

# Mary Lou Williams's Hymn Black Christ of the Andes (St. Martin de Porres): Vatican II, Civil Rights, and Jazz as Sacred Music

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On 3 November 1962, Saint Francis Xavier Church at 30 West Sixteenth Street held its third annual civil rights mass in honor of Martin de Porres, a Peruvian saint of African descent. Reverend Walter M. Abbott delivered the sermon at this mass, which was sponsored by the St. Thomas More Society, quoting in it the opening statement of the Vatican Council: "We proclaim that all men are brothers, irrespective of the race or nation to which they belong."<sup>1</sup> The *New York Times* reported that "a new jazz hymn to the saint was sung by Ethel Fields." Mary Lou Williams was named as the composer of the hymn, with Reverend Anthony S. Woods identified as her collaborator.

*Black Christ of the Andes* (Hymn in Honor of St. Martin de Porres) of 1962 was the jazz pianist and composer Mary Lou Williams's first sacred jazz composition intended for use in the Roman Catholic liturgy and the first of several large- and small-scale religious works that Williams would compose during the last two decades of her life. The genesis of *Black Christ of the Andes* can best be viewed against the backdrop of the civil rights movement, the Second Vatican Council, and Williams's return to jazz. In the mid-1950s, after nearly fifty years as a professional musician, she had retired from public performance after suffering an emotional breakdown while living for a time in Europe. Following her return to the United States, Williams—a former Baptist—converted to Roman Catholicism and undertook a personal crusade of charity work in the jazz community. Her hymn in honor of Martin de Porres is intricately interwoven with her profound religious experience and civil rights activism. Throughout her career, she made efforts to improve race relations and

advance racial equality. Both her conversion and her return to the stage, furthermore, occurred against the backdrop of changes in the Catholic Church that would culminate in the Second Vatican Council. Vatican II, which initiated a series of reforms by the Roman church, met from 1962 to 1965. Martin de Porres, traditionally the patron saint of interracial harmony and social justice, was canonized during this period, a time when the church began to address issues of race internationally. In this light, the composition and performance of the hymn *Black Christ* emerges as a personal expression of Mary Lou Williams's faith and her own jazz ministry and signifies her contribution to the civil rights movement within the framework of the Catholic church's civil rights organizations. At the time she began to compose her masses, hymns, and other similar works, the use of jazz as liturgical music was a relatively new phenomenon with little or no tradition upon which Williams could draw. As her first extended liturgical work, *Black Christ* exemplifies how Williams began to conceptualize and approach the use of jazz in a liturgical context.

### **Williams's Conversion to Catholicism**

The mid- to late 1950s were critical years in Mary Lou Williams's life. After a highly successful career that had begun in childhood, Williams's personal life and career took a marked change of direction between 1954 and 1957. Mental and spiritual crises in response to artistic, personal, and financial frustrations and setbacks set in motion a chain of events that led to Williams's nervous collapse and retirement from public performance for nearly four years. In oral histories and interviews from the 1960s and 1970s, Williams would consistently mark two events as epochal: her breakdown and her subsequent conversion to Roman Catholicism.

Seeking to expand her career, Williams had moved to Europe in November of 1952, where she first resided and worked in London. Her experiences there contrasted markedly with the success she had enjoyed prior to her departure. In the United States Williams had been in demand as a pianist, ensemble leader, and arranger. Throughout the summer of 1952 she had regularly performed at major venues and had been asked to join Billy Eckstine's group at Bop City.<sup>2</sup> She was also celebrated by her peers: in October she was honored at Town Hall by the Committee for the Negro in the Arts (the actor Sidney Poitier hosted the event; the list of performers included Thelonious Monk, Billy Taylor, and Eartha Kitt). In London she garnered critical success but found performance opportunities limited largely due to restrictive British work laws. Booked primarily into

variety rather than more prestigious and remunerative concert halls, she felt artistically frustrated. Although British and then French audiences enthusiastically welcomed her virtuosity, she thought that she had to please audiences, who she believed preferred older jazz styles to bebop.<sup>3</sup> Hoping that recording would bring additional income, Williams wrote Eubie Blake from London in April 1953:

Yours [i.e., letter] received today—Have a recording next week—in fact, I have 3 sessions. Contemplating recording “You were meant for me” and either “Love will find a way” or “Memories of you.” Did not know that you were the composer until I received your letter. Please send copies. There aren’t much in the way of royalties here, yet most of the musicians always play music. I record. At the present I’m still touring variety—have to play old time rags. They’re the worst—not even original like ones J. P. Johnson composed.

Did Handy know that “Waltzing the blues” was an infringement on St. Louis [Blues]? It’s very popular here.<sup>4</sup>

Despite scant royalties, Williams recorded extensively for both French (Vogue, Blue Star, and Club Français du Disque) and English (Vogue and Esquire) labels, including performances of Blake’s “Memories of You.”<sup>5</sup>

In November 1953 Williams moved to Paris, where she expected to find more lucrative work as well as more opportunities to record and tour. A planned tour of England and the possibility of forming her own big band failed to materialize when Williams was refused reentry into the United Kingdom because she lacked a work permit. She returned to Paris dejected, and throughout the first half of 1954 financial pressures intensified. She tried unsuccessfully to borrow money from friends to return to the United States. The death of a close friend, the pianist Garland Wilson, on 31 May 1954 precipitated a depression. By mid-June Williams was, as Linda Dahl writes, “nearing a collapse.”

During July, Williams and her drummer Gérard Pochonet commuted between his grandmother’s suburban home and the Paris nightclub *Le Bœuf sûr le Toît*, where Williams had earlier assumed Wilson’s job as house pianist. In August Williams ceased performing at *Le Bœuf*, having been released from her contract. This date marks the beginning of her nearly four-year retirement from jazz. As Williams wrote in 1973: “it seemed that night that it all came to a head, I couldn’t take it any longer. So, I just left—the piano—the money—all of it.”<sup>6</sup>

The second watershed event that influenced Williams's turn toward the composition of sacred jazz was her spiritual awakening following her return to Harlem in late December 1954.<sup>7</sup> Although she had explored several religions and visited various churches during the late 1940s, Williams had not been particularly devout: "While I was playing all those years . . . I never felt a conscious desire to get close to God." Nor did she consider her childhood as having been particularly religious. Rather, her conversion and subsequent devotion to Catholicism represented the culmination of a process of spiritual and religious awakening that had begun in Europe.<sup>8</sup> Encouraged by her friend Hazel Scott, in November 1953 Williams had begun to read the Bible and pray.<sup>9</sup> The following spring Williams and an acquaintance, the American Colonel Edward L. Brennan, a devout Roman Catholic, spent an afternoon together in a church garden in Paris. In an interview by D. Antoinette Handy, Williams would later claim, "I found God in a little garden in Paris."<sup>10</sup> Williams continued to pray and meditate after her return to the United States, and she began to investigate various religions. She told John Wilson in 1971 that she "went through all the religions, practically all of them, Muslims and everything," a search that included reading pamphlets distributed by the Jehovah's Witnesses.<sup>11</sup> For a brief time she even became involved with a street-corner ministry run by a former nightclub dancer. Seeking to join a church, Williams initially gravitated toward Baptism, the religious tradition in which she had been baptized (her grandfather, who lived with her extended family, had been a Baptist deacon), and in the summer of 1953 she joined Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church, where congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., was pastor.<sup>12</sup> She resigned her membership in June 1955.<sup>13</sup>

Williams first began to embrace Catholicism in 1956, after discovering the church of Our Lady of Lourdes located near her home.<sup>14</sup> Williams often suggested that she chose Catholicism partly as a matter of convenience: "The Catholic Church was the only one I could find open any time of the day."<sup>15</sup> However, she had at least some prior familiarity with Catholicism, since, as Williams explained, "Most of my sisters and brothers were baptized Catholic."<sup>16</sup> She appears soon to have become disillusioned with the religious instruction she received at Our Lady of Lourdes, and in the winter and spring of 1957 she began to attend weekly classes taught by Father Anthony Woods<sup>17</sup> at Park Avenue's Saint Ignatius Loyola Church. On 9 May 1957, the day after her forty-seventh birthday, Williams was baptized, together with Lorraine Gillespie. She was confirmed one month later. Williams later joined Greenwich Village's Saint Francis Xavier Church, where Father Woods served as parish priest.<sup>18</sup>

## Williams's Return to Public Performance

When she returned to the United States, Williams did not resume performing right away, because she wanted to avoid nightclubs. Religion had become the dominant force in her life, spiritually as well as socially. Williams not only prayed and read Scripture, but also undertook her own personal evangelical lay ministry to the jazz community. By 1956 Williams had instituted prayer meetings that included many figures in music and entertainment (Dahl mentions nine hundred names).<sup>19</sup> She assisted musician friends who were in need or sick, such as Bud Powell, Jack "the Bear" Parker and Willie "the Lion" Smith, as well as those who suffered from debilitating substance abuse, such as Billie Holiday and Thelonious Monk, at times opening her own apartment to them. She also invited several friends and musicians to accompany her to church, among them Powell, Monk, and Baroness Nica de Koenigswarter. Eventually Williams created the Bel Canto Foundation, whose purpose she envisioned would be "to help bring back creativeness and healing of mental patients, cancer and many other diseases. I'd like to stay in the background except for my music."<sup>20</sup>

Her ministry played a decisive role in William's return to public performance. She initially resumed playing to fund her charity work through the Bel Canto Foundation and to expand her ministry. Those around her, concerned about her mental state and personal safety, encouraged her, believing that it would help her mental state. Two young priests Williams was close to, Fathers John Crowley and Anthony Woods, in particular supported her return to jazz, as did the jazz critic Barry Ulanov, who had introduced her to Father Woods.<sup>21</sup> Father Crowley, a former saxophonist, described her musical ability as a gift from God.<sup>22</sup> But it was Dizzy Gillespie who proved instrumental to her return to the stage by convincing her that her performances could both support and expand her ministry beyond New York.<sup>23</sup> In spring 1957 Williams appeared with Gillespie in Atlantic City, and he convinced her to participate in that year's Newport Jazz Festival, where she performed excerpts from her *Zodiac Suite*. The recording, "Dizzy Gillespie at Newport," issued by Verve, documents her performance there. In his introduction Gillespie emphasized the importance of the occasion: "This young lady has been in semi-retirement for some time now, and it was only through the encouragement of Fr. Crowley and Fr. O'Connor and myself that she consented to once again appear on the stage."<sup>24</sup>

By August Williams was performing at the Composer Club in New York and making other limited public appearances.<sup>25</sup> She later secured solo engagements in Toronto, Canada (into February 1958), at Chicago's Blue Note and Bar O Music, and at Manhattan's Village

Vanguard and Cherry Lane. In keeping with her initial motivation to perform to raise funds for her charity work and the Bel Canto Foundation, Williams performed a benefit concert at Carnegie Hall on 20 September 1958. The concert was backed financially by friends, among them the wealthy arts patrons Barbara Hutton and Doris Duke. Williams envisioned that other ventures—a proposed autobiography, a record company, a publishing company, a booking agency, and a magazine—would subsidize her ministry and the foundation, but none of these ever materialized. She did, however, briefly operate a charity thrift store located in Harlem, at 142nd and 143rd Streets.<sup>26</sup> By the end of the 1950s and in the early 1960s Williams had resumed her career in full, balancing secular nightclub, concert, and festival performances with sacred jazz.

### **Mary Lou Williams and the Civil Rights Movement**

When Williams arrived from France on 21 December 1954, she returned to a county awakening to a new stage in the civil rights struggle, one that would be marked by court battles and nonviolent social protests.<sup>27</sup> Her Harlem home was near an important center of civil rights activity and national electoral politics: the Abyssinian Baptist Church was not only the most prominent African American church in New York, it was also a site of political activism for blacks, both locally and nationally. Its pastor, Reverend Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., had served in the United States Congress since 1954.<sup>28</sup> On 17 May 1954, the movement had scored the first in a series of landmark legal victories with the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education*, which marked the end of legal segregation and the beginning of integration in public schools.<sup>29</sup> In August 1955, soon after Williams's resignation of her membership in Abyssinian, fourteen-year-old Emmett Till was murdered in Money, Mississippi. On 1 December Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a white man on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama, and by 5 December the Montgomery bus boycotts had begun.<sup>30</sup> In 1956, around the same time Williams was beginning to pray at Our Lady of Lourdes, Autherine Lucy was permanently expelled from the University of Alabama despite having been admitted after a federal court order.<sup>31</sup> In February 1957, as Williams began receiving religious instruction at Saint Ignatius Loyola, Martin Luther King, Jr., and other African American Protestant clergymen formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).<sup>32</sup> Just months after her baptism and Newport appearance and just before the beginning of school, Arkansas governor Orval Faubus closed the Little

Rock public schools rather than admit African American students. President Eisenhower federalized the National Guard and ordered them to provide protective escorts for children so that they could attend class.<sup>33</sup> In 1958 American Catholic bishops issued the pastoral letter “Racial Discrimination and the Christian Conscience,” which condemned segregation as contrary to Christian teaching and declared the central issue of the race question to be moral and religious.<sup>34</sup> That same year the sit-ins began, first in Greensboro, North Carolina, when on 1 February 1960 four freshmen from the North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College demanded service at a Woolworth lunch counter. The sit-ins would soon spread to cities in Oklahoma and Kansas, throughout the South, and later eastward. These demonstrations led to the formation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).<sup>35</sup>

As Williams resumed her career and performed throughout the United States and Canada during the early 1960s, the civil rights movement entered a new and often violent stage. On 7 May 1961 the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)-sponsored Freedom Rides began when an interracial group boarded buses in Washington, D. C., and traveled southward; they were met by violent attacks in Alabama.<sup>36</sup> The focus of the movement now also turned to voting rights: on 7 August 1961 SNCC opened a voter registration school in Mississippi; CORE initiated voter registration campaigns in Alabama, Florida, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. The freedom schools, designed to educate blacks about their voting rights and nonviolent protest tactics, and voter education projects brought violent resistance.<sup>37</sup> In the three weeks between the first performance of *Black Christ* on Saint Martin’s Day and the Carnegie Hall benefit concert, riots erupted in Mississippi when, on the evening of Sunday, 30 September 1962, James Meredith, accompanied by federal marshals, attempted to integrate the University of Mississippi.<sup>38</sup>

Williams’s history of political activism, especially with regard to the advancement of civil rights, dates to the 1940s. In a 1971 interview Williams replied to John Wilson’s question “Have you ever been interested in politics at all?”:

Yes, I got hung up in it through working in the Cafe [i.e., Café Society], but I think all musicians or people like me would get mixed up in something, looking for some people to help them and help the race. But they can never be anything but a musician. Through doing benefits and a lot of other things, and you don’t know how serious it is—but there’s not one musician I think would be in any kind of political anything if they weren’t disturbed about the race, as being abused and whatnot of the race, trying to help the poor. I’ve been in practically everything.<sup>39</sup>

Like many jazz musicians, Williams had performed benefits in New York during World War II to support the war effort and for war-relief charities,<sup>40</sup> for example with the activist Josh White, playing USO shows for black soldiers and sailors.<sup>41</sup> Williams also became involved in electoral politics, lending her talents to political campaigns. In mid-October 1943 she (along with Ella Fitzgerald, Coleman Hawkins, Billie Holiday, the dancer-choreographer Pearl Primus, Paul Robeson, and Hazel Scott) took part in a fund-raising event in support of Benjamin Davis Jr.'s campaign for the New York city council.<sup>42</sup> She also lent her support to Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1944 reelection campaign by appearing in *The People's Bandwagon*, an integrated revue.<sup>43</sup> Her performance at a 16 April 1944 celebration that commemorated both Paul Robeson's forty-fourth birthday and the Council on African Affairs' anniversary furthermore attests to her interest in political issues relating to Africa.<sup>44</sup> Two years later, on 6 June 1946, she performed at the council's Big Three unity rally at Madison Square Garden.<sup>45</sup> Williams also offered her services to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, performing part of her *Zodiac Suite* with her trio at a 1947 benefit for the Syracuse University chapter.<sup>46</sup> Williams composed a number of topical works or works with political themes, such as her "Café Society Blues" (August 1944), "The Ballot Box Boogie in the Time of Franklin D," and, in collaboration with Langston Hughes, an anthem for the radical Southern Negro Youth Congress.<sup>47</sup>

The most significant political context in which to locate Williams prior to her conversion to Catholicism is that of Café Society.<sup>48</sup> Owned by Barney Josephson, the club opened in 1938 on Sheridan Square in New York's Greenwich Village. Café Society—Uptown, a sister club, opened later at East Fifty-eighth Street. Perhaps best known as the place where Billie Holiday premiered "Strange Fruit," Café Society was also a locus of what the cultural and labor historian Michael Denning has termed "New York's leftist jazz subculture."<sup>49</sup> Celebrated for being wholly integrated, Café Society featured not only music and dance, but also political cabaret, and the African American musicians and dancers who performed there (e.g., Lena Horne, Frankie Newton, Pearl Primus, Hazel Scott, Sara Vaughan, and Teddy Wilson) were politically engaged and astute.<sup>50</sup> Williams orbited this world, playing long-term engagements at both Café Society locations from 1943 to 1945.<sup>51</sup> One of her recordings, "Blues at Mary Lou's (Café Society Blues)"—issued under the name Mary Lou Williams Girl-Stars—bears its name.

Like her contemporary Benny Goodman, whose hiring of the pianist Teddy Wilson signaled an importance advance toward racial integration, Williams herself made efforts to form integrated ensembles. Her all-female All-Stars and Girl-Stars ensembles were fully integrated.<sup>52</sup>



Williams continued her activism after joining the church by becoming involved in Catholic civil rights organizations. Her confessor and collaborator Father Woods emerges as a central figure in the understanding of how *Black Christ* can be viewed as both her contribution to the movement and her response to an increasingly violent struggle against racism. Father Woods, who had arrived at Saint Francis Xavier in 1957, was artistically cultivated, socially progressive, and an activist who marched for civil rights issues. Saint Francis Xavier itself served multiple roles in the community: the parish church was an important patron of and presence in the Village's and Chelsea's artistic life and community; its theater was the home of the Village Light Opera Company, the Village Players, and the Xavier Symphony Orchestra.<sup>53</sup> Active in the intellectual life of the community and deeply committed to social causes, Father Woods, who hosted the Saint Thomas More Society and acted as its moderator, was willing to push for changes, among them the inclusion of jazz in the liturgy. Williams joined the society and soon became actively involved in Pax Christi, a Catholic peace movement that worked on behalf of civil rights and against the Vietnam War.<sup>54</sup>

### **Williams, Sacred Jazz, the Catholic Church, and Vatican II**

The third event that steered Williams toward composing *Black Christ* and other liturgical jazz works was the result of changes in the Catholic Church brought about by the Second Vatican Council (1962–65). By the summer of 1957, when she appeared at Newport, Williams had decided to compose liturgical jazz but was unsure how to proceed. Her first successful work in this genre, *Black Christ*, would serve as a model for her later sacred and liturgical jazz. She herself confirms the position this piece occupies in her religious work: "I wanted to write one [a Mass] but I didn't know just the type of music until St. Martin De Porres was canonized in '62 and I wrote this thing, St. Martin De Porres, dedicated to him."<sup>55</sup>

Williams had made several earlier attempts at sacred jazz. Her first work on a religious theme was *Elijah and the Juniper Tree* (1949), commissioned by a Pittsburgh choir director and written in collaboration with Milt Orent.<sup>56</sup> Her earliest attempts at liturgical jazz began not long after her conversion and date to *Our Lady of Lourdes* and the winter of 1957. According to Williams, her meditations there often provided her with musical inspiration: "Then, too, it was so peaceful and quiet and I could think hearing the greatest music sounds while praying. It was inspirational for me musically to pray in the quiet church."<sup>57</sup>

Dahl has identified fragments found in Williams's notebooks from this period, sketches with titles such as "Gabriel's Horn" and "The Twenty-Third Psalm," as early sacred compositions. The sketches indicate that Williams may have begun an extended work based on the book of Psalms around 1958 or 1959.<sup>58</sup> By the time of her Newport performance, she had begun planning a Mass, fully encouraged by her priests:

Father Crowley and Father O'Connor talked to me, several priests. They also asked me to write a Mass, but Father Woods is the only one that really stuck with me until I really began praying, and Dizzy. He finally got me out to Newport where they were all wheeling like mad, like most of the priests did, to get me to write a Mass. Father O'Connor said, "Well, I tell you, if you don't write a Mass, just play it on the piano, Mass."<sup>59</sup>

Williams would wait five years, until 1962, before composing *Black Christ*; her first Mass would not appear until 1966.

Prior to Vatican II, Williams would not only have had to confront opposition to introducing jazz into the liturgy based on church law, but centuries of liturgical practice, as well as cultural and racial stereotypes that considered jazz profane music. Vatican II resulted in changes in the liturgy that permitted the entry of both vernacular texts and indigenous vernacular musical traditions into the Roman Catholic liturgy. Pope John XXIII had announced the goal of Vatican II to be *aggiornamento*, or a "bringing up to date."<sup>60</sup> An international assembly of bishops convened its first session on 11 October 1962 (the session ended on 8 December) and began to redefine the role of the Catholic Church in the twentieth century.<sup>61</sup> After the death of Pope John on 3 June 1962, his successor, Paul VI (elected 21 June 1962), would restate the goal of the council as *rinnoamento*, or renewal, in the opening of its second session (29 September–4 December 1963).<sup>62</sup> During Vatican II, African bishops established a pan-African secretariat, a 300-member, racially diverse body with Cardinal Lauean Rugambwa serving as its president. Missionaries working in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, as well as in parts of Europe, strongly believed Latin to be completely alien to the vast majority of their congregations. Liturgical reform was therefore the foremost goal of the pan-African secretariat.<sup>63</sup>

The first document completed and issued by the council was the "Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy," or *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (completed under Paul). Five articles of this new constitution of the church dealt with liturgical reform: article 36 concerned the question of the language to be used in divine service; articles 37–40 dealt with the adaptation of the liturgy to the customs and traditions of congregations outside Western Europe.<sup>64</sup> Specifically, these articles eliminated the

celebration of the Mass in Latin and opened the church to vernacular languages. Initially church choirs, musicians, and sacred music scholars resisted, expressing concern over the impact of this change on Gregorian chant and other liturgical music. It was widely believed that these could not be translated effectively into vernacular languages without a loss of their beauty, their special significance, and their function as enhancing worship.<sup>65</sup> After much debate and controversy over the precise shape of the liturgy, a compromise was reached: the bishops agreed to leave the form and actual shape of the liturgy to the vernacular councils of individual nations—regional commissions would be constituted and would determine the necessary changes.<sup>66</sup> In addition to changes in the liturgy for churches in the West, there was a change in the church's stance toward non-Western cultures, which was expressed by its more liberal position toward the incorporation of indigenous musical forms into the liturgy, as specified in Article 119.<sup>67</sup> The Vatican Council proposed the adaptation of the liturgy to the customs and traditions of the congregations in regions outside Western Europe.

### **Williams's Patron Saint: The Black Christ, Martin de Porres**

Although she had entertained the idea of composing sacred jazz since her conversion and had made sporadic attempts, Williams did not complete her first liturgical work until after the first session of Vatican II. The liturgical reforms, as they could specifically be applied to the United States, had now opened the liturgy to English and to the indigenous musical traditions of jazz. Nonetheless, the event that spurred Williams to compose *Black Christ (Hymn in Honor of St. Martin de Porres)* was the canonization of Martin de Porres (9 December 1579–3 November 1639), a Peruvian Dominican known for his altruism, by Pope John XXIII on 6 May 1962, just two days before Williams's own fifty-second birthday.<sup>68</sup>

Martin's elevation to sainthood sparked in Williams a burst of creativity, and she began work on the hymn within days of hearing the news. On 21 June 1962 Williams registered and deposited with the copyright office a lead sheet entitled "St. Martin,"<sup>69</sup> bearing the inscription "music by Mary Lou Williams, words by Father A. Woods," in C Minor (see Ex. 1).<sup>70</sup> On 10 August 1962 Williams deposited an extensive arrangement of the work, now transposed to D minor.<sup>71</sup> This pace would have left Williams with enough time to complete the scoring for voices and secure a choir to rehearse the hymn for the inaugural feast day performance on Saturday, 3 November 1962, in New York at Saint Francis Xavier Church, where it was performed after, not during, the actual liturgy. One week later it was

words by Father Anthony Woods, S.J.

music by Mary Lou Williams

(a) m. 1  
 St. Mar-tin de Por-res his shep-herd staff a dus-ty broom St. Mar-tin de  
 6  
 Por-res the poor made a shrine to his tomb St. Mar-tin de Por-res  
 11  
 he gen-tled crea-tures tame and wild St. Mar-tin de Por-res he shel-tered each un-want-ed  
 16  
 (b)  
 child \_\_\_\_\_ This man of love \_\_\_\_\_ born of the flesh \_\_\_\_\_  
 23  
 \_\_\_\_\_ yet of God \_\_\_\_\_ this hum-ble man \_\_\_\_\_ healed the sick \_\_\_\_\_ raised the  
 30  
 (a)  
 dead \_\_\_\_\_ his hand is quick \_\_\_\_\_ to feed beg-gars and sin-ners  
 36  
 the star-ving home-less and the stray oh Black Christ of the And-es come feed and cure us now we pray

*Example 1.* Mary Lou Williams, *St. Martin de Porres*, June copyright deposit lead sheet. The Mary Lou Williams Foundation, Inc. dba Cecilia Music Publishing Co. (ASCAP). Reprinted by permission.

performed again, at Philharmonic Hall, on a program that also included Dizzy Gillespie.<sup>72</sup> By the time Williams recorded the hymn in New York on 9 October 1963, she had appended “Black Christ of the Andes,” giving the work its complete title, *Black Christ of the Andes (Hymn in Honor of St. Martin de Porres)*.

Williams was drawn to the figure of Martin de Porres for both personal and religious reasons. Martin de Porres was not a remote figure for her. Although he died in the seventeenth century, the testimony, investigation, and verification of miracles central to the canonization process were conducted during Williams’s lifetime.<sup>73</sup> A miracle in Asunción, Paraguay, was reported in September 1949. A second miracle was reported in late August 1956, around the time Williams began to

pray at Our Lady of Lourdes. Williams was also drawn to the saint because he could serve as an important role model. Williams's lay ministry in many ways sought to mirror de Porres's altruism and piety. A Dominican monk trained as a surgeon, he had aided the impoverished and comforted and healed the sick. Similarly, Williams had, with the founding of her Bel Canto Foundation, set about to aid alcoholic, sick, and drug-addicted musicians.<sup>74</sup> In an October 1962 newspaper interview, conducted around the time she deposited the Mass for copyright and just days before its first performance, Williams told the newspaper critic Marshall Peck that she felt she had emulated Martin and wished to honor him.<sup>75</sup>

Martin de Porres also served as an important and potent racial symbol, for Williams as well as for the church as a whole. Historically Martin had functioned as an especially important symbol and inspiration for African American acolytes, novitiates, and priests to encourage them in their commitment to the church. In adopting Martin as her patron saint, Williams was following a well-established tradition.<sup>76</sup> Known popularly as the Black Christ, Martin de Porres had long served as the patron saint of race relations and interracial harmony for Catholics in the United States. For Latin American Catholics, he had been the unofficial patron saint of social justice since his beatification by Pope Gregory XVI on 29 October 1837; on 10 January 1945 Pope Pius XII officially proclaimed Martin de Porres the patron saint of social justice in Peru.<sup>77</sup> One of only three black saints in the Catholic church at the time Williams composed *Black Christ* (along with Saints Augustine and Benedict the Moor), Martin stands as the first American man of color to be canonized.<sup>78</sup> The son of an emancipated black Panamanian living in Peru, Anna Velasquez, and a Castilian nobleman, Juan de Porres, he is consistently described in hagiographies as a "mulatto" or biracial. Sources emphasize that he, together with his sister and mother, was rejected by the father because of their race and underline that he ministered to all, without regard to race, class, or other social markers.<sup>79</sup> Since the middle of the nineteenth century, Dominicans and Josephites, furthermore, had offered Martin to African American Catholics in the United States as a symbol of comfort and consolation for the oppressed and downtrodden.<sup>80</sup>

By the end of the 1950s, when Williams started to embrace Catholicism, the church had begun to confront issues of racial prejudice, condemning all forms of racial injustice,<sup>81</sup> and Martin de Porres had become a symbol of and was used to promote interracial harmony, racial justice, and improved race relations.<sup>82</sup> On prayer cards issued during the mid-1950s he is depicted with his arms around two young men, one white, one black, the inscription reading "Blessed Martin—Peacemaker." For Catholics in the United States, Martin's role was bifurcated: often used as a tool in the

conversion of blacks, he also served as a role model and symbol that the Catholic church was without racial prejudice.<sup>83</sup> At the same time, he served as a means by which white Catholics could confront racial prejudice within themselves and thereby combat racism.<sup>84</sup> De Porres's interracial heritage, his hagiographer Giuliana Cavallini writes, "was a link joining together the difference races."<sup>85</sup> At some point Williams acquired two prayer cards and a statuette of the saint, all three of which were found among her possessions at the time of her death.<sup>86</sup>

The year before Martin's canonization, the Holy See took an official position on race and race relations. In July 1961 Pope John XXIII issued the encyclical *Mater et Magistra* (Mother and Teacher) proclaiming that "all men are brothers, irrespective of the race or nation to which they belong."<sup>87</sup> In a radio broadcast on 11 September 1962, two months before Martin's first feast day and one month before the council opened, Pope John stressed the necessity of peace and unity among all people. He urged all to strive for social justice, stating that the church "must denounce injustice and shameful inequalities, to restore the true order of goods and things so that, according to the principle of the Gospel the life of man may become more human."<sup>88</sup> Racial discrimination and other social, educational, and moral issues of particular interest to developing nations were among the major issues addressed by the pan-African secretariat during Vatican II,<sup>89</sup> but the council as a whole eventually took a stand on race and race relations. On 20 October 1962, Vatican II issued as its first major pronouncement a message to humanity addressing social justice and the brotherhood of man.<sup>90</sup> De Porres's canonization was seen as part of the church's resolution to end racial prejudice and racial inequality, first by providing an example from within the church.<sup>91</sup>

During the early 1960s, congregations and individual priests began to address the issue of race and race relations through special masses, other observances, and in sermons. On Sunday, 3 April 1960, John B. Sheering, the editor of *Catholic World*, preached the sermon at a solemn mass held as part of the eighth annual observance of Interracial Justice Day at Fordham's Bronx campus. Impatient with both Congress and southern leaders, Father Sheering exhorted, "Our Catholic faith is totally color-blind."<sup>92</sup> And Archbishop O'Boyle, the chair of Washington's Inter-religious Committee on Race Relations, delivered a series of sermons and statements dedicated to racial justice in the early 1960s.<sup>93</sup> Williams's parish and the Saint Thomas More Society, however, appear to have led the way within the New York Catholic community by holding services specifically dedicated to civil rights. For Martin's 1960 feast day, Father Woods (identified by the *New York Times* as the society's chaplain) celebrated what was reported as "the first solemn mass for advancement of

civil rights.” In his sermon, Reverend F. Drinan, the dean of Boston College’s law school and Jesuit legal expert, proposed a three-point program to achieve integration and end segregation laws. The Catholic Interracial Council sponsored a Mass and vespers, on 7 May 1962, the day after Martin’s canonization, at Saint Patrick’s Cathedral, as part of Columbia University’s annual International Students Day. In his sermon for the occasion, the Very Reverend James A. McCabe stated, “St. Martin was one of the outstanding social workers of his time and a shining example to every social worker. His universal service knew no barriers of race, economic, or social position.”<sup>94</sup> In this context, the composition of *Black Christ* may be viewed as Williams’s contribution to civil rights from within the Catholic church.

### The Jazz Hymn

When Williams composed *Black Christ* in 1962, she had no models of liturgical jazz for the Catholic liturgy. Although Fathers Crowley and Woods, Bishop Wright, and later Peter O’Brien, S.J., wholly supported her work, Williams had to demonstrate that jazz was as well suited for liturgical use as centuries-old chant and sixteenth-century-style polyphony. Vatican II did not prescribe the form of the liturgy, nor a specific musical style or idiom; it did, however, set forth guidelines on music in the new constitution. Article 118 reminded musicians of the most important requirements for hymns: they had to be orthodox, short, simple in text and tune, and created chiefly out of biblical psalms and chants. Article 121 contained an appeal to poets and musicians to use their talents in service to the church.<sup>95</sup> Sacred music had a solemn, transcendent function that, writes the Vatican II scholar Andreas Jungmann, “endows the prayer of the church assembled before God with a more dignified form; as the one voice of the congregation it strengthens the feeling of solidarity and unity; finally, it enhances the splendour of the celebration in a festive service.”<sup>96</sup> Williams knew it was essential that style and character of the music not detract from the liturgy itself. Stylistically, *Black Christ* follows the recommendations of articles 118 and 121, yet retains signatures of Williams’s own jazz style and, more broadly, mainstream jazz conventions.

Williams conceived of *Black Christ* as a “modern jazz hymn”—one arranged like a spiritual that could be played as a classical piece.<sup>97</sup> She consistently referred to it as such, both at the time of its premiere and subsequently, as in a 1974 *Time* magazine interview with John Wilson, when she described it as a “hymn in modern jazz style.”<sup>98</sup> This description relates *Black Christ* to her 1949 venture into sacred and extended jazz

composition, *Elijah and the Juniper Tree*, a nine-minute work for a choir of eighty voices Williams described as a “spiritual which employs the modern changes, which suggests bop in its textures.”<sup>99</sup> Similarly, *Black Christ* has the solemn and reverent tone of a hymn, yet it is cast in a dense, texturally rich, and complex arrangement that recalls an arrangement by the band Andy Kirk and His Twelve Clouds of Joy, the concert spiritual, and Williams’s own piano style of the 1960s.

In composing *Black Christ*, Williams stayed within the guidelines of article 121, which required that post-Vatican II vernacular hymns be “orthodox, short, [and] simple in text and tune.” From the outset Williams conceived of *Black Christ* as a ballad, as seen in the June copyright deposit. She composed the straightforward, mostly conjunct motion melody first; for a text she turned to Father Woods: “I tried to get a lyricist and all but I took the lyric to Father Woods and he said, no, they didn’t capture the spirit of St. Martin. So I told him, ‘Well, you do it.’ He said, ‘I never wrote anything in poetry in my life, Mary, and can’t do it.’ I said, ‘I’ll tap it out for you.’”<sup>100</sup>

Father Woods supplied a poem in short, simple, unadorned couplets (aa, bb, dd), using the phrase “St. Martin” as a refrain; there is a brief, contrasting b section that begins in free verse and concludes with a couplet (cc). By August Williams had arranged the tune for piano: she harmonized the melody and expanded the form by placing the ballad within the larger “head-chorus-head” type structure, or ABA’ (see Table 1). Section B contrasts with respect to text, melody, and key; section A’ paraphrases the couplets from section A. Williams had used this formal technique when arranging for Kirk, Ellington, Goodman, and others.

Williams also applies her own bop piano style to the arrangement. In both the piano and choral arrangements, Williams uses bop harmony, with chromatically altered ninths and thirteenthths, hence her reference to the work as being in “modern jazz style” with “modern changes” (compare Exx. 2 and 3). In keeping with jazz harmonic practices, Williams frequently substitutes more complex extensions when she repeats musical phrases, as she does, for example, in the passages beginning in m. 11 and m. 15, which parallel mm. 1–3 (Ex. 4).

Williams herself has described the choral arrangement of *Black Christ* as a spiritual arranged like a classical piece. More accurately, *Black Christ* closely resembles one of Williams’s big-band arrangements. By the time she deposited the piano manuscript in August, she had overlaid considerable melodic figurations, particularly the fills at the ends of texted phrases and countermelodies in the a cappella A and A’ sections. In the later choral arrangement, the textures became quite dense, as she scored extensively for divisi voices—typically as many as four or six parts, with up to eight in one brief passage (Ex. 3). Williams



Table 1. Overall form and stylistic resources, *Black Christ of the Andes (Hymn in Honor of St. Martin de Porres)* (1962), text by Father Anthony Woods, S.J., music by Mary Lou Williams. The Mary Lou Williams Foundation, Inc. dba Cecilia Music Publishing Co. (ASCAP). Reprinted by permission.

Section	Text	Style	Notated vs. Improvised
§A (mm. 1–42) “head” a cappella chorus	a St. Martin De Porres, his shepherd staff a dusty broom. St. Martin De Porres, the poor made a shrine of his tomb.  St. Martin De Porres, he gentled creatures tame and wild. St. Martin De Porres, he sheltered each unsheltered child. [bridge]: This man of love, born of flesh yet of God. This humble man healed the sick, raised the dead, his hand is quick to feed beggars and sinners, the starving homeless and the stray. Oh, Black Christ of the Andes, come feed us now we pray.	“Kansas City” swing riff-like head motives  call-and-response A minor: evocative of the blues bop harmonies  reminiscent of concert arrangements of spirituals	strictly notated  even eighths
interpolation MLW (*?) prayer (mm. 42–53)	a Oh, God, help us. Spare, oh Lord, spare thy people lest you be angered with me forever.	Modulation to G minor	

Table 1. continued

Section	Text	Style	Notated vs. Improvised
§B "chorus" (mm. 53–89)			
MLW solo piano (mm. 53–53)	a	habañera rhythm or the "Latin tinge"—Jelly Roll Morton	solo improvisation—piano
(mm. 57–89)	a	bop harmonies	allusions to improvisation through "scatting"—chorus
§A "head"	b a b	untexted vocals—"scatting" G minor same as §A except key: G minor	swing eighths same as §A
a cappella chorus			
	a		

Mary Lou Williams

Piano

St. Mar-tin de Por-res His shep-herd staff a dust-y

fills

broom St. Mar-tin de Por-res the poor made a shrine of his

fills

tomb St. Mar-tin de

Por-res he gen-tled crea-tures tame and wild St. Mar-tin de

Por-res he shel-tered each un-want-ed child

\* = melodic changes

Example 2. Williams, *St. Martin de Porres*, August copyright deposit arrangement. The Mary Lou Williams Foundation, Inc. dba Cecilia Music Publishing Co. (ASCAP). Reprinted by permission.

writes for voices as if she were orchestrating for the Kirk band, scoring liberally for untexted voices, especially in section B (Ex. 5). These free melodic lines are not just short figures or phrase extensions of only a few measures; rather, they are vocalizations of complete phrases. Here

m. 1

Soprano

Alto

Tenor  
St. Mar-tin de Por-res his shep-herd staff a dust-y

Bass

4

S.  
ooh

A.  
ooh

T.  
broom ooh St. Mar-tin de Por-res the poor made a shrine of his tomb

B.

9

S.  
wild

A.  
wild

T.  
St. Mar-tin de Por-res he gen-tled crea-tures tame and wild.

B.

Example 3. Williams, *Black Christ of the Andes (Hymn in Honor of St. Martin de Porres)*; revised choral arrangement, mm. 1–12. The Mary Lou Williams Foundation, Inc. dba Cecilia Music Publishing Co. (ASCAP). Reprinted by permission.

Mary Lou Williams

The image displays a musical score for the hymn 'Black Christ of the Andes' by Mary Lou Williams. It is divided into two main sections: the first system (measures 1-9) and the second system (measures 10-18). Each system is further divided into a 'chorus' section and a 'reduction' section. The 'chorus' section shows the original melody and accompaniment, while the 'reduction' section shows the same melody with substituted chords. The lyrics are: 'St. Mar-tin— de Por-res— broom St. Mar-tin— de his shep-herd staff a dust-y He gen-tled crea-tures tame and wild'. The original chords are: C, BbMaj7, F#m7(b5), B7(b5), E7(b5), G, FMaj7, E(b9), E7(b9). The substituted chords are: Amin, F#m7(b5), B7(b5), E7(b5), E13(omit3), E7(b5b9), Cmin, E7, F, E7(b5b9), G, F#m7(b5), B:7, Amin, E13(omit3), E7(b5b9).

Example 4. Williams, *Black Christ of the Andes* (Hymn in Honor of St. Martin de Porres), chord substitution comparison chart, mm. 1–18. The Mary Lou Williams Foundation, Inc. dba Cecilia Music Publishing Co. (ASCAP). Reprinted by permission.

15 6

Por - res —

the poor made a shrine to his tomb

E7 B $\flat$ 7

D7 E $\flat$ Maj7 D9 Amin7

E7 $\flat$ 13 C7(b5) F9(b5) B $\flat$ 9(b5) E $\flat$ 9(b5)

A $\flat$ M9(b5) G9(b5) B9(b5) F7(b5)

CMaj7 B $\flat$ Maj7

Por - res —

he shel - tered each un - shel - tered child

CMaj7 B $\flat$ Maj7

E E $\flat$  D E7(b9) F#m7(b5) E7(b9)

Example 4. continued

64

Soprano

Alto

Tenor

Bass

72

This man This Man of God

Example 5. Williams, *Black Christ of the Andes* (Hymn in Honor of St. Martin de Porres), untexted vocal writing, B section, mm. 65–68 and mm. 72–77. The Mary Lou Williams Foundation, Inc. dba Cecilia Music Publishing Co. (ASCAP). Reprinted by permission.

Williams treats the voice as though it were a trumpet or clarinet. Her handling of the voice in this fashion—instrumentally—recalls the technique of scatting, particularly the styles of soloists such as Ella Fitzgerald and Sarah Vaughan and of groups such as the Swingle Singers and Lambert, Hendricks, and Ross.

Throughout Williams applies her signature technique: the exploration of instrumental color (here, vocal timbre). In her band arrangements, Williams was praised for combining a choir of brass with a single reed, or vice versa. She did this to add variety to the traditional procedure of setting choirs of brass against choirs of reeds. Gunther Schuller illustrates this technique in his diagram of her “Big Jim Blues” (see Ex. 6).<sup>101</sup> In *Black Christ*, Williams does keep long-established conventions of vocal writing, such as setting male voices against female, combining pairs, or setting high mixed male-female voice pairs (e.g., tenor and alto) against low (e.g., alto and bass). However, rather than restricting herself

Intro	A	B	A'	1 muted tpt, 2 clar	muted tpt, 2 clar, 2 ten sax, 2 trb	muted tpt, 2 clar	2 ten sax	muted tpt, 2 clar, 2 ten sax	full ens	Coda
Gtr	Call: 2 clar 1 tpt	Trb solo acc. by: 1 muted tpt, 2 clar, 2 ten sax	Call: 1 open tpt, 2 ten sax							Call: 1 muted tpt, 2 clar
	Response: gtr		Response: 2 ten sax							Response: open tpt, 2 ten sax, 2 trb
4	18	12	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	2
										4

Example 6. Gunther Schuller, "Big Jim Blues" schema.



**A** Section 1—"head"—chorus solo—a cappella (mm.1-53)

a	couplet 1		a		
	sopranos } altos } ooh	sopranos } altos } ooh	ten } basses } text	sopranos } altos } text	ten } basses } text
mm. 1-4	mm.4	mm.8-9	mm.10-13	mm.13	mm.14-18
b	couplet 2		couplet 3		
ten } basses } text	sopranos } altos } text	sopranos } altos } ten } basses } ooh	altos } ten } basses } text	sopranos } ooh	sopranos } aah
mm. 18-22	mm.22-23	mm.23	mm.25	mm.27	mm.27-34
a	couplet 3		Interpolation		
ten } basses } text	sopranos } altos } aah	sopranos } altos } aah	sopranos } altos } aah	ten } basses } text	sopranos } altos } ten } basses } text
mm. 35-38	mm.38	mm.39-42	mm.43-44	mm.44	mm.45-53

Example 7. Williams, *Black Christ of the Andes (Hymn in Honor of St. Martin de Porres)*, vocal timbre chart. The Mary Lou Williams Foundation, Inc. dba Cecilia Music Publishing Co. (ASCAP). Reprinted by permission.

45

Spare O Lord Spare Thy peo - ple Lest You be ang-ered with me for-ev - er

*Example 8.* Williams, *Black Christ of the Andes* (Hymn in Honor of St. Martin de Porres), interpolated prayer, piano version. The Mary Lou Williams Foundation, Inc. dba Cecilia Music Publishing Co. (ASCAP). Reprinted by permission.

to combinations of female or male pairs, or mixed pairs, Williams explores other permutations. In some passages she applies her signature technique to achieve timbral variety: she scores homorhythmically for the lower three voices, offsetting this blending with a soprano counter-melody or fill, as seen in the diagram of *Black Christ* (Ex. 8). This parallels passages in “Big Jim Blues” where she combines a single trumpet (alternatively muted and open) with reeds (variously saxophones or clarinets).

One passage, the transition between sections A and B, presents a stark contrast in style and tone. In Figure 1, Williams adds lyrics of her own—a text interpolation or trope:

Oh, God, help us  
Spare, oh Lord,  
spare thy people  
lest you be angered  
with me  
forever.

A direct and emotionally intense powerful plea for mercy, these lines more closely resemble an extemporaneous prayer. Rather than the reserved, solemn tone of sections A and A', Williams here writes for dramatic effect (Exx. 8 and 9). Fittingly, Williams increases the rhythmic drive and intensifies the dissonance and chromaticism. The harmonic modulation illustrates the emotional turmoil of the lyrics.

### Critical Reception

Since the first performance of *Black Christ* took place in a liturgical context, the author of the *New York Times* article did not review the composition. Subsequent performances of *Black Christ* were given in conventional jazz performance venues and were reviewed, with the earliest



Figure 1. Pope Paul VI greeting Mary Lou Williams, Rome, 1969. Courtesy of the Mary Lou Williams Collection, Institute of Jazz Studies.

45

Soprano

Alto

Tenor

Bass

Spare, oh Lord Spare thy peo - ple Lest You be ang-ered with me for ev - er

Example 9. Williams, *Black Christ of the Andes* (Hymn in Honor of St. Martin de Porres), mm. 44–48. The Mary Lou Williams Foundation, Inc. dba Cecilia Music Publishing Co. (ASCAP). Reprinted by permission.

analyses appearing immediately after the release of the recording and others published several years later. Generally, the choral piece was favorably received. However, the critics seemed somewhat perplexed and unsure what to make of the concept of sacred jazz and by what standards to judge this work. While some made valid statements, others failed to understand Williams's fundamental purpose in composing sacred jazz. Almost uniformly, critics judged the work based on received notions of jazz current during the mid-1960s.

Contemporary and later critics alike acknowledged, however, that Williams broke new ground, in both *St. Martin de Porres* and subsequent sacred and liturgical compositions. Contemporary critics especially recognized Williams's religious devotion. Reviewing a 1973 piano performance, John Wilson wrote, "Two parallel threads run through Mary Lou Williams' life—her love of God and her love of her music."<sup>102</sup> Critics also acknowledged her status as a pioneer in this relatively new field, though they refrained from further assessments of the merit and value of her religious works. Those who did comment on the music itself were generally struck by Williams's technical skill and mastery of choral writing. Only Stanley Dance, in his review of the 11 November 1963 performance at the Philharmonic Hall benefit for Symphony of Musical Arts, recognized the particular symbolism of the hymn and of Martin de Porres for Williams: "Well sung by a mixed choir of fifteen voices, this was a modern spiritual which managed to commingle pride with something of the sadness that is in the blues."<sup>103</sup>

Similarly, Williams's contemporary and fellow pianist Marian McPartland praised Williams's craft and inventiveness, commenting that *Black Christ*, "with a lyric by Father Woods, achieves an airy, ethereal quality by its voice blending."<sup>104</sup> Critics perplexed by the work and by the notion of sacred jazz were uncertain how to evaluate it and saw this work and Williams's other sacred jazz primarily as a novelty. Most often they were dismayed by the lack of improvisation. The French critic Jean Delmas, for example, wrote in his review of the recording *Mary Lou Williams Presents*:

Three of the ten titles are choral compositions, commissioned by the priest Anthony Woods and interpreted with an unfortunate conformity by a choir which swings with about as much depth as a paper Bible. These liturgical pieces present three very short piano solos, happily swinging and Ellingtonian. . . . These sacred music pieces—especially the famous *Black Christ of the Andes*, written in remembrance of the saint Martin De Porres, the Peruvian son of a black slave mother—are curiously imbued with the spirit of the blues, a blues stripped of its accent, rejected by a puritan will up to the illusion of pure music.<sup>105</sup>

For these critics, sacred jazz had to be good jazz first, that is, it had to swing, and it had to feature inspired and extensive improvisation. That this music was for worship was of secondary importance. In his criticism Delmas failed to take one major factor into consideration, namely that jazz would play a secondary role in Roman Catholic religious ritual. To paraphrase Jungmann, as a form of prayer, liturgical jazz had to imbue the service with dignity and enhance worship; it is not, like featured jazz, the centerpiece to be enjoyed for its beauty or entertainment value.

*Black Christ* does include room for improvisation, but Williams confined it to only one section. Comparison of the recording with both the copyright deposits and the original and the revised choral arrangements reveals that Williams notated the first and third sections, leaving no room for improvisation there.<sup>106</sup> Only in the second section, in the first and only appearance of the piano at the beginning of section B after the transitional interpolated prayer, does she allow room for improvisation. Appearing solo, and not using the piano as a supporting instrument, Williams enters playing an *habañera* rhythm in the bass (see Ex. 10). Jelly Roll Morton has described this rhythm as the “Latin tinge,” and Williams uses it to signify Martin de Porres’s Peruvian nationality and African heritage. Her improvisation is restrained, with her introduction and later “comping” behind the chorus being the only suitable places for improvisation to occur. There are only two differences between the notated piano part and the recorded performance: on the record, Williams plays a glissando in m. 53 and only three measures of the *habañera* bass line. Most likely, Williams faltered here in her entrance. When the voices return untexted (i.e., scatting in mm. 65–68), there is ample opportunity for both choral and piano improvisation. However, on the recording the chorus strictly adheres to the notated score. It does take liberty with the rhythm, swinging the eighths rather than singing them even or straight.

The jazz scholar and altoist Lewis Porter was the only critic to comment on the music and William’s technique and to find technical aspects of the arrangement problematic:

Many of Williams’ later compositions have religious themes. An earlier effort in choral writing, “Saint Martin de Porres” (1964) [*sic*], was acclaimed for its modern harmonies. The rather unidiomatic writing in these pieces does involve awkward intervals for the singers, and the general mood of the text seems to be more important than the specific meanings of words or phrases.<sup>107</sup>

Porter’s observations are corroborated by Gérard Pochonet, who reports that the work was quite difficult to perform and that it was necessary to

Example 10. Williams, *Black Christ of the Andes* (Hymn in Honor of St. Martin de Porres), piano right hand, Latin tinge, *habañera* rhythm. The Mary Lou Williams Foundation, Inc. dba Cecilia Music Publishing Co. (ASCAP). Reprinted by permission.

revise the choral arrangement.<sup>108</sup> Several extended passages in the original choral arrangement contain awkward intervals, disjunct melodies, and large leaps, suggesting that Williams was inexperienced or unfamiliar with scoring for voices. While easy for horns to play, these passages challenge all but the professional chorister (cf. mm. 31–34, mm. 73–75, mm. 80–89). The later revision is not in her hand and bears the inscription “Vocal Adaptation Howard Roberts,” suggesting that Roberts, who conducted the choir for the recording, made several changes during the rehearsal process to make the work easier for the singers. He (or Williams) corrected copying mistakes and simplified the harmony and voice-leading in some passages. The form, motives, “fills,” harmonic progressions, key relationships, rhythm, phrasing, and overall texture generally remained the same.

Viewed in pianistic terms, *Black Christ* can be seen as exhibiting aspects of Williams’s keyboard style. In describing the vocal writing as unidiomatic for voices, Porter suggests that the writing would be better suited for another instrument, namely the piano. Williams’s pianism informs the arrangements. When asked by John S. Wilson whether she considered herself primarily a pianist rather than a composer, Williams answered:

Yes, by all means. Jazz is my thing. I mean, piano is the thing. . . . No, I don’t consider myself a composer-arranger. That’s part of it but the basic

thing is the piano because I can do so many things on the piano, switching and changing and doing things. I may not have the greatest technique but I can do things on [the] piano that arranging and writing is secondary. My arranging and composing comes while I'm playing piano.<sup>109</sup>

Williams considered the blues the foundation of jazz and saw her piano playing as always rooted in the blues. Peers and critics alike praised her venturesome harmonies. The thick, complex harmonies she used in this work are easily performed on the piano, and the vocal chords are arranged as though they were typical jazz keyboard voicings. Many of the florid, untexted lines resemble right-hand piano runs. Because the work “falls under the fingers,” Williams most likely began composing and arranging while improvising.

### Sacred or Profane?

Williams's introduction of jazz into the Catholic liturgy was controversial. Although the Mass had been opened by Vatican II to indigenous cultural traditions and the vernacular, jazz still faced obstacles from both church spokesmen and parishioners. At the center of this debate were two questions: was jazz “profane?” And could it be “sacred?” Many individuals and organizations still associated jazz with sex and immorality. Just nine days before Williams was baptized, Italian Catholic jazz enthusiasts had asked the Vatican for a ruling on whether or not jazz was a sinful music. On 30 April 1957 the Italian Jazz Federation appealed to the Holy See to counter the lay organization Catholic Action, which had attacked jazz in its newspaper *Noi Uomini*, describing it as “music of materialistic and Dionysiac orientation” (the appeal remained unanswered).<sup>110</sup> The federation bolstered its support of jazz by arguing that its origins lay in spirituals. In the United States during the late 1950s and early 1960s, jazz was used as liturgical music mostly by Protestant churches, especially Lutheran and Episcopal ones.<sup>111</sup>

Williams herself had no such conflict over the use of jazz as sacred music. For her, secular jazz, rooted as it was in the African American experience—particularly the experience of suffering—had great spiritual content and therefore was appropriate for the Mass and other religious settings. Indeed, she suggested that she drew upon spirituals for inspiration for her improvisations: “I can play the old-fashioned spiritual and I can ‘bop’ on top of it.”<sup>112</sup> Following her conversion, Williams never failed to mention these emotive or spiritual aspects. In late summer 1957 she told a *Time* magazine interviewer: “I am praying through my fingers when

I play. . . . I get that good 'soul sound' and I try to touch people's spirit."<sup>113</sup> Soon after the composition of *Black Christ*, Williams informed John S. Wilson: "The religious element is in the words . . . and in the arrangement. . . . The tune itself is a jazz tune but it's arranged like a spiritual. You could play it as a classical piece if you wanted to. But the way I play it is an expression of me."<sup>114</sup> And in 1973 she stated, "Jazz is the greatest religion of them all. . . . It's a healer of the mind and the soul. God reaches others through it to bring peace and happiness to those who know how to listen to it."<sup>115</sup>

Jazz was not only an artistic endeavor for Williams but a form of worship, regardless of its performance setting. She did not believe this music to be inherently profane or sacred, but rather spiritual. As Williams believed and taught (to her students at Duke University, in workshops at other colleges, and in her published *Jazz Tree* included in her *History of Jazz* album), spirituals, coupled with the blues, were at the root of all jazz styles. She worked constantly to dissociate jazz from its negative stereotypes, as she had when she first met Bishop (later Cardinal) Wright<sup>116</sup> of Pittsburgh. Initially seeking funding for jazz education in Catholic schools, Williams reports of her encounter with him: "Bishop Wright saw me and asked what he could do for me. I said, 'Jazz! We're on the verge of losing a great spiritual music.' He then told me that he always associated jazz with drugs and drug addicts. I said, 'No, that's not so. Do you know that it is this commercial rock that has caused havoc in that area?' I ran it down for him."<sup>117</sup>

As a music based in an inherently spiritual genre, sacred jazz did not need to make stylistic reference to an acknowledged sacred or liturgical music tradition, and thus, in *Black Christ*, Williams made no overt references to gospel or other traditions of contemporary African American sacred music. Since Williams believed that jazz was a spiritual music imbued with religiosity, it was appropriate to use jazz in a sacred context. Or, as Williams herself stated, jazz is "the greatest religion of them all. . . . It's a healer of the mind and the soul."<sup>118</sup>

### Notes

I am grateful to and wish to thank Professors Lewis Porter and William Lowe, who read previous versions of this paper. I am especially grateful to the late Professor Mark Tucker. This article is dedicated to the memory of my cousin Tauheed D. Hamidullah (Thomas D. Killens, 1958–1994), who first introduced me to jazz.

1. "Negro Saint's Day Held Blow to Racism," *New York Times*, 4 Nov. 1962.
2. Linda Dahl, *Morning Glory: A Biography of Mary Lou Williams* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1999), 219–20.



3. See Dahl, *Morning Glory*, 225–30. Compare Hughes Panassié's conservative view of jazz in *The Real Jazz*, rev. and enlarged ed. (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1960).
4. Mary Lou Williams to Eubie Blake, 8 Apr. 1953. Eubie Blake Papers, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.
5. Sometime in early 1954, Williams recorded "Memories of You" (released as Club Français du Disque J12). She does not appear to have recorded the other two selections. See Jorgen Grunnet Jepsen, *Jazz Records, 1942–1962*, 12 vols. (Holte, Denmark: Karl Emil Knudsen, 1963–1969), and Walter Bruyninckx, *60 Years of Recorded Jazz, 1917–1977*, 36 vols. (Mechelen, Belgium: Walter Bruyninckx, 1980).
6. John S. Wilson, "Mary Lou Williams," *International Musician* 71 (January 1973): 22.
7. Dahl, *Morning Glory*, 230–43.
8. Mary Lou Williams, interview by John S. Wilson, the Smithsonian Jazz Oral History Project, transcript, 134ff. Hereinafter cited as Smithsonian Transcript.
9. At a party at the home of Gerald Lascelles, Williams met a black U.S. soldier who suggested she read the Ninety-first Psalm. Williams misunderstood him and went home and read the entire book of Psalms. Dahl writes that Williams was instructed to read the Ninety-sixth Psalm. Psalm 91 is a prayer for divine protection; Psalm 96 is a psalm of praise and exaltation; see Dahl, *Morning Glory*, 240. Williams's own account can be found in the Smithsonian Transcript, 137–39.
10. Williams, quoted in Dahl, *Morning Glory*, 233–41.
11. Smithsonian Transcript, 143–45.
12. Powell was Hazel Scott's ex-husband. For further information on Adam Clayton Powell Jr. and Hazel Scott, see Emmett Coleman, *The Rise and Fall and . . .? of Adam Clayton Powell* (New York: Bee-Line Books, 1967), esp. 64ff.
13. Dahl, *Morning Glory*, 247. For Williams's own account, see Smithsonian Transcript, 143. See also John S. Wilson, "Jazz: From Mind to Heart to Fingertips to Piano," *New York Times*, 6 Feb. 1964.
14. Dahl, *Morning Glory*, 255.
15. Wilson, "Mary Lou Williams," 22.
16. Smithsonian Transcript, 145.
17. Father Anthony Woods died on 15 Oct. 1965; a brief obituary appeared in the *New York Times* on 18 Oct. 1965. Former Saint Francis Xavier High School student Father Peter O'Brien, S.J., offers illuminating biographical information in his liner notes to "Mary Lou Williams: Nite Life."
18. Dahl, *Morning Glory*, 257–61.
19. Dahl, *Morning Glory*, 247.
20. Letter to Father Crowley, quoted in Dahl, *Morning Glory*, 184, 264.
21. The jazz critic Barry Ulanov (1918–2000) had converted from Judaism to Catholicism in 1951 and later took degrees in religion. He began to write on religion during the early 1960s. Ulanov served as president of the St. Thomas More Society in 1955–56 and 1964–65. See "Barry Ulanov," in *Contemporary Authors Online* (Gale Group, 2001).

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22. Lewis K. McMillan, "Mary Lou Williams: First Lady of Jazz," *Down Beat* 38 (27 May 1971): 16.
23. *Smithsonian Transcript*, 147–48.
24. Dizzy Gillespie, *Dizzy Gillespie at Newport* (Verve 314–513–754-2; reissue, 1992 PolyGram Records, Inc.). Norman J. O'Connor, C.S.P., was appointed director of radio, television, and films for the Paulist Fathers' Communications Division in November 1962. A champion and defender of jazz and jazz musicians, he published articles in, among others, *Downbeat* and *Metronome* and had a regular column in the *Boston Globe* during the early 1960s. Host of the radio program "Father O'Connor's Jazz Anthology" on WRVR-FM, he was also a director of the Newport Jazz Festival. See the *American Catholic Who's Who, 1980–1981* (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic News Service, 1979); "'Jazz Priest' Gets Paulist Position," *New York Times*, 17 Nov. 1962; "Hot Holiday Meals Delivered to the Homebound Elderly," *New York Times*, 26 Nov. 1976.
25. Wilson, "Jazz: From Mind to Heart."
26. Dahl, *Morning Glory*, 262–67.
27. Dahl, *Morning Glory*, 244.
28. For the autobiography and other writings, see Adam Clayton Powell Jr., *Adam by Adam: The Autobiography of Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.* (New York: Dial Press, 1971); *Keep the Faith, Baby!* (New York: Trident Press, 1967); and *Marching Blacks*, rev. ed. (New York: Dial Press, 1973). For more on Powell, see Charles V. Hamilton, *Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.: The Political Biography of an American Dilemma* (New York: Atheneum, 1991); Wil Haygood, *King of the Cats: The Life and Times of Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1993); Emmett Coleman, *The Rise, Fall, and . . . ? of Adam Clayton Powell* (New York: Bee-Line Books, 1967); Claude Lewis, *Adam Clayton Powell* (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett, 1963); Andy Jacobs, *The Powell Affair: Freedom Minus One* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1973).
29. For a history of public school desegregation in the wake of *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education*, see George R. Metcalf, *From Little Rock to Boston: The History of School Desegregation* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983).
30. Harvard Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality, 1954–1980* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 59.
31. E. Culpepper Clark, *The Schoolhouse Door: Segregation's Last Stand at the University of Alabama* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).
32. For a history of the SCLC, see Adam Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 15–35; David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: W. Morrow, 1986), 11–82. See also Sitkoff, 59–65.
33. See Elizabeth Huckaby, *Crisis at Central High: Little Rock, 1957–58* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980).

34. Morris J. MacGregor, *The Emergence of a Black Catholic Community: St. Augustine's in Washington* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1999), 340.
35. For a history of the sit-ins, see Martin Oppenheimer, *The Sit-In Movement of 1960* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson, 1989). For a general history of the founding of SNCC, see Emily Stoper, *The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee: The Growth of Radicalism in a Civil Rights Organization* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson, 1989). For more information on SNCC, see Clayborne Carson, *In the Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981).
36. Sitkoff; August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, *CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942–1968* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).
37. Peter B. Levy, ed., *Documentary History of the Modern Civil Rights Movement* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1992), 65–68.
38. For more on the integration of the University of Mississippi, see Nadine Cohodas, *The Band Played Dixie: Race and the Liberal Conscience at Ole Miss* (New York: Free Press, 1997).
39. Smithsonian Transcript, 130.
40. Dahl, *Morning Glory*, 153, 157.
41. Smithsonian Transcript, 77; Michael Denning, *Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Verso, 1996), 348–61. For a biography of White, see Elijah Wald, *Josh White: Society Blues* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000).
42. Martin Baumy Duberman, *Paul Robeson* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), 283.
43. Arnold Rampersad, *The Life of Langston Hughes*, vol. 2, 1941–1967: *I Dream a World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 95. None of the standard jazz discographies lists “The Ballot Box Boogie in the Time of Franklin D.”
44. The benefit was held at the Armory, on Thirty-fourth Street at Park Avenue. Among the performers were Mildred Bailey (with whom Williams recorded), Count Basie, Jimmy Durance, and Duke Ellington. Duberman, 285.
45. Penny M. Von Eschen, *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937–1957* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 104.
46. Dahl, *Morning Glory*, 247.
47. Rampersad, 95.
48. For studies of Café Society and cultural politics, see David Stowe, “The Politics of Café Society,” *Journal of American History* 84 (Mar. 1998): 1384–406; David Margolick, *Strange Fruit: Billie Holiday, Café Society, and an Early Cry for Civil Rights* (Philadelphia: Running Press, 2000). For an essay on Williams in the context of the cold war, see James Hall, “Jazz, Gender, and the Cold War: Mary Lou Williams’ Cultural Critique,” unpublished paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Studies Association, Kansas City, Mo., 31 Oct.–3 Nov. 1996. I am grateful to Professor Hall for supplying me with a copy of this paper.
49. Michael Denning, *Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Verso, 1996), 337–40.

50. Denning, 338–40.
51. In early summer 1943 Williams performed at the Greenwich Village location, and in May 1945, at Café Society—Uptown. Dahl, *Morning Glory*, 137–58.
52. Williams recorded this work in New York in 1945 with the Mary Lou Williams Girl Stars, with Marjorie Hyams on vibraphone, Mary Osborne on guitar and vocals, Bea Taylor on bass, Bridget O'Flynn on drums, and herself on piano. It was released as the B side of Continental 6032. See Jepsen and Bruyninck, s.v. "Mary Lou Williams." For biographical information on Hyams, Osborne, Taylor, and O'Flynn, see Sally Placksin, *American Women in Jazz, 1900 to the Present: Their Words, Lives, and Music* (New York: Wideview Books, 1982); Linda Dahl, *Stormy Weather: The Music and Lives of a Century of Jazzwomen* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984); Leslie Gourse, *Madame Jazz: Contemporary Women Instrumentalists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); and Barry Dean Kernfeld, ed., *New Grove Dictionary of Jazz* (London and New York: Macmillan, 1988). On three separate dates during 1945–46 Williams recorded with these all-female ensembles. She also attempted to perform with an interracial, all-female combo at a revue in Atlanta in 1947. Dahl, *Morning Glory*, 138.
53. Dahl, *Morning Glory*, 261ff.
54. Dahl, *Morning Glory*, 261, 277.
55. Smithsonian Transcript, 152.
56. Barry Ulanov, "Mary Lou Williams," *Metronome* 65 (July 1949): 24.
57. Wilson, "Mary Lou Williams," 22. For Dahl's treatment of this, see *Morning Glory*, 256.
58. Dahl, 257.
59. Smithsonian Transcript, 149.
60. Xavier Rynne, *Vatican Council II* (New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux, 1968), 8. For Pope John's opening speech to the council, see Walter M. Abbott and Joseph Gallagher, eds., *The Documents of Vatican II* (New York: Guild Press; America Press; Association Press, 1966), 712.
61. Rynne, 21.
62. Rynne, 577. See also *De Ecclesia in Mundo Huius Temporis*, translated as "Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the Modern World" in "Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy," in Abbott and Gallagher, 137–78.
63. "Bishops of Africa," *New York Times*, 20 Oct. 1962; Paul Hofman, "Africans Expect Big Gains in Rome," *New York Times*, 27 Oct. 1962.
64. Josef Andreas Jungmann, "Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy," in *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, vols. 1–4, ed. Herbert Vorgrimler (Freiburg: Herder and Herder, 1966), 25. See also "Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy," in Abbott and Gallaher, 137–78.
65. Jungmann, 76.
66. Rynne, 57. See articles 22, 24, 36, and 40 of "Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy," in Abbott and Gallagher, 137–78.
67. See articles 37–40, 65, 101, 119, and 120, as translated in Abbott and Gallagher, 137–78; Jungmann, 79.

68. For newspaper coverage of Martin's canonization, see "Incomparabile Trionfo nella Basilica Vaticana," *L'osservatore Romano*, 7–8 May 1962; "Il Successore di Pietro compie il grandioso Rito della Canonizzazione," *L'osservatore Romano*, 7–8 May 1962; "Il Santo Padre riceve in Udienza solenne le delegazione e i pellegrinaggi giunti a Rome per la Canonizzazione di San Martino de Porres," *L'osservatore Romano*, 7–8 May 1962; and Raimondo Spiazzi, "Nella Glorificazione di Fra 'Martino de Porres,'" *L'osservatore Romano*, 6 May 1962.
69. Copyright deposit, Eu731499. Catalog of Copyright Entries, Third Series Music (Washington, D.C.: Copyright Office, the Library of Congress, 1963), vol. 16, part 5, no. 2, 1482. Dahl gives 1961 as the year of completion of *Black Christ*; see Dahl, *Morning Glory*, 277.
70. William's creative momentum was not limited to this piece; copyright records indicated three more works registered on 10 August: an arrangement of St. Martin, "Yarn," and later, on 22 October, "Lord, Have Mercy" and "Miss D. D." (the initials of the North Carolina tobacco heiress Doris Duke).
71. Copyright deposit, MS "arrangement by Mary Lou Williams," EU731499.
72. Marshall Peck, "A Pianist Converts Tribute: Jazz Hymn to Honor Negro Saint," *New York Herald Tribune*, 30 Oct. 1962. Williams later arranged the work for trio and voices and performed it at the Monterey Jazz Festival in 1965.
73. These two cases were verified by the medical college of the Sacred Congregation of Rites on 11 Jan. and 18 Oct. 1961. Finally, on 20 Mar. 1962, approval to canonize Martin came from the General Congregation. Giuliana Cavallini, *St. Martin de Porres, Apostle of Charity*, trans. Caroline Holland (St. Louis: B. Herder Book, 1963; [trans. of *I fioretti del Beato Martino*]), 228–30.
74. Smithsonian Transcript, 146.
75. Peck, "Pianist Converts Tribute."
76. See Stephen J. Ochs, *Desegregating the Altar: The Josephites and the Struggle for Black Priests, 1871–1960* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 111. See also Cyprian Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (New York: Crossroads, 1990), 163ff; Bishop Herbert, introduction to Lady Herbert, trans., *The Life of Blessed Martin de Porres (A Negro Saint)* (New York: Catholic Publication Society, 1889).
77. The F. G. Holweck, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints* (St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder Book Co., 1924), s.v. "Martin Porres," 669; Ellen Tarry, *Martin de Porres: Saint of the New World* (New York: Vision Books; Farrar, Straus, 1963), 165; Cavallini, *St. Martin de Porres, Apostle of Charity*. Martin's religious symbolism for Latin American Catholics is foregrounded in a theological treatise by Alex García-Rivera, *St. Martin de Porres: The "Little Stories" and the Semiotics of Culture* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1995).
78. "Pope Canonizes Peruvian Friar in Vatican Rites Before 20,000," *New York Times*, 7 May 1962; Stanislas Fumet, *Saint Martin De Porres* (Paris: Editions S. O. S., 1972), 155ff. For a summary of the growth of devotion to Martin, see Cavallini, *St. Martin de Porres, Apostle of Charity*.
79. "Pope Canonizes Peruvian Friar."
80. MacGregor, *Black Catholic Community*, 41ff; Cavallini, *St. Martin de Porres*, 226–27. For a history of the Josephites, see Ochs, *Desegregating the Altar*.

81. Rynne, 361. See *De Ecclesia* [Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World], passim, in Abbott and Gallagher.
82. See "Martin De Porres," in Donald Attwater with Catherine Rachel John, *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints*, 3rd ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 243.
83. Cavallini, *St. Martin de Porres*, 236–37.
84. Eddie Doherty, *Martin* (New York: Blessed Martin Guild, 1951), 17.
85. As quoted in Cavallini, *St. Martin de Porres*, 238.
86. They are archived in the Mary Lou Williams Collection at the Institute of Jazz Studies, Rutgers University, Newark, N.J.
87. "Text of the Vatican Ecumenical Council's 'Message to Humanity,'" *New York Times*, 21 Oct. 1962.
88. George Dugan, "Vatican Council's Plea to World," *New York Times*, 21 Oct. 1962.
89. "Bishops of Africa Set Up Own Panel at Vatican Council," *New York Times*, 20 Oct. 1962.
90. Dugan, "Vatican Council's Plea."
91. Fumet, *Saint Martin De Porres*, 15.
92. "Paulist Predicts a Negro Pontiff," *New York Times*, 4 Apr. 1960.
93. MacGregor, *Black Catholic Community*, 340–41; Davis, *History of Black Catholics*, 256.
94. "New Saint Hailed at St. Patrick's," *New York Times*, 7 May 1962.
95. Jungmann, 79; "Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy," in Abbott and Gallagher, 173.
96. Jungmann, 77.
97. Wilson, "Jazz: From Mind to Heart."
98. Wilson, "Jazz: From Mind to Heart"; Stanley Dance, "Jazz," *Music Journal* 22 (Mar. 1964): 120; Peck, "Pianist Converts Tribute"; "Pianist's Return," *Time*, 16 Sep. 1957, 76.
99. Ulanov, "Mary Lou Williams," 24.
100. Smithsonian Transcript, 153.
101. Gunther Schuller, *The Swing Era: The Development of Jazz, 1930–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 359.
102. Wilson, "Mary Lou Williams," 8.
103. Dance, "Jazz," *Music Journal* 21 (Jan. 1963): 109.
104. Marian McPartland, "Into the Sun: Sketch of Mary Lou Williams," *Down Beat* 31 (August 1964): 17.
105. Jean Delmas, "La grande dame du piano: Mary Lou Williams," *Jazz Hot* 44, no. 351–52 (Summer 1978): 15. "Trois des dix titres sont des compositions pour chorale, commandées par le père Anthony Woods et interprétées avec un malheureux conformisme par un chœur qui swingue avec aussi peu d'épaisseur qu'un papier bible. Ces pièces liturgiques

présentent de tres courts solos de piano tendus, joliment déhanchés et ellingtoniens. . . . Et puis surtout, ces pièces de musique sacrée, y compris le célèbre Black Christ of the Andes écrit en souvenir de saint Martin de Porres, le fils péruvien d'une esclave noire, sont curieusement imprégnées de l'esprit du blues. Un blues comme dépouillé de ses accents, repoussé par une volonté puritaine jusque'à l'illusion de la pure musique."

106. The revised version of *Black Christ of the Andes* (St. Martin De Porres) was recorded in New York on 9 Oct. 1963. It was released on the album *Mary Lou Williams Presents* (Mary Records 101/Folkways 2843), reissued as *Black Christ of the Andes* (Saba 15062 ST).

107. Lewis Porter, "You Can't Get Up There Timidly," *Music Educator's Journal* 71 (Oct. 1984): 49.

108. Gérard Pochonet, liner notes to *Mary Lou Williams Presents*.

109. Smithsonian Transcript, 170.

110. Paul Hofmann, "Vatican Is Asked to Rule on Jazz," in *Keeping Time: Readings in Jazz History*, ed. Robert Walser (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 238–39.

111. "Lutherans Seek Message in Jazz," *New York Times*, 28 Feb. 1962. See also John Wicklein, "Clergymen Find Integrity in Jazz," *New York Times*, 1 Mar. 1962. By the 1960s the New York Lutheran pastor John G. Gensel had been holding jazz services for years, especially the "jazz vespers." At the end of February 1962, the United Lutheran Church in America sponsored a "Workshop on Contemporary Jazz" at Village Gate, a Greenwich Village nightclub. For more on Gensel, his ministry to the jazz community, and jazz vespers, see the obituary by Ben Ratliff, "John G. Gensel, 80, the Pastor to New York's Jazz Community," *New York Times*, 8 Feb. 1998; John S. Wilson, "Jazz in Church from Vespers to Matins," *New York Times*, 2 Dec. 1977; "Jazz Pastor Is Installed," *New York Times*, 22 May 1967; John S. Wilson, "The Jazz Pastor: 'Not LSD—Just Faith in God,'" *New York Times*, 17 Nov. 1968; Robert Palmer, "All-Night Jam Session to Ring Out at St. Peter's," *New York Times*, 10 Oct. 1980; and "Pastor's Calling Takes Him to Jazz," *New York Times*, 25 Apr. 1965.

112. D. Antoinette Handy, "Conversation with . . . Mary Lou Williams: First Lady of the Jazz Keyboard," *Black Perspectives in Music* 8, no. 2 (1980): 202.

113. "Pianist's Return," 61.

114. Wilson, "Jazz: From Mind to Heart."

115. Wilson, "Mary Lou Williams," 8.

116. Dahl, *Morning Glory*, 280.

117. Handy, "Conversation with . . . Mary Lou Williams," 206; Dahl, 281.

118. Wilson, "Mary Lou Williams," 8.