defended and ultimately revived and recreated through commodification and commercialization by media and advertising firms and their relentless pursuit of novelty and profit. The task at hand is to explain how jazz came to be introduced to Japan, and how it has evolved.

This chapter discusses the trends and events which combined to produce the development of a prosperous, yet nonetheless marginal, jazz subculture in Japan. In order to understand the development of jazz in Japan during the post-war period and its position in relation to Japanese culture and society as a whole, one must understand the historical context of this music in Japan. The Japanese reception of jazz is particularly interesting when contrasted with Japanese society's broader reaction to foreign interaction and influence during the same period, a reaction which has gone through a number of distinct phases. By locating jazz in relation to these phases, we are then able to piece together a better understanding of the historical significance, and relative popularity of jazz music in Japan.

To achieve this end, I have identified five key historical eras in the development of jazz during the period from 1920 to 1969; **1. The Dance Hall Era (1920-1937) – The Sound of Modernization, 2. The Prohibition Era (1937-1945) – The Sound of The Enemy, 3. The Swing Era (1945-1952) – The Sound of Democracy, 4. The Modern Jazz Era (1952-1961) – The Sound of Decline,** and **5. Domestic Jazz Era (1961-1969) – The Sound of Japan**. This periodization corresponds in part with my analysis of Watanabe Sadao's career in chapters three through five, and will provide a framework to

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[38] See E. Taylor Atkins, "This is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980" (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996). Chapter 4.

place his individual career within the broader historical context of the development of jazz in Japan.

I have chosen these dates for a number of historically significant reasons, which I shall elaborate on separately. I have chosen to begin my examination of jazz in Japan with 1920, as this year is generally recognized by experts in the field, Japanese and otherwise, as the introduction of jazz to Japan.[39] At the other end of the continuum, I have chosen 1969 as the date with which to conclude my study for several reasons. For one, this date coincides with the publishing of Watanabe's biography, a work that strongly served to entrench his position within the Japanese jazz pantheon. Secondly, it marks the consolidation of Watanabe's distinctive style, which he would generally adhere to from this time on. Thirdly, and for reasons less specific to Watanabe, the date is significant as it marks the start of a boom period for domestic jazz in Japan and coincides with the recognition of Japan as an economic and cultural power on the world stage.

Not surprisingly, in the decades since 1969 jazz in Japan has continued to thrive and evolve right up until the present, continuing to experience periods of growth, decline, stagnation and innovation. Such an undertaking as to document that evolution right up until the present day would no doubt be pioneering scholarly work, but it is well beyond the scope and requirements of this thesis. It is for this reason that I limit myself to the period from 1920 to 1969, and focus primarily upon the post-war career of Japanese saxophonist Watanabe Sadao.

The danger of broad generalizations is that they make it difficult to work within the type of framework which I propose in this chapter, for in certain circumstances such generalizations may fail to recognize the dynamic and overlapping nature of both artistic and social movements within and across these rather arbitrary classifications. To try and

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[39] E. Taylor Atkins, "This is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980" (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996); Takeshi Inomata, "The Course of Jazz (Popular) Music History in Japan," *Percussive Notes* 1984; Elizabeth Sesler-Beckman, "Jazz is My Native Language: A Study of the Development of Jazz in Japan" (M.A. Thesis, Tufts University, 1989).

construct a tried-and-true periodization of jazz in Japan may well be impossible, as jazz, true to its nature, is in a continuous process of change and adaptation. It is with this caveat in mind that I will nonetheless use a historical framework for analysis that draws upon the underlying musical trends at the time. Although I am aware of its intrinsic limitations, I nonetheless stress its necessity in order to approach the topic with some form and structure.

It is also important to note at this point, that while this historical framework is my own, conceptualized and grounded upon the events occurring within each jazz 'era', the information from which I have drawn upon is based largely on research conducted by scholars such as Taylor Atkins, Elizabeth Sesler-Beckman, Sidney Brown and others. Let us now look at each of these periods in greater detail, starting with the first of these eras I have identified as The Dance Hall Era (1920-1937). This was an era in which jazz was predominantly linked with state reforms directed towards modernizing and industrializing Japan's economy.

The Dance Hall Era (1920-1937) – The Sound of Modernization

Numerous sources have documented Japan's association with Western music as beginning in the late nineteenth century after 1868 when Japan came under new leadership and ended its nearly two hundred years of relative isolation from the West and embarked on an unprecedented program of Western learning and interaction.[40] In fact, it was Commodore Perry who forced the isolationist Tokugawa government to open Japan's ports for trade in 1853 and first exposed the Japanese to a Western military band. When Perry landed at Uraga he ordered his sailors to march to Edo, present day Tokyo, accompanied by a military band.[41]

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[40] Keizo Horiuchi, *Ongakushi (Music History)*, 30th ed. (Tokyo: Ongaku no Tomo Sha, 1973); Eta Harich-Schneider, *A History of Japanese Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973); Yoshihiro Obata, "The Band in Japan From 1945-1970: A study of its history and the factors influencing its growth during this period." (Ph.D., Michigan State University, 1974).

[41] Yoshihiro Obata, "The Band in Japan From 1945-1970: A study of its history and the factors influencing its growth during this period." (Ph.D., Michigan State University, 1974). p. 1.

Following the establishment of military service bands in Japan just before the turn of the century, commercial bands soon began to form. These bands were mainly supported by large department stores in Japan's metropolitan cities. For example, the Mitsukoshi Department Store Boys' Band was founded in Tokyo in 1909, around the same time the Izumoya Department Store Band in Osaka was also formed. These are considered the early precursors to jazz bands in Japan.[42]

According to these accounts then the musical predecessors to jazz developed at the end of the Meiji era and start of Taisho. Taylor Atkins comments in his history of jazz in Japan,

> The increasingly heavy traffic of musicians of various nationalities across the Pacific in the 1910s was central to the diffusion of American popular song forms such as ragtime and foxtrots. Starting in 1912 the Toyo Shipping Company (TKK) hired salon orchestras to entertain passengers on vessels departing Yokohama and Kobe for San Francisco, Seattle, Hong Kong, Manila, and Shanghai. When in American ports, Japanese musicians learned as much as they could about the latest American music, attending dance parties and concerts, collecting instruments and sheet music, and receiving instruction in ragtime and dance music directly from American musicians.[43]

By 1918 many Japanese musicians had started traveling to America; and it was around this time too that American popular dance was imported as well. 1920 saw the opening of Japan's first dance hall, the Kagetsu-En in Tokyo complete with a full-fledged jazz band and the introduction of the first drum set.[44]

The Kanto Earthquake of September 1, 1923 caused widespread disaster to the city of Tokyo. In consequence much of the music and entertainment industries that had existed shifted to the Osaka/Kansai region rather abruptly.

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[42] Yoshihiro Obata, "The Band in Japan From 1945-1970: A study of its history and the factors influencing its growth during this period." (Ph.D., Michigan State University, 1974). p. 9.
[43] E. Taylor Atkins, "This is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980" (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996). p. 51.
[44] Takeshi Inomata, "The Course of Jazz (Popular) Music History in Japan," *Percussive Notes* 1984. p. 49.

The jazz that was popular in Japan before the Pacific war generally did not include improvised music, and was more of an arranged and stylized dance music whether the music played was inspired by white or African-American musicians. As Inomata Takeshi explains:

> The jazz musicians in the Kansai area played a very active role. Among them, Fumio Minamizato (trumpet), Teruo Niino (sax), Matashi Taniguchi (trombone) and Toyosaburo Yamaguchi (drums) played Dixieland jazz, plus dance music. The representative pieces were *Alexander's Ragtime Band, Whispering, Dardanella* and *Smile.* Those musicians were under the influence of Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, and Benny Goodman.[45]

In the minds of many Japanese, the new urban, mechanized and industrial lifestyle that was gradually appearing throughout the Meiji and Taisho Eras was seen as part of a desirable trend of modernization sweeping the civilized world. Jazz was simply part and parcel of the new urban soundscape. Shortly after the beginning of the Showa era in 1926, Uenoda Setsuo captures the atmosphere in his 1930 essay "Japan and Jazz." Uenoda writes:

> Japan is jazz mad. A messenger boy on his bicycle sings a jazz song as he goes about his errands. A maidservant hums one over the drab routine of housework. So the Student, office worker and the rest of the young men and women of the land, who have songs in their hearts to sing, sing jazz songs or talk in that vein. It has practically become everybody's business to know something of jazz in order to keep in touch with the spirit of the times.[46]

Dance halls and cafés proliferated, and indicated the rise of an increasingly prosperous and sophisticated urban population with newfound income and leisure time. The dance hall craze led to rapid growth in the entertainment industry and provided numerous jobs, particularly well paying ones for musicians. It has been estimated that between 1927 and 1935 eight major dance halls opened in Tokyo, two in Kawasaki, six in Yokohama, three in Saitama, fourteen in the Kansai region of Osaka, and seventeen in Japanese territories

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[45] Takeshi Inomata, "The Course of Jazz (Popular) Music History in Japan," *Percussive Notes* 1984. p. 49.

[46] Setsuo Uenoda, *Japan and Jazz: Sketches and Essays on Japanese City Life* (Tokyo: Taiheiyosha Press, 1930). p. 30.

abroad.[47] The dance hall and the jazz music that had made it popular were clearly successful and profitable endeavors which had become well established in key urban areas of Japan.

Ethnomusicologist William Malm has commented on the strong emphasis on teaching American songs, rather than traditional Japanese music, in the wake of Meiji Era Westernization. His comments can well be applied to the proliferation of jazz and other popular American musics in later eras.[48] While private organizations and clubs supporting traditional music forms continued to exist, the public school system adopted Western music so completely that it left little time for young Japanese students to study their indigenous music. Ironically, the appeal of jazz in Japan, at least during the early years of its introduction, was due in large part to its association with the West and 'modernity' rather than any perceived artistic or aesthetic quality the music might have had.

The strong association of jazz and American culture had become firmly entrenched in the minds of many Japanese. However, it was a very selective style of jazz that many Japanese adopted. The point has been made by Sesler-Beckman, Brown and others that the jazz styles admired in the pre-war years were often a 'white-jazz' or 'soft' jazz rather than the music associated with early African-American improvisers:

> In pre-war Japan the music of which we speak was less our current conception of jazz than 'popular dance music influenced by jazz.' Paul Whiteman, who played popular dance music with a jazz orientation, was mentioned more frequently as an inspiration than was Louis Armstrong.[49]

The cultural transformation which Japan was undergoing during the early part of the century was occurring as Japan became more exposed to Western ideas and technology. Alongside such emblems of the West as parliamentary government, trains, and western dress, jazz too became an important symbol of the West.

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[47] Uchida quoted in Atkins, *This is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980.* P.103.
[48] William P. Malm, "The Modern Music of Meiji Japan," in *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, ed. Donald H. Shively (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971). p. 265-74.
[49] Brown quoted in Elizabeth Sesler-Beckman, "Jazz is My Native Language: A Study of the Development of Jazz in Japan" (M.A. Thesis, Tufts University, 1989). p. 65.

The Prohibition Era (1937-1945) – The Sound of The Enemy

Following the period of incredible popularity for jazz in the 1920s and 1930s came a period where the music came under fire by a growing contingent of fervent nationalists for its connection to Western culture. It was during the Showa era that jazz and other forms of popular western music came to be considered unpatriotic and were thought to erode the Japanese sense of unity, spirit, and love of country. This resulted in a period of decline for jazz musicians and fans, during which many musicians were forced to adapt their music to conform to 'official government guidelines' on music, or flee the country to other territories such as Shanghai in order to continue their activities.[50]

The overwhelmingly popular reception of jazz in Japan was not unproblematic, and drew increasing attention and criticism by social conservatives in Japan as time went by. The growing nationalist sentiment of the late 1930s and early 1940s seized squarely upon jazz artists and venues, first with heavy-handed harassment tactics and later the eventual declaration of jazz as the "music of the enemy." With the National Spiritual Mobilization campaign of 1937 and the National Mobilization Law in 1938, the Japanese Government had finally been afforded the powers to curb the performance of jazz.[51] This eventually led to the complete prohibition of over one thousand American and English songs, including most jazz music, and the prohibition of the live performance and recordings of the designated jazz songs in January 1943.[52] The tendency for the nationalists was to view jazz as a decadent foreign music, morally harmful to the throngs of Japanese youth who had by now acquired a seemingly unquenchable thirst for the music and the dance hall environment.

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[50] For a popular post-war Japanese musical based on the experiences of Japanese jazz musicians in prewar Shanghai see, Ren Saitô, *Shanhai Bansukingu (Shanghai Advance Kings)* (Nippon Eiga: Nippon Eiga), Video.

[51] Thomas R. H. Havens, *Valley of Darkness: The Japanese People and World War Two* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1978). pp. 13-4.

[52] E. Taylor Atkins, "This is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980" (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996). p. 149.

Japanese jazz musicians responded to the censorship of their music often by opting to stop playing the music entirely or by choosing to leave Japan for other territories where they could continue playing jazz uncensored. During this period many musicians made their way to Shanghai to practice their profession openly. Other responses by jazz musicians included conscious attempts to indigenize the music and develop a uniquely Japanese jazz. According to Sesler-Beckman, in the late thirties and early forties Sugi Kotaro pioneered the adaptation of Japanese melodies and instruments in the context of popular and jazz music.

> [Sugi Kotaro] sometimes used Japanese themes. "Haruzame"[sic] is one of them I remember that he arranged as a jazz song. He sometimes used Japanese instruments. He has the koto, somebody's playing jazz on the koto in one of his arrangements. And that was the way he tried to get around the charge that this was really foreign music.[53]

While there certainly were musicians during the 1930s who had national interests at heart when creating and playing jazz with a Japanese aesthetic, such as those incorporating folk songs, many more sought this style of jazz only as the means to maintain their way of life while evading the attempts at control by cultural nationalists.

> Unlike many contemporaneous artistic, theatrical, and literary movements, which rejected Western-derived form as vehemently as they objected to "Western content," the creative agenda of the jazz community never entailed a wholesale rejection of American music, nor a resistance to its dominance...Their work depended on stimulation from a variety of musical sources from East and West...Rather, they suggested the possibility of a melding of American form with Japanese content.[54]

Nonetheless, the music of these 'jazz nationalists' often failed to appease the government and right wing groups, and jazz fell into a period of repression and decline. By the late 1930s jazz had become so firmly entrenched in the lives of many young Japanese that it was no easy task to purge it entirely. In fact, jazz and other popular musics were kept alive by the government as both a tool for propaganda and a tool for the spiritual mobilization of

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[53] Brown quoted in Elizabeth Sesler-Beckman, "Jazz is My Native Language: A Study of the Development of Jazz in Japan" (M.A. Thesis, Tufts University, 1989). p. 69.
[54] E. Taylor Atkins, "This is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980" (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996). pp. 125-6.

the people. Wartime jazz songs such as Hattori Ryôichi's "I Love Japan" stand as testimony to this nationalist influence in Japanese jazz.[55] But it would not be until the years following the war that jazz in Japan would be reestablished to its former levels of popularity during the 1930s.

The Swing Era (1945-1952) – The Sound of Democracy

The third era identified begins after Japan's surrender at the end of World War Two, and roughly encompasses the period of the Allied Occupation in Japan. The Swing Era (1945-1952) witnessed the revitalization of the domestic entertainment industry in Japan and yet another jazz boom. The popularity of jazz music revived due in large part to the entertainment demands of the Occupation army, and the removal of the rigid controls on its performance in Japan as part of the reforms initiated by the Occupation government.

Upon the unconditional surrender of the Japanese to the Allied Forces in 1945, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Forces and General of the Army, Douglas MacArthur, set up his general headquarters in Tokyo, and was given executive occupation authority. He directed the efforts of his administration along two main lines: demilitarization, and the implementation of long-range democratic reform with political, economic, and social objectives. It was during this period that the wartime prohibition on western music was lifted, and a jazz revival began.

Immediately after World War II the life of the Japanese people was in turmoil. Food shortages, unemployment, and inflation were prevalent. Ex-military bandsmen as well as musicians returning from overseas were also seeking jobs as they too, were now struggling among the swollen ranks of the unemployed. A small percentage were fortunate enough to find jobs playing jazz and dance music at Japanese clubs, hotels, theaters, and restaurants, the kind of music which had been banned during the war. With the establishment of the occupation forces in Japan, demand for entertainment venues increased

[55] E. Taylor Atkins, "This is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980" (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996). p. 165.

rapidly and both small and large American style jazz and dance bands mushroomed throughout the major cities of Japan. Many Japanese jazz musicians enjoyed a lucrative income, especially at places frequented by the soldiers of the occupation forces.

While Japanese jazz musicians had been released from the wartime restrictions and censorship that had been placed upon their music, there was a new dynamic at hand. Atkins explains:

> With defeat at American hands came a much deeper sense of Japanese inadequacy in the realms of politics, economics and culture, a feeling that was not conducive to creative self-assertion. After the war jazz musicians were hired by the hundreds to entertain American troops who wanted to hear familiar sounds from home. Mastery of American models thus became crucial to Japanese musicians' survival.[56]

Ironically, it was the liberating and democratizing force of the Occupation forces which served to stifle many of the creative and innovative impulses of Japanese jazz musicians. Now, perhaps more than ever, the Japanese felt compelled to strive for American-defined styles of jazz and musical standards. The sense of inadequacy that the many Japanese must have felt after their defeat was certainly emphasized in the realm of jazz, as the following passage written in 1946 by an American reporter reveals:

> A fairly typical band is the "Riverside Swingers,"...[the musicians] sit in a single row at the edge of the band platform. They all sit forward on their chairs, looking as nervous as amateur poker players. They appear to be in constant fear that they will play the wrong note, and their fears are definitely not groundless. The drummer, on the other hand, sits behind the band and plays in a more relaxed, more or less careless, manner...Though the band tries hard at times, rhythmically and melodically they can't rate with American high school bands.[57]

Jazz overseas was reeling on the heels of the bebop revolution led by American musicians like Dizzy Gillespie (trumpet), Kenny Clarke (drums), Charlie Parker (alto-saxophone) and others. Defined as a 'progressive jazz', bebop focussed on small band jazz,

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[56] E. Taylor Atkins, "This is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980" (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996). p. 166.
[57] Bob Downer, "Honorable Horn Men Play But Sour In Japan," *Down Beat*, May 6, 1946.

reemphasizing the importance of improvisation after a swing era which often stressed ensemble work.[58] Japanese artists began to follow suit around 1948, organizing their own bands to play bebop.

There were a number of outstanding musicians in the American occupation army, and performances and lessons with them benefited the Japanese musicians. An American officer, Japanese-American Jimmy Araki, had been studying bebop before being drafted to serve in the Army and is often considered a benefactor of postwar jazz in Japan, teaching the theory of bop to Japanese musicians during the late 1940s.[59] Hampton Hawes, another American serviceman, was a pianist who was stationed in Yokohama during the occupation as the leader of the 289th Army Band. In his autobiography Hawes recalls a particular night he visited the Harlem Club in Yokohama, where he first heard the young and aspiring bebop pianist, Akiyoshi Toshiko; "that little chick in a kimono sat right down at the piano and started to rip off things I didn't believe, swinging like she'd grown up in Kansas City."[60]

The period between 1945 and 1952 saw re-emergence of a thriving jazz scene in Japan. Japanese jazz musicians prospered during the late 1940s playing primarily for American military audiences during the occupation, but by the early 1950s they began playing to a growing domestic audience. The popular Japanese jazz magazine *Swing Journal*, which is still in publication today, was established in 1947 as a thin journal of less than 50 pages, but quickly became a key source for disseminating information on the domestic jazz scene. *Swing Journal,* a monthly serial, eventually grew into a major publication of several hundred pages covering almost every aspect of jazz. The journal's format included photo essays covering artists and events, in addition to essays, record reviews of European, American and Japanese releases, and informative editorials and roundtable discussions. Closely modeled after *Downbeat*, its American counterpart, *Swing Journal* nevertheless has

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[58] Lewis Porter, Michael Ullman, and Ed Hazell, *Jazz: From its Origins to the Present* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1993). p. 189.
[59] Takeshi Inomata, "The Course of Jazz (Popular) Music History in Japan," *Percussive Notes* 1984.
[60] Hampton Hawes and Don Asher, *Raise Up Off Me* (New York: Da Capo, 1972). p. 63.

provided much more extensive coverage of jazz activities occurring around the world. As well, in 1948 Japan's first bebop band, Matsumoto Shin's Ichiban Octet, was formed, soon followed by other bebop groups like Ebihara Keiichiro's CB 8, and the Gramercy 6. Most of the leading groups of the late 1940s and early 1950s were swing and dance bands like Raymond Conde's Gay Septet and Watanabe Hiroshi's Star Dusters, or small combos appealing to a youthful Japanese audience with "hot" swing styles like the Big Four or smooth "cool" styles like the Six Joes.[61]

As with the earlier Dance Hall Era, during the Occupation Era we again see the Japanese affinity for American popular culture and jazz. The presence of musicians among the American occupation troops was key to the introduction and development of modern styles of jazz such as bebop to Japan.

The Modern Jazz Era (1952-1961) – The Sound of Decline

While the period of the occupation set the foundations for the rebirth of the jazz in Japan, it was during the mid to late 1950s that jazz worldwide began to feel the repercussions of the bebop revolution and the influence of the newly established popular music of American rock and roll. The Modern Jazz Era (1952-1961) bore witness to a general decline in both the number of live performances and popularity of jazz music in Japan. This was due to a number of factors including the rise of other forms of popular music such as rock-a-billy and rock and roll, the rise of the 'third stream', a type of music combining jazz and classical music in varying degrees, as well as the increased intellectualization of jazz which resulted in a shift in demographics of the average listener, both in Japan and America. One should note also that the technological innovations of this era, such as improved phonograph technology and expanded radio programming of jazz and popular music, were also significant in making jazz more accessible than ever before.

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[61] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). pp. 206-7.

During the period between 1952 and 1954 Japan witnessed what is often referred to as the first "unprecedented jazz boom" (*kûzen jazu bûmu*). This coincided with the first postwar appearances of American jazz artists such as the Gene Krupa Trio in April of 1952 and Jazz at the Philharmonic in November 1953 featuring Oscar Peterson, Ella Fitzgerald, and others. Krupa, who had originally been the drummer with Benny Goodman's band, recorded his hit song "Drum Boogie" for the Victor recording company in 1952 and was the first of a stream of American artists performing in Japan in the decades to come.[62] With Krupa receiving accolades like 'it was the most tremendous thing I've ever experienced' and with stories detailing the incredible hospitality received from adoring mobs of Japanese fans, the interest of other American jazz groups was piqued leading many more to travel to Japan in the 1950s. Indeed, Japan was portrayed in a 1952 issue of *Down Beat* magazine as a nation of people 'starving for American jazz', with 'gigs galore', and 'free beer and towels'.[63] The JATP tour of 1953, organized by Norman Granz, was the next group of artists to follow Krupa's lead, and it too was both critically and commercially well received by the Japanese public.

Although American writers reporting on Japanese were much kinder in their reviews than during the preceding decade, the comparison to American musicians was still integral to evaluation of Japanese artists:

> Not only are the Japanese listening intently to jazz these days, they're playing it. The group heard many excellent musicians including a tenor man called Sleepy "who sounds just like Stan Getz," a girl pianist who plays like Shearing, another who is in the Bud Powell idiom, and so on down the line. They're still at the stage of copying, rather than creating says Ventura, "but they sure can swing."[64]

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[62] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969).
[63] Jack Tracy, "'Greatest Welcome Since Goodman Era' For Gene Krupa Trio Japanese Tour," *Down Beat*, June 18, 1952.
[64] Jack Tracy, "'Greatest Welcome Since Goodman Era' For Gene Krupa Trio Japanese Tour," *Down Beat*, June 18, 1952.

Most Japanese jazz musicians did not object to these comparisons, viewing them as complimentary rather than patronizing. It was evident that many Japanese jazz musicians continued to feel that they were behind their American counterparts, believing perhaps that they lacked the technical ability to play jazz well and leading them to aggressively study and apply the musical techniques and styles of popular American musicians. Indeed, for artists like Watanabe Sadao and Akiyoshi Toshiko, being referred to as the "Japanese version" of their American jazz idols was tantamount to professional success for them at the time.[65]

Beginning in 1956, and continuing until the late 1950s, the Japanese recording company King released a collection of LP's titled the King Jazz Series, which featured Japanese artists. It was well received by jazz audiences in Japan, and was even distributed overseas. Taylor Atkins writes,

> Excitement over the King Jazz Series reached its zenith when King sealed a distribution agreement with the London Records subsidiary of Britain's Decca Company. With the imminent introduction to the world of jazz "made in Japan", a few critics gradually began to use the word "Japanese Jazz" (*Nihonteki jazu*) to describe the contents of the King LP's, believing that, for better or worse, there was something essentially different about Japanese jazz.[66]

However, in spite of these attempts to raise the stature and awareness of jazz in Japan, its popular appeal waned in favor of other forms of music in Japan. In Japan, as in the U.S., a definite shift had occurred from jazz to other forms of popular music. As jazz itself moved towards bebop and away from its previous orchestral, swing and dance music, the venue where jazz was performed changed to a smaller more intimate club, impacting greatly upon its accessibility and appeal to the average Japanese fan.

The main audience for jazz in Japan came from the large number of U.S. servicemen who were either stationed in Japan during the occupation, or who were there on R&R (rest and relaxation) from the Korean War. With the progressive demobilization of U.S. forces

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[65] Watanabe was often referred to as the "Japanese Charlie Parker", while Akiyoshi was "Bud Powell."

[66] E. Taylor Atkins, "This is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980" (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996). p. 200.

from Japan in the mid-fifties, there was a significant impact on the demand for jazz as the primary patrons of the dancehalls and jazz clubs left the country. Only gradually did a Japanese audience come into existence that was large enough to support a wide array of jazz styles and provide work for the large numbers of musicians who had rather quickly become unemployed at the end of the occupation.

Also contributing to the general decline in jazz was the fact that during the latter half of the 1950s, Japanese jazz lost a number of its most talented stars. Moriyasu Shôtarô, who was considered Japan's most promising bebop pianist, ended his life abruptly at age of thirty-one, committing suicide by throwing himself in front of a commuter train at Tokyo's Meguro station on September 28, 1955.[67] The next year, Akiyoshi Toshiko left Japan and her group, the Cozy Quartet, to study at the Berklee School of Music in Boston.

Ironically, it was the same small clubs and *jazu kisa* (jazz coffeeshops) to which jazz retreated during its period of decline in the late 1950s, that would provide the fertile venues for a new generation of jazz musicians, and a new form of jazz that would emerge in the 1960s.

The Domestic Jazz Era (1961-1969) – The Sound of Japan

Along with Japan's tremendous economic gains during the 1960s, there was again a strong surge of interest in jazz, first foreign, and later domestic. This is witnessed by the numerous American artists touring Japan starting with Art Blakey in 1961. Later in the decade, domestic jazz again captured the interest of Japanese fans with the growing popularity of Japanese musicians such as Watanabe Sadao and Hino Terumasa as they became jazz stars on the international level. The Domestic Jazz Era (1961-1969), saw a staggering expansion of the range and diversity in the styles of jazz performed, along with the development of a number of jazz and popular music schools within Japan. It was also a

[67] Akira Miyazawa, "Moriyasu Shôtarô no shi wo itamu (Grieving the Death of Shôtarô Moriyasu)," *Swing Journal*, November 1955.

time when Japanese artists like Watanabe Sadao were beginning to experience success and recognition abroad, and, upon returning home, popular reception as well.

As in the earlier eras, Japanese jazz musicians and fans were still looking towards the U.S. for inspiration and approval. This was observed by writer Leonard Feather, who visited Japan in 1964 to attend the first World Jazz Festival in Tokyo:

> The story behind this stampede goes back to the 1950s and the first two years of the '60s. A few of the earlier visitors (Jazz at the Philharmonic, Louis Armstrong, Art Blakey) had toured Nippon profitably. The sweet smell of success was sniffed by a half-dozen rival Japanese promoters, all of whom wound up begging U.S. booking agents for jazz attractions. By 1963 U.S. jazzmen were the objets d'art in a million-dollar auction sale.[68]

This foreign jazz boom (*rainichi bûmu*) continued for at least the first half of the decade, until a number of highly publicized incidents involving drugs and jazz musicians such as Tony Williams, Elvin Jones and Miles Davis, placed foreigners in a rather undesirable light. In response to this and the competition the foreign musicians posed for Japanese musicians, the Japanese Government quickly became much more reluctant to allow foreign musicians to tour Japan.[69] After 1965, with the triumphant return of Watanabe Sadao from several years of study in the U.S., many Japanese jazz musicians began traveling and performing overseas in greater numbers than ever before.

Most jazz critics consider the latter half of the 1960s as the time when Japanese jazz established its own identity, independent of that of the U.S.[70] During this time, the rise of such Japanese artists on the international jazz scene as Watanabe Sadao, Hara Nobuo, Matsumoto Hidehiko and Akiyoshi Toshiko, who performed at such festivals as Newport, Monterey and Berlin, greatly increased the visibility and recognition of Japan's jazz musicians abroad. As well, in Japan a generation of avant-garde artists such as Yamashita Yôsuke and Togashi Masahiko emerged to form jazz and art collectives with the purpose to develop and

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[68] Leonard Feather, "Tokyo Blues," *Down Beat*, September 10, 1964. p. 21.
[69] "Japanese Wreck Tour by Miles Davis Group." *Down Beat*, Feb. 20, 1969.
[70] Iwanami, Yôzô. "Rokujunendai Nihon no Jazu (Japanese Jazz in the Sixties)." *Jazu Hihyou* 1994. pp. 244-251.

perform original compositions and improvisational works. These artists were collectively the core of the new Japanese jazz that emerged in the late 1960s, indicating the atmosphere of confidence and creativity in Japan at the time. These events, along with the establishment of Yamaha School of Jazz and Popular Music gave rise to an era of unprecedented creativity, vitality and worldwide visibility for Japanese jazz musicians.

A number of Japanese artists like Akiyoshi Toshiko and Hara Nobuo brought a recognizably Japanese aesthetic to their jazz, employing Japanese instrumentation like the shakuhachi and koto, incorporating Japanese folk tunes, or using Japanese systems of scales or rhythm.[71] Others like Watanabe Sadao would continue to play jazz within the standards prescribed by the American greats. And there are yet others like Yamashita Yôsuke who diverged from both trends, playing a playful and passionate jazz which was innovative, avant-garde and difficult to attribute to any nation or ethnic group.[72]

The following passage from Atkins perhaps best sums up the atmosphere for jazz in Japan as the 1960s came to a close; a time when the 'rush' of foreign artists coming to Japan was over, and Japanese jazz talent was gaining greater recognition. Atkins writes:

> Perhaps nothing summed up the optimism and energy of the age better than the momentous English title of Togashi Masahiko's 1969 album: "We Now Create."[73] The response to jazz musicians' new confidence and creative energy was encouraging. As a new decade dawned, recording industry and fan interest in domestic jazz was high enough to earn "boom" status, and bands such as the George Ôtsuka Trio, the Hino Terumasa Quintet, and Watanabe Sadao's ever-evolving jazz-bossa-pops quintet packed clubs and concert halls wherever they played. As Japanese artists began incorporating electric instrumentation and rock rhythms into their jazz, they drew more attention from rock audiences previously disinterested[sic] in jazz...Moreover, fans outside of Japan's major urban centers began demonstrating increased interest in jazz in general and domestic jazz in particular; while the number of jazz clubs and coffeeshops in Japan's so-called "provincial regions" remained small, there

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[71] These are three of the main distinguishing features that I have encountered in my research of Japanese jazz. For a more thorough musicological consideration of the topic see Sesler-Beckman, Elizabeth. "Jazz is My Native Language: A Study of the Development of Jazz in Japan." M.A. Thesis, Tufts University, 1989.

[72] Horst Weber. "Yosuke Yamashita: Power and Speed." *Jazz Forum* 1974, 42-43.

[73] Togashi Masahiko Quintet, *We Now Create: Music for Strings, Winds, and Percussions* (Nippon Victor/World: SMJX 10065, 1969).

> was steady growth in the number of fan clubs, college bands, and jazz festivals.[74]

Finally, with numerous offers from around the world for professional and amateur Japanese bands to perform at festivals and record with foreign artists, Japanese jazz musicians had finally achieved recognition on the world stage.

Introduced as a foreign cultural element during a period of great cultural and social change, jazz emerged and developed in Japan under very different historical circumstances than its American counterpart. This history has been a process of continual change and adaptation both in terms of musical style as well as the symbolic value of the music. From outright mimicry of American dance bands in the 1920s and 1930s as an urbane symbol of modernity, to the creation of a jazz with Japanese musical sensibilities by Sugi Kotaro in the late 1930s in response to growing anti-American sentiment, jazz in Japan has evolved through several distinct periods of change and influence. After being outlawed during the Pacific war, the jazz scene in Japan was to witness several more periods of growth and decline through the 1950s and 1960s. Culminating at the end of the 1960s, jazz in Japan occupied a vibrant and innovative environment which differed greatly from the jazz of the 1920s and 1930s, and indeed had begun to diverge greatly from the American variety from which it sprang.

What I have established in this chapter is a brief and necessarily cursory history of the development of jazz in Japan. Certainly there will exist individual musicians or events that may contradict the general framework I have constructed, but my purpose here has been to capture some of the major trends and broader influences that become apparent in a changing and often difficult to document musical history. These include the crucial role that America and American jazz has played in the introduction and development of jazz in Japan, acting as a point of reference for many Japanese artists who sought to authenticate

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[74] E. Taylor Atkins. "This is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980." Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996. p. 234.

their music by emulating American artists and jazz styles. Historically in Japan, jazz music was defined in terms of an ideology that valued the primacy of American examples and considered Japanese efforts as somehow lacking.

What is also of significance here is the shifting definition of jazz, geographically, culturally, and temporally. How jazz is defined and perceived is very much determined by one's historical specificity. Rather than having a 'fixed' meaning or definition, jazz is perhaps best understood as process of definition that highlights the difficulty, if not the impossibility in assigning a fixed meaning to jazz across cultures.

Chapter Three: Watanabe Sadao

The re-introduction of Western, and in particular, American popular culture into Japan during the early post-war era was to have a lasting impact on the social, cultural and economic make-up of Japanese society. One of the most definitive symbols of American culture that was re-introduced to Japan in the 1940s was jazz music, and one of the most celebrated Japanese jazz musicians to emerge since the post-war era has been Watanabe Sadao.

Watanabe's career from the 1940s to the 1970s can be divided into three eras of distinct stylistic development. First was his introduction to jazz in early high school where he focused on swing and dance music up until the start of his bebop career playing with the likes of Moriyasu Shôtarô and Akiyoshi Toshiko in Tokyo. His career focused on bebop from 1953, when he joined pianist Akiyoshi's Cozy Quartet, until he left for the U.S. in 1962. The final era of his professional development for the purpose of this thesis was his progression into the fusion and Brazilian-world beat music genre, which was to dominate his career during the late 1960s right up until the present day.

Following Watanabe Sadao's triumphant return to Japan in 1965, the Japanese jazz community deservedly celebrated him. Watanabe had reached the top of the jazz scene making his living solely by playing and recording jazz. Watanabe was now at the forefront of a revival of interest in Japanese jazz which began during the late 1960s and continued well into the 1970s. In a manner befitting the new leading man of jazz in Japan, the 36-year-old tenor sax player set about documenting his rise to fame.

In his 1969 autobiography entitled *Jazz For Myself* Watanabe divides his career up to that point into three distinct periods, namely the years before his trip to the U.S., his time in the U.S., and finally the several years following his prodigal's return to Japan in 1965.[75]

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[75] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969).

While his stylistic shifts in each of these periods are rather distinct and may be easily distinguished, what requires further inquiry is the process of growth and change during each of these periods which established Watanabe as one of the most celebrated musicians in Japanese jazz.

Watanabe has proven to be a highly versatile musician and composer, even today performing in various jazz styles as swing, bebop and fusion, both on recordings and in performance. My purpose is not to investigate the merits of Watanabe's technical and musical abilities, rather to examine Watanabe's position within the Japanese jazz pantheon (specifically the role Watanabe occupies in the hierarchy of Japan's jazz world), relate how this position was established, and discuss how Watanabe's music and career corresponds with broader trends in the Japanese and world jazz scene.

This chapter will recount the key details of the early part of Watanabe Sadao's musical career, beginning with his introduction to jazz in early high school during the 1940s and focusing primarily on the decade of the 1950s. This period was key not only to Watanabe's introduction to the bebop school of jazz through pianists Moriyasu Shôtarô and Akiyoshi Toshiko, but also to his establishment as Japan's lead alto-saxophonist.

Watanabe: Introduction to Jazz

Born on February 1, 1933 in Utsunomiya, a city some eighty miles north of Tokyo, Watanabe was one of a family of four brothers and one sister. His father, who was an amateur musician in his own right who played the traditional Japanese Biwa, worked as a repairman for small electrical appliances in his own shop. He purchased Sadao his first instruments, arranged for lessons, and showed great support for his musical passions.

Watanabe has often been described as a musician born out of the post-war Japanese environment, starting to play clarinet at the age of sixteen after he had seen the American film "Birth of the Blues," starring Bing Crosby in the role of a jazz clarinetist (most likely influenced by Benny Goodman). The inundation of American media and popular culture in postwar Japan was significant in influencing the tastes and desires of many Japanese and had

a lasting effect. In the realm of jazz, Watanabe, like so many of his fellow countrymen, aimed for this 'American ideal' by imitating the music and performance style of American artists.

With the U.S. occupation of Japan following the war, films, jazz and popular music were quickly disseminated from the U.S. and had a great impact on the youth of the time. Especially important was the Occupation army programming broadcast in Japan on WVTR (later FEN, the Far East Network), which carried programming covering a wide range of American popular musical styles including jazz, bluegrass, popular and rhumba/tango. During the 1940s and up until the end of the Occupation government in 1952, radio was the most important vehicle to disseminate entertainment and information to the Japanese, and was incidently under the control and direction of the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers (SCAP). The public radio network in Japan, NHK (Nippon Hôsô Kyôkai), also fell under the control of SCAP's bureau of Civil Information and Education (CIE) and became the official media outlet for immediate information in the early postwar up until the start of commercial radio broadcasts in 1951. Commenting on the definitive impact of SCAP's control on media in Japan's post-war era, Marilyn Ivy writes:

> The historical accident that the United States, the original and prototypical mass culture, was the dominant occupying power determined the structures that later Japanese culture industries were to assume. The controlling and censorious American presence was of course pervasive in the early postwar period; all cultural productions had to receive official approval. The "Americanization" of Japanese life guaranteed the gradual reproduction of many of the commodity forms and products found in the United States.[76]

Ivy's statement is certainly not uncontroversial, for indeed an entire genre of Japanese music flourished quite autonomously, yet her point regarding the powerful influence of the occupation forces and the American culture industries is certainly well-founded. Indeed, the way in which American cultural forms, and in particular jazz, have

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[76] Marilyn Ivy, "Formations of Mass Culture," in *Postwar Japan as History*, ed. Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). p. 245.

met by incredible commercial success in Japan, raises important questions as to how best to evaluate the extent which the Japanese have accepted and adapted the music into their own cultural context. As has been touched on briefly in chapter two, the responses by Watanabe and most other Japanese jazz musicians to the dominant American model were to acquire the necessary skills to pursue this ideal to the best of their ability.

The influence of American culture in Watanabe's early childhood has correctly been given particular prominence as an explanation of sorts for how this Japanese musician has gained such worldwide recognition and respect. Gene Kalbacher's 1987 *Down Beat* article on Watanabe is enlightening, although it perhaps gives more insight on the attitudes and influences of the author than on his subject. According to Kalbacher, "His youthful, post-war awe of America, birthplace of the blues, was still fresh in his memory three years after the tanks and soldiers of the occupying American forces had marched into his city...Blissed out on Bing [Crosby] and the licorice stick, Watanabe...began working jobs at U.S. Army bases."[77] While the wording of this passage stings with the rhetoric of American cultural superiority reinforced by the military might of the victor, Kalbacher should by no means be singled out for his presumption of American cultural superiority. Comments such as these affirm that the discourse of jazz in Japan continues to be rife with assumptions and essentialist notions about the constitution of jazz, race and culture as played out by both Japanese and foreign discussants. Sorting out the influence of American culture on Watanabe's career, and the value judgements implicit in such an influence proves to be rather difficult. In fact, such an attempt highlights the hegemony of the American jazz critic and the American 'style' of jazz in the ongoing discourse on jazz. What can be understood, however, through his own actions and the style of dancehall music that he was playing, is the undeniable influence the U.S. military and cultural presence in Japan had on Watanabe early in his career.

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[77] Gene Kalbacher, "Sadao Watanabe's Bop/Pop Chops," *Down Beat* 1987. p. 20.

In his autobiography, Watanabe mentions how he would rush home after school to catch his favorite radio program and how important the network was as a means for introducing the Japanese public to popular American music of the time.[78] Yet Watanabe was not alone in his rapture: many other musicians and writers such as Akiyoshi Toshiko and jazz critic Uchida Kôichi have made mention of the role of radio broadcasting in introducing them to jazz. Similarly, they too recount their moments of revelation having experienced listening to jazz for the first time on WVTR or NHK.[79]

Films too were an important means for the transmission of American culture and values, and yet they were another instrument in the effort to 'Americanize' the Japanese by inundating audiences with Americana through the various media of film, radio and print media. Recollecting his introduction to jazz through radio and film in the 1940s, Watanabe Sadao writes:

> At first I couldn't differentiate between what was jazz and what wasn't. Although we were poor at the time, I bought and learned how to play an instrument similar to the ukulele. My only desire at the time was to own and play my own instrument. Soon a radio program called 'Jazz at the Philharmonic' with jam session performances became my absolute favorite. Still at that time, [so soon after the war] there weren't a lot of things to do for enjoyment, so quite often I went to see motion pictures. It was right after seeing the film 'Birth of the Blues', starring Bing Crosby and Mary Martin, that I went out and bought this crappy clarinet and began practicing my heart out. When I think of it now, it was probably the 'Birth of the Blues' which first introduced me to jazz. For me, this was the start of my own 'jazz awakening'. If I remember correctly, this was around my first year of high school.[80]

Indeed, the period of the late 1940s and early 1950s saw the beginning of an incredible boom in Japan's entertainment industry. A 1948 *Down Beat* article reported that since the end of the war, jazz and swing music were said to have 'swept over the country

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[78] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). pp. 18-19.

[79] Toshiko Akiyoshi, *Jazu to Ikiru (Living with Jazz)* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996); Kôichi Uchida, *Nihon no Jazushi: Senzen, Sengo (Jazz History of Japan: Pre and Postwar).* (Tokyo: Swing Journalsha, 1976).

[80] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). pp. 18-19.

like wildfire'. Groups of every description, swing bands, trios, jazz orchestras, were forming at an unprecedented rate.[81] While jazz was growing in its popularity among the Japanese citizenry, it was still predominantly a form of entertainment for the occupation forces. Many, perhaps most of the clubs, cabarets and dance halls had entrance limited to military personnel only, and Japanese citizens like Watanabe could only gain entrance as performers, legitimate or otherwise. Gradually, however, with the stabilization of the domestic economy during the early 1950s, many more Japanese entrepreneurs began to open their own jazz venues, coffeeshops and clubs, where both Japanese nationals and foreigners could gather to enjoy jazz.

In addition to the strong cultural presence of the U.S. in Japan during the years of the American Occupation from 1945 to 1952, the economic impact was influential on the lives of Japanese musicians as well. It was during this period that the demand for jazz players soared in Japan, with the largest employer of Japanese musicians being the U.S. armed services, who sponsored recreational venues for American servicemen of all ranks. It has been noted that one base alone might have up to seven clubs for officers, non-commissioned officers, and enlisted men, employing up to one hundred musicians nightly.[82] Thus, the impact of the Occupation in terms of the creation of a fertile and prosperous environment in which jazz in Japan took root can not be understated. Not only did the U.S. provide the model for many musicians to emulate, they were also influential in encouraging American popular music indirectly through their financial sponsorship of Japanese musicians capable of playing this 'American' style of jazz.

Inspired by the film "Birth of the Blues" and by the new music, Watanabe and some high school friends, who were then playing in the high school brass band, formed a combo in 1950 with the idea of getting work at one of the many U.S. Occupation Forces clubs and hotels in the region. Watanabe himself states that while he often doubted his musical ability

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[81] Takatoshi Kyogoku, "Jazz With A Classical Tint Rules Japan," *Down Beat*, December 1, 1948.
[82] Elizabeth Sesler-Beckman, "Jazz is My Native Language: A Study of the Development of Jazz in Japan" (M.A. Thesis, Tufts University, 1989). p. 70.

during this early period in his career, he nonetheless managed to secure a well paying job during his senior year of high school playing in the house combo of the Hotel Kanaya in Nikko.[83] The combo consisted of Watanabe and Uchida Kôichi on clarinet, Ôzeki Kazuo on bass, and Nagata Takeo on drums. The American standard for the style and presentation of jazz was at the forefront of Watanabe's mind, and was clearly behind his suggestion in early 1950 that Uchida switch to vibes in an attempt to make the band seem more like the popular Benny Goodman Combo.[84]

Watanabe and his friends were playing songs like "My Happiness" and "Again" from the hit lists of the U.S. servicemen's clubs and picking up tunes from radio play on NHK. By the summer of 1950, Watanabe, perhaps now more comfortable with his proficiency on the clarinet or perhaps becoming more at-ease with on-stage performances, gradually began experimenting with improvisation in his music and now set himself the career goal of becoming a professional musician. More critical of Watanabe's improvisational abilities at the time, Iwanami Yôzô writes, " [Watanabe] was convinced that 'jazz' meant improvised music and played with reckless ad-libbing. His reputation was so bad that people were not able to dance to his performance at the local dance hall in town."[85] Yet Watanabe continued to persevere and focus on emulating the popular American bands and dance hall music of the early 1950s, progressively improving upon his musical ability and developing a unique and individual style.

The Road to Tokyo

Upon graduation from high school and after reaching an agreement with his father, he headed to Tokyo in 1951 to try his hand at a career as a professional musician. Uchida Kôichi, in his history of jazz in Japan, remembers the desperation with which Watanabe was searching for work in Tokyo, "Sadao asked me to 'please find work with a band in Tokyo

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[83] Max E. Lash, "Japan's First Jazz School," *Down Beat* 1969. p. 41.
[84] Kôichi Uchida, *Nihon no Jazushi: Senzen, Sengo (Jazz History of Japan: Pre and Postwar).* (Tokyo: Swing Journalsha, 1976). p. 294.
[85] Yôzô Iwanami, *Nihon no Jazu Men (Jazz Men of Japan)* (Tokyo: Tairiku Shobou, 1982).

for me, because I promised my father that I would come back and work with him if I can't find success at jazz in Tokyo within two years'."[86] Uchida contacted a bass-player friend of his in Tokyo, Kitamura Toshio, and they arranged for Watanabe to join his first band in Tokyo, the Nanao Band, immediately following his graduation from high school at the age of seventeen. His association with the band was short-lived, only about one month, but initiated Sadao to the Tokyo club scene.

The early 1950s are considered by many as the 'Golden Age' of jazz in Japan, stimulated immensely by the U.S. presence in Japan and such technological innovations as the LP record.[87] Prior to LP records, wax "V-Disk" recordings were introduced into Japan as early as 1946 by the U.S. Army Special Services division, which made and distributed recordings of everything from Dixieland to swing classics for the occupation soldiers.[88] These recordings provided the musical 'model' of American jazz to which so many Japanese musicians aspired. According to educator and musician Inomata Takeshi, "As LP records spread, many records of jazz music started being imported [into Japan]. The most influential were Kenny Clarke, Max Roach, Art Blakey, Chico Hamilton, and later, Philly Joe Jones, Joe Morello, Shelly Manne, Buddy Rich, Louie Bellson and Roy Haynes."[89] Surprisingly, the domestic phonograph and recording industries in Japan achieved peak levels of production after the war when many of the top studios emerged relatively unscathed by the air raids and bombings. Best sellers were those of popular songs, which had a either a folk or hot jazz style and had been arranged, given lyrics, or composed by Japanese. Most records were of popular songs; recordings of traditional Japanese music were scarce. Nippon Columbia

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[86] Kôichi Uchida, *Nihon no Jazushi: Senzen, Sengo (Jazz History of Japan: Pre and Postwar).* (Tokyo: Swing Journalsha, 1976). p. 295.
[87] Kôichi Uchida, *Nihon no Jazushi: Senzen, Sengo (Jazz History of Japan: Pre and Postwar).* (Tokyo: Swing Journalsha, 1976).
[88] Bob Downer, "Honorable Horn Men Play But Sour In Japan," *Down Beat*, May 6, 1946.
[89] Takeshi Inomata, "The Course of Jazz (Popular) Music History in Japan," *Percussive Notes* 1984. p. 49.

was the foremost record maker, leading the pack by manufacturing an estimated 350,000 to 400,000 records monthly.[90]

Along with the numerous and revolutionary technological innovations in the commercial recording industry at the start of the 1950s, came the transformation from the popular swing and dancehall music of the earlier era to the more 'intellectual' and 'cerebral' jazz bebop style. The introduction of this music signified a new phase of evolution for jazz in Japan, as well as a stylistic shift for Watanabe as well. Indeed, it was the dawn of modern jazz in Japan, when many of the biggest names in Japanese jazz such as Akiyoshi Toshiko, Miyazawa Akira, and of course Watanabe Sadao, began their professional careers during the 1950s eagerly trying to grasp the techniques of bebop. While gaining a small measure of popularity in the early fifties, bebop would not ever gather broad popular support, even in the mid-fifties with the opening of smaller coffee shops and live clubs which displaced many of the larger dance halls in urban centers like Tokyo and Osaka.

In addition to the notable influences of LP records and radio networks during the 1950s, foreign artists were beginning to perform concerts in Japan to enthusiastic crowds of both American servicemen and Japanese fans. In April of 1952 the Gene Krupa Trio performed in Japan creating a sensation and paving the way to Japan for numerous other American jazz groups. Xavier Kugat followed Krupa, adding to the growth in Latin music such as the Mambo and the Cha-cha-cha, and in 1953 the JATP toured followed by Louis Armstrong.[91]

Playing various gigs in dance halls and clubs, Watanabe had the opportunity to play not only with American musicians from the Army bands but also a number of top Japanese musicians as well. While working at the club Casablanca in Gotanda in the spring of 1952, Watanabe would regularly drop by another club called 'Holiness' in Shibuya on his way home to listen to the band 'Metro Tone'. It was here that Watanabe would listen to

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[90] Takatoshi Kyogoku, "Jazz With A Classical Tint Rules Japan," *Down Beat*, December 1, 1948.
[91] Takeshi Inomata, "The Course of Jazz (Popular) Music History in Japan," *Percussive Notes* 1984. p. 49.

Igarashi on alto-sax, and it has been suggested that it was his playing that originally inspired him to purchase his first alto-sax in October of 1952.[92]

Local fans, primarily American but some Japanese, began to take notice of the young Watanabe as an alto-sax soloist. He was now working regularly, dance halls with primarily Japanese patrons during the day, and U.S. army clubs like 'Eden' and 'Oasis' in Ginza during the night. One of the primary difficulties in reaching the mainstream Japanese jazz audience, was that many of these bands played venues and clubs which catered principally to foreign service men; Japanese nationals, unless they were 'with the band', simply weren't allowed admission. Indeed many artists such as Akiyoshi Toshiko and Watanabe recall sneaking into the clubs and hiding off-stage just to get a glimpse of the musicians playing and pick up their techniques. In one particular Shibuya club called, aptly enough, 'Foreigners Club', Watanabe became acquainted with other talented stars of the Japanese jazz scene and profited greatly from their knowledge and experience. Tenor-sax players Matsumoto Hidehiko and Miyazawa Akira, as well as drummer Shimizu Jun are among those credited with encouraging Watanabe and providing him with the opportunities to join such well known groups of the early 1950s as Raymond Condé's Gay Septet.[93]

For the average Japanese during the early 1950s, dance hall music and orchestral jazz was the predominant strain of jazz enjoyed, rather than bebop which was listened to primarily by the American servicemen. Watanabe however, while earning employment by playing swing and big band jazz at the various dance halls in Tokyo, was keenly listening to American bebop and was starting to pick up the technique.

After a number of short stints with various small orchestras and dance-oriented bands as well as a year contract playing at the Fujiya Hotel in Hakone, Watanabe tired of the dancehall scene and longed again for the excitement and vitality of the Tokyo clubs. In 1952, Watanabe returned to Tokyo and with some friends put together a rhythm and blues

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[92] Kôichi Uchida, *Nihon no Jazushi: Senzen, Sengo (Jazz History of Japan: Pre and Postwar).* (Tokyo: Swing Journalsha, 1976). p. 296.
[93] Yôzô Iwanami, *Nihon no Jazu Men (Jazz Men of Japan)* (Tokyo: Tairiku Shobou, 1982). p. 4.

band, playing regularly at the Yokohama club called 'Harlem'.[94] His R&B combo called, aptly enough 'Jafro', performed an eclectic combination of jazz and African-American music. During this period, Watanabe was said to have been emulating the rough rhythm and blues stylings of American alto-saxophonist Earl Bostic.[95] It was a busy time for Watanabe. Gigs at the U.S. Army bases were so plentiful that in one interview he recalled that "you had a job even if you couldn't play. You could just hold a bass and stand onstage."[96] Yet while the work was plentiful, it was far from stable and many of the bands Watanabe joined would stay together only for a matter of weeks. It was at the club Harlem that a number of guest performers would sit in with the band including the talented bop jazz pianist Akiyoshi Toshiko. Impressed with Watanabe's abilities, she would invite him to join her newly formed combo, the Cozy Quartet, in 1953.

Akiyoshi Toshiko and the Cozy Quartet

The introduction of Watanabe to Akiyoshi and her eventual involvement in his career is shrouded, like so much of Watanabe's early career, in some uncertainty and confusion. Many of the sources on Watanabe's career during this period are to be found in personal accounts and the popular press and magazines of the time, thus complicating attempts to create a factual account of Watanabe's career. What does remain certain, however, is that Watanabe's association with Akiyoshi Toshiko during the 1950s provided him with both an increased profile and audience for his music, and greater career and educational opportunities which would firmly entrench his name in the history of Japanese jazz.

Watanabe's influences were several during this period. Departing from his earlier dancehall days, shifting through Earl Bostic inspired rhythm and blues, it was in 1952 that Watanabe began experimenting with a bebop influenced style, and more modern jazz

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[94] Yôzô Iwanami, *Nihon no Jazu Men (Jazz Men of Japan)* (Tokyo: Tairiku Shobou, 1982). p. 296.
[95] Kôichi Uchida, *Nihon no Jazushi: Senzen, Sengo (Jazz History of Japan: Pre and Postwar).* (Tokyo: Swing Journalsha, 1976). p. 297.
[96] Watanabe in Gene Kalbacher, "Sadao Watanabe's Bop/Pop Chops," *Down Beat* 1987. p. 20.

stylings. It was also under Akiyoshi's advice that Watanabe began seven years of classical flute study under the tutelage of Hayashi Ririko, a renowned Tokyo teacher and lead flutist with the Tokyo Philharmonic.[97] His flute work is significant as it brought Watanabe great recognition, particularly when he began to experiment with lighter jazz-fusion stylings during the 1960s and 1970s. This was yet another step in the development of Watanabe's complex repertoire of musical instruments and styles, and demonstrated his musical versatility.

In 1953 Akiyoshi's band was heavily into the bebop style of jazz, playing Charlie 'Bird' Parker tunes. Akiyoshi herself had been greatly influenced by the music of American bop pianist Bud Powell, as well as Hampton Hawes and Oscar Peterson. Hawes frequented the jazz clubs in Yokohama, and came to know and respect Akiyoshi during this period, making mention of this in his autobiography.[98] Under the bebop tutelage of both Akiyoshi Toshiko and fellow pianist Moriyasu Shôtarô, Watanabe began to listen to more Bird and bop and to emulate Parker in his playing. Moriyasu transcribed a number of Parker's songs for Watanabe, many of which he supposedly keeps to this day. During the next two years with the Cozy Quartet, 1953 and 1954, Watanabe developed a surer instrumental proficiency as well as a keen love for all things 'Bird'.

Watanabe's dedication to bebop and his proficiency in the Parker style led to his being asked, after Parker's death in March 1955, to perform in the NHK radio production of "The Charlie Parker Story." As a follower of Parker, Watanabe acknowledges his stylistic debt and considers it a great compliment to be compared to such a seminal figure in the history of jazz. The 1955 broadcast of this program to an audience of literally millions in Japan was crucial to the establishment of Watanabe as a widely recognized figure in the ranks of Japanese jazz. However, in the decades to come his strong association with Bird would haunt Watanabe as he attempted to free himself of his bebop shackles, and venture

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[97] Yôzô Iwanami, *Nihon no Jazu Men (Jazz Men of Japan)* (Tokyo: Tairiku Shobou, 1982). p. 6.
[98] Hampton Hawes and Don Asher, *Raise Up Off Me* (New York: Da Capo, 1972). pp. 62-3.

forth into the new jazz genres of fusion and worldbeat. For both fans and jazz critics overseas, the stylistic similarities to Charlie Parker came to be the key stylistic point of reference for Watanabe. This was a mixed blessing, for with the popular acclaim and acceptance in America came a certain perception of Watanabe as a Charlie Parker 'sound-alike', good at imitation but certainly not at innovation. Rather than garnering acclaim for his incredible proficiency on the alto-sax, Watanabe was accepted for his musical similarity to an American jazz icon. This further reinforced the notion that Japanese could be nothing more than talented imitators, and ideas about the superiority of American cultural standards.

Around the same time that Watanabe joined the Cozy Quartet in 1953, Akiyoshi was already listening to the innovative musical styling of the Modern Jazz Quartet (MJQ) with John Lewis, Miles Davis, Gil Evans and others. Akiyoshi by this point had become recognized in Japan as an accomplished jazz pianist in the bebop style. Like Watanabe, Akiyoshi was greatly influenced by the styles of American musicians Bud Powell and Hampton Hawes, as well as Canadian pianist Oscar Peterson and fellow countryman Moriyasu Shôtarô. During the late 1950s Akiyoshi became strongly associated with the Bud Powell sound which provided her with a popular reception during her time in the U.S. Akiyoshi's rise to fame in the jazz world, was greatly assisted by the Oscar Peterson, for it was during his 1953 trip to Japan as part of the JATP all-star tour that he originally met Akiyoshi Toshiko and was so impressed by the young pianist that he arranged for her first American record deal with Norgran records and her entry into Berklee.[99]

As Akiyoshi Toshiko gradually gained acclaim through her talents, Watanabe Sadao's fame and opportunity grew correspondingly. She invited him to join her band in 1953, then recognized as the top bebop group in Japan, and encouraged him to embrace Parker and the bebop style for which he would quickly become a famous jazz poll winner. When Akiyoshi

[99] The LP was titled *The Amazing Toshiko Akiyoshi* (Norgran: MGN 22, 1954). Released only in the United States, Akiyoshi was accompanied by Ray Brown (bass), J.C. Herd (drums), and Herb Ellis (guitar).

left the Cozy Quartet to study jazz composition and arrangement in Boston in 1956, Watanabe assumed the high-profile position as leader of the band, gaining increased prestige and recognition in the Japanese jazz world.

The Legendary Mocambo Sessions

Few recordings exist of the jazz scene in Japan during the early 1950s, and those of Watanabe Sadao are no exception, even during Watanabe's time with the Akiyoshi's Cozy Quartet. While critically acclaimed perhaps, the band was not considered by the major recording studios as having enough of a listening audience within Japan to make the production of a record a commercial success. Instead, Krupa-like swing groups like George Kawaguchi's Big Four catered to the demands of eager recording companies and fans. The jazz boom of the early 1950s in Japan favored swing, 'cool' and dance bands rather than the bebop that Akiyoshi and Watanabe were playing.

One of the earliest recordings which captures the rising stars of the Japanese bebop jazz scene at the time is the all-night jam session of July 27 and 28, 1954 at Yokohama's Mocambo club. Recorded on a Scotch 'paper' reel to reel machine, by a 19-year old university student and jazz fan named Iwanami Kiyoshi, the "Historic Mocambo Session '54" records the performance of Watanabe Sadao and other musicians like Miyazawa Akira (tenor sax), Akiyoshi Toshiko (piano, bass), Moriyasu Shôtarô (piano), Watanabe Akira (alto-sax), Shimizu Jun (drums), and American Hampton Hawes (piano). The jam session was organized as benefit and celebration for Shimizu Jun's return to the jazz world after a period of hospitalization and treatment for drug dependency.[100] This session would become legendary in the jazz history of Japan not only for its importance in bringing together future jazz stars, but also for its significance as the sole known recording in the entire career of pianist Moriyasu Shôtarô, who died the following year (committing suicide by throwing

[100] Album liner notes for the two-CD collection *The Historic Mocambo Session '54* (Rockwell/Polydor: POCJ-1878/9, 1990).

himself in front of a commuter train at Tokyo's Meguro station on September 28, 1955).[101] The Mocambo session is also widely recognized for helping establish Watanabe as Japan's leading altoist. In the September 1954 issue of *Swing Journal*, leading jazz critic Kubota Jiro reviewed the session, writing,

> There is a new alto player named Watanabe Sadao. He ranks at the top as an alto player and as well for his improvisation. He was lucky to have met Akiyoshi Toshiko. His gig with Miyazawa was also lucky. It might be the reason he has such a great sense of rhythm. Although he still hasn't perfected his technique and timbre yet, I look forward to his developing into a key player in the future.[102]

Such a glowing review by such an established critic as Kubota propelled Watanabe to the forefront of the contemporary jazz scene. Kubota observed quite perceptively at the time the key influences of both Akiyoshi and Miyazawa on Watanabe's musical style and ability. While they were not alone in their influence on him, Watanabe's association with them did provide him with the fundamental technical skills and 'feel' for jazz which was crucial to his mastery of the bebop genre.

Watanabe the Leader

When Akiyoshi received a scholarship to the Berklee School of Music in Boston in 1956 through the patronage of Canadian jazz pianist Oscar Peterson, Watanabe undertook the leadership of the Cozy Quartet until its dissolution in 1958. That same year Watanabe invited Masao Yagi to join the quartet as their new pianist and Akiyoshi's replacement. The period from 1957 to 1961 saw Watanabe perform in a great number of recordings. In 1957, Watanabe was invited to take part in the King recording "Midnight in Tokyo," and in 1958 he and the Cozy Quartet recorded their first album, also for King Records.[103] His relationship with the King recording company continued and in 1961 Watanabe would

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[101] Akira Miyazawa, "Moriyasu Shôtarô no shi wo itamu (Grieving the Death of Shôtarô Moriyasu)," *Swing Journal*, November 1955.
[102] Kubota Jiro, quoted in Kôichi Uchida, *Nihon no Jazushi: Senzen, Sengo (Jazz History of Japan: Pre and Postwar).* (Tokyo: Swing Journalsha, 1976). p. 298.
[103] *Midnight in Tokyo* (King: LKB6, 1957), *Modern Jazz Concert At Video Hall* (King: LKB16, 1958).

record his first solo album with the studio, "Sadao Watanabe."[104] After the success of "The Charlie Parker Story" on NHK in 1955, and his increased profile as leader of the Cozy Quartet, Watanabe Sadao was an alto-sax player gaining recognition and was in increasing demand.

In 1957, at age twenty-four, Watanabe married a waitress named Itô Mitsuko. Itô waitressed at the jazz coffee shop (*jazu kissaten*) 'Combo' in Tokyo, and it was there that they first met. Watanabe has been described as rather popular with women during the 1950s. After some four years of dating that he and Mitsuko married on September 29th, 1957.[105]

In 1958, with a growing number of recordings to his credit, Watanabe dissolved the Cozy Quartet due to financial difficulties well as the death of fellow band member Ishizuka. The Cozy Quartet had become well-known within modern jazz circles in Japan, however the small clubs and cafés which the group catered to could only afford a nominal stipend for the band which was often calculated on admission fees or donations at the door. The constant struggle to make ends meet, and possibly Watanabe's purported poor management skills, was key to the break-up of the group after Akiyoshi's departure. Shortly thereafter he joined with drummer George Kawaguchi and his Big Four Plus One band for a period of roughly two years.[106] His time with Kawaguchi's band provided him with the stability and regular income for which he had been searching for his new family, as he became a regular member of one of the most popular bands in Japan at the time. That same year Watanabe was asked to perform in what was called the 'largest jazz concert after the war', the Jazz Festival of Japan, assembled by the *Swing Journal All Stars.*[107] Adding further to the saxophonist's accolades during this period was his first ever 'best-alto' award in 1959 as selected by the popular Japanese jazz magazine *Swing Journal.*

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[104] *Watanabe Sadao* (King; SKC8, 1961).
[105] Yôzô Iwanami, *Nihon no Jazu Men (Jazz Men of Japan)* (Tokyo: Tairiku Shobou, 1982). p. 10.
[106] Yôzô Iwanami, *Nihon no Jazu Men (Jazz Men of Japan)* (Tokyo: Tairiku Shobou, 1982). p. 9.
[107] Available as a two-CD collection, *Jazz Festical of Japan: Swing Journal All Stars Jazz Concert By Poll Winners* (Toshiba: TOCT-9210/11, 1997).

When Akiyoshi Toshiko and her husband Charlie Mariano returned to Japan in 1961, Watanabe had already cut his first solo album and had established himself as one of the country's top jazz musicians. With Akiyoshi's return to Japan in 1961 after graduating from Berklee in Boston, she had arranged for Watanabe to receive a full scholarship to study at the school of music based largely upon her recommendation and in September 1962, with the encouragement and support of Akiyoshi, Watanabe left for Berklee.[108] At first Watanabe was reluctant, uncertain about how he would manage to support his wife and young daughter. At the urging of his wife, however, he decided to accept this opportunity and moved to Boston at first on his own, then joined in less than a year by his wife and daughter.[109]

The End of an Era

The decade of the 1950s bore witness to both a resurgence in interest of jazz in Japan, particularly in American players of hard bop, and a period of decline. While Japanese musicians found an increase in material rewards and public acclaim for their efforts during the first half of the decade, the later half of the decade, following the withdrawal of the American occupation forces, is associated with a period of malaise and hardship in the Japanese jazz community. The venues for jazz shifted from the larger dancehalls to a growing number of small clubs and cabarets and to small coffee houses which played LP records rather than featuring live performances, and offered, in addition to jazz, all kinds of classical and folk music.

During the closing years of the 1950s, radio broadcasts, recording opportunities, and an overall improvement in the conditions for jazz all combined to make jazz prevalent in the day to day life of many Japanese. Yet in spite of its increased visibility, jazz in Japan had

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[108] Kôichi Uchida, *Nihon no Jazushi: Senzen, Sengo (Jazz History of Japan: Pre and Postwar).* (Tokyo: Swing Journalsha, 1976). p. 301.
[109] Yôzô Iwanami, *Nihon no Jazu Men (Jazz Men of Japan)* (Tokyo: Tairiku Shobou, 1982). p. 11.

already begun a period of decline by 1958, which coincided with the introduction of another American musical trend, rockabilly and early strains of rock and roll.[110]

The 1950s were to have a lasting impact on Watanabe's musical style, it was the era in which he came to secure his position as the country's leading alto-saxophonist in 1959, emerging from relative obscurity as a dance band musician to his recognition as Japan's top altoist by *Swing Journal* in 1959. In 1951 for the first time, a critics' poll, modeled after the American *Downbeat* magazine poll, had been initiated by *Swing Journal.*[111] This poll accumulated votes from leading jazz critics and awarded prizes for outstanding performances by Japanese musicians. It was, therefore, a matter of much significance to be recognized by winning first place. Throughout the various developments of jazz in Japan during the 1950s, Watanabe was quick to follow the trends and American styles and was always close to the center. Starting from a level of complete obscurity as a clarinet player in various dance bands of questionable talent, by the end of the decade Watanabe Sadao had become recognized as Japan's top alto-saxophonist.

In the years from his high school graduation in 1951 until the release of his premiere solo album in 1961, he had progressed from being a nervous apprentice musician to a confident alto-sax player who was leading Japanese jazz at the forefront of the Tokyo and Yokohama bebop scene. Watanabe's music shifted dramatically in this decade, from his beginnings emulating American dance bands like the Benny Goodman Orchestra, shifting into a rhythm and blues style before experimenting with bebop and seizing upon the Parker inspired style which was to make him famous. A cursory listen to his recorded performances during this decade easily reveals this musical and stylistic transformation, and also impresses upon the listener the significant influences of American artists like Benny Goodman, Earl Bostic and Charlie Parker. Watanabe's career was on the cusp of an era of

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[110] Takeshi Inomata, "The Course of Jazz (Popular) Music History in Japan," *Percussive Notes* 1984. p. 50.

[111] Uchida, *Nihon no Jazushi* p. 299.

great prosperity at the same time as the jazz scene in Japan as a whole was in the early stages of great transformation.

While the 1950s witnessed a growing interest among Japanese listeners in foreign jazz musicians, it was in the decade of the 1960s that the consequences of this mounting popularity and the negative impact on the lives of Japanese musicians became most apparent. The growing numbers of foreign artists visiting Japan and the huge fees they were able to command from Japanese concert promoters best exemplified this.[112] These visiting foreigners began to eclipse many native Japanese performers and further diminished any legitimacy and popularity they might have had. When Art Blakey and the Jazz Messengers toured Japan in 1961 they exploded onto the scene and ushered in what was known as the 'funky boom' in Japanese jazz. These 'funky' jazz musicians not only changed the popular aesthetic of jazz in Japan, which by now was competing with the emerging force and popularity of rock music, but also caused many Japanese to explore new stylistic avenues in jazz to express a uniquely Japanese quality.

It is rather ironic that even following the end of the occupation of Japan in 1952, many Japanese still tended to look towards the U.S. as a cultural leader. This was particularly the case within the realm of jazz. Perhaps this is less surprising considering the role the Americans played in initiating social and cultural reforms at the end of the war, as well as their part in establishing, and indeed bank rolling, many of Japan's musicians and entertainers in the immediate post-war era. Yet by the end of the 1950s, Japanese jazz musicians were no longer playing to foreign audiences who demanded a distinctly American style of jazz. Japan was gradually becoming less dependent on the U.S. economically and socially, and this growing independence fostered a new sense of purpose and identity within the Japanese jazz community. Free from the direct foreign control, yet still greatly influenced by American trends, members of the Japanese jazz community began to push the boundaries of jazz in Japan, searching for a form of expression which differed from

[112] Leonard Feather, "Tokyo Blues," *Down Beat*, September 10, 1964.

American versions and served to express the unique circumstances of its Japanese artists and fans.

Watanabe, however, left Japan and did not participate in the subsequent search for a 'truly' Japanese jazz, nor in further attempts to 'Japanize' jazz. Instead, he chose to follow a different path in the 1960s by studying in the United States at Berklee School of Music and by touring with musicians like Gary MacFarland and Chico Hamilton. It was an experience, which would dramatically change the trajectory of his career and music.

Chapter Four: Watanabe in the U.S.

Following the predominantly one-way flow of jazz musicians between the United States and Japan during the 1950s, the 1960s marked a new era of greater exchange for Japanese jazz artists both in the U.S. and abroad. The Japanese jazz community in the 1960s was characterized by internal conflicts and controversies over the dilemma of trying to create a uniquely Japanese style of jazz (*Nihonteki jazu*); this was a distinct departure from the earlier era when Watanabe Sadao and other artists had achieved growing popularity and success by satisfying the public with imitations of popular American jazz. Creating jazz with a uniquely 'Japanese' aesthetic was not a controversy played out solely among Japanese artists, critics and fans. In fact, it was played out as well through the foreign media, in the writings of various critics and the popular press and magazines, who clearly articulated their expectations of Japanese jazz artists to 'sound Japanese'. Japanese groups who managed to live up to the expectations of the foreign critics received great accolades and critical success, while those that did not, often received a much more subdued reception.[113]

Yet in spite of the expectations for 'exotic' or 'oriental' jazz, Watanabe Sadao did not incorporate or feel the need to incorporate a Japanese aesthetic into his music. Watanabe's response was quite the opposite, in fact. He felt a strong urge to follow more closely the styles and trends of more mainstream American jazz.

The three years Watanabe spent in the United States between 1962-65 left a lasting impact upon his professional career and personal life. His years in the U.S. were so important to Watanabe that he devoted an entire section of his 1969 biography, almost one third of the book, to them. During his stay, Watanabe Sadao played with such accomplished jazz musicians as Charles Mingus, Eric Dolphy, Art Blakey, Wayne Shorter, Ron Carter, Hank Jones and Tony Williams; and his relationships with African-American jazz icons figure prominently in his autobiography. While attending Berklee he was

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[113] Dave Jampel, "Japanese Jazzmen Invading Newport," *Variety*, June 14, 1967. 1967. p. 50.

introduced to Gary McFarland whose bossa nova-influenced band he joined for some ten months on tour before moving on to work with West Coast cool jazz inspired musicians Chico Hamilton and Gabor Szabo. His association with a diversity of musicians in America awakened Watanabe to jazz other than bebop, impressing on him a new appreciation for 'lighter' more 'spontaneous' stylings in his performance and arrangements. His newfound appreciation and understanding of fusion and Brazilian-inspired jazz would be reflected in his music for decades to come.

Jazz in the 1960s

The 1960s were an exciting period of growth and experimentation in jazz. In Europe and America, many players were investigating the music of other cultures and, perhaps as a result, they were introducing new sounds and instruments. Saxophonist Yusef Lateef, intrigued by the sounds of the Middle East as well as Africa, played the blues on oboe. He is often accredited with introducing Eastern scales into jazz recordings.[114] Other black musicians looked to Africa for inspiration, absorbing and trying to reproduce some aspects of African rhythm playing at a time when many African pop musicians were beginning to adapt African-American rhythm and blues.

The introduction of Brazilian sambas into jazz coincided with the African influence to produce a new interest in percussion instruments. John Coltrane, Ravi Shankar, and Pharaoh Sanders, among others, introduced cross-cultural elements in respect to instrumentation and rhythm into their music. Coltrane was a follower of eastern religions, and his religiosity was clearly a motivating force in albums like *A Love Supreme*, and *Om*.[115]

Music in the 1960s often had spiritual or political extra-musical associations. To some of these musicians, the stylistic and expressive freedom provided by the jazz idiom was directly linked to political or racial freedom. While this was predominantly the case in the

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[114] Lewis Porter, Michael Ullman, and Ed Hazell, *Jazz: From its Origins to the Present* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1993). p. 369.
[115] Donald E. Megill and Richard S. Demory, *Introduction to Jazz History* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1989). p. 201.

U.S., it was not completely absent from the Japanese jazz scene. Artists like Yamashita Yôsuke and his trio were active in the late 1960s political protest movements.[116] In the summer of 1969, for example, Yamashita and his avant-garde trio performed for a group of protesting students at Tokyo's Waseda University, indicating the existence of a connection between jazz and radical politics in Japan at that time. As Masahiko Satoh points out in the February 10, 1977 issue of *Down Beat*, Yamashita symbolized a kind of youthful unrest in Japan. Satoh writes, "During the 1970 jazz boom in Japan, underground jazz rose to an epochal height. At that time Japan was in the midst of opposing the 1970 Japan-U.S. Security Pact. The young Japanese confronted the established authority, applauding any movement that might lessen the strength of the established authority and supporting rock music and free style jazz."[117]

Other artists sought to pursue the creation of a distinctly 'Japanese' form of jazz, unique from its American counterpart either through instrumentation, or the incorporation of tradition Japanese folk songs or forms of music. Among these pioneering artists were musicians like Shiraki Hideo, whose performance of Japanese folk songs at the Berlin Jazz Festival in November 1965 was a precursor for other Japanese musicians applying a 'Japanese' aesthetic to their work. In July 1967 bandleader Nobuo Hara and the Sharps & Flats big band played a program of Japanese folk material for its Newport Jazz Festival appearance, accompanied by shakuhachi player, Yamamoto Hôzan. Writer Honda Toshio, who accompanied and reported on the band's performance at Newport, came to the conclusion in his book on modern jazz that "the average American's thinking is that Japanese orchestras should play Japanese songs."[118] This led to groups like Hideo Shiraki, who performed at the Berlin Jazz Festival in 1965, and Hara Nobuo's Sharps and Flats, who performed at Newport in 1967, to incorporate recognizably 'Japanese' aesthetics into

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[116] Shôichi, Yui, "Ningen dokyumento: Yamashita Yôsuke," *Jazz of Japan '82*, p. 149.
[117] Masahiko Satô. "Japan," *Down Beat*, February 10, 1977. p. 18, 43.
[118] Toshio Honda, *Modan Jazu (Modern Jazz)* (Tokyo: Shin Nippon Shinsho, 1989). p. 198-9. Cited in E. Taylor Atkins, "This is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980" (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996). p. 225.

their jazz through the varied use of traditional Japanese musical and percussion instruments, renditions of Japanese folks songs, and the use of traditional pentatonic scales in their music. While it could be argued that the overall usage of traditional elements did not take on large dimensions, nor garner enormous popularity, it was clearly a way in which Japanese musicians were beginning to create a meaningful expression of Japanese jazz. The belief that Japanese bands were most likely to be successful overseas if they were to play music which was identifiably 'Japanese' was more often than not confirmed by foreign audiences who expected originality from them.

Yet not all Japanese musicians travelling abroad adopted the strategies of 'politicizing' or 'indigenizing' their music, and Watanabe Sadao is one who did not. The question is, given the changing and tumultuous social and political climate both in Japan and the U.S. during the 1960s, why were these tendencies absent from Watanabe's music of that period? It is certainly not because Watanabe was isolated from musicians who were political and social activists, nor was it that Japanese society as a whole was unaware of the various movements associated with jazz during at this time. Indeed a great number of fans, musicians and jazz critics were following very closely the developments between jazz, race and politics in the U.S. during the 1960s, as was deliberated in the editorial pages of *Swing Journal* and various panel discussions.[119]

During one such panel discussion in 1968, Watanabe Sadao gave his opinion on the desirability of trying to achieve a Japanese style of jazz. "What is called 'Japan's own jazz' is vague...For instance, even Charlie Mariano's 'Rock Garden of Ryôan Temple' has a real Japanese feeling...But I don't feel that we should be playing just that kind of music."[120] Watanabe called upon players instead to develop a focus on original and individual styles rather than those grounded in an ethnic or national background. It would appear that Watanabe considered the search for 'roots' in jazz as irrelevant more than anything, and that

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[119] Leonard Feather, "Tokyo Blues," *Down Beat*, September 10, 1964. p. 23.
[120] Quoted in E. Taylor Atkins, "This is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980" (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996). p. 227.

true success in jazz equated to creating one's own identity and recognizable style. Certainly in this regard, Watanabe has been successful.

Watanabe's time in the U.S. between 1962-65, corresponded with a powerful period of political and social change in U.S. society. Jazz music was often being drawn upon by Afro-American groups as a form of primary expression of cultural distinctiveness. Black musicians sought to use jazz as an impetus for social change and as an avenue for political expression. As we have seen, this was largely not the case in Japan, where jazz was accepted largely based upon its artistic appeal and disassociated from much of the social and racial history it bore in the U.S. Thus, while the role of external meanings around jazz drew in particular from its Afro-American roots and became important in the articulation of a 'connective' culture that drew together a variety of marginalized groups in 1960s America, jazz in Japan during the same era served very different functions. While black jazz musicians and writers such as Amiri Baraka,[121] Charles Mingus, Archie Shepp, Sun Ra, and others, were helping to articulate and shape the concerns of thousands of African-Americans through their revolutionary words and their music, most Japanese jazz musicians were struggling simply to have their music heard.

Yet just as Watanabe had tried to downplay the role of ethnicity in the developing a legitimate form of 'Japanese jazz', so too did he downplay the potential political nature of jazz. In the conclusion of his autobiography, Watanabe makes this brief but strong statement on his views of the political use of jazz,

> ...some musicians are trying to do something about political action. This is futile in my opinion. Politics is for the politicians. What musicians can do is to hold charity concerts to garner support. While some Black American musicians are beginning to enact political demonstrations, I think that many of them are commercially motivated. Of course, I think the status [of Black Americans] must be raised and I admire their efforts, but I don't agree with their using jazz for those ends.[122]

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[121] See Imamu Amiri Baraka. *Blues People: Negro Music in White Culture.* New York: W. Morrow, 1963.
[122] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). p. 183.

Opposed to the politicization of jazz, Watanabe seemed to endorse a form of jazz which would steer clear of controversy and conflict--a position which is ironic given the historical circumstances from which the music originally arose.

Watanabe, the United States, and Modern Jazz

When Akiyoshi returned to Japan in February 1961 to play a number of concerts with husband and jazz saxophonist Charlie Mariano, she got together again with her friend and understudy, Watanabe Sadao. Akiyoshi's positive reception in the U.S. and eventual return to Japan was no doubt a great motivation for Watanabe to follow suit and spurred his interest in studying in the U.S. Eventually, however, Akiyoshi and Mariano found the environment for jazz in Japan quite limiting and decided to return to America. In a 1961 *Swing Journal* article, Mariano describes the situation that led to their retreat:

> The unfortunate aspect of this situation is that the Japanese jazz musician does not have the incentive or the competition that inspires the scuffling American musician. Furthermore they do not have the necessary outlets for scuffling--there are always places in New York where a musician can work for at least a little "bread," and there are also a great many more recording opportunities.
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> The attitude here is therefore, "there's no sense in improving, we have all the work we can handle (such as it is), and there's no place to play jazz anyhow!"
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> ...Toshiko and I have been conducting a workshop band, thinking that it would give the jazz players a chance to experiment and exchange ideas. But the sessions have been constantly plagued by absenteeism and a general apathy. One cat merely said, "Well, everyone has to make money."[123]

To help him on his way to Berklee, a group of Watanabe's musician friends held a fundraiser for him on June 28, 1962 at the Kusatsu Kaikan Hotel in Akasaka, Tokyo. The performers, among them Yagi Kazuo, Miyazawa Akira, and Harada Masanaga, managed to raise approximately ¥200,000 for Watanabe and his family to aid his transition in the U.S. and to

[123] Quoted in E. Taylor Atkins, "This is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980" (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996). p. 212.

support his family.[124] Ultimately, and with the encouragement of his wife, Watanabe left for Berklee on his own.

After several futile attempts to find Watanabe a sponsor in the United States (which included Mariano's sister, who unfortunately did not qualify), Akiyoshi finally arranged for Martha Fine, Chairperson of the Hartford Jazz Society at the time, and her husband Arthur, to sponsor Watanabe's entry to study in the U.S.[125] Watanabe points out that the sponsorship was only a formality to grant his entry into the U.S. The Fines did not actually provide him the $10 per day that was indicated on the sponsorship forms, nor did they provide him with housing.

Akiyoshi met Watanabe at the airport in New York and he stayed with her for several weeks touring the nightclubs and being introduced to a number of her musician friends. At the time of Watanabe's arrival, the summer of 1962, Akiyoshi was playing with Charles Mingus at New York's famous 'Five Spot' and was leading a successful career within the New York jazz scene.

Watanabe's initial reception in the U.S. has become somewhat mythical among jazz fans and critics alike in Japan. Authors like Iwanami Yôzô and Uchida Shôichi have written on numerous occasions about the legendary three weeks he spent in New York gigging with the likes of Mingus, Gillespie and Eric Dolphy, being dragged on stage to participate in famous jazz clubs like Manhattan's 'Five Spot'.[126] By his own accounts as well, Watanabe had finally 'arrived' in the jazz world, and in his biography he sets out to solidify his role as a bona fide and true jazz musician, seemingly despite his nationality, through his depiction of performances with other established American jazz musicians. Watanabe writes,

> One night I went to the 'Half Note'. Phil Woods, an alto-sax player was performing there with Julius Watkins. I introduced myself with my sax

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[124] Kôichi Uchida, *Nihon no Jazushi: Senzen, Sengo (Jazz History of Japan: Pre and Postwar).* (Tokyo: Swing Journalsha, 1976). p. 301.
[125] Kôichi Uchida, *Nihon no Jazushi: Senzen, Sengo (Jazz History of Japan: Pre and Postwar).* (Tokyo: Swing Journalsha, 1976). p. 302.
[126] Both Uchida (1976) and Iwanami (1982) recount Watanabe's reception in New York, and certainly do not hold back on their accolades or hyperbole on this event.

> and said that I was a friend of Akiyoshi's. I played on stage with him, and we immediately hit it off. I guess it was because we were both alto players, used the same mouthpieces, and both loved Parker. I really enjoyed it. When I played with [Charles] Mingus, ...I became really absorbed in playing together. In spite of our difficulty communicating in language, we shared a common tool called 'jazz' that allowed us to see into each other's soul. That is true jazzmen![127]

Recordings of Watanabe during this period, such as his 1961 solo album, attest to the fact that he was a proficient musician. However, as illustrated by this passage, oftentimes the accounts in his autobiography appear exaggerated. To attribute Watanabe's hyperbole to his own conceit is a difficult task; only days after his arrival in New York, were Watanabe's comments the result of his excitement and youthful enthusiasm, or indicative of a deeper egotism? Admittedly an autobiography is always something of a self-serving project, but in Watanabe's case, unsubtle self-indulgence would become his recognized signature as his career progressed.[128]

Watanabe left New York for Boston in mid-September 1962, to begin his studies at the Berklee School of Music. While at Berklee, Watanabe studied under jazz trumpeter Herb Pomeroy, and was invited to join his combo playing at Boston's "Jazz Workshop." Watanabe consistently ranked in the top categories of his classes at Berklee. By virtue of his talent and Akiyoshi's recommendations and support, he received a full four-year scholarship to the school. The Berklee scholarship did not include Watanabe's living expenses while at the school; and financial concerns quickly became a priority for him. As for the funds raised by his friends at his benefit concert at the Kusatsu Kaikan Hotel earlier in June, Watanabe had left all the funds to his family in Japan less his airline ticket to New York and roughly $200 USD for travel expenses.

After being introduced to much of Boston's jazz community through Pomeroy, Watanabe quickly established new friendships with other musicians. Through them he

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[127] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969).
[128] Gene Kalbacher, "Sadao Watanabe's Bop/Pop Chops," *Down Beat* 1987. Leonard Feather, "Watanabe and the Illusion of Fusion," *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 12 1980, VI:6.

began working with various friends' groups at small clubs in Boston, and eventually applied for and received his Musicians Union Card, paying the $150 fee in monthly installments. At a time when musicians were earning around $5 a night for non-union gigs, union membership was seen as the ticket to the highly profitable engagements where they could earn upwards of $100 a week.[129] That same year, Akiyoshi was once again instrumental in assisting Watanabe's career, when she invited him to join an 'International' jazz quintet that she had put together to play at Boston's 'Konitz' jazz club. That group provided great exposure for Watanabe in the Boston area, and landed him the opportunity to mix with members of several Harvard University jazz clubs and land even more gigs. Watanabe was obtaining union jobs that were much more lucrative financially, but they often involved travel and extended stays away from Boston and that was beginning to interfere with his studies.

By the spring of 1963 Watanabe was working steadily, playing every weekend, and oftentimes weeknights as well. After roughly ten months in the U.S., Watanabe had managed to save over $1,000. He was now feeling financially secure and comfortable enough in the U.S. to call for his family to join him in the summer of 1963.

The following year, Watanabe took what was supposed to be a temporary absence from Berklee to pursue his career and returned to New York to play with Gary McFarland. McFarland called Herb Pomeroy to tell him about auditions that he was holding to find a flutist and tenor-sax player for his group. Watanabe came strongly recommended by Pomeroy and he left immediately to audition in New York for McFarland. Playing with McFarland was Watanabe's first formal introduction to bossa nova and fusion styles of jazz, and would come to signify yet another shift in his musical style and career. Watanabe was hired on the spot, and started with the band the very next day earning $50 for his first

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[129] According to Watanabe, he made on average $5 a night for non-union gigs, which he relied on for the majority of his income. Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969).

gig.[130] Watanabe was also introduced to Eddy Gomez (bass) and Gabor Szabo (guitar), who were also in the band at this time.

Watanabe played a number of times with McFarland, but it was by no means as a permanent member of the group. Gabor Szabo was also playing with Chico Hamilton who invited Watanabe to play with them after tenorist Jimmy Wood left the band in 1964. After returning home to Boston for only two weeks, Watanabe was again called back New York, this time to meet Hamilton and try out for his group. Again Watanabe was favorably received, and began a two-week East Coast tour with Hamilton, playing at Washington's 'Bohemian Cavern' and the 'Crawford Lounge' in Pittsburgh. Shortly after this, in May 1964, McFarland again called upon Watanabe to join his band for a ten-week West Coast tour, playing around Los Angeles, San Francisco and Seattle.[131]

While playing with McFarland's band, Watanabe learned an extensive repertoire of close to thirty pieces that the composer had arranged. Through McFarland, Watanabe was introduced to bossa nova, samba, and new jazz stylings of pop music favorites such as the Beatles. Watanabe recalled one occasion when the group was playing at 'Basin Street' in San Francisco. He and McFarland went to the club across the street where Sergio Mendes and Brazil '65 were playing on tour. After a self-defined period of not fully understanding the type of music that McFarland and Hamilton were trying to play, being rather 'bored' and 'resistant' to the music, Watanabe quickly grew fonder of the innovative stylings of pop-jazz fusion and bossa nova.[132]

Hearing Mendes in San Francisco was indeed a turning point in Watanabe's musical career when he began to expand beyond his bebop-based roots and shift towards a new

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[130] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). p. 88.
[131] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). pp. 88-91.
[132] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). p. 94.

fusion style of jazz, losing his prejudice against easy listening and popular music.[133] His shift in styles can be easily distinguished on albums like Watanabe's 1961 self-titled album, *Watanabe Sadao* which is in a bebop style, and his later Latin-inspired, easy listening albums like his 1965 *Watanabe Sadao Plays*, and his seminal 1966 album, *Jazz & Bossa.*[134]

So proficient became Watanabe at this lighter style of jazz, that he recorded two records in the U.S. during 1965 with McFarland and Hamilton, McFarland's *The In Sound*, and Hamilton's *El Chico.*[135] In August of 1965 Watanabe was invited to participate in the *Down Beat* Jazz Festival in Chicago by McFarland who was leading both the fourteen piece festival orchestra, featuring such musicians as Dizzy Gillespie, Thelonius Monk, and Stan Getz, as well as his own quintet, with regular members, Watanabe, Gabor Szabo, Eddie Gomez, and drummer Joe Cocuzzo. In a *Down Beat* review of the festival featuring a photo of Watanabe, reporter Buck Walmsley commented, "McFarland's quintet, with the leader playing vibes, performed *Train Samba* each night and spotted consistently fine Watanabe flute work."[136] While the alto-saxophone was in fact Watanabe's musical mainstay, the acknowledgement of his proficiency on the flute by the jazz establishment signified yet another important milestone in Watanabe's career, as he became a recognized name in the U.S. jazz scene.

After the *Down Beat* Jazz Festival, Watanabe went back to traveling and playing with the Hamilton group on the West Coast, embracing the light pulse of Hamilton's West Coast cool jazz. By early summer Hamilton had begun preparations for a Japan tour of the group for August of 1965. In anticipation of this trip, Watanabe had arranged for his wife and daughter to return to Japan several months ahead of him, so that he could meet up with them in Tokyo before returning together to Boston after the tour. Unfortunately,

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[133] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). pp. 94-5.
[134] Watanabe Sadao/*Watanabe Sadao* (King: SKC8, 1961); Watanabe Sadao/*Watanabe Sadao Plays* (Polydor: SLJM-1262, 1965); Watanabe Sadao/*Jazz & Bossa* (Takt: JAZZ1, 1966).
[135] *El Chico*/Chico Hamilton, Impulse AS-9101 *Gypsy '66*/Gabor Szabo, Impulse AS-9105; *The In Sound*, Verve SMV-1058.
[136] Buck Walmsley, "Down Beat Jazz Festival," *Down Beat*, Sept. 23 1965. p. 20.

Watanabe's good luck was about to change. Chico unexpectedly announced that the Japan tour had been cancelled; and U.S. Immigration officials realized that he had withdrawn from school and was in the U.S. illegally on a student visa.[137]

Despite what writers often refer to as "Watanabe's choice to leave the U.S." his departure had in fact very little to do with any choice on his part. Jazz writer Uchida Kôichi was one such journalist who put Watanabe's departure from the U.S. down to such factors as lack of work in New York, stomach problems, depression and homesickness.[138] Former *Swing Journal* editor, Iwanami Yôzô, has also down-played the fact that Watanabe was required to return to Japan and attributes his departure to more altruistic ends.[139] Like many others writing in retrospect, these writers portray Watanabe's return as a selfless move to support the Japanese jazz scene and impart to a new generation of young Japanese musicians the skills and techniques he had acquired during his time at Berklee. This is not to deny his key role in revitalizing the jazz scene in Japan following his return in November of 1965, as will be explored in chapter five, but rather to establish that this was not the primary motivating force behind his return to Japan.

The circumstances surrounding Watanabe's departure from the U.S. are vague at best, and even his own autobiography provides little information to shed light on Hamilton's decision to cancel the tour, and Watanabe's immigration difficulties. It was when he returned to Boston from the West Coast in September of 1965 that Watanabe's problems began. According to Watanabe,

> The immigration office noticed that I had withdrawn from school, and called to verify this with the school. The school couldn't lie. That's why it was necessary for me to leave the U.S. Once Gary and Chico got the news, they tried to help me stay in the country. They arranged for Gary's manager to sponsor me and collected American newspaper and magazine articles on me, as well as letters from famous musicians claiming that I

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[137] Kôichi Uchida, *Nihon no Jazushi: Senzen, Sengo (Jazz History of Japan: Pre and Postwar).* (Tokyo: Swing Journalsha, 1976). p. 308.
[138] Kôichi Uchida, *Nihon no Jazushi: Senzen, Sengo (Jazz History of Japan: Pre and Postwar).* (Tokyo: Swing Journalsha, 1976). p. 308.
[139] Yôzô Iwanami, *Nihon no Jazu Men (Jazz Men of Japan)* (Tokyo: Tairiku Shobou, 1982). pp. 15-6.

> was an important part of the U.S. jazz scene and should be granted a permanent visa.[140]

However this was not enough to convince U.S. Immigration officials, and Watanabe was ordered to leave the country immediately.

Watanabe arrived in Japan on November 15, 1965 having decided to return only four days earlier. Not expecting to return to Japan permanently, Watanabe intended to work in Japan for several months to earn enough money to return to the U.S. in the early spring.[141] Before leaving the U.S. Watanabe's friend, Arakawa Yasuo, who was also attending Berklee, advised him, "[in Japan] there are no real gigs, just ones at coffeeshops. While the young guys are pretty keen, our old friends are not so positive."[142] In spite of the bleak prospects for jazz that Japan offered for Watanabe in 1965, and against the better judgement of his friends, Watanabe was compelled to continue on his path to jazz, and to do so playing the new styles of music he had learned in the U.S.

This was an attitude reiterated within the editorial pages of *Swing Journal* where they discussed the general downturn of jazz in Japan during 1965, following the boom of foreigners in the preceding years.[143] Pianist George Gruntz, who toured Japan with Helen Merrill in February 1963, remarked on the Japanese jazz scene of the time, "[T]here are no places to go to just play. There are lots of clubs, but no real jazz ones. Most of the jazz seems to be played on record for coffeehouses. And surprisingly, I never heard any of the musicians invite each other to any kind of session. Apparently that kind of thing isn't done."[144]

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[140] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). p. 126.
[141] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). p. 129.
[142] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). p.139.
[143] See Chapter 6 of Atkins, where provides an account of the general malaise and downturn in the Japanese jazz scene of the 1960s.
[144] "Japan Has Almost Everything--Except Jazz Soloists," *Down Beat*, May 9, 1963. p. 8.

Reporting on an international jazz festival in Tokyo during the mid-1960s for *Down Beat* Magazine, Leonard Feather wrote, "The Japanese jazz mystique is associated almost exclusively with Americans. But the fans will tolerate and even endorse a Japanese artist in the right context, especially when there is a background of American acceptance."[145] While jazz was popular in the 1960s in Japan, the popularity was focused on a select group of foreign artists, precisely why, Iwanami Yôzô suggests, Watanabe, Akiyoshi, and a growing number of Japanese nationals went to the U.S. in the first place.[146]

Jazz in Japan in the 1960s

During the period when Watanabe was studying and touring in the U.S., Japan experienced what is often referred to by critics as a "rush" of foreign artists (*rainichi rashu*).[147] There was an influx of western jazz musicians during the early 1960s driven primarily by financial motives. Many artists and promoters considered Japan a lucrative gig, declaring "Thank God for Japan!" and "It's turning out to be a second Nevada."[148] Demand for foreign artists was great and sparked a number of editorials in Japan's *Swing Journal* during the 1960s that focused on the American jazz scene and the rush of foreigners to Japan at the time. The jazz audience in Japan followed with great interest the goings on, musical and otherwise, of the jazz scene in the U.S.[149]

This rush topped out during the mid-sixties, with 1963-1964 being the peak period for foreign artists coming to Japan.[150] American jazz players were beginning to gain the same celebrity status of such Hollywood stars or pop idols as Frank Sinatra and Elvis Presley. This mounting popularity had many effects on Japanese performers during the

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[145] Leonard Feather, "Tokyo Blues," *Down Beat*, September 10, 1964. p. 22.
[146] Yôzô Iwanami, *Nihon no Jazu Men (Jazz Men of Japan)* (Tokyo: Tairiku Shobou, 1982). p. 17.
[147] Yôzô Iwanami, "Rokujunendai Nihon no Jazu (Japanese Jazz in the Sixties)," *Jazu Hihyô* 1994. p. 244.
[148] Leonard Feather, "Tokyo Blues," *Down Beat*, September 10, 1964. p. 21.
[149] Yôzô Iwanami, "Rokujunendai Nihon no Jazu (Japanese Jazz in the Sixties)," *Jazu Hihyô* 1994. p. 244.
[150] A full list of these visiting artists appears in Watanabe's chronology of jazz in Japan, Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). pp. 214-15.

sixties. More access to American jazz recordings, more frequent visits by touring jazz artists, and the growing popularity of these visiting foreigners, greatly diminished any legitimacy and popularity Japanese jazz musicians might have had, causing widespread concern among Japanese performers. Cognizant of the shift in popularity as early as 1960, small groups of Japanese performers began to form avant-garde and experimental collectives. These organizations sought ways in which to offer the Japanese people and musicians jazz of a uniquely Japanese character. This type of music appealed to growing numbers of college students, avant-garde artists and musicians, who were packing themselves into the tiny Ginparis coffeeshop in Tokyo's Ginza district, where jazz performances often crossed over into the realm of performance art.

Among the musicians who performed at the Ginparis sessions were members of the earlier collective known as the 'Jazz Academy', including Kanai Hideto (bass), Yamashita Yôsuke (piano), Takayanagi Masayuki (guitar), Kikuchi Masabumi (piano), and Togashi Masahiko (drums) to mention but a few. The 'Jazz Academy' which had formed in 1960 under the direction of guitarist Kanai Hideto, had started out performing in various coffeeshops and clubs in Yokohama and Nagoya and in time had garnered a reputation that allowed Takayanagi to successfully negotiate a regular performance at the Ginparis, known as 'The Friday Jazz Corner'.[151] The group renamed itself the New Century Music Research Institute (*Shinseiki Ongaku Kenkyûjo*) in 1962 and dissolved soon thereafter, but it was the musicians of this group, Kikuchi, Togashi, and Hino, who, along with Watanabe and others, would lead the Japanese jazz scene to greater prosperity in the late 1960s.

Another musician who performed overseas and brought more attention to Japanese artists during the 1960s was tenor-saxophonist Matsumoto Hidehiko. In September of 1963 Matsumoto left the Hideo Shiraki quartet and traveled to the U.S. to play at the Monterey Jazz Festival. While in the U.S. he was greatly influenced by the 'modal' jazz style

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[151] Kôichi Uchida, *Nihon no Jazushi: Senzen, Sengo (Jazz History of Japan: Pre and Postwar).* (Tokyo: Swing Journalsha, 1976). pp. 305-07.

of John Coltrane. When he returned to Japan the following year, Matsumoto sought to create a group playing this style of music and enlisted the help of fellow musicians, Sugano Kunihiko (piano), Suzuki Isao (bass), and George Otsuka (drums). Popularly and critically received both in America and Japan, in 1966 Matsumoto's modern jazz group won the 1966 *Swing Journal* reader's poll for best combo.[152]

Watanabe's Time in America

The three and a half years between 1962 to 1965 that Watanabe spent studying and performing in the U.S. were to have a lasting influence on the musician's career. His accomplishments during that period were numerous and brought him a level of recognition among circles of American jazz critics and musicians alike. Watanabe recorded no less than eight times in the U.S.; four times with various groups at Berklee, "El Chico" with Chico Hamilton, "Gypsy 66" with Gabor Szabo, and "The In Sound" with Gary McFarland.[153] It was the opportunity of working with both Gary McFarland and Chico Hamilton, and the thought that he had learned all that he could at Berklee, that finally persuaded Watanabe to withdraw from school in 1964 just shy of completing his degree. Certainly from the perspective of his career, McFarland and Hamilton were highly influential in broadening Watanabe's musical horizons and technical skills.

Watanabe toured both the East Coast and West, playing some of the best clubs with some of the best jazz musicians in the world, and received heavy press coverage in both the U.S. and Japan when he was invited to perform at Chicago's *Down Beat* Jazz Festival with Gary McFarland in 1965.[154] Perhaps the most revealing of his impressions and experiences in the U.S. is Watanabe's own account. In his 1969 autobiography Watanabe writes:

> I think I gained my musical sensibility while in the U.S. By this I mean I learned to be adaptable; I became familiar with a variety of types of music, and how to perform onstage. I would say that I learned a lot from

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[152] Kôichi Uchida, *Nihon no Jazushi: Senzen, Sengo (Jazz History of Japan: Pre and Postwar).* (Tokyo: Swing Journalsha, 1976). p. 307.
[153] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). p. 118.
[154] See Buck Walmsley, "Down Beat Jazz Festival," *Down Beat*, Sept. 23 1965.

> meeting so many excellent musicians, rather than say they influenced me. [When I returned from the U.S., I found that] Japanese groups on the whole, were almost the same as before [I left]. They're always chasing after the American groups, but since I had been to the U.S., I had a much broader perspective towards music.[155]

Watanabe places some distance between himself and other Japanese jazz musicians, by suggesting that somehow his jazz is more authentic and less derivative than that of his fellow countrymen; that in fact while the majority of Japanese musicians were imitators, he certainly was not. Some would agree that his approach to jazz through the popular and Brazilian inspired genres was a distinct departure from the mainstream of jazz in Japan during the mid- to late 1960s, and in that regard Watanabe was indeed a leader--a fact that his best-selling, 1966 album *Jazz & Bossa* attests to. Furthermore, Watanabe's period of study in the U.S., and his associations with artists such as Mingus, Gillespie, Phil Woods, Stan Getz, Gary McFarland and Chico Hamilton, placed him, through practical experience, in a category apart from his Japanese contemporaries, both technically and stylistically.

Watanabe had chosen to pursue an original direction of music in Japan in 1965, but in contrast to broader trends within the jazz world outside of Japan, his music was by no means innovative and new. In Japan, Watanabe's name quickly became synonymous with the bossa nova style. In the U.S. bossa nova had become popular years earlier when it was introduced by artists like Stan Getz, Charlie Byrd and Joao Gilberto at the start of the 1960s.[156] In this regard Watanabe seemed more to be catching a passing trend, and responding to the success of many musicians before him, than providing a new direction or innovation in jazz.

One person who continued to exert a powerful influence on Watanabe's career throughout the 1960s was Akiyoshi Toshiko. She has been one of Japan's most creative jazz

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[155] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). pp. 121-2.

[156] Lewis Porter, Michael Ullman, and Ed Hazell, *Jazz: From its Origins to the Present* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1993). pp. 365-9.

musicians and her life and career is a subject worthy of much more attention than can be provided by this thesis. It was she who forged the path to the U.S. for aspiring Japanese jazz musicians, when she began her study at Berklee in 1956. Just as she had done during the 1950s, Akiyoshi provided guidance, friendship and advice to her protégé during his time in America. Truly, much of Watanabe's success in the U.S. was due to the opportunities and associations provided to him through her. It was Akiyoshi who had encouraged Watanabe to study at Berklee, found him sponsorship and a scholarship through the Hartford Jazz Society in Boston, and introduced him to musicians like Charlie Mingus, Eric Dolphy and Dizzy Gillespie.[157] The relationship between Watanabe and Akiyoshi, while strong during the early part of the 1960s, gradually diminished in the later half of the decade after she left Japan disillusioned with the scene there and began to pursue a career arranging and composing jazz in New York.

Watanabe arrived at Tokyo's Haneda airport on November 15, 1965 to a warm reception by family, friends and a number of critics and editors of *Swing Journal.* Iwanami Yôzô was among those who greeted Watanabe at the airport, and later interviewed him at his hotel for the December issue of *Swing Journal.* Watanabe, brimming with enthusiasm and full of confidence, held a copy of a Sergio Mendes album tucked under his arm and spoke of his life in the U.S. and his aspirations for the future: "I gained confidence in my self, that what I was doing in Japan was right. I have lost my [inferiority] complex. I love bossa nova and want to play that here. I want to get together with my friends who feel the same way to form a group and play some gigs. Day and night, I just have to go for it."[158]

Indeed, the very next day Watanabe did "go for it," playing at *Jazz Gallery 8*, a live jazz spot in Tokyo's Ginza district, the only one in Tokyo at the time dedicated solely to jazz

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[157] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969); Yôzô Iwanami, *Nihon no Jazu Men (Jazz Men of Japan)* (Tokyo: Tairiku Shobou, 1982); Kôichi Uchida, *Nihon no Jazushi: Senzen, Sengo (Jazz History of Japan: Pre and Postwar).* (Tokyo: Swing Journalsha, 1976).

[158] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). pp. 135-6; Yôzô Iwanami, *Nihon no Jazu Men (Jazz Men of Japan)* (Tokyo: Tairiku Shobou, 1982). p. 16.

performances. Opened by several former members of the New Century Music Research Institute in July 1964, Jazz Gallery 8 set the trend for other live jazz spots which would open in years to come, such as Shinjuku's Pitt Inn and Taro, which would open in 1966. [159] Watanabe played to a receptive audience who commented on his strong performance and new bossa nova style a departure from his earlier Parker-influenced days.[160]

As Watanabe himself states in his interview for *Swing Journal*, he felt a strong sense of confidence in his performance and the bossa nova style of jazz that he was intent on introducing to Japan. His timing could not have been better, for after a number of widely publicized drug incidents in 1965 involving foreign jazz musicians the Japanese government was prompted to temporarily halt the influx of American jazzmen.[161] With jazz interest in Japan at an all-time high, but a shortage of foreign artists to meet this demand, the stage seemed set for Japanese musicians to rise to the challenge. In possession of a broad range of technical and stylistic skills he had acquired in the U.S., and a veteran of concert and stage both in Japan and the U.S., Watanabe now seemed poised to breathe new life and direction into Japan's jazz world.

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[159] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). p. 215.
[160] Yôzô Iwanami, *Nihon no Jazu Men (Jazz Men of Japan)* (Tokyo: Tairiku Shobou, 1982). p. 16.
[161] Max E. Lash, "Japan's First Jazz School," *Down Beat* 1969. p. 40.

Chapter Five: Watanabe The Leader

Employment opportunities for jazz musicians in clubs and other venues throughout Japan continued to improve gradually through the latter half of the 1960s. With the growing number of institutional and artistic resources to draw upon, Japanese jazz musicians were clearly becoming more accomplished and recognized internationally. The growing acceptance of jazz in Japan climaxed towards the end of the decade, and Watanabe was at the forefront of this burgeoning and diverse scene.

Although Japanese musicians were gaining new confidence and embarking on new artistic directions in their music, American jazz and artists continued to be a highly influential force. Strong demand and high profits for foreign artists in Japan continued to draw tours by jazzmen from America during the first half of the 1960s. As in earlier decades, America continued to hold a significant place in the imaginations of many Japanese jazz musicians. They, like Watanabe, viewed America as an important testing ground for their talent and skills--with the jazz clubs of New York as the center of jazz, the jazz sounds of musicians from Japan, an island in East Asia, seemed somehow less genuine. The growing numbers of Japanese musicians traveling to the U.S. to study and perform during the late 1960s seemed contradictory in light of the growing independence and success that the jazz scene in Japan had achieved.

Watanabe's Homecoming

Watanabe returned home to Tokyo in November 1965 after three and a half years of study and performance in the U.S., just shy of completing his degree at the Berklee School of Music in Boston. Within days of returning he was performing at various jazz coffeeshops, and reacquainting himself with his former colleagues. Watanabe was now in possession of a wealth of practical experience and knowledge, which placed him in a position to breathe new life into the Japanese jazz scene and lead jazz to new levels of

popularity and prosperity in Japan during the 1960s and 1970s. Commenting on Watanabe's musical transformation when he returned to Japan, Iwanami Yôzô wrote,

> ...he played the only shop where people can listen to live jazz in Tokyo, Jazz Gallery 8, the very next day [after his arrival]. I listened to him and I was amazed...his music had become broader, melodious, swinging powerfully, with real punch to it...I doubt there are many musicians as good as him even in the U.S. The reason for these exceptional results in only three and a half years in the U.S. is nothing short of his individual talent. Sadao stirred up the jazz scene at the beginning of what was to be a new era of Japanese jazz. Sadao led the progress of Japanese jazz each step of the way. Fans noticed that Sadao had the same quality of play as the top American jazzmen. They would get together at the jazz coffeeshops to listen to him play. It was only when he played that the shops ever filled up.[162]

Unlike the early 1960s, when Japanese musicians faced unprecedented and stiff competition from American jazz musicians who came to Japan, in the latter half of the decade they faced much less rivalry from American jazz tours. In a 1964 *Down Beat* article after observing the popularity of foreign artists in Japan, Leonard Feather seemed to foretell the situation to come,

> Japan is not another Nevada, nor even another Manhattan. Its domestic jazz, and its pattern of jazz importation, cannot be developed on the basis of this inflated assumption. In order to make artistic and financial sense, the current Oriental gold rush has to be slowed down and a practical procedure established...If the Japanese jazz musician can be given an even break, and the American visits can be properly spaced and geared to realistic facts and figures, there is no reason why Japan should not be firmly established--and many observers feel it already is established--as the second jazz country of the world.[163]

Indeed, following a series of widely publicized drug incidents beginning in 1965 involving artists such as Elvin Jones, Curtis Fuller, and Tony Williams, the jazz scene and foreign artists in particular had fallen into disrepute. With the rush of musicians at its height, the Japanese government was prompted to halt temporarily the influx of American jazzmen. While Japanese reluctance to admit U.S. jazzmen was nothing new, the policy making it

[162] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). p. 136.
[163] Leonard Feather, "Tokyo Blues," *Down Beat*, September 10, 1964. p. 23.

clear that no musician with a record of convictions would be admitted--regardless of the nature of the conviction--became much more strictly enforced.[164]

It was not until 1968 that the number of foreign artists visiting Japan began to increase again with tours conducted by Sonny Rollins, Stan Getz and others.[165] Yet incidents of discrimination against foreign jazzmen occurred up until the end of the decade. In once such incident Miles Davis' January 1969 tour of Japan had to be cancelled at the last minute when Japanese officials refused to grant visas to the group. While Davis himself had never been convicted of any offense, the fact that he had a previous arrest record (one for parking tickets) suggests that the Japanese policy of exclusion had been broadened to include simple arrest without conviction.[166] The sudden turn-about of policy towards visiting artists in the mid-1960s prompted accusations of discrimination by artists and management who viewed the policy with surprise and disbelief. One article noted, "considering the great popularity of American jazz in Japan, the government's discriminatory policy towards its foremost practitioners appears to go beyond the normal boundaries of inscrutability."[167]

Whether the move to limit the flow of foreign artists into Japan was motivated by anything other than legal considerations is difficult to prove and remains very much open to speculation. However, placed in historical perspective it appears as more than chance that the crackdown on foreign musician coincided with several other events in Japanese society. First was a growing movement towards unionization within the music industry in Japan, and a strengthened call for the domestic industry to employ more Japanese composers, arrangers, and musicians, precluding foreign artists.[168] During the period of 1964 to 1969,

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[164] "Japanese Wreck Tour by Miles Davis Group," *Down Beat*, Feb. 20, 1969. p. 10.
[165] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). p. 216.
[166] "Japanese Wreck Tour by Miles Davis Group," *Down Beat*, Feb. 20, 1969.
[167] "Japanese Wreck Tour by Miles Davis Group," *Down Beat*, Feb. 20, 1969. p. 10.
[168] Watanabe was involved in establishing the Japanese Jazz Association, and was greatly concerned with the lack of a musicians union in Japan, see Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). pp. 180-3.

organizations such as the All-Japan Band Association, and the influential publishing company, *Ongaku-no-Tomo Sha*, took moves to promote Japanese composers, including policies requiring pieces written by Japanese composers as required repertoire for various classes and competitions.[169]

In light of the growing political unrest and student protest during the late 1960s, the government may well have perceived a connection between foreign jazz groups and rising dissent among Japanese youth. It was students in particular who were involved in the political protest movements in the late 1960s, and again it was students who were the primary audience base for the increasing number of jazz clubs and coffeeshops.[170] In the historical context of Japanese society in the late 1960s, the correlation between these events and the increased vigilance of Japanese officials appears to be more than coincidence.

Worldwide, jazz in the late 1960s was losing ground to rock and popular music in terms of popularity. In the U.S., clubs were succumbing to commercial pressures, and rising rents and shifting tastes in music resulted in the closing of many venues that had previously sustained jazz. Racial tensions in the jazz world may have scared some listeners off, especially white fans who heard the insistence of young musicians that jazz was a black music, and wondered where they fit in.[171] Yet jazz in Japan was in the process of a strong resurgence. Watanabe arrived at this rather opportune time, at the start of this resurgence when the jazz scene was lacking a charismatic leader who could lead the jazz scene in Japan to new heights.

Key to his establishment as the figurehead of Japanese jazz were three main events; first was his role in the establishment of Japan's first jazz school, second was the release of

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[169] Yoshihiro Obata, "The Band in Japan From 1945-1970: A study of its history and the factors influencing its growth during this period." (Ph.D., Michigan State University, 1974). pp. 83, 99.

[170] Watanabe mentions the large number of students who attended his concerts and gigs during the late 1960s, see Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). p. 144. See also E. Taylor Atkins, "This is Our Music: Authenticating Japanese Jazz, 1920-1980" (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996). pp. 222-3.

[171] See R. Serge Denisoff and Richard A. Peterson, eds., *The Sounds of Social Change* (New York: Rand McNally, 1972), particularly Chapter 2, "Sounds of Black Protest in Avant-garde Jazz."

his 1967 album, 'Jazz and Bossa', and third, was his performance at the 1968 Newport Jazz Festival in Boston. Let us first consider Watanabe's role in introducing formalized jazz education to Japan upon his return in 1965. While music schools teaching popular music in Japan had existed well before the 1960s, the creation of a formal jazz pedagogy in Japan by Watanabe reflected not only the growing demand and popularity for this type of instruction among potential students, but also the recognition that jazz, with the proper instruction and training, could in fact be mastered by Japanese musicians.[172] Watanabe accomplished this in large part through his newly appointed role as director of the new jazz section in the Yamaha Institute of Popular Music in February of 1966.

The Yamaha Institute of Popular Music

Watanabe returned from the U.S. armed with three years of notes and ideas gained at Berklee, eager to set about educating friends and fellow musicians with all that he had learned. Historically, Japan had very limited means for formal training for jazz musicians. There were schools of jazz before the Yamaha Institute set up its jazz program, however they were few in number and small. Jazz was a foreign product to Japan, and generations prior to Watanabe's had little choice but to travel overseas to study and learn, or had to acquire their skills through listening and imitation. Writing on music education in Japan, Max Lash explains,

> All teaching of harmony, etc. at other Japanese schools of music is based on the classics. Until the founding of the Yamaha Institute, any musician interested in modern arranging learned from books ordered from the U.S. or by listening closely to imported records. As a result, an entire generation of imitators was spawned. Album after album released by Japanese recording companies was conspicuous for complete lack of originality. Everything sounded like something that had already been heard from Count Basie, Glenn Miller, Les and Larry Elgart, Quincy Jones....[173]

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[172] Max E. Lash, "Japan's First Jazz School," *Down Beat* 1969.
[173] Max E. Lash, "Japan's First Jazz School," *Down Beat* 1969. p. 41.

Lash's comments in this case are no doubt overstated; we can only assume that he was unaware of such avant-garde artists as Yamashita, Togashi and the New Century Music Research Institute, as well as recordings exhibiting original jazz by Japanese musicians, such as the Ginparis sessions and King jazz series. Lash's personal opinions of Japanese jazz artists in the 1960s as 'a generation of imitators' and 'lacking originality' are characteristic of the bias and prejudice that surrounds jazz in Japan. However, for a number of Japanese musicians Lash's charges of imitation and mimicry do ring true.

Before the introduction of jazz education, many Japanese jazz musicians copied melodies, compositions and improvisory solos from records, often note for note, and often without thorough understanding of the musical mechanics and technicalities. This copying of music by Japanese performers did not reflect the personal expression or interpretation of the performer. It should be mentioned that this method of learning was, of course, the same for aspiring jazz players in the U.S. Copying solos, and imitating musical techniques and style, etc. is how many famous U.S. musicians began their careers.

Shortly after he had returned to Japan, Miyazawa Akira and Kikuchi Masabumi asked Watanabe to teach them the techniques he had learned at Berklee and offered to pay him for his time. Unemployed at the time, Watanabe was only too happy to proffer his newly acquired knowledge and skills to earn some extra money. Watanabe comments,

> I had no income in those days [after returning to Japan], so I started to give classes in my home. Everyone got together and pooled their funds. About ten musicians gathered. In several months I had taught them everything I had learnt. After that, however, other musicians began coming by. So I made three classes, set up a blackboard, and started the school more seriously...At the time there weren't any schools in Japan that taught real theory and practice. That might be the reason that Japanese jazz didn't develop.[174]

After establishing the school in his own home, Watanabe was approached shortly thereafter by businessman and avid jazz fan Kawakami Genichi, president of Japanese

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[174] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). p. 140.

musical instrument manufacturer Yamaha,[175] to start up and head the school of jazz. With Kawakami's encouragement and financial support, Watanabe quickly set about recruiting a number of Japan's top jazz musicians to teach at the school. Among these were drummers Togashi Masahiko and Harada Masanaga, and pianist Kikuchi Masabumi.[176]

Under Watanabe's leadership and direction the jazz school was closely modeled after the curriculum and teaching methods of Berklee, becoming essentially the "Japanese Berklee". Prior to the establishment of the Yamaha jazz school, all teaching of harmony, etc. at other Japanese schools of music was based primarily on western classical music and any musician interested in modern composition and arrangement was forced to study abroad, or learn from imported books and records.[177] While the Yamaha Institute was not the first school in Japan to teach offerings in jazz and popular music instruction, it certainly was the largest and most popular. The foundation was first established in the mid-1950s in response to a growing demand for formalized musical training, and by the 1960s had grown to an enrolment of 250,000 students at roughly 3,000 locations around Japan.[178] At the time was probably the largest school of its kind in the world.

The concept of a jazz school in Japan appeared as something of novelty and quickly caught the eye of the American press as well. A 1969 *Down Beat* article describes the development of the school and the career of Watanabe, bestowing accolades upon him, commenting, "Jazz was never really in danger of dying out in Japan. Now, however, it has reached a new peak of acceptance, thanks largely to the efforts of Yamaha and Sadao Watanabe, Japan's jazzman for all sessions."[179] With Watanabe and other well-known musicians as faculty members, Yamaha launched a nation-wide advertising campaign

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[175] Yamaha is known in Japanese as the *Nippon Gakki Seizo Kaisha.*
[176] Max E. Lash, "Japan's First Jazz School," *Down Beat* 1969. p. 41.
[177] See Ikuma Dan and Trans. Dorothy G. Britton, "The Influence of Japanese Traditional Music on the Development of Western Music in Japan," *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 3rd Series, 8, no. Dec. (1961).
[178] Max E. Lash, "Japan's First Jazz School," *Down Beat* 1969.
[179] Max E. Lash, "Japan's First Jazz School," *Down Beat* 1969. p. 41.

announcing the inauguration of the school in Tokyo and quickly attracted a large number of eager students.

Watanabe worked to standardize and codify the teaching of jazz in Japan based on the Berklee style and inspired and influenced Japanese musicians for generations to come. A number of Japanese musicians such as Watanabe's former pianist with his quartet, Kikuchi Masabumi, left to study in the U.S. at Berklee. Kikuchi began his studies at Berklee in 1969, the same year that Watanabe' other proteges, Satô Masahiko and Arakawa Yasuo, graduated and returned to Japan.[180] Indeed, through Watanabe's efforts, jazz musicians in Japan had now greater opportunities than ever to receive a formal program of training in jazz that incorporated the latest American developments.

Sadao Watanabe Quartet and 'Jazz and Bossa'

Watanabe seemed unstoppable in his efforts to contribute to the promotion of jazz in his homeland. Two weeks after his return in 1965, Watanabe produced his first recording in Japan in over three and a half years, 'Sadao Watanabe Plays'.[181] Recorded for Japan Gramophone, the album featured Watanabe with Yagi Kazuo, Miyazawa Akira, Maeda Norio, Harada Masanaga, and Togashi Masahiko.[182] Following the release of this album in 1966, Watanabe made appearances to promote his new bossa nova style on the popular NTV (Nippon Television) television program "Music Break." Reappearing as a regular on this program, Watanabe greatly increased his visibility throughout the country.

In September of 1966 Watanabe formed his quartet, calling upon friends and fellow musicians, Kikuchi Masabumi (piano), Suzuki Isao (bass) (later Ikeda Yoshio), Togashi Masahiko (drums) to join him. The group was well received, and in response to the growing popularity of domestic jazz and Watanabe's group in particular, Japan's recording industry

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[180] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). p. 163. See also Uchida Kôichi, *Nihon no Jazushi: Senzen, Sengo (Jazz History of Japan: Pre and Postwar).* (Tokyo: Swing Journalsha, 1976). pp. 309-10.

[181] Sadao Watanabe Plays, Polydor, SLJM 1262.

[182] Yôzô Iwanami, *Nihon no Jazu Men (Jazz Men of Japan)* (Tokyo: Tairiku Shobou, 1982). p. 18. See also, Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). p. 137.

began making more of an effort to record and market Japanese jazz musicians. In 1966 Columbia records' TAKT subsidiary was established, and signed Watanabe as the first artist to their label. Later that year Watanabe's quartet recorded the first LP release for TAKT, 'Jazz and Bossa'.[183] Watanabe's work at TAKT was well received for it's originality and Watanabe was recognized as the only Japanese arranger to record completely new sounds and unusual instrumental ensembles in Japan in 1966.[184]

When Watanabe first started playing bossa nova in Japan he encountered difficulties finding musicians who understood the style of music. He was also concerned about how the music would be received by Japanese audiences. Watanabe writes,

> I digressed from playing traditional or standard jazz by playing bossa nova. As soon as they heard the music, they responded as though they enjoyed it. So I began playing bossa nova songs on stage. However, when I played bossa nova in Japan, the rhythm section didn't know what a bossa nova beat was. In 1965, the year I got back to Japan, music like Sergio Mendes' "Brazil '65" wasn't popular and you couldn't even get the records yet. Drummer Togashi Masahiko was really fond of Latin music, so I got him to listen to the record. He is an excellent musician and picked it up really quick. Kikuchi Masabumi was a pianist who had a really tight style, but also got the feeling for it and it really opened his eyes. But at first, bossa nova was a hard sell in Japan.[185]

His anxieties were quickly put to rest, however, when 'Jazz and Bossa' was released in 1967, and it quickly became a best seller. Rave reviews for the record, combined with Watanabe's many appearances on television and radio proved a potent marketing tool for the album. While Latin music has historically been very popular in Japan, Watanabe is attributed as having started the 'Bossa Nova Boom' of the late 1960s in Japan, and his 'Jazz and Bossa' album is considered to be Japan's re-introduction to the Latin style of music.[186]

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[183] Jazz and Bossa, Takt, JAZZ-1. Yôzô Iwanami, *Nihon no Jazu Men (Jazz Men of Japan)* (Tokyo: Tairiku Shobou, 1982). p. 18.
[184] Max E. Lash, "Japan's First Jazz School," *Down Beat* 1969. p. 41.
[185] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). pp. 148-9.
[186] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). p. 137. See also Uchida, *Jazz History of Japan*, p. 312.

Newport, Brazil and Beyond

After playing and recording in Japan for several years, in 1967 Watanabe was again at the top of the *Swing Journal* reader polls and his quartet was chosen as the top jazz combo of the year.[187] Not satisfied to rest on his laurels, by early 1968 Watanabe had already written to Gary McFarland and made arrangements to return to visit and perform in the U.S. at George Wein's Newport Jazz Festival, during the summer of 1968. Prior to leaving for America, however, Watanabe was introduced to a second generation Japanese-Brazilian club owner, Ono Toshio, who invited him to tour and perform in Brazil. Delighted by these opportunities Watanabe set about planning his itinerary, visiting friends in San Francisco and New York before performing at Newport, then on to Brazil before returning back to Japan. Watanabe had stated his concern that he had become stereotyped, so these opportunities to travel to America and Brazil provided him the chance to collaborate with and learn from foreign artists.

The 15th annual Newport Jazz Festival was held on July 4th 1968. Sadao played on the third day in the afternoon with the Billy Taylor Trio, featuring Billy Taylor (piano), Jeff Castleman (bass), Lucas Jones (drums). The performance was followed much more closely in Japan than any of the previous festivals which had featured Japanese artists, such as Hara Nobuo or Akiyoshi Toshiko, attesting to the incredible popularity Watanabe held in Japan. Watanabe was even interviewed by Iwanami Yôzô via an overseas telephone call for the NHK program "Hitachi Music in Hi-Phonic."[188] *Swing Journal* Editor-in-chief Koyama Kiyoshi traveled to America specially to cover the event, and enthusiastically reported, "Sadao's performance was not a reflection of his new [bossa nova] style but rather within the 'Hard-bop' genre because he was working within the framework of his fellow

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[187] Kôichi Uchida, *Nihon no Jazushi: Senzen, Sengo (Jazz History of Japan: Pre and Postwar).* (Tokyo: Swing Journalsha, 1976). p. 312.
[188] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). p. 155.

performers. Yet it was the best hard-bop performance."[189] Watanabe too was conscious of this shift in musical style at this performance, which he attributed to confusion on the part of festival coordinators over musician grouping and program arrangement. Dizzy Gillespie had been slated to play with him, but at the last minute Watanabe was coupled with the Billy Taylor Trio. The whole incident convinced Watanabe that, "my group should accompany me whenever I play so that I can accomplish what I want to do, what I try to do."[190]

Watanabe left Boston for Sao Paulo, Brazil on July 10, 1968. During his three weeks in Brazil, Watanabe played almost every night at Ono Toshio's club 'Club Ichiban' and was featured on the Brazilian TV program "The Ebi Kamago Show." Watanabe collaborated with a number of Brazilian artists and groups including the 'Jinbo Trio' and the famous Alto-saxophonist, Josef Pereila. Watanabe wrote of his time in Brazil,

> Jazzmen in Brazil play samba; the Jinbo Trio is one example. There was a jazz boom once, but as might be expected, they returned back to the samba style. Therefore, there aren't any ordinary jazz groups. Samba does include some jazz elements, but I thought Brazil is behind on jazz. I like samba, and I enjoyed Brazil greatly because I had been longing to go for some time. I also taught Milton, the pianist of the Jinbo Trio, what I had learned at Berklee. I was warmly welcomed in Brazil. I thought people were very kind, unlike the U.S.A. I had a good time because I could play real samba with excellent musicians.[191]

Before leaving Brazil, Watanabe made an album with Josef Pereila and seven other Brazilian musicians. Recorded on July 15th, the album was released by TAKT in Japan as 'Sadao Watanabe in Brazil'.[192]

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[189] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). p. 155.
[190] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). p. 156.
[191] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). pp. 157-8.
[192] Sadao Watanabe in Brazil, TAKT, XMS10003. Re-released by Denon in 1989 as Sadao Meets Brazilian Friends, Denon, DC-8557.

Jazz for Myself

In 1969 following his time in Brazil and the U.S., Watanabe embarked upon another year of remarkable achievements. 1969 marked the formation of the Japanese Jazz Association of which Watanabe was integral, and he began his regular radio series, "Nabesada and Jazz" (Nippon Broadcasting) which changed in later years to the "My Dear Life" broadcast on FM Tokyo.[193] This was the same year that Watanabe left his contract with TAKT and recorded his first crossover into fusion album, 'Pastoral', with CBS-Sony.[194] Another one of Watanabe's collaborations with Charlie Mariano, 'Iberian Waltz', was awarded the "Japan Jazz Award," at the 1st Jazz Disk Grand Prix of the *Swing Journal.* The Jazz Disk Grand Prix was the prize awarded to the best jazz album released by a Japanese artist each year, as elected by a group of jazz critics.[195]

With the help of *Swing Journal* editor, Iwanami Yôzô, Watanabe published his autobiography, *Jazz For Myself* in 1969. This work was the first of its kind for a Japanese jazz artist, and provides a glimpse into the rarely documented post-war jazz scene in Japan, but is subject to the faults of personal histories and accounts. Watanabe and Iwanami provide an enlightening, often candid but frequently opinionated perspective on persons and events in Watanabe's life and the development of jazz in Japan. For example, at the age of thirty-five Watanabe provides the following advice to 'young' musicians,

> I don't consider myself old, but if I were asked to give advice to young musicians based on my experience I would say that they shouldn't take things for granted. For example, when we were young, we couldn't afford to purchase even one record. Nor did we have a teacher even though we had the desire to learn. So we just set our minds to it. We took a lot of time to learn one thing, but we worked hard for it and didn't forget it. Nowadays though, people come by things so easily. They can buy an instrument, they can learn at a school, they have lots of records...It's a good thing, but they don't have the same appreciation that you have when you really struggle for something. When a young person

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[193] Kôichi Uchida, *Nihon no Jazushi: Senzen, Sengo (Jazz History of Japan: Pre and Postwar).* (Tokyo: Swing Journalsha, 1976). p. 311.
[194] Sadao Watanabe. *Pastoral,* (CBS-SONY: ONSP-50130, 1969)
[195] Yôzô Iwanami, *Nihon no Jazu Men (Jazz Men of Japan)* (Tokyo: Tairiku Shobou, 1982). p. 19. Mariano, Charlie. *Iberian Waltz* (TAKT: JAZZ-7, 1968)

> accomplishes something well enough, then they just move on to the next. I don't think young people focus on one thing long enough, they just generalize.[196]

Watanabe's advice in this passage comes across as rather patronizing for such a young man, especially considering that his comments are directed to peers roughly his own age. He presents a portrait of hardship and disadvantage, which we assume was integral to his understanding and appreciation of jazz, which stands in sharp contrast to conditions that existed in the late 1960s. It also ironic in the sense that he seems to be endorsing a more practical or hands on approach to learning jazz rather than the conventional jazz pedagogy that he himself was conducting at the time through the Yamaha Institute.

Japan's 'Nabesada'

The speed with which Watanabe Sadao rose to international fame suggested to critics and historians that Japan was observing a jazz renaissance.[197] The response to jazz musicians' new confidence and creative energy was encouraging. Bands such as the George Ôtsuka Trio, the Hino Terumasa Quintet, and Watanabe Sadao's quintet filled concert halls and clubs wherever they played.[198] The fact that this 'renaissance' of sorts did not occur in isolation and coincided with broader changes in Japanese society is significant and worthy of further investigation than can be provided by this thesis. Indeed, the development of jazz in Japan and the events in Watanabe's own career provide insight into the changing values and activities of both musicians and many Japanese citizens. While Watanabe himself did not advocate a jazz which was politically or socially 'aware', other players associated with groups like the 'New Century Music Research Institute' did incorporate such themes into their music and appealed to broad section of Japanese society.

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[196] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). p. 170.

[197] See Yôzô Iwanami, "Rokujunendai Nihon no Jazu (Japanese Jazz in the Sixties)," *Jazu Hihyô* 1994.

[198] Kôichi Uchida, *Nihon no Jazushi: Senzen, Sengo (Jazz History of Japan: Pre and Postwar).* (Tokyo: Swing Journalsha, 1976).

In the period between 1965 and 1968, Watanabe recorded no less than thirteen albums. Particularly notable for Watanabe and Japanese jazz in general were his first appearance at the Newport Jazz Festival and the release of his LPs, 'Jazz and Bossa' (1966), 'Sadao Meets Brazilian Friends' (1968), 'Iberian Waltz' (1968), and 'Pastoral' (1969). Each of these recordings are indicative of Watanabe's musical versatility and innovative style, and each reflects historical and popular trends in the Japanese jazz scene.

While maintaining his own group, Sadao was involved in a variety of collaborations with musicians from other countries. He held a joint concert in Tokyo with acclaimed Brazilian guitarist Laurindo Almeida in 1967, and toured Brazil the following year. Watanabe continued to travel to the U.S. numerous times after his return to Japan, recording and performing with such artists as Chico Hamilton, Gary McFarland, Gabor Szabo and Charlie Mariano.

With the 1969 publication of his autobiography, Watanabe was at the apex of his career to date and came to be affectionately nicknamed 'Nabesada' by his fans. This name, by which he is still known, derived from the last half of his last name and the first half of his first name, reveals the high regard with which many Japanese hold Watanabe. Watanabe's autobiography is, as is the nature of such a work, self-serving to some degree. As a historical document, however, it speaks to his relationship with both the Japanese and American cultures, and his personal experiences during a significant period of change and upheaval in post-war Japanese society. While it is often hazardous to generalize about such subjective experiences, Watanabe's career, as one part of the collective experience which makes up 'Japanese jazz', provides a portrait of the cultural conditions and change in Japan from the 1940s until the end of the 1960s.

It is in 1969, at the height of his success that my investigation of his life and career necessarily ends. Certainly the next several decades would continue to find Watanabe performing and evolving his personal style and technique; this is indeed an ongoing process of evolution for both the musician and his jazz. However for the purpose of this thesis I

have chosen to conclude my inquiry at this significant point in Watanabe's musical career which acknowledges his installation in the Japanese jazz pantheon and marks the emergence of his mature assimilationist approach and signature 'fusion' style which Watanabe would generally adhere to from this time on.

Watanabe went on to more experimental cross overs, integrating popular and easy-listening music with jazz to produce his own fusion sound during the 1970s, coinciding with his first appearance at Switzerland's Montreux Jazz Festival in 1970. Many critics comment that this was another turning point in his career, where his style mutated into a unique fusion of samba, pop, and straight-ahead. Apparently this new direction found a receptive audience outside of Japan and during the 1980s Watanabe embarked on a number of U.S. tours which met with great success in places like Florida, Arizona, Washington, Philadelphia, New York, and Los Angeles.

Watanabe's more recent work during the late 1980s and 1990s has continued to pursue the assimilation of jazz in Japan to a wide range of musical styles which have been categorized into the broadly defined 'world beat' music. Having visited Africa and such countries as Jamaica and Brazil, Watanabe has fashioned a series of cosmopolitan albums, which integrate the rhythms and musical stylings of the various cultures.[199]

Today, after several decades of traveling the world and incorporating the sounds of other cultures into his own style of 'world music', one component is still conspicuously absent from his writing and playing: overt reference to the sounds of his native land, Japan. Perhaps, in his mind, more traditional forms of Japanese music and instrumentation cannot be incorporated into his style of fusion-jazz. He often explains this away by admitting that he does not like Japanese pop music and thinks that using traditional Japanese instruments would not be well received by a western audience. Yet his assimilationist style has resonated with Japanese audiences who do seem to feel he is first and foremost a Japanese jazz player. In a 1987 interview for the Los Angeles Times, Watanabe explains, "When I

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[199] Gene Kalbacher, "Sadao Watanabe's Bop/Pop Chops," *Down Beat* 1987.

started to play jazz in Tokyo in 1953 with Toshiko Akiyoshi's quartet, I used to copy Charlie Parker a lot. Then later, John Coltrane was coming up and I tried to chase him, but he was too much for me, so I gave up. So now I just play the way I feel, and try to be honest."[200] While some jazz fans of Watanabe's generation probably would prefer him to play straight-ahead jazz, many others prefer his mature style. Watanabe has clearly chosen to follow his own path, playing jazz that is true to himself and jazz for himself.

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[200] Zan Stewart, "Watanabe:All the World's Music Is His Jazz," *Los Angeles Times*, December 10 1987, Section E. p. 5.

Conclusion

This thesis has aimed at making contribution to the literature on the history of jazz in Japan in two ways. Firstly, it has done so by providing a comprehensive history of the career of a key figure in Japanese jazz, Watanabe Sadao supported by a variety of new materials in English translation. This study thus supplements the relatively few studies in English on culture in post-war Japan and the even fewer studies on jazz. Secondly, it has challenged existing studies which all too often have reflected analyses that assume the cultural hegemony of the West, assert a stereotyped view of a lack of Japanese creativity and cultural innovation and employ essentialist notions of cultural authenticity. While it is not the place of this thesis to prove or disprove such views, the present study does challenge the utility of the argument of 'authenticity' by revealing ways in which Watanabe Sadao has deployed strategies of cultural assimilation and adaptation that bypass issues like Westernization and authenticity.

It is clear that jazz in Japan is imbued with a range of symbolic values, some of which are held in common with American jazz. It is impossible to account for all of the implicit and explicit symbolic values that are attached to jazz within the Japanese cultural context. Rich with connotations and influences that reach across cultures and go far beyond the realm of musicology, jazz as it has been practiced within Japanese society has been a synthesis of forces. These range from the motivations for the individual musician to play jazz and the audience to listen to jazz, to the historically created and interpreted symbolic meaning of jazz as it is played out in the relationship between Japan and the United States.

America has occupied an important position in the imaginings of the Japanese jazz artist. As the birthplace of jazz, it has been, and continues to be, a standard of comparison and a testing ground where some young Japanese talents still feel it necessary to come to test their mettle and prove themselves worthy of the title of jazz musician. To illustrate,

reporter Dave Jampel interviewed big-band leader Hara Nobuo with his band the Sharps and Flats following their 1967 performance at the Newport Jazz Festival, and commented, "Although the Sharps and Flats have long been generally acknowledged as the best big jazz band in Japan, Hara wants the 'moment of truth' that can only come from playing on the same program as his peers and subjecting the band to appraisal by America's top jazz critics and more savvy fans."[201] This shared belief in America as the "Mecca" for jazz has prompted many other Japanese jazz artists, including Akiyoshi and Watanabe, to live and perform in the U.S. perhaps as a way of seeking their own "moment of truth."

Three pertinent issues define this study: first, authenticity is not a given, but must be viewed within the social context for the practice of jazz; second, there has been a history of Japanese musicians and audiences unwittingly perpetuating assumptions about the authenticity of American jazz which has hindered creative expression; and third, the authenticity approach has led to a theoretical blockage. For these reasons, the question of authenticity, which proves to be an elusive and value-laden measure, is deemed an ineffective method of analysis when considering the impact of Watanabe Sadao on the development of jazz in Japan. Thus, the question of whether Watanabe is authentic or not, is not a primary consideration in this study. Instead, this thesis provides an alternative perspective on the history and evolution of jazz in Japan, with particular focus on how Watanabe has adapted and assimilated the various styles and influences of jazz throughout his career and then re-introduced them within the context of the Japanese jazz scene.

Individuals in contemporary Japan are struggling to achieve a balance between asserting their individuality and maintaining their place within a relatively controlled society where individual self-expression is generally not encouraged. This struggle is often reflected in the Japanese jazz sub-culture. While many no longer find it necessary to go overseas to learn to play jazz, they nonetheless do need to find the means for self-expression. To many artists this means abandoning their past emulation of American jazz, and embarking on

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[201] Dave Jampel, "Japanese Jazzmen Invading Newport," *Variety*, June 14, 1967.

paths which in some specific way reflects their individuality as artists. Some, as is the case with Akiyoshi Toshiko and Yamamoto Hôzan, have affirmed in their music their strong ties to their Japanese heritage. Artists like Akiyoshi and Hôzan carry with them the belief that their unique Japanese heritage gives them something important to add to the jazz idiom. In an interview for *Down Beat*, Akiyoshi commented, "I had the belief that I should try to create something from my heritage, something unique enough that I could maybe return something into jazz, in my own way, not just reap the benefits of American jazz."[202]

In contrast, Watanabe's openness to Western music and culture set the foundation for his career in jazz. Like so many of his generation, Watanabe was attracted to the products of American mass culture and in particular, the various strains of jazz music. These ranged from bebop in his early Parker-influenced recordings of the 1950s, to cool jazz and bossa nova-inspired works during his time in the U.S. with Chico Hamilton and Gary McFarland in the mid-1960s.

Watanabe was a Japanese musician who in his early career identified so strongly with American jazz that he chose to leave both his family and homeland to travel to the U.S. to study and perform jazz. More specifically, he identified with African-American jazz musicians, to the point that at one time he moved into the very same boarding house in Boston that Charlie Parker had once occupied.[203] Recounting his earlier experiences playing with African-American musicians, Watanabe wrote:

> While I have played in black groups, I have never been singled out [for my race]. Where whites sometimes will acquire a black member for their group, seldom will blacks get a white member. Miles Davis' use of Bill Evans is the exception. I feel it is an issue that has more to do with racism than musical ability. Personally, both whites and blacks welcomed me to their groups. Perhaps it is because I am yellow. I have been called a "soul brother" by blacks, and have been welcomed at the Black Art Collective in Harlem.[204]

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[202] Leonard Feather, "East Meets West, or Never The Twain Shall Cease: Toshiko Akiyoshi & Lew Tabakin," *Down Beat*, June 3, 1976. p. 16.
[203] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). p. 65.
[204] Sadao Watanabe and Yôzô Iwanami, *Bokujishin no Tame no Jazu (Jazz for Myself)* (Tokyo: Araji Shuppansha, 1969). pp. 183-4.

There can be no doubt about either his sincerity or the appeal that these American musicians held in his imagination. Watanabe nevertheless seems to be mythologizing these qualities in a manner that resembles what Andrew Ross has called a "romantic version of racism."[205]

Watanabe's extensive touring and collaborative efforts with American artists supplied him with the skills and techniques necessary for him to lead jazz in Japan to new heights. His efforts and popular following helped to make new forms of jazz more accessible to a Japanese audience. Through his teaching of formal courses in jazz theory and appreciation at the Yamaha Institute, Watanabe served as a bridge between the jazz world of the U.S. and that of his curious and eager Japanese students. Further, with the introduction of his television and radio programs in the late 1960s, to his fellow countrymen he had become the leader of the Japanese jazz scene. Whether this was a conscious move is difficult to ascertain, but the ultimate impact it was to have on his career can not be mistaken.

Unlike many of his counterparts, and oftentimes in spite of expectations for 'exotic' or 'oriental' jazz, Watanabe Sadao did not choose to incorporate a Japanese aesthetic into his music. Watanabe's response was quite the opposite in fact. He felt a strong urge to follow more closely the styles and trends of more mainstream American jazz. Through this process of assimilating the various jazz styles and techniques of key artists in America and Brazil and introducing them to Japan, Watanabe was successful in recontextualizing popular jazz trends of the time in a manner which was well received by the Japanese jazz audience. In this manner, Watanabe manages to circumvent the whole issue of authenticity, which has historically plagued Japanese jazz musicians and which has been problematized earlier in this thesis.

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[205] Andrew Ross, *No Respect: Intellectuals and Popular Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1989). p. 85.

In this thesis certain issues have been highlighted which help us to appreciate the complex nature of jazz in Japan. These include the relationship between innovation and emulation in jazz performance, the role that America and American jazz plays as a reference point for Japanese musicians and in legitimating or invalidating their art. In a 1977 *Down Beat* article, pianist Satô Masahiko expressed the sentiments of many Japanese jazz musicians when he wrote:

> Now is the time for this generation to pick up and play their musical instruments. It can finally be said that jazz has roots in Japan. If jazz can be a way of expression for man, it should be freed to all people, even though it originated in America. The 'correct' direction for jazz is determined by what is expressed and what is audible.[206]

Watanabe Sadao and many of the Japanese jazz artists mentioned in this thesis quite early in their careers created styles of jazz performance which were based upon and adhered strongly to the tradition of mainstream American jazz. Over the decades, however, jazz in Japan has evolved to incorporate individual and uniquely Japanese aesthetic tastes as realized in the works of such artists as Akiyoshi Toshiko, Yamashita Yôsuke, Yamamoto Hôzan, and Togashi Masahiko. Watanabe's career later epitomizes yet another course followed in the history of jazz in Japan, the assimilation of American jazz and other music of the world such as bossa nova to an increasingly self-sufficient Japanese jazz scene.

One cannot discount the significance of Watanabe Sadao's high-profile efforts as a teacher and performer, for he energized Japan's jazz community, piqued the interest of jazz fans old and new, and inspired musicians to develop their talents. Watanabe's role as an assimilationist is key to understanding the impact of his life and career on the evolution of jazz in Japan. Throughout his career, Watanabe's work encompassed a variety of styles, textures and influence. Among Japanese jazz musicians he has arguably received the most attention for his work, both in Japan and elsewhere, because of a demonstrated ability to synthesize a distinctive style of jazz with great appeal to the Japanese audience.

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[206] Masahiko Satô. "Japan." *Down Beat*, February 10, 1977. p. 44.

While the success and recognition Watanabe has earned in the U.S. and around the world may not have completely erased what Satô Masahiko called Japan's "inferiority complex"[207], he was nonetheless an essential figure in incorporating jazz into the mainstream of Japanese cultural life. The story of Watanabe Sadao's life reveals a great deal about the ideal, feelings, and activities of Japanese during the post-war decades. While it can be difficult to generalize about aspects of his individual experience, it does impart the special relationship between the music of jazz and Japanese society during a unique period in history.

[207] Masahiko Satô, "Japan," *Down Beat*, February 10, 1977. p. 43

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