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Entrepreneurial Action and Venue Agglomeration in Detroit's Paradise Valley and Black Bottom Neighborhoods

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ABSTRACT: Detroit's Black Bottom and Paradise Valley were African-American neighborhoods that housed a vibrant and active popular music scene between World War I and the 1960s. They were home to a dense network of music venues, many of which were owned or managed by African-Americans. Urban renewal projects during the late-1950s destroyed much of the heart of these places. Unfortunately, discussion of this activity is largely missing from the academic literature on placemaking, cultural entrepreneurship, and music scenes in Detroit. To address this gap, I propose a solution that marries discussion of these neighborhoods with a method to measure and compare entrepreneurial activity in a music scene using venue density as a construct.

This article examines the nature of entrepreneurial action in the collection of music venues that supported jazz musicians in Detroit's Black Bottom and Paradise Valley neighborhoods during the period of strong African-American business ownership between World War I and the 1960s. Aspects of entrepreneurial agglomeration and placemaking as they relate to musicianship are discussed. This discussion leads toward a methodology of measuring the vibrancy of a scene. Specific attention is paid to the creation of musical venues in the Paradise Valley and Black Bottom neighborhoods in Detroit before destructive urban-renewal projects took place in the early 1960s. These two neighborhoods are viewed using the lens of a modern-day music scene, oft described as vibrant and active. The relative density of music venues as a proxy for their activity is used as a method to compare the historical vibrancy of Paradise Valley and Black Bottom with a well-known contemporary American popular music scene in Austin, Texas.

Included in the investigation is a commentary on the nature of government support for music venues, and in the case of Black Bottom and Paradise Valley, a particular lack thereof in the 1960s. Over time, Detroit's black music venues organized, dissolved, and re-organized during cycles of growth and struggle in the city's history. Much of the narrative that discusses placemaking, cultural entrepreneurship, and the nature of music scenes in Detroit covers the Motown-era forward, and this article focuses on an era of strong musical scene-making which pre-dates this time. This article focuses on a cross-section of those venues (jazz, blues and jump venues) to chart the density of entrepreneurship during a period of Detroit's musical history, from just after WWI to the early 1980s, and also makes clear the impact of race-based redlining and the governmentally-mandated destruction of the historic homes of African-American musical entrepreneurship in the city of Detroit.

Placemaking and the Narratives of Revival in Detroit Today (and Yesterday

There is a tradition in both academic and popular discussions of the roles artists play in the city's revival. Darroch discusses and takes to task the ability of "scattered hip enclaves" of culture in Detroit to change "acres of abandoned buildings and vacant lots" (Darroch 2015). This discussion attacks what seems to be a consistent theme in the popular press, which Darroch quotes as an exemplar: "Detroit is attracting artists in numbers large enough to earn it a designation as another Berlin: a city with a struggling economy where creative types can live and work cheaply" (Yablonsky 2011). Siobhan Gregory, in her discussion of the language on artistic entrepreneurship in the city of Detroit, agrees with Darroch, stating that "If Detroit is out-of-place, then many of the Detroiters who have occupied and sustained the city for decades are thus considered irrelevant, indefinable, or, at worse, deviant" (Gregory 2012).

While there is discussion in academic literature about the cause of Detroit's decline, and an overwhelming number of popular news articles about the causes (Alexander 2013; Beachy 2013; Beyer 2018; Block 2013; Bomey & Gallagher 2013; Chait 2013; Fernholz 2013; Graham 2013; Kurtzleben 2014; Mandell 2013; Niquette 2013; Oosting 2013; Salenger 2013; The Economist 2013; Uberti 2014; Wayland 2013; Weber 2013), discussion about how the city is wide open for outside artists to move in seems rampant. The size of the problem has even been picked up by recent work of academic researchers in the arts (Cappuccitti 2019; Pincus & Christian 2017). During the height of Detroit's 2013 bankruptcy declaration, journalistic narratives seemed to focus on how Detroit is inexpensive yet cool (Ager 2015; Nelson 2009), a burgeoning home for creative New Yorkers priced out of town (Conlin 2015), a place for budding artists from the west coast (Mudede 2019), a drawing place for creatives (Ryzik 2010; Wheeler 2019) and mural artists (Sargent 2017), with a "wide-open" canvas (Archambault 2010). These artists, some claim, will transform the city anew (Yablonsky 2010, 2011).

In context, journalism by local Detroiters, angry about their absence in this narrative, makes sense. By way of example, discussion of the "cheapness" of the city for artists is questioned (Kerschen-Sheppard 2014). Others write to dispel statements that the city is an excellent place for artists to live (Abbey-Lambertz 2016; DeVito 2014, 2015; Voon 2019), while

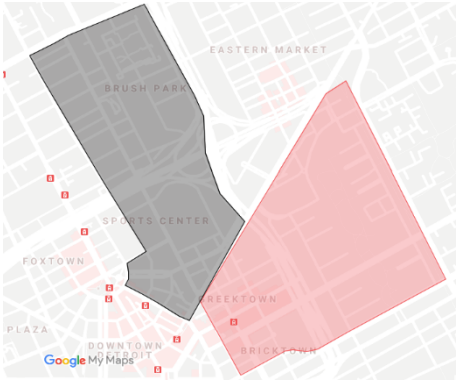

Figure 1. A map of the boundaries of the Paradise Valley (gray) and Black Bottom (red) neighborhoods in the City of Detroit[1].

trying to uncover the sustained work of residents who were there before any new-found interest in the city as a home for non-domestic creatives (Mavros 2010). Many of the same artists who operated there before the bankruptcy now deal with pressures that may marginalize their existence (Spinelli 2017). Furthermore, space is becoming increasingly difficult for creators to maintain (Fournier & Aguilar 2017; Kurth 2019; Neavling 2019). Artistic gentrification and the response of native Detroiters are directly discussed, with filmmaker Noah Stephens quoted by Wasacz as stating: the city is "not a blank canvas, there are pre-existing conditions. Newcomers can contribute with their drive and their income" (Wasacz 2011) when speaking about how Detroiters may not be as welcoming to outsiders as the 'come to Detroit' articles purport. Those articles, as Gregory points out, "illustrate how language that makes up the public narrative of urban neighborhood identity can lead to negative feelings and resentment" (Gregory 2012).

Yet, this same rhetorical anger is tied, necessarily, to the placemaking work (both intentional and unintentional) in which the artist-entrepreneurs have participated. This making of a place where creatives have thrived enables journalists to market the city to entrepreneurial creatives who see Detroit within a causal lens: the city has vacant space, inexpensive rent, and therefore it should be easy to move there and set up shop. These outsiders are then taking part in the process of entrepreneurial agglomeration (Holcombe 2011): they buy-in to the narrative of a scene (Arnaud 2017; Marotta 2011; Millar 2018; Silver & Miller 2013; Woo et al. 2018), and therefore create a density of creatives that might not have otherwise existed.

Furthermore, it is essential to note that even though emotions run strongly in the rhetorical battles in the popular press, it is not possible to state that the development of a neo-art scene or the work of entertainers did not have any role to play in the long post-industrial (and post-bankruptcy) rebirth of the city. Such action is noted in research on the role of sports and entertainment in Detroit directly (Che 2008; Davies 1997; McCarthy 2002), not to mention an ethnographic study of entrepreneurial communities in the post-industrial city (Rencher 2012).

The Destruction of Paradise Valley and Black Bottom in 1960s Detroit

While Detroit's recent bankruptcy comes to mind, it is not the first time that cultural entrepreneurs in the city have faced existential threat. Many studies of Detroit's music history discuss the nature of popular music-making at specific points along the historical arc. These can be roughly grouped into a few distinct eras across a handful of historiographies. The first grouping covers discussions of pre-jazz age popular music history (Bjorn & Gallert 2001f; Boyd

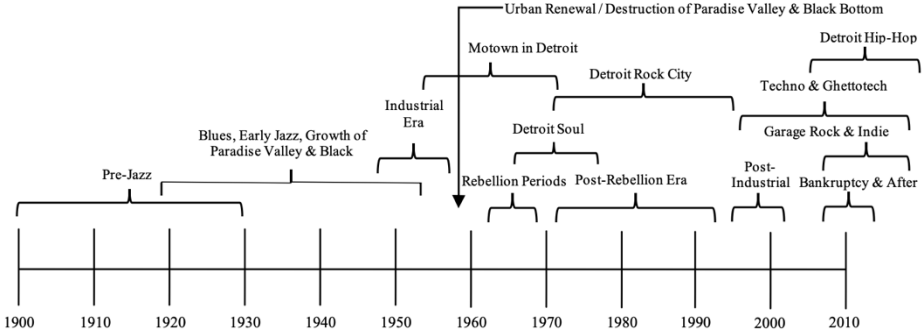

Figure 2. Generalized overview of time periods and social movements in Detroit music historiography.

1984b) as well as the early jazz age and the growth of the Paradise Valley and Black Bottom neighborhoods (Bjorn 1984; Bjorn & Gallert 2001c, 2001d). The second narrative places music in relation to the 1940s rebellions, the post-war industrial revolution, and the precursors to the urban renewal projects of the 1960s which destroyed Paradise Valley and Black Bottom (Bjorn & Gallert 2001b, 2001g, 2001e; Bond & Boland 2002; Boyd, 1984a).

Other narratives cover the industrial era and renewal (Bjorn & Gallert 2016a; Macías 2010; S. E. Smith 2009), or focus mainly on the time period and after-effects of the 1963 and 1967 rebellions, (Cosgrove 2017; Early 2016; Gholz 2011; Music et al. 2018; Quispel 2005; Sicko 2010) as well as post-industrialization (Albiez 2005; Che 2016). More recently, a number have discussed the recent bankruptcy and post-bankruptcy renewal (Gholz 2009; McCarthy 2002; McCollum 2019a; Steinberg 2016; Vecchiola 2006, 2011) and how it relates to musicianship in Detroit

Additionally, a few address specific genres such as jazz in an extended form (Stryker 2019) or individual stories (Bjorn & Gallert 2016a, 2016b; Carner 2016; Gabriel 2016; Harris 2016b; Heron 2016; Sinclair 2016d; Young 2016), Detroit blues (Jones, Sr. 2016; Music 2008, 2016; Sinclair 2016b, 2016c; Spangler 2016), Motown & soul (Benjaminson 2016a, 2016b, 2016c; Boland 2016a, 2016b; Edmonds 2016; Graff 2016d; Harris 2016a; Hurtt 2016; Jordan 2016b, 2016c, 2016a; Martin 2016; M. Smith 2016a, 2016b; S. E. Smith 2009; Thomas 2016; Whitall 2016), Detroit rock (Bangs 2016; Blackwell 2016; Carson 2006; Derminer 2016; Dewitt 2016; Dutkewych 2016; Graff 2016a, 2016b, 2016c; Kroha 2016; McCollum 2016; Miller 2013; Morgan 2016; Moseman 2016; Rodwan Jr. 2016; Sinclair 2016a; Spodark 2016; Trimble 2016; Uhelski 2016; Wilson 2016), hip-hop (Deapo 2016; Holdship 2016; S. M. Liebler 2016; Marcus 2016), country and western (Maki 2016; Maki & Cady 2013), electronic music (Dalphond 2014; Echlin 2016; Hanf 2010; D. Jones 2016; Mueller 2007), or weave a narrative of the whole (Slobin 2019).

To this end, the historical discussion of means and changing opportunity aligns with the discussion of place-based entrepreneurial activity within the City of Detroit. This paper cannot

[1] The exact boundaries of these neighborhoods are oft contested. The boundary lines shown in Figure 1 are an approximation of the boundary lines of the Paradise Valley and Black Bottom neighborhoods. See Borden, 2003; Kutil, n.d.; McGraw, 2017; Williams, 2009; Zoghb, 2018 for further context and discussion.

attempt to uncover the nature of activity in all of these historiographies and time-periods but must choose a specific point in Detroit's musical-time in order to compare the nature of entrepreneurship against the placemaking and agglomeration that is taking place today. By extending the work of Preece's in-depth study of entrepreneurial bricolage activity in the development of the Grand River Jazz Society in Kitchener-Waterloo, Canada (Preece 2014) to look at entrepreneurial agglomeration, we can explore the narratives of musical-entrepreneurship documented in *Detroit Jazz: Who's Who* (Boyd & Bjorn 1984) and *Beyond Motown: A History of Jazz in Detroit, 1920-60* (Bjorn & Gallert 2001a), supplanted by further narratives in *Heaven Was Detroit: From Jazz to Hop-Hop and Beyond* (M. L. Liebler 2016). These sources serve as case studies that the author can use to look at the density of venues and the entrepreneurial action of venue owners in the city.

Figure 3. Detroit venues in the Paradise Valley and Black Bottom neighborhoods. Compiled from narratives in Boyd & Bjorn 1984; Bjorn & Gallert 2001; Liebler et al. 2016 and plotted by the author on Google Maps.

Seeing Jazz Venue Agglomeration in the Paradise Valley Neighborhood

Before urban renewal projects tore numerous venues to the ground (Detroit Historical Society n.d.-b) the Paradise Valley and Black Bottom neighborhoods "served as a cultural and social mecca for Detroit's black community from the 1920s through the 1950s," (Borden 2003) and was "the go-to" location to hear blues and jazz in the city (Zoghb 2018). The nature of this neighborhood, and the number of venues operating in the area or nearby in the accounts by Boyd & Bjorn, Bjorn & Gallert, and Liebler *et al.* (fifty-two by the author's count), makes a strong argument for the owners of these music performance venues benefitting from the kind of entrepreneurial agglomeration spillovers during the boom period of the Black Bottom and Paradise Valley era. If one were to go just past the boundaries of Black Bottom and Paradise Valley, northward to New Center and the North End, or eastward to Virginia Park, another thirteen venues were close by. To that end Bjorn & Gallert make a strong point about the nature of venue concentration, stating "Detroit had grown into a 'Nite Club Mecca' starting with the opening of Sportree's Bar in 1946." They went on to note that:

> "Detroit's black musical community was booming during the last part of the 1940s. From 1945 thru 1949, venues for black music were opening up at a rate faster than ever, and the largest and most numerous venues were within the black community or within reach on Woodward Ave." (Bjorn & Gallert 2001a, 74)

One such venue was the legendary Flame Show Bar on John R street, dubbed the "street of

Figure 4. Detroit venues in the Paradise Valley and Black Bottom neighborhoods, in context of Detroit venues on the whole. Compiled from narratives in Boyd & Bjorn 1984; Bjorn & Gallert 2001; Liebler et al. 2016 and plotted by the author on Google Maps.

music" by Detroit's African-American press, (Gallert & Bjorn 2004) which opened in 1949 and presented shows until 1963. In Bjorn & Gallert's account, baritone saxophone player Thomas "Beans" Bowles was quoted talking about the effervescence of that scene:

> "On the weekends the traffic would line up; you could not drive down Canfield or John R. That was hustle night. . . . It was like Las Vegas. People would come out from everywhere. It was the center of entertainment. There was no entertainment like that in the city at that time. We called it Sugar Hill really. Everything there was just poppin'. Lights and glitter, valet parking. . . . Nobody bother you or nothing. White people would come from all over to come to the Flame, because we had all the top shows" (Bjorn & Gallert 2001b, 72)[2].

Figure 3 displays a list of jazz venues in the Paradise Valley and Black Bottom neighborhoods culled from the Boyd, Bjorn, Gallert, and Liebler et al. mentioned above. The mapped representation shows a dense collection of performance venues operating at nearly the same time in Detroit. For comparison, Figure 4 maps the entire collection of venues compiled

[2] Of note, the founder of Motown records, Berry Gordy, hung out often at the Flame, and is quoted as saying "John R Street was jumping with clubs" and is connected with the Flame in many other ways. Gordy met many Motown musicians thru Gwen, his sister, who worked there. See Gordy (1995) for more information.

from Boyd, Bjorn, Gallert, and Liebler et al. A rough estimate of the density of venues is approximately 30 venues per square mile. By the author's count there were 52 venues in a 1.71 square mile area. The calculation of square mileage was done using the polygon tool in Google Maps. Comparatively, Figure 5 shows that the well-known dense collection of music venues of downtown Austin, TX (compiled from a list provided by Austin's Convention & Visitor's Bureau in 2019 [Austin Convention & Visitor's Bureau n.d.]) is not significantly more dense than Detroit, with 36 venues in an area Google Maps calculated to be .948 square miles. Sadly this density is not recognized in Music Scenes, a multi-author book covering the nature of music scenes (Bennett & Peterson 2004), and the tendency seems for this to be the case, having surveyed other books and papers on the topic. Florida's work on music scenes and clusters, and the book *The Rise of the Creative Class* talk about Detroit, for instance, but only mention the Motown-era forward and the Detroit Electronic Music Festival, respectively (R. Florida et al. 2010; R. Florida & Jackson 2010; R. L. Florida 2006). Quispel's article in *Built Environment* does better in discussing some of the precedent, but still heavily focuses on Motown (2005).

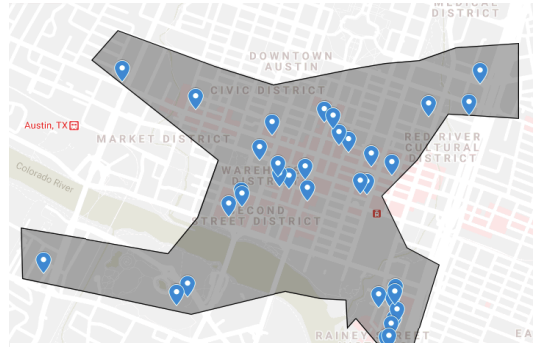

Figure 5. Austin, Texas music venues in the Entertainment District near 6th Street. Compiled from a list supplied by the Austin Convention and Visitor's Bureau (2019) and plotted by the author on Google Maps.

When we look at the entirety of Black Bottom and Paradise Valley venues compiled together as a table (*Table 1*), the venues which came into existence from just before 1920 through 1950 comprise the majority of the list. Surely, jazz venues continue to exist in Detroit to this day, with Baker's Keyboard Lounge operating continuously since 1934. Significantly, Baker's is the subject of a long running argument with New York's Village Vanguard and Chicago's Green Mill about which is the longest running jazz club (Bjorn & Gallert 2001a). Baker's is, however, on the edge of Detroit's north central border, just south of the city of Oak Park. Entrepreneur Bert Dearing ran a number of jazz venues in the late 1960s and opened up a sprawling performance venue in Eastern Market called Bert's Marketplace in 1987 at 2727 Russell (Stitt 2018). Otherwise, Cliff Bell's has now re-opened and hosting jazz performances. Furthermore, Cliff Bell's is somewhat significant, in that the location is essentially just past the southwest border of the area that was traditionally known as Paradise Valley. Another original Paradise Valley venue, the Willis Show Bar, was opened in 1949 and continued operations into 1978. The space was recently reopened as a jazz venue once again in 2018 (Kurlyandchik 2017; Willis Show Bar n.d.).

Entrepreneurial Action and Placemaking

A growing line of research on the role of creator-artists bolsters the claim that creators are both influenced by and supported by their proximity to available resources (Fuller & Ren 2019; Hearn et al. 2007; Voss & Voss 2008). Following that logic, the closer a creator-artist is to the resources they need to create, the more able they are to develop their work. This proximity to resources can result in a density of creator-artists as well as providers of the necessary resources to make art.

Additionally, investigators of arts-entrepreneurship have discussed the role of artists in placemaking, noting the "seminal role" they play by creating places where residents feel welcomed, and "belong" (Kuhlke et al. 2015). This research is supported by urban studies and planning theorists in a growing body of research, which attempts to inform institutional actors of ways to not "squander" relevant opportunities to engage with artists (Markusen & Gadwa 2010b). On the whole, this research claims that artists have the potential to affect communities (Andersson et al. 2011; R. L. Florida 2005, 2005; R. L. Florida et al. 2015; Schneekloth & Shibley 1995), and have done so historically and for extended periods (Cottrell 2017; Stewart 2019) across the world (Attali 1985; Bader & Scharenberg 2010; Johansson & Bell 2016; Bishop 2005; Cannady 2014; Connell et al. 2003; R. Florida & Jackson 2010; Mayor's Office of Media and Entertainment & Boston Consulting Group n.d.; Watson 2008).

Furthermore, the nature of placemaking leads artists to develop ties to non-arts sector employers "who employ artists to design products" and "improve work processes" (Markusen & Gadwa 2010a), both of which businesses highly value (Austin & Devin 2003; Schiuma 2012). Indeed, arts-entrepreneurship researchers are looking at the nature of placemaking, and a significant research symposium in this field focused explicitly on the nature of artistic "entrepreneurship in, with, and for communities" (Arizona State University 2017).

Importantly, there has been some work to bridge gaps in terminology between the ideas of how scene-making occurs and how placemaking happens. Scenes have been generally defined as locations renowned for a form of creative expression (Peterson & Bennett 2004; Straw 1991). Placemaking and place-keeping are, on the other hand, borne from a line of thinking that argues that it is important to save, protect, or support that which makes a geographic area distinctive (Jacobs 1961). While this gap in terminology has existed for a while, the gap has closed thanks to research on the intersection of arts-entrepreneurship and place. These investigations have looked at the role that music scenes play in the rebirth, growth, and change of cities (Bennett et al. 2018; Krims 2007), the role of social equity in the process (Webb 2014), whether or not arts-entrepreneurship in the context of creative placemaking is scalable (Arroyo 2017) and, even how large locales such as Toronto can move toward a future as being thought of as a "creative city" (Goldberg-Miller 2015).

Meanwhile, Seman's research is particularly insightful as it relates to the idea of the built environment, particularly music venues, and how they contribute to the notion of scene making in a geographic area. His discussion of the building of the Slowdown (a venue in Omaha, Nebraska) adds to an already active line of discussion about the relationship of music performance in a city. Furthermore, Seman actively questions how an entrepreneur opening a music venue in a certain place and at a certain time relates to whether or not that city becomes

a known-entity, or music scene (Seman 2010). On the whole, the two separate notions of entrepreneurial action, placemaking, and scene-making are tied up together in a number of accounts that Seman builds upon (Bennett & Peterson 2004; Hesmondhalgh 2005; O'Connor 2002; Straw 2004). In short, a musical scene cannot exist without those entrepreneurs willing to open up venues for musicians to play at and audiences to congregate within. Conversely, a known music scene helps bring more attention to the venues and musicians that operate within or nearby that known location.

Entrepreneurial Action and Placemaking in Paradise Valley and Black Bottom

The owners of these venues in the heyday of Paradise Valley and Black Bottom did not necessarily know that they were contributing to an economic pattern which would benefit entrepreneurs outside of these two neighborhoods. The agglomeration economy created by the venue owners who chose to locate in Paradise Valley and Black Bottom participated in a scene-making process which led to positive external benefits for entrepreneurs who chose to start venues outside of these two culturally dense locations. The density of venues in Paradise Valley and Black Bottom, thus, created a "boom of new jazz venues in white neighborhoods" outside of the traditionally African-American neighborhoods that are the subject of this paper. According to Boyd & Bjorn, "most of these new venues were located on the West Side of Detroit, that is, West of Woodward Avenue" (Bjorn & Gallert 2001a). Among these venues which benefitted from the agglomerative and scene-making effects was The Blue Bird Inn (1501 Tireman), which hosted numerous performances by national touring musicians such as Miles Davis, Cannonball Adderley, John Coltrane, Sonny Stitt, Max Roach, and others (Bjorn & Gallert 2001g, 2016a). The Blue Bird Inn still stands, and was recently acquired by the Detroit Sound Conservancy as they hope to preserve a part of this era in physical form (Detroit Sound Conservancy, n.d.).

By quickly generating a musical scene, these musical entrepreneurs transacted on the density of venues nearby. Therein, they made Paradise Valley a place, enacting placemaking, although in a non-institutional sense. Indeed, governmental support to make Paradise Valley a 'place' in the modern sense of the word (creative placemaking) was non-existent. Again, discussion of the history of Detroit consistently mentions the action of the government to 'renew' (raze) Paradise Valley and make way for processes of urban renewal . Times were not easy, even in the heyday of music making in Detroit.

> The tight labor market in Detroit meant steady work and good wages, particularly in the eyes of southern migrants. On the other hand, there was a lack of leisure time and consumption was limited by [war] rationing and supply problems. Housing was in very short supply, even after government public housing problems began. For the African-American population, housing was even harder to come by given problems of racial discrimination in public and private housing . . .

> One of the major instances of racial conflict in 1942 was over the Sojourner Truth public housing project. A riot by whites in effort evicted black renters and kept public housing in Detroit racially segregated, at least temporarily. In the private market a prospective black home buyer faced the discriminatory practices of sellers, real-estate agents, and banks, which until 1948 were supported by law." (Bjorn & Gallert 2001a, 62)

Conclusion

The placemaking actions of entrepreneurs in Paradise Valley far predates any scene-making action governments may have undertaken to date. Furthermore, any sort of agglomeration or attractive force for creatives thanks to narrative journalism must be considered in the context of the full-throated scene-making activities of venue owners in the Paradise Valley neighborhood. As this action occurred before discussions of placemaking and creative cities occurred, it is crucial to connect available information on venue density to recent discussions of how the density of musical venues in a city contribute to that city being considered as a 'scene' or for residents to consider it place-made as a vibrant artistic center. Historians who discuss the Paradise Valley neighborhood and the musical action therein consistently mention the buoyant atmosphere and attractant features of the district for live musical performances. Bjorn and Gallert state that "the business and entertainment center of the African-American community was at the intersection of St. Antoine and Adams" in Paradise Valley, and go on to mention that the boom in jobs after World War I (which resulted in the great migration and lead to a doubling of the African-American population during the 1950s) meant that there was a density of African-American ownership in these areas (Bjorn & Gallert 2001a).

This atmosphere drew famous artists such as Duke Ellington, Miles Davis, and a host of others to visit what was a burgeoning jazz hub during this period (Bjorn & Gallert 2001a, 2016a; Boyd 1984b; Boyd & Bjorn 1984; Carner 2016; Macías 2010; Stryker 2019; Young 2016). It furthermore made for a place where there was ample work for musicians, an additional positive externality thanks to the density of venues which supported that work. Bjorn & Gallert mention this poignantly:

> The postwar economic boom also worked in Detroit's favor by providing challenging jobs for jazz musicians. Jobs in music result from the joint activities of audiences and musical entrepreneurs. Detroit had an audience for modern Jazz from the mid-1940s, and there were businesspeople with an interest in catering to that audience. From the latter half of the 1940s to the mid 1950s there was a steady growth of jobs for modernists in night clubs, dance halls, and after-hours spots. Numerous jump bands provided jobs for aspiring players who could hone their craft while earning a living playing music.
>
> When there are no challenging jobs, talented and well-trained musicians will leave for larger jazz centers, like New York, once they have completed high school. Detroit in the 1940s and 1950s was a place where jazz artists stayed around until their mid-twenties." (Bjorn & Gallert 2001a)

Unfortunately, the growth of that hub was forestalled by the government moving to 'clean up' and 'renew' this neighborhood. While entrepreneurial action by artists in the city has not ceased in the interim, the level of vibrancy and action per square mile does not seem to have continued. The epilogue to this article establishes a personal narrative of the nature of what remains, other than the few jazz venue holdouts and revivals mentioned previously in the article. It is the author's hope that the future holds the possibility of a city-wide analysis of venue operation after the period discussed here, which collates research done on separate but equally important music scenes such as Motown, soul, Detroit rock, Techno, hip-hop and forth into the music of today. As the city argues for its place in music history as a music scene, there is ample opportunity for a longitudinal study of venue density, which can incorporate the work begun here, and more clearly scene creation in the city over time. As that story is able to emerge, it will become easier to compare this period against others within Detroit's music history overall.

Epilogue: Detroit's Music Venues Today

Jazz venue activity in what was Paradise Valley and Black Bottom, let alone the entire city, is much less dense currently than it was during the time in question. A simple search for "Detroit music venues" on Google Maps today lists approximately thirty venues, compared to the over one hundred in *Table 1*. Future research would benefit from a point-in-time survey of the number of music venues currently operating in the city. There is hopeful news, however, efforts are underway within Detroit to restart the long-shuttered entertainment commission (Hooper & Cross 2019), and the city has hired a Director of Arts & Culture who may lead efforts to survey the current landscape (Siacon 2019). Still, the author's experience attending shows over the past twenty years, and as a promoter of them for the past fifteen, serves as a longitudinal survey of scene making today in comparison to the 66 venues noted above during the Paradise Valley heyday. Musical performance in the city, by the author's account, is limited to a handful of venues across the city. These spaces, including El Club (4114 W Vernor Hwy) in Mexicantown, where performances of electronic music, independent rock, and hip-hop take place.

Additionally, there are locations nearer to the areas focused on in this article. Marble Bar is located at 1501 Holden St, just east of Virginia Park and south of New Center, and hosts mainly contemporary electronic music shows (including the 20th Anniversary show for Ghostly International, where the author was once employed and opening parties for Movement Festival—the predecessor to the Detroit Electronic Music Festival). In Corktown, just east of the southeastern terminus of Paradise Valley, PJ's Lager House and the UFO Factory regularly host independent music performances. In Woodbridge, east of the north side of Paradise Valley, Trumbullplex is a home for avant-garde and up-and-coming acts.

There are more venues in the area just north of where Paradise Valley once was, which is now called Midtown. These venues include the old Paradise Ballroom which was originally, and is now the home of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra. The Old Miami was "established in 1975 as a haven for Vietnam veterans" (Haber n.d.), but often hosts indie rock and electronic music performances, especially surrounding the Movement Festival when lines can be seen extending

for blocks to get in to day-long parties hosted by Detroit alum Seth Troxler and others. St. Andrew's Hall and the Shelter (which played a role in *8 Mile,* the Eminem biopic) began regularly hosting performances in the 1980s (Live Nation n.d.).

The Majestic Theatre (4120 Woodward Ave) was originally a playhouse which opened in 1915, but transformed into a movie theatre, and in 1984 began a transformation toward its use as music complex (including a second venue, The Magic Stick) (Detroit Historical Society n.d.-a; McCollum 2019b). Today, both the Majestic and Magic Stick host mainly independent rock, electronic, and some hip-hop performances. The Majestic is one of the larger, often sports-centered venues in the city, filling a gap between smaller venues and larger spaces. These bigger venues all host concerts regularly and include the Music Hall Center for the Performing Arts (which normally hosts large performances upstairs and jazz downstairs), Fox Theatre, Fillmore Detroit (formerly the State Theatre), Cobo Arena (which was torn down in 2019) and the stadium venues which host major performers. Concerts have been held in Comerica Park (home to Detroit Tigers baseball), Little Caesars Arena (home to Red Wings hockey and Pistons basketball), and Ford Field (home to Lions football).

As evidenced by the accounts of popular music spaces that currently operate in Detroit, it is clear that popular musical performance has not left the city. That being said, it has changed somewhat, and by count, is less dense than it was during the Paradise Valley and Black Bottom performance eras that the body of the article focuses on. Perhaps what prevents Detroit from being at the tip of audiences' tongues as a contemporary scene is the comparative lack of venue density. What remains to be seen, however, is how these venues face the upcoming changes and challenges they may face and what the landscape of performance venues will look like in the future.

Table 1. Detroit Jazz (as well as Jump and Blues) Venues, open and close dates, and addresses. Compiled from narratives in Boyd & Bjorn 1984; Bjorn & Gallert 2001; Liebler 2016.

Name	Notes	Open	Approx.	Close	Approx.	Address
Arcadia		1913		Unknown		3527 Woodward Ave
Vaudette Theatre		1913		1921		764 Gratiot
Pier		1914		Unknown		7300 E Jefferson
Crystal		1919	Y	Unknown		2769 Woodward
Hotel Ellwood		1919		Unknown		534 St. Antoine
Palais de Danse		1919		Unknown		7336 E Jefferson
Koppin Theatre		1921		1931	Y	528 Gratiot
Blue Bird Inn		1922		Unknown		1501 Tireman
Graystone Ballroom		1922		1980		4235 Woodward
Royal Garden Cabaret		1925	Y	Unknown		Gratiot and St. Antoine
Rose Palace Cabaret		1927	Y	Unknown		1708 St. Antoine
Grande		1928		Unknown		8952 Grand River
Jefferson Beach		1928		Unknown		E Jefferson and Grand
Monticello Ballroom		1929		Unknown		14421 E Jefferson
Vanity		1929		Unknown		1430 E Jefferson
Garden Terrace		1930		Unknown		301 E Warren
Musicians Club		1930		1931		1701 St. Antoine
Pendennis Club		1930	Y	Unknown		1935 St. Antoine
Musicans Booking &		1931		1933		1701 St. Antoine

Service Bureau						
Club Plantation	Norwood Hotel	1932		1940		550 E Adams
Michigan Democratic League Club		1932		1941	Y	Livingstone and St. Antoine
Buffalo's	Buffalo's 606 or Apex Club	1933	Y	1947		606 E Adams
Palm Garden Café		1933		Unknown		Warren and Russell
Jess Faithful's Rhythm Club		1933	Y	Unknown		1701 St. Antoine
Harlem Cave		1933	Y	Unknown		Canfield and Brush
Rhythm Club		1933		Unknown		301 E Warren
Baker's Keyboard Lounge		1934		Open		20510 Livernois Ave
Chocolate Bar		1935		1938		623 Livingstone
Cliff Bell's	Original	1935		1958		2030 Park Ave
Cozy Corner		1935		1950		4100 Hastings
Rose Bud Inn		1935		Unknown		2337 Hastings
Little Sam's	1st	1936		1940		Hastings
B & C Club		1937	Y	1940		1730 St. Antoine
Broad's Bar		1937	Y	1940	Y	8825 Oakland
Heat Wave		1937	Y	Unknown		Oakland Ave
Brown Bomber's Chicken Shack		1937		1950	Y	424 E Vernor Hwy
Melody Club		1937		1939		1933 St Antoine
Tuxedo Grill (Club Tuxedo)		1937		Unknown		4758 Hastings
Ace Bar		1938		1950	Y	3678 Hastings
Earl Walton's Studio Club		1938	Y	Unknown		Unknown
Cotton Club		1938		Unknown		632 Livingstone
Club Paradise		1939		1942		1933 St. Antoine
606 Horseshoe Lounge		1940		1963		606 St. Antoine
Club Zombie		1940	Y	Unknown		8825 Oakland
Little Sam's	2nd	1940		1960	Y	Beaubien and E Warren
Joe's Record Shop		1940	Y	Unknown		3530 Hastings
Midway Club		1940		1946		Hastings and Columbia
Three Star Bar		1940	Y	Unknown		Hastings and Brewster
Club Congo & Congo Room	Norwood Hotel	1941		1942		550 E Adams
Club Three Sixes (Three 666)		1941		1949		666 E. Adams
Forest Club		1941		1950		700 E Forest
Paradise Theatre		1941		1951		3711 Woodward
Club Owens		1942		1947		1730 St. Antoine
Double V		1942		1947	Y	17910 Conant
Turf Club (Turf Bar)		1942		Unknown		1933 St. Antoine
Club Sudan		1943		1953		550 E Adams
Lee's Sensation		1943		Unknown		1300 Owen
Swamp Room	Mark Twain Hotel	1943		Unknown		52 Garfield
Civic Center		1944	Y	1949	Y	114 Erskine
Mickey's Show Bar		1944		1957		623 E Seven Mile
Bizerte		1945	Y	Unknown		9006 Oakland
Bowl-O-Drome	Tropical Show Bar	1945		1973	Y	12707 Dexter
Chic's Show Bar		1945		Unknown		8411 Hamilton
Club Deliese		1945		1948		2406 E Davison
Garfield Bar	Garfield Hotel	1945		Unknown		Garfield and John R
Garfield Lounge	Garfield Hotel	1945		Unknown		4457 John R
Palms Theatre		1945		1983		2114 Woodward Ave
Parrot Lounge	Garfield Hotel	1945		Unknown		4457 John R

Waha (Wal-ha) Room	Garfield Hotel	1945		Unknown		4457 John R
Frolic Show Bar		1946		1965	Y	4450 John R
Royal Blue Bar		1946		Unknown		8401 Russell
Sportree's Music Bar		1946		1950		2014 Hastings
Chesterfield Lounge		1947		Unknown		4721 John R
Crest Lounge		1947		Unknown		12707 Fullerton
Crystal Bar (Crystal Show Bar)		1947		Unknown		5612 Grand River
El Sino		1947		1962		1730 St. Antoine
Parrot Lounge		1947		Unknown		504 E Canfield
Wyoming Show Bar		1947		1952		14834 Wyoming
Club El-Morocco		1948		1953		2406 E Davison
Club Juana		1948		1956		2725 Woodward Ave
House of Joy		1948		1952		4710 W Warren
Club Valley Ballroom		1949		1951		666 E. Adams
Congo Lounge		1949		Unknown		2337 Gratiot
Falcon Show Bar		1949		1958	Y	19901 Van Dyke
Flame Show Bar		1949		1963		4264 John R
Willis Show Bar	Original	1949		1978		4156 Third
Alvito's Bar		1950	Y	Unknown		3600 Russell
Klein's Show Bar		1951	Y	Unknown		8540 Twelfth
Hobby Bar		1952		Unknown		13106 Linwood
Ernie's Caribee		1953		Unknown		E Jefferson
Denny's		1953		Unknown		8417 Linwood
Oriole Show Bar		1953	Y	1955		8521 Linwood
Rouge Lounge		1953		1958		1937 Coolidge Hwy
Shangri-La (Club Stevadora)		1953	Y	Unknown		8715 Harper
Spot Bar		1953		Unknown		8606 Twelfth
Twenty Grand		1953		1972	Y	5020 Fourteenth
West End		1953		1961		515 S West End Ave
World Stage		1953		1956	Y	13525 Woodward
Eagle Show Bar		1954		Unknown		8737 Twelfth
Larry's Show Bar		1955		Unknown		6911 Gratiot
LaVert's		1955		Unknown		8521 Linwood
Rage Show Bar		1955		Unknown		2210 Davison
Roosevelt Lounge		1955		1959	Y	10813 Mack
Strand Bar and Grill		1956		1958	Y	Unknown
Hajji Baba		1957	Y	1960		3775 Gratiot
Blue Note Room	Hotel Capri	1958	Y	Unknown		2931 John R
New Bohemia & Club Bohemia		1958		1959		3626 Woodward Ave
Minor Key		1958		1963		11541 Dexter
Little Wally's		1959		1960		Mack and Maryland
Dummy George's		1970	Y	Unknown		10320 W. McNichols
Rainbow Room		1974		1974		525 W Lafayette
Savoy Room		1974		1975		525 W Lafayette
Park Avenue Club	Detroit Jazz Center	1979		1981		2110 Park Ave
World Stage Café	Detroit Jazz Center	1979		1981		2110 Park Ave
Café Detroit		1980		1982		87 W Palmer Ave
Bert's on Broadway		Unknown		Unknown		1315 Broadway
Bert's Marketplace		1987		Open		2727 Russell
Jazz on the River		1994		1999		Belle Isle
Bert's Black Horse Saloon		1968		1973		8239 Gratiot
All That Jazz		1977		1988		Unknown
Bert's Place		1983	Y	1987	Y	126 W. Jefferson Ave
Cliff Bell's	Reopened	2006		Open		2030 Park Ave

Willis Show Bar	Reopened	2018	Open	
606 Horse Shoe Bar		Unknown	Unknown	606 E Adams
Addison Hotel		Unknown	Unknown	3001 Woodward Ave
Band Box	Musicians & Performers Club	Unknown	1927	602 E Adams
Blossom Health		Unknown	Unknown	24800 Jefferson
Carribee		Unknown	Unknown	6811 E Jefferson
Club Balfour		Unknown	Unknown	160 Sproat
Club Harlem		Unknown	Unknown	281 E Vernor
Dunbar Theatre		Unknown	Unknown	2814 Hastings
El Dorado		Unknown	Unknown	Woodward Ave
Enrico's Theatre Cabaret		Unknown	Unknown	3062 Rivard
Grand Terrace		Unknown	Unknown	3067 Grand Blvd
Henry's Swing Club		Unknown	Unknown	1700 Orleans
Latin Quarter		Unknown	Unknown	3067 Grand Blvd
Madison		Unknown	Unknown	Woodward and Forest
Majestic		Unknown	Unknown	3116 Woodward
Hastings Bar		Unknown	Unknown	Hastings and Erskine
Mirror		Unknown	Unknown	2940 Woodward
New Hollywood Ballroom		Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Palms		Unknown	Unknown	1935 1/2 St. Antoine
Rainbow		Unknown	Unknown	Hastings and Adams
Russell House		Unknown	Unknown	615 E Adams
Silver Lining		Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Sliver Grill		Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Sonny Wilson's		Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Stone's		Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Young's Cocktail Lounge		Unknown	Unknown	10810 Plymouth
Oriole Terrace		Unknown	Unknown	3067 Grand Blvd

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