

# **Jazz is African Diasporic Music: Reconfiguring the Uniquely American Definition of Jazz**

by

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... if New Orleans was the cradle of jazz, the Gold Coast ... must be the mother.”

– Louis Armstrong

## **Abstract**

This article rejects the idea of a static African Diaspora in favor of a more continuously redefining while negotiating a sense of cultural authenticity that emerges from generation to generation in various spaces in response to larger geopolitical forces while addressing intra-diasporic stratifications. This article seeks to reconfigure the uniquely American definition of jazz in order to place it within the context of the streams of the African Diaspora as presented in Colin Palmer’s paradigm while simultaneously regentrifying the Blackness of jazz because it is a genre that calls the imagined African Diaspora communities into being. To flush out the theoretical contentions in this paradigm the narrative provides examples and discussions that connect the interweaving of the local and global politics, the lives of musicians, and their audiences as they are found in a hybridity of jazz styles, melodic patterns, sycophantic rhythms that were reinvigorated or mirrored by Afro-Latin, Afro-Cuban, or African traditions within the streams of the African Diaspora.

Paul Gilroy's *Black Atlantic* has been critical in defining both the cultural studies, debates about the African Diaspora and arguing for the centrality of music in the construction and maintenance of contemporary transnational identities.<sup>1</sup> Drawing direct connections between jazz and the African American experience is not difficult. Jazz is music from Black people that is more than a unique American phenomenon; it is also diasporic. Jazz is a product of the streams of the African Diaspora, but it is difficult to identify the fluidity of this paradigm because of how and why jazz curriculums were established and the nature of Cold War politics. The flagship institution of jazz education is the Berklee College of Music that grew out the 1940s Schillinger House that was founded by Lawrence Berk, a piano teacher in Boston. With funding from the State Department's Cold War program under the guise of the People-to-People Program, the school eventually became the focal point for jazz studies. By the 1960s, their imprint on the genre as uniquely American was stamped. This expansive "Americanness" was done at the expense of its Africanism that was personified by *Santería, condomblé, vodu, sambo, slasa, and konpa*.<sup>2</sup>

The music of the African Diaspora was making its way back into popular circles of jazz musicians from the mid-1950s about the same time as the Bandung Conference, the beginning of the jazz diplomacy tours, and as Ghana was becoming the first African colony to acquire its independence from European rule. The inexorable movement for Black freedom in the 1950s and early 1960s influenced the work of jazz musicians and composers on both sides of the Atlantic. At the time of African decolonization and the African American civil rights movement, jazz was "a vehicle for both Africans and African Americans to articulate and realize their own distinctive modernity while critiquing its Western variant."<sup>3</sup> Jazz is not a static genre. It is always evolving and inculcates the social, political, and economic currents of geographical spaces as it constructs identities of jazz musicians and their audiences. As jazz transformed, so too did its relationship with the United States, Africa, and the imagined African Diaspora community. Educational programs could not pigeonhole it. Jazz passed through stages and relationships as it asserts its Black identity within the African Diaspora. This article rejects the idea of a static African Diaspora in favor of a more continuously redefining while negotiating a sense of cultural authenticity that emerges from generation to generation in various spaces in response to larger geopolitical forces while addressing intra-diasporic stratifications. This article seeks to reconfigure the uniquely American definition of jazz in order to place it within the context of the streams of the African Diaspora that will have the effect of regentrifying the international Blackness of the genre.

This essay opens with a review of the literature that intersects jazz, the Cold War, and the African Diaspora. Next, there is an explanation on the paradigm of the African Diaspora and imagined communities as articulated by Colin Palmer, Kim Butler, and Benedict Anderson. They suggest that there are at least five inter-generational streams within the imagined African Diaspora communities.

To flush out the theoretical contentions in this paradigm the narrative provides examples and discussions that connect the interweaving of the local and global politics, the lives of musicians, and their audiences as they are found in a hybridity of jazz styles, melodic patterns, sycophantic rhythms that were reinvigorated or mirrored by Afro-Latin, Afro-Cuban, or African traditions, within the streams of the African Diaspora as put forth by Palmer as well as sub-streams and intra-diasporic fusions. The essay concludes by underscoring the importance of reconfiguring the uniquely American definition of jazz while simultaneously regentrifying the Blackness of jazz, because it is a genre that calls the imagined African Diaspora communities into being.

The writings of Penny Von Eschen, Lisa Davenport, Ingrid T. Monson, Amiri Baraka, and Robin D.G. Kelly provide a cornerstone of having an appreciation of the symbiotic relationship between jazz, America, and the Cold War.<sup>4</sup> The Cold War era is characterized by the diplomatic relationship that developed primarily between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics after World War II. The Cold War dominated international affairs for decades. The Cold War ended in 1989 with Soviet satellite countries in Eastern Europe overthrowing their respective communist regimes. Each side held their respective beliefs with almost religious conviction. This mindset fueled the international power struggle within the Cold War era with both sides vying for dominance while exploiting every opportunity, including cultural manipulation and propaganda.

Scholars such as Von Eschen in *Satchmo Blows, Up the World*, Davenport in *Jazz Diplomacy: Promoting America in the Cold War Era* and Monson in *Freedom sounds: civil rights call out to jazz and Africa*, delve thoroughly into the historical narrative of how the United States used jazz as a tool for spreading American diplomacy around the world. Their perspectives are incredibly intuitive and show how coordinated policies limited citizenship rights for African Americans. Their works also show how the ways jazz was used during the Cold War as a tool to advance American political agendas in recently liberated countries in Western Europe, Asia, and Africa. Monson's book illustrates how the contentious and soul-searching debates in the Civil Rights' struggle, decolonization in Africa, and Black Power movements exerted a moral pressure on musicians to take action, but neither Von Eschen's, Davenport's, nor Monson's books thoroughly explore how the melodic traditions of the African diaspora are reinvigorated in jazz.

Robin D.G. Kelly, Amiri Baraka, and Ingrid T. Monson writings are significant works in showing a nexus between the symbolic relationship between jazz, America, the Cold War, and the African Diaspora.<sup>5</sup> Throughout Kelly's *Thelonious, Monk: The Life and Times of an American Original*, he connects Monk's motivations, emotions, and thoughts with many of the tragic events of the 60s surrounding the civil rights movement and the Cold War era but does not thoroughly embed it in the African Diaspora tradition as he does with *Nathan I. Huggins Lectures: Africa Speaks, America Answers: Modern Jazz in Revolutionary Times*.

In this work, he focuses on the ways jazz musicians found the significant cultural influence of West African music, and offers a political analysis of those connections. The assessment of these sources helps to introduce a new way of understanding jazz as a uniquely African American music, while embracing African diasporic influences.

Amiri Baraka, seminal work, *With Blues People: Negro Music in White America*, traces the history of African Americans through the evolution of Black music. Baraka extends the community of blues people to a jazz people. He cautioned against the White appropriation of music originated by African Americans. Baraka detailed how African American music grew out of struggle, migration, and assimilation from the south to north, from the countryside to an urban center, and from underground to mainstream culture. Black music is not only melody and sycophantic, but through the media and performance it also helps to spread values, customs and constructs collective and individual identities. He linked social status and racial purity with forms of musical expression, but he did not link it to the African Diaspora. This linkage would have extended “black music” to a transnational and intra-diasporic trafficking of music that allows for the melding of African, Caribbean, and European elements of a genre that first originated and was primarily developed by African Americans—jazz.<sup>6</sup>

Monson's influential edited volume, *The African Diaspora: A Musical Perspective*, probably represents the most theoretically rigorous attempts to explore the African diaspora from an ethnomusicological point of view. This collection of articles presents musical case studies from various genres, not just jazz, and from various regions of the African diaspora that engage with the broader interdisciplinary discussions about race, gender, politics, nationalism, and music. Various topics and locales are held together with the volume's title, and the endeavor to situate various essays within an African diasporic contextual framework. The book is organized into three parts, the volume contains chapters on the Caribbean and African American music, and looks carefully at "the redefinition of tradition and modernity through music in contemporary Africa, with particular emphasis on gender, popular urban theatre, and the selling of 'traditional experience' on the international market."<sup>7</sup> Monson's article “Art Blakey's African Diaspora” was helpful in explaining jazz drummer Art Blakey's relationship to Africa and African music.<sup>8</sup> The most useful chapter for this studied was the Travis Jackson's chapter “Jazz Performance as Ritual: The Blues Aesthetic and the African Diaspora.” The chapter is on how jazz ritual makes important reference to the use of ritual forms whose specific manifestations clearly derive from an African spiritual orientation. He also summarizes how blues music has been described by writers and jazz critics such as Amiri Baraka, Ralph Ellison, and Albert Murray as a vital element in African American culture and performance. His article is an analysis of the seeds of African diasporic melodic traditions and sycophantic rhythms that are posited in the core of jazz and predates the modern Civil Rights movement and the Cold War.<sup>9</sup>

Rashida K. Braggs' article "Excerpts from Jazz Diasporas Race, Music, and Migration in Post-World War II Paris" posits an intriguing concept of a jazz diaspora, that is interrelated and share some of the same attributes of a jazz African diaspora, but is racially different. Bragg argued that the jazz diaspora is not racially essentialized. It is the product of transnational and interracial trafficking of music first originated and primarily developed by African Americans, whereas the African diaspora pertains to African people in Africa and people of African ancestry. Both the African Diaspora and the jazz diaspora rests on the premise that jazz and jazz people are inherently transnational, but Bragg's jazz diaspora placed greater emphasis on analyzing the collaborations and relationships forged with non-Black jazz musicians and examines how these bonds affected the identities of African Americans and jazz. Braggs clearly states that jazz is Black music, but his construction of the jazz diaspora whitens the musical discourse. The African Diaspora, like the jazz diasporas, allows for the refashioning of jazz and musicians' identities as global citizens, transnational negotiators, and exiled them from the limits of an American national identity. These diasporas process commences and takes shape after World War II and through the Cold War era.<sup>10</sup>

The African Diaspora is also more broadly defined than the jazz diaspora. The jazz diaspora only pertains to musical genre, while the Africa Diaspora geographically, historically situates cultural, political, and social spaces that support and spur flexibility, negotiation, and shifting of racial and national identities for traveling African and of African descent jazz musicians and communities of jazzophiles with whom they engage to self-identify within American society and the wider world through musical sound, lyrics, and a spiritual component that is often overlooked by the dominant segments of society. Jazz travels through the African Diaspora, and through its interaction alters the music as well as collective and individual identities.

This article uses the theoretical and methodological framework introduced by historian Colin Palmer and Kim Butler to contextualize the Africa Diaspora. Both Palmer and Butler agree that the word "diaspora" is defined, at its simplest, as the dispersal of a people and their culture from their original homeland. The word "diaspora" implies a scattering, rather than a transfer from the homeland to a single destination. This specific type of dispersal is a necessary precondition for the formation of links between the various populations in the diaspora; the internal networks linking the various segments of a diaspora are a unique feature that differentiates them from communities that result from other types of migrations. Historian Colin Palmer suggests that based on the archaeological evidence all of humanity may be considered part of the African diaspora. Humans have been in perpetual motion since the dawn of time, but Palmer and Butler agree that not all their movements have resulted in diasporas. Certain characteristics distinguish diasporas from other movements of people. For example, that regardless of their location, members of a diaspora share an emotional attachment to their ancestral land. They have some relationship with an actual or imagined homeland.

Whatever the form of this bond, it provides the foundation from which diaspora identity may develop. Diasporic people are cognizant of their dispersal and, if conditions warrant, of their oppression and alienation in the nations in which they reside. Members of diasporic communities also tend to possess a sense of racial, ethnic, or religious identity that transcends geographic boundaries, to share broad cultural similarities, and sometimes to articulate a desire to return to their original homeland. Diasporic people there are self-aware of the group's identity. Diaspora communities are *consciously* part of an ethnonational group; this consciousness binds the dispersed peoples not only in the homeland but to each other as well. No diasporic community manifests all these characteristics or shares with the same intensity an identity with its scattered ancestral kin. In many respects, diasporas are not actual but imaginary and symbolic communities and political constructs; diasporic people and their culture often call them into being.<sup>11</sup>

Butler in "Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse," also suggest that diasporas have a temporal-historical dimension that exists over at least two generations. A group meeting all the above criteria, but able to return to its homeland within a single generation, may not be characterized as diasporic but more appropriately described as being in temporary exile. Diasporic people are multi-generational. They combine the individual migration experience with the collective history of group dispersal and re-genesis of communities abroad.<sup>12</sup>

This study identifies the African Diaspora as imagined communities. The concept of an imagined community is a theoretical construction borrowed from Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. It is an imagined community or a virtual community, because the members of even the smallest communities will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in their minds, they perceive of themselves as part of a particular group. They are socially, culturally, and psychologically connected.<sup>13</sup>

Palmer in "Defining and Studying the Modern African Diaspora" suggest that there are at least five streams within the African Diaspora and many sub-streams. He moves away from the conventional thinking that the Africa Diaspora began and concluded with the Atlantic enslavement enterprise. The first African diaspora was a consequence of the great movement within and outside of Africa about 100,000 years-ago. The second major diasporic stream began about 3000 B.C.E. with the movement of the Bantu-speaking peoples from the region that is presently contemporary Nigeria and Cameroon to other parts of the continent, to the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean world. The third stream began around the fifth century B.C.E. He loosely characterizes this as a trading diaspora which involved the movement of traders, merchants, the enslaved, soldiers, and others to parts of Europe, Asia Minor, and Asia. The fourth African diasporic stream is associated with the Atlantic trade in enslaving African people.

The fifth stream began after the demise of slavery and continued to the present day. This fifth stream is characterized by the movement of African people in Africa and peoples of African descent, and their resettlement in, various societies. Hence, post-World War II and the Cold War era, coincide with Palmer's fifth stream of the African Diaspora.

In modernity, Africanisms is embedded in jazz in at least three ways, according to the definition of diaspora as promulgated by Kim Butler and the five streams of the African Diaspora as articulated by Colin Palmer.<sup>14</sup> Slavery and the enslavement enterprise that is captured in the fourth stream are part of the framework of African modernity, and are inextricably linked to the transnational nature of Black identity. Slavery and the enslavement enterprise, share experiences of terror that lie at the heart of the community of the African Diaspora and the commodification of the Black body. It was the first major transnational form of trade that established Western hegemony and the rise of European modernity that was a juxtaposition to African modernity.<sup>15</sup>

For this reason, the first way Africanisms rooted in jazz comes through waves brought on by the fourth African diasporic stream that is associated with modernity, the Atlantic enslavement enterprise and African enslavement that resulted in the commodification of the Black body. It is couched in a binary interchange between Africa and the New World among those enslaved and their "homeland." This linkage, between African culture retention and African American cultural trait, is the thrust of Melville Herskovits's work *Myth of the Negro Past*. His work has influenced generations of scholars, some of whom have refined his arguments that there are direct cultural traits between African and African-American cultures.<sup>16</sup> As a result, one of the most prevalent themes throughout the history of ethnomusicological thought is the musical link between Africa and its diaspora. What the consensus espouse among ethnomusicologists is that it can hardly be denied that Africanism in music had much to do with the ways that New World Black people chose to address the realities of their lives and culture from the moment they emerged from the ships of the enslaved. Herskovits's African retentions are more accurately identified at the level of the underlying structures and orientations that shape the outward manifestations of musical and communicative practices in jazz.<sup>17</sup>

The second way Africanisms were rooted in jazz comes through waves brought on by the overlapping of fourth and fifth African diasporic streams. The fifth stream begins after the demise of slavery and continues to the present day. Amiri Barak's *Blues People: Negro Music in White America* social history of blues and jazz music in the United States and in African-American culture, places jazz in this aspect of the African Diaspora. He explains how blues music gave birth to jazz, and the two genres of music stem from the work songs of the first generation of the African enslaved in America. For fear of rebellion, enslavers prohibited their enslaved people from chanting and singing their ritualistic music and work songs. The first generation of African enslaved persons was forced to change their work songs because their indigenous songs did not suit their oppressed situation.

The new songs the enslaved created grew out of their original African work songs and referenced their enslaved culture. Baraka contends that although slavery destroyed formal artistic African traditions, African American music contains certain African survivals. Shouts and hollers were incorporated into the work songs of the enslaved and were later represented through an instrumental imitation of blues and jazz music. Formal blues evolved after slavery among the first and second generation of freedmen of African ancestry. Baraka points out that “jazz should not be thought of as a successor to blues, but as a very original music that developed out of, and was concomitant with, blues and moved off into its own path of development” as the African Diaspora evolved. Stylistic changes in the music mirror historical changes in the attitudes and social conditions of African Americans and the imagined communities of the African Diaspora.<sup>18</sup>

New Orleans provided the social and cultural phenomena that led to the creation of jazz within the African Diaspora by successive generations of people of African ancestry. The city was a cultural melting pot. The amalgamation of influences heard in the jazz music came from an array of cultures and expressions from several generations of people of African lineage. Since the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, New Orleans has not only been a crucial pivot of the United States economy as a port city, but also as “an essential wellspring of its culture.” Successive waves of African people shaped this Black city’s culture and were the progenitors of one of America’s first intra-diasporic cultures. This begun with the first arrival, in New Orléans of “two slave ships from Benin carrying the Ardra people, from whose *foddun* spiritual practice derives the core of Louisiana *voodoo*.” It continued with the “influx during the early French period of Wolof and Bambara people from the Senegal River in West Africa, whose melismatic singing and stringed instruments were crucial forerunners of blues and the banjo.” Then it was layered with “the Spanish era’s preponderance of slaves from the Central African forest culture of Kongo, whose hand-drummed polyrhythms came to undergird dance rhythms from Havana to Harlem.”<sup>19</sup>

Some of the early African amalgamation of the intra-diasporic culture took place in a space called Congo Square. On Sunday afternoons, from the mid-1700s until 1840s, there was a grassy square at the edge of the old city, where city leaders allowed the enslaved to congregate in “back of town,” across Rampart Street from the French Quarter. This place became known as the *Place des Negres*. By the time the Americans took control, the city had grown past the *Vieux Carre*, and this gathering point was renamed Congo Square.<sup>20</sup>

Congo Square was a space where the enslaved sought to reclaim their Africanism, even if for just one afternoon a week. This gathering was usually the only chance; Black people had to sing and socialize at length. They would bring drums, bells, and other musical instruments to the square to play music, sing, and dance. In addition to drums, other instruments such as gourds, banjo-like instruments and quillpipes made from reeds strung together like panpipes, marimbas, and European musical instruments such as violins and tambourines.



African people would roughly gather by ethnic groupings with each nation taking their place in different parts of the square. Business was also conducted in the Square. In this space, the enslaved could purchase their freedom as well as they could freely buy and sell goods in the square. It was a space where they could earn money to free their bodies from commodification. The Square provided a space for autonomy and culture fuel for constructing their African identities within the African Diaspora. In the earlier years of slavery, they played African music and sung African songs that were supposedly banned by the White people for being part of the *vodun* or *voodoo* rites. Music making at Congo Square transmitted African heritage from one generation to the next. It was, and open space, but not a free one. The town's White folks gathered around the square to witness what went on inside the square, and the enslaved were brought to and from the square by their masters. Congo Square did not last. As an “impure” meeting place for the enslaved and free Black people, some White people found it threatening as New Orleans became Americanized.<sup>21</sup> In this space, the seeds of African diasporic melodic traditions and sycophantic rhythms that are posited in the core of jazz and predates the modern Civil Rights movement and the Cold War were planted.

The third way Africanisms are rooted in jazz comes through waves brought on by the fifth African diasporic stream that is driven by the movement of African people in Africa, and peoples of African descent, and their resettlement in, various global societies. It is characterized by the transnational migrations of African people in Africa and peoples of African ancestry as well as intra-diasporic connections between various African Diaspora imagined communities. Jazz musicians with their improvisational and communicative talents speak to the imagined African Diasporic communities. Jazz music is about the process of communication itself. It serves an “essentially phatic,” social, emotive, and metalingual agenda in calling the imagined African Diasporic communities into being.<sup>22</sup>

After World War II, the mindset of defining jazz as uniquely American had the net effect of overshadowing the intra-diasporic jazz practices that occur within the United States that flowed from the transnational migrations of African peoples and their expressive cultures. By adopting jazz as a tool of diplomacy, the United States was forced to make jazz, an exclusively African American art form, an inseparable element of American culture.<sup>23</sup> This had the net effect of bringing African American culture into the meta-narrative of Americanism and was viewed by some Black people as a step toward obtaining their rightful privileges and rights as American citizens. While Americanizing the jazz into the meta-narrative, it also whitens it. Unintentionally, the intra-diasporic connections between various African Diaspora imagined communities and their jazz styles were spurred on by the Jazz Ambassador diplomacy tours. In the fifth stream of the African Diaspora, jazz has traveled, and through its sojourners, its interactions and collaborations, its performances, and its audiences, it has awakened consciousness, shaped individual, and collective identities inside and outside of America, altered performances, the music, and claims to it.

In a non-static way, the African Diaspora and the intra-diasporas that accompany it are always in the process “becoming” that allows for the “spirit within you” to invoke a personal past and collective memory that can be freshly conceived by jazz as a living history and a lens into one’s identity.<sup>24</sup>

Ronald Walters in *Pan Africanism in the African Diaspora: An analysis of Modern Afrocentric Political Movements* points to identity construction as a key signifier that influenced the ways political action was taken by different groups within the African Diaspora. These identities were firmly linked with jazz. Jazz artists, particularly in the wake of the Cold War, imperialism, colonialism, and Jim-Crowism, chose to pursue the thread of African musical traditions including drumming techniques, rhythms, and cultural artifacts around the diaspora. The adoration for the music and culture of the African diaspora held by jazz artist was evident by the way jazz artist included not only the musical traditions in their artistic creations but also the nomenclature.<sup>25</sup> The jazz tradition has African linkages that will continue to evolve and mirror new values, attitudes, and lifestyles as its interactions with intra-diasporic jazz practices that will occur throughout the African Diaspora. There are African retentions as well as new melodic patterns and sycophantic rhythms in post-World War II African diasporic jazz. The past in jazz is relevant for the present, invoking the idea of a living history. The African diaspora is the “cultural memory” while the jazz performance is a particular kind of living experience that stems from one’s African diasporic consciousness.

When considering jazz musicians like Louis Armstrong, Randy Weston, Dizzy Gillespie, Charlie Parker, Chano Pozos, and Guy Warren’s roles as jazz innovators, their remembrance and emotional connection to their homeland serve as vibrations that call the imagine and symbolic African diaspora community into being. Clearly, their music was being spawned from the tentacles of the African diaspora while reconstructing their music, identity, and imagined community. It provided the impetus for turning their body from being a structural factor of objectification and commodification to a person with a consciousness to understand, evaluate, re-imagine, and dissemble inferiority complexes brought on by colonialism, slavery, and Whiteness. Each artist’s repertoire revealed that at some point in their careers, they connected jazz music to their diaspora influence in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa. Their commitment helped to place them in Palmer’s fifth stream of the African diaspora, the modern stream, and is marked by the post slavery movement of African people and “their resettlement in various societies.”<sup>26</sup>

Kelly’s work argued that jazz music had always been music firmly rooted in the African Diaspora. This is correct, but the influence upon jazz from the African Diaspora is different because the diaspora is fluid and intersects with various streams and sub-streams as it flows. His work is couched within the fourth and fifth streams and sub streams of Palmer’s conceptualization of the African diaspora when it points to a direct correlation between the diaspora and the development of jazz music.<sup>27</sup>

During the fifth stream that overlaps with the Cold War era, jazz became accepted and encouraged as a major aspect of America's foreign policies through its People-to People Program and other cultural diplomacy programs. Because of the subordinate position of Black people and their culture in the America meta-narrative and the racial tenor of the times, it became necessary to give the appearance that jazz was included in the American culture that was "exclusive, and complex."<sup>28</sup> Toward this end, jazz was defined as uniquely American. It was imperative for the State Department to blur the Black cultural ownership of the art form through its vetting process which opened the door for Berklee College of Music to become the beacon for jazz education during the Cold War era and beyond. Berklee College of Music was steeped in elite education and American culture, and willingly, out of the need for money, became a partner of the State Department in defining jazz in terms of an American phenomenon. This had the net effect of lessening its Africanism in deference to its Americanism.<sup>29</sup>

Clearly, Kelly's book does not contest the fact that jazz music originated from a uniquely American experience; but he is suggesting that is merely one aspect of jazz. Because jazz is fluid and complex, the discourse passes through stages. Defining jazz as uniquely America was one stage that brought it into the meta-narrative; defining jazz within the context of the fluidity of the African Diaspora includes other stages. Franz Fanon, one of the twentieth century's most influential anti-colonial theorists and very influential constructor of Black consciousness would argue that having jazz music, posited within the national culture or meta-narrative is positive to a certain extent. By placing jazz within the meta-narrative, it "does not only rehabilitate" the nation; but also, serves as a sphere of psycho-affective equilibrium that is responsible for the necessary changes in the reconstruction of Black identity and the future of the nation. It turns the perverted past of the oppressed people upside down, and "distorts, disfigures, and destroys it." The process takes on a dialectical significance in reconstructing the identity of Black people. The psycho-affective equilibrium achieved through the creation of a national culture passes through stages on its way to constructing a world system based on the ideals of global equity throughout the imagined African Diaspora community.<sup>30</sup>

Even though the Cold War policy had proclaimed jazz as uniquely American, it was not until 1987 that the progenitors of jazz were no longer in dispute. It was through the House Resolution 57 that cultural ownership of jazz was designated African American. The proverbial intellectual debate between the jazz world and policy makers was, is jazz the intellectual property of Black jazz musicians, or was it the exclusive cultural property of "America," with no racial distinction defined by the color of its practitioners; or had jazz simply become the intellectual property of world cultures.<sup>31</sup>

The resolution defined jazz in such a way as to show that it is spawned from the Africa American experience; and by doing this, African Americans were integrated into the American meta-narrative. Jazz music was placed within the American experience; and by doing so, recognized African Americans as Americans within the geo-political construction of the nation as well as within the parlance of the nation's definition of culture.

House Resolution 57 was written in such a way that it puts forth the proposition that jazz was more than an American past time or merely lively entertainment. It established the syllogism that jazz was a cultural phenomenon that ferments a broad spectrum of changes in society, identity, politics, people, and race relations based on the ideals of global equity within imagined African Diaspora communities.<sup>32</sup>

Musicians such as Louis Armstrong, Randy Weston, Dizzy Gillespie, Charlie Parker, Chano Pozo, and Guy Warren challenged the exclusive American experience that had been firmly attached to the definition of jazz and the artist that created it. In fact, when an artist such as Parker, Gillespie, and Weston went looking to the diaspora for their musical influence, they were simply picking up where previous generations left off in the fifth stream of the African Diaspora. African, Afro-Latin, especially Afro-Cuban, musical tradition signifies a distinctive aspect of the African Diaspora that developed during the fourth stream of the African Diaspora that is marked by colonialism and slavery while jazz in America was in its nascent phase.

For example, in West Africa, highlife a form of popular dance music emerges as a forerunner of Afro-Jazz. Around the turn of the twentieth century, indigenous music forms and cross-cultural influences begat highlife. While the roots of highlife extend across West Africa, is typically recognized as the crux point at which all the streams coalesced in Ghana. It had hosted a progressive music tradition starting with incorporating motifs from native *adaha* music, an Africanized brass band style dating back to the mid-nineteenth century after the Ashanti War when His Majesty's West India Regiment of Jamaica were stationed in the Cape Coast region. They brought with them their drum and fife and brass military band marches, and Caribbean melodies. "While the popularity of *adaha* spread across the country, its performance was dependent upon the possession of very expensive brass instruments, so in less elite circles, down-market versions of the music emerged such as *osibisaab*" and *maringa* music. *Osibisaab* was "built upon percussion effects and melodies played on more accessible instruments such as the costal guitar and accordion." The guitar was popularized by sailors from the Kru coast of Liberia. As they sailed to many West Africa ports, "they spread a basic, cross-fingered playing style as they sang tunes influenced by English sea chanteys and West Indian airs."<sup>33</sup> Then, as the style filtered into Sierra Leone, it became known as *maringa* or more colloquially, "palm wine music." It was played on the inland "palm wine" acoustic guitar style, and the music was usually "played at bars where the locally fermented beverage was served."<sup>34</sup>

*Adaha*, *osibisaaba*, and "palm wine" all fed into the highlife sound as well as Afro-Cuban, European, American and "in some cases, Islamic" influences and the gradual introduction of western instruments. "In Ghana, the innovative guitarist Jacob Sam modified the palm wine sound, supplementing the guitar with indigenous rhythm accompaniment from his Kumasi Trio, and sometime around 1919, composed *Yaa Amponsah*," the song that was viewed as the prototype for a new genre, "highlife." By the early 1920s, Western ballrooms were peppering their repertoire with the occasional big-band arrangement of a palm wine tune and the name "highlife" was coined.

Highlife was started as a catch-name for the indigenous songs played at these clubs with early bands such as the Jazz Kings, the Cape Coast Sugar Babies, the Sekondi Nanshamang, and later the Accra Orchestra. Drummer Guy Warren said that the term was associated with "middle-class African people who wore tuxedos and 'played the white man' for the night." Highlife saxophonist Yebuah Mensah cites another derivation, saying that highlife "was a term coined by the poor who gathered at the exclusive clubs to enjoy a free show on the pavements outside." These colonial Africans were not of the class who could go inside, did not have money to pay the high entrance fees, nor did they have full evening dress to wear including top hats. Highlife was "the soundtrack of the early independence era for many newly emerging African nations." In 1957, when Ghana achieved full independence, Emmanuel Tetteh Mensa, the younger brother of Yebuah Mensah, composed his famous song *Ghana Freedom* to commemorate the event, and he was in Guinea with The Tempos in October 1958 when the country gained independence from France.<sup>35</sup>

Then, Cuba provides an interesting musical African Diaspora fusion where sugar, slavery, and colonialism were the dominating and defining features of society. During the nineteenth-century, the clave-based rhythm structure, the core of many Afro-Cuban rhythms, derived from sub-Saharan rhythmic elements emerged. In ethnomusicology, a clave is defined as a key or guide pattern. It is the Spanish word for "code." The clave rhythm pattern is rooted in sub-Saharan African musical traditions. The clave pattern is found throughout the African diaspora music such as in Haitian Vodou drumming, Afro-Uruguayan *condoblé*, and African Americans music known as Hambone. The two main clave patterns used in Afro-Cuban music are known as son clave and the rumba clave, and both are used as bell patterns in much of Africa. The Cuban counterpoint of the rumba-son complex reveals the complex interrelations between modes of production and musical formations. There was a stylistic unity-in-difference held together by the clave - the easy, agrarian, rustic, and languid style of the son that contrasted sharply with the frenetic, urban, and sophisticated rumba. Race, labor, nation, and capital collided in the rumba and son and from this collision emerged a national symbol that informs the peculiar positionality of Blackness in Cuba or *hampa Afro-Cubana*.<sup>36</sup>

African music fusions such as Highlife and Afro-Cuban musical traditions, as well as African-American jazz, where each distinctive intra-diasporic sub-streams within the fourth stream of the African Diaspora. In the fifth stream of the African Diaspora, there is a fusion of melodic patterns and sycophantic rhythms of Afro-Latin and Afro-Latin musical traditions and African-American jazz styles. Also, during the fifth stream, there is a new infusion of Africanism that is itself a distinct intra-diaspora stream. The intra-diaspora stream is the result of a movement that had taken place within the African continent and transmigration to America, Europe, Latin America, and the Caribbean. The fifth stream, after the Bandung Conference, is indicative of overlapping African-American, Afro-Latin, Afro-Cuba, and African intra-diasporic streams that reveal themselves in melodic patterns, sycophantic and polyrhythmic sounds throughout the Black cultural experience in the Americas.

It is more than a binary relationship between those in African Americans and the “homeland,” and an interchange between Africa and the New World. It includes a multiplicity of cultural flows and fusions between and among Afro-Latinos, Afro-Caribbeans, Afro-Europeans, African people in Africa, and African Americans.

To further illustrate the contentions articulated in this paradigm, the narrative will continue with examples, discussion, and the mapping of the hybridity of jazz as it intersects with local and global politics, the lives of musicians, and their audiences as they discovered melodic patterns, sycophantic rhythms, and polyrhythmic sounds that were reinvigorated or mirrored by Afro-Latin, Afro-Cuban, or African traditions, within the streams of the African Diaspora. The influences of the streams of the African Diaspora can be seen in nomenclature throughout the fifth stream. Norman C. Weinstein’s *A Night in Tunisia: Imaginings of Africa in Jazz* has documented, references to the African continent that can be found in musical works throughout the history of jazz, from Eubie Blake's *Sounds of Africa* (1899), Clarence Williams's *Senegalese Stomp* (1926), Duke Ellington's *Liberian Suite* (1947), and John Coltrane's *Africa Brass* (1961) to Randy Weston's *Khepera* (1998).<sup>37</sup>

In the early part of the fifth stream of the African Diaspora, Ellington's unique sound of the subset of music that came to be known as “jungle style” was associated with an exotic, primitive Africa. In the late 1920s, the sound became an integral part of his performance at the Cotton Club. In April 1927, Ellington’s characteristic “jungle sound” began to develop with trumpeter Bubber Miley in East St Louis Toodle-Oo. Miley was a brilliant plunger specialist who largely founded the “jungle sound” that made Ellington's group sound different than anyone else. The distinctive growling, shrieking, and moaning sounds of the band by Bubber Miley inspired this character of the music that was accompanied with the club’s penchant for presenting skits in an African setting. In this venue, in the early twentieth-century White American audiences shaped the programmatic meaning of his early works like *Echoes of the Jungle*.<sup>38</sup>

Duke Ellington did not shed the sounds or the African associations of jungle style after leaving the Cotton Club. He would often go into his jungle things, faking the resurrection of “African music.” To be sure, his “jungle sound” had much less to do with Africa than his best music, but in tracing his use “jungle style from its origins before the Cotton Club, through his efforts to shift his public image from wild jungle entertainer to artistically significant composer,” in such works as *La Plus Belle Africaine* and *Togo Brava Suite* one can hear “his changing relationship to this style and its associations over time” with a specifically African context. Later in the fifth stream of the African Diaspora, between the late 1960s and 1970s, Ellington claimed both the sounds and the idea of jungle style as his own. He did this by choosing to link them not in a situation where his employer demanded it, but of his own volition as an expression of his relationship to the African Diaspora.<sup>39</sup>

To be sure, a significant number of jazz standards are rooted in the American show tune tradition, the innovation of jazz music in the fifth stream of the African Diaspora is heavily based on the influences of the Afro-Latin, Afro-Cuba, and African musical traditions.<sup>40</sup> Gillespie is one of the leading orchestras of the Afro-Cuban influence in jazz music. The Gillespie big band's instrumental performances illustrate an even wider range of expressions and a variety of approaches to incorporating bebop language into Afro-Cuban compositions and arrangements. Both Parker and Gillespie, in fact, were interested in Afro-Cuban rhythmic concepts. Gillespie, in particular, was influenced by associations with trumpeter Mario Bauza, and Chano Pozo, Afro-Cuban drummer. Chano Pozo and Gillespie collaborated on the song, *Cubano Be, Cubano Bop*, with George Russell in the late 1940s. This tune was significant because Pozo injected "West African-derived spiritual and cultural practices into his performance," including Lucumi chants, rooted in the Yoruba religion.<sup>41</sup> Pozo received his credentials to perform the Lucumi through his initiation into the "Abakua secret society" which was based in southern Nigeria.<sup>42</sup>

Between 1947 and 1948 there were many collaborations between Francisco Raúl Gutiérrez Grillo better known as Machito and his Afro-Cubans band. Machito's band was one of the first bands in the United States to publicly self-identify as Afro-Cuban. This was significant because they were acknowledging the African roots of the musical style they were playing, and it forced both New York City's Latino and African American diasporic communities to recognize their common African roots in a direct way. At times, Afro-Cubans had shifting racial and national identities that had the net effect of blurring their cultural contributions within the African Diaspora. The dominant racial ideology of the Caribbean and Latin American of assigning people to one side or the other of the color line further complicates their culture identity and exacerbated racial tensions within African Diaspora communities. Afro-Cuban musicians would sometimes argue that they were "Spanish" and not "black," and this absence of Blackness would place them outside of the African Diaspora which is racially and culturally situated.<sup>43</sup>

Machito wedded the triumvirate congas, bongo, and timbales percussion to jazz techniques that spurred on Cubop or Afro-Cuban jazz, which was a enslaved-based rhythm with jazz harmonies and techniques of improvisation. The blossoming of this clave-based rhythm with jazz harmonies came to fruition just as interest in anti-colonial movements within the African Diaspora were a part of the conversation on the streets of New York City. Machito collaborated with various jazz musicians such as Dexter Gordon, Stan Getz, Harry "Sweets" Edison, Johnny Griffin, Lee Konitz, Buddy Rich, Chico O'Farrill, and Zoot Sims. His band reached its peak of popularity during the mambo craze just prior to the Bandung Conference. In 1957 at the time of Ghana's independence, Art Blakey revived the use of Afro-Cuban drums.<sup>44</sup>

In 1943, the African Academy of Arts and Research (AAAR) was founded by Kingsley Ozuombo Mbadiwe. He was a Nigerian who had been encouraged to study in the United States by activist newspaper editor Nnamdi Azikiwe and later the first president of Nigeria. Before the AAAR ceased operating in 1957, it facilitated ties between Africa and America by generating American awareness of and appreciation for African culture and politics, to encourage African Americans to pursue Pan-Africanism, and promoted African independence. To fulfil some of its objectives, the academy embarked on the promotion of African culture in shows and concerts. This inevitably led to the awakening of an African Diasporic consciousness in the United States.<sup>45</sup> The AAAR was one of the first places in the United States that jazz music connection to African Diasporic music was prominently displayed. Dizzy Gillespie met Mbadiwe in New York in the mid-forties and later did a benefit concert for the AAAR at the Diplomat Hotel. At this gathering, jazz artist like Gillespie, Charlie Parker, Mary Lou Williams, and Bill Robinson merged jazz music with African and Afro Latino drum choirs. At this festival, Gillespie said they “found the connections between Afro-Cuban and African music and discovered the identity of our music with theirs, those concerts should definitely have been recorded because we had a ball discovering our identity.” His immersion into the rhythms of Afro-Cuban and Africa came through an explicit culturally and politically oriented group of African Diasporic scholars, artists, and activists at the “height” of the bebop era of “American” jazz.<sup>46</sup>

In the midst of the Bandung Conference and African Americans quest to link their cultural traditions to Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa, the Berklee School of Music held a unique position in the field of jazz education, where only it could offer a jazz education to foreign students.<sup>47</sup> Under the People-to-People Program, it awarded the Japanese pianist Akiyoshi its first scholarship.<sup>48</sup> As Berklee College was gaining worldwide recognition regarding jazz education, the recipients of the People-to-People Program scholarships were largely White or European students, only a few wealthy minority students from Nigeria and the Caribbean attended the Berklee School.<sup>49</sup>

In April 1955, the Bandung Conference was held in Indonesia. Representatives of twenty-nine non-aligned countries of Asia and Africa, including China, met to express their united opposition to colonialism and to gain recognition for less developed nations. It called for the neutrality of the lesser developed countries in the current Cold War, in the interest of world peace. It inaugurated the non-alignment movement, whose principal tenets were non-aggression, respect for sovereignty, and non-interference in other countries' internal affairs, equality, and peaceful coexistence. George Padmore, the father of African Pan-Africanism, and W.E.B. Dubois, a leading Black intellectual and a supporter of the AAAR, had great hopes for the Bandung Conference. Padmore explained that the main theme of the conference was anti-colonial and anti-racist. Padmore wrote that Asians and Africans who have just recently experienced complete rejection of imperialism are too poor to have the money for industrialization and do not necessarily intend to join the Communist.



Padmore continues to write “they are all striving to find a middle road, adopting features of both systems, and supplying the synthesis to the historical circumstances and tradition of their countries, social customs.” He acknowledged that “whether they will succeed waits to be seen. But they are all aiming at some Third Way Out. It will be one of the things the Asia-African conference will discuss.” The conference also provided a space where peoples of Asia and Africa had a chance to get to know one another.<sup>50</sup> Adam Clayton Powell, one of two Black congressmen in the United States Congress, attended the Conference at his own expense.<sup>51</sup> Powell went to the Bandung ostensibly as a newspaper columnist, and then, being the only American legislator there, soon promoted himself to the rank of the unofficial observer.<sup>52</sup>

Then in 1956, with the help of Powell, the first Jazz Ambassadors tour was launched.<sup>53</sup> The State Department strategically placed the Ambassador tours in Eastern Europe and Africa. In many ways, under the false pretense of the master narrative, policymakers began to believe that jazz could help people identify with America and “correct the fiction that America is racist.”<sup>54</sup> Gillespie was the first bandleader to go out on State Departments Tours.<sup>55</sup> By the time the first Jazz Ambassadors international tour took off with Gillespie, a plethora of racially motivated protest was internally rocking America. Sit-ins and bus boycotts sprawled across the south as America’s relationship with jazz music was strengthening.

Concomitantly, jazz within the African-American diaspora community was in a period of intra-diasporic transition. There was a desire to “blacken” the sound and return jazz music to the people. There was a move within the Black psyche that nourish “the idea of the black’s having ‘roots’ and that they were a valuable possession, rather than the source of ineradicable shame.” Some argued that swing had begun to sound anachronistic and bebop had become codified and sterile. Musicians and audiences wanted jazz to reflect the current economic, social, political, and racial imperatives, and that mixture was present in “hard bop” and “soul jazz.”<sup>56</sup> The reclamation of Blackness in hard bop aesthetics created an original repertory that became the jazz standards of later generations. “Many of these composers were less interested in structural shapes and counterpoint taken from the Western classical tradition than in combining musical processes and emotions from the broader” African, Afro-Caribbean, and African American musical “traditions, harmonic sophistication, and formal innovation that served to create more space for extended improvisation” in which they could speak to their audiences.<sup>57</sup> African American jazz musicians consciously resisted White, mainstream American culture and instead, called on their African cultural parent for innovative influence in their music. The net effect was that while the United States and the Berklee College of Music were claiming jazz, jazz was claiming Africa.<sup>58</sup>

The State Department's sole intent for using jazz as a “weapon against Communism” was to “promote a vision of a color-blind American democracy,” while doing very little to produce its façade on the home front.<sup>59</sup> Though Gillespie “took it as an honor,” he had other feelings towards the United States policies for people of color.

In most instances, when the State Department recruited jazz musicians, they briefed them on the political climate of the region of the world they were going to and guided them with talking points on how to represent the United States when asked certain questions. When the State Department attempted to brief Gillespie, the first musician ever to embark on the Jazz Ambassadors tours, the lead trumpeter quickly stated that “I wasn’t going over there to apologize for the racist policies of America” and that “I’ve got three hundred years of the briefing. I know what they’ve done to us.”<sup>60</sup>

After the Bandung Conference, African American jazz musicians were drawn into deeper connections with the African diaspora consciously, creatively, and politically. Black peoples throughout the diaspora emblemize some of the politics and aspirations of the Bandung era. Under private sponsorship in 1956, as part of the forthcoming independence celebrations, Louis Armstrong traveled to Ghana where he performed for Kwame Nkrumah, who became prime minister upon Ghana’s independence in 1957. Edward R. Murrow and Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), sponsored the trip. By the mid-fifties, Armstrong had become much more than a great jazz trumpeter and popular singer; he was one of the best-known entertainers in the world. Fame made his opinions news.<sup>61</sup>

Upon his arrival, Armstrong was greeted at the airport by a crowd of ten thousand, including a band playing a “highlife” piece in his honor called *All for You, Louis*. On his second tour to Africa in 1960, he presented leading “highlife” musician Eddy Okonta with a trumpet that had a gold mouthpiece. In 1956, as Armstrong descended to the tarmac, trumpet in hand, he walked over to join the overjoyed “highlife” band.<sup>62</sup> On the soil of his African ancestors in Ghana, Armstrong led a line of African trumpeters all playing along with him. His tour encouraged a young South African trumpeter named Hugh Masekela; even though at the time of Armstrong’s tour, he was not allowed to go to South Africa. The injustices that Black people were facing in South Africa mirrored the problems of African Americans in the United States. Armstrong learned about Masekela’s youth band and sent him a trumpet. Masekela said that the group became “famous overnight.” The trumpet was a source of inspiration, and he used it to send messages that exposed the system of apartheid to many Americans. In 1960, at the age of 21 Masekela left South Africa to begin what would be thirty years in exile from the land of his birth. With the help of Dizzy Gillespie and singer and actor Harry Belafonte, he enrolled at the Manhattan School of Music. Under the tutelage of Louis Armstrong and Dizzy Gillespie, Masekela was encouraged to develop his own unique style, feeding off African rather than American influences. This was reflected in his debut album, released in 1963, entitled *Trumpet Africaine*.<sup>63</sup>

Prime Minister Nkrumah arranged for Armstrong, and his entire entourage to see the monumental progress they are making. He gave a concert that was attended by more than 100,000 Armstrong fans. At the concert’s end, he sang, *What Did I Do to Be So Black and Blue*, and brought tears to the eyes of Nkrumah. Armstrong had popularized the tune when he recorded it in 1929.

The tune was from the old *Hot Chocolates* Broadway show and composed by Fats Waller. The tune laments a Black woman's grief over her skin color by suggesting that she is White "inside" which indicated "a normative understanding of white superiority" that identifies Whiteness as the ultimate measure of humanity.<sup>64</sup> Both Armstrong and the prime minister surely understood the song in the historical context of slavery, colonialism, apartheid, and Jim Crowism. No matter how much both of them wished it to be otherwise, the standards for full membership in the human community were still White.<sup>65</sup> Armstrong understood the feelings of inferiority that were in the otherness of Blackness, and the need for the emergence of a psychological stance based on an emotional concept of equality that would begin to deconstruct Black otherness, and call the imagined African diaspora community into existence. Jazz's ability to connect the audience to the performance, in some cases, including the audience in the performance through call and response is also a vehicle for calling the imagined African diaspora community into being.

Louis Armstrong was entertained by seventy chiefs and their drummers and dancers at Achimota College in Accra. Armstrong commented that "when those African Gold Coast 'Cats' played you could see Old man Rhythm jumpin all over the place." In 1961, after he left the Congo, he made a similar statement. He remarked, "Those cats over there have really got the beat." It seemed to him "that if New Orleans was the cradle of jazz the Gold Coast or Ghana as they call it, must be the mother," that implicitly placed emphasis on African as the origins of jazz. Nkrumah agreed that "your music is obviously close to ours." Both Armstrong and Nkrumah recognized African retentions that shaped the outward manifestations of musical and communicative sycophantic rhythms.<sup>66</sup>

Armstrong had a strong attachment to Africa as his homeland. Armstrong had traced his ancestry back to Ghana through his great grandparents. At the largest outdoor concert, he saw a woman that looked just like his mother. His mother had been dead since 1929. He was "shook up." He was so "struck by the striking resemblance that he asked him if he could blow his horn for the lady." He was told the lady would be honored. He was "bursting with pride and joy that here in Mother Africa" he had found a "woman the exact image of mom." He "cleared his throat, made a clearing in the middle of the gathering and blew those High C notes on... [his] trumpet as never before."<sup>67</sup>

Armstrong established a real bond of kinship with Prime Minister Nkrumah. Armstrong was personally invited to the independent festivities; he was unable to attend due to other performing commitments. Instead in March 1957, his wife Lucille went in his place. Lucille Armstrong was her husband's eyes and ears. He described her as "five-star with me." She was smart and aggressive; a strong-minded female who made him happy. He said that "she was smarter than the average woman." And this smart woman was in the company of some of the most prominent civil rights, labor, and Pan-Africanist leaders in the world to witness the birth of a nation—Martin Luther King, Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Adam Clayton Powell, George Padmore, and C.L.R. James.<sup>68</sup>

After she had witnessed a birth of a nation with Rev. and Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., she took a picture with them.<sup>69</sup> On their return trip from Ghana, the Kings stopped in London for four days; they spent the afternoon of 24 March talking with a group of Black intellectuals that included West Indian writers C. L. R James and George Lamming and English activist David Pitt. James was one the dignitaries on the platform of the Ghanaian Independence ceremonies, he spoke to Lucille Armstrong about sending her a copy of his book *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*. So, in his April 5<sup>th</sup> letter to Martin Luther King, Jr. He wrote, "I have by now been able to send a copy of *The Black Jacobins* to Louis and Lucille Armstrong and had asked them, when they have finished with it, to send it on to you."<sup>70</sup> Ghanaian's independence ceremony gave the musicians, artists, politicians, intellectuals, and other peoples of the imagined African Diaspora community a space to share ideas about culture, race, human equality, and anti-colonialism.

On 7 March 1957, the day after Ghana's independence ceremonies, jazz drummer Art Blakey recorded *For Orgy in Rhythm*. It was indicative of overlapping African-American, Afro-Latin, Afro-Cuba, and African intra-diasporic music that reveal themselves in melodic patterns and sycophantic rhythms throughout of the Black cultural experience in the Americas. In the late 1940s, Blakey was one of the first jazz musicians to travel to Africa and did so not as a musician on tour but in order to study religion and philosophy. In the forties, there was a great interest in the Muslim religion among musicians, and many of them actually changed their names to Muslim names. Blakey was among several jazz musicians who converted to Islam through the Ahmadiyya movement in the 1940s and 1950s, including Sahib Shihab, Ahmad Jamal, and McCoy Tyner.<sup>71</sup> Blakey's African diasporic consciousness was informed by the intersectionality of his Pan-Africanist political interests and Pan-Islamic spiritualism that are illustrated within his triangulation between Afro-Cuban, African and African American musical traditions in the 1950s.<sup>72</sup>

Blakey had spent some time in Ghana, and even though he denied that he ever played a drum during this period, the African and Afro-Cuban linkages in his music were evident. Musically, what distinguished the self-consciously Africanist aspirations of Blakey's project was the use of the 6/8 clave feels of Afro-Cuban sacred music. Blakey had used the secular dance rhythms of the mambo in his recordings with his band Jazz Messenger, but the cultural valence of *For Orgy in Rhythm* emphasized the sacred rhythms of *Santería* and their cultural continuities with African rhythms. The 6/8 clave bell pattern in Cuba was identical to the 12/8 bell pattern found in several West African cultures, including the Ewe and the Yoruba.<sup>73</sup> Blakey was not alone in making this African musical linkage between Afro-Cuban and African America rhythmic patterns. At least three other major jazz endeavors made the connection, which also used the 6/8 (12/8) clave bell pattern of Afro-Cuban sacred music and included both African and Caribbean musicians: Max Roach's *We Insist! Freedom Now Suite* (1960), Art Blakey's *African Beat* (1962), and Randy Weston's *Uhuru Afrika* (1960).<sup>74</sup>

Blakey said that he had been inspired by Pozo when he recorded an all percussion song named *Message from Kenya* in 1953.<sup>75</sup> It represented an interconnectedness of African music in jazz, Afro-Caribbean music with a historical event on the African continent. The ensemble that recorded the song included Sabu Martinez, a Puerto Rican conga player. Martinez's conga playing and chanting invoke *Changó* and *Yemoja*, two of *Santería's* (Lucumi's) Orishas. Martinez sets the pace on conga, and, throughout his opening solo, Blakey seems determined to make his tom toms sound like a set of low-pitched congas. The one part of the drum set he never touches throughout the four-minute performance was the snare drum. The Afro-Cuban connection was also apparent in Blakey's drumming on the remainder of the Horace Silver Trio album, on which *A Message from Kenya* appeared.<sup>76</sup> According to Blakey, the song was a tribute to the Mau Mau anti-colonial movement in Kenya.<sup>77</sup> When Moses Mianns explained the lyrics, he failed to incorporate the anti-colonial message of the Mau Mau rebellion of the Kikuyu people. He merely said that the song was about a young Mau Mau hunter trying to impress a girl with his prowess. He had captured more game than any other hunter in the village.<sup>78</sup>

Several of Blakey's musical projects, including *Message from Kenya* (1953), *Ritual* (1957), *Drum Suite* (1957), *Orgy in Rhythm* (1957), *Holiday for Skins* (1958), and *The African Beat* (1962) demonstrate an active interest in intra-African diasporic musical connections, expressed primarily in quasi-Afro-Cuban and Afro-Caribbean terms. Blakey's playing on these recordings shows a more than passing awareness of African and Afro-Cuban means of rhythmic variation and musical development. Blakey's interpretations are evidence of how Black jazz musicians were connecting with African culture and political movements. *Ritual* was recorded three weeks before Ghana's independence celebrations.<sup>79</sup>

In the 1950s, Weston said that Blakey inspired his musical explorations into African music.<sup>80</sup> In 1958, Weston recorded *Little Nile*. Randy stated that the musical influences of *Little Niles* were "American, African and Asian."<sup>81</sup> Poet, novelist, playwright, journalist, and cultural leader, Langston Hughes wrote the liner note for the album and performed regularly with Weston's trio in New York City.<sup>82</sup> In 1959, Weston contributed his most significant work to jazz music with the suite *Uhuru Afrika* or *Freedom Africa* in 1959. It was motivated by the political upheavals of decolonizing Africa in the 1950s. The record celebrated "the bonds between African people in Africa and the African diaspora--past, present, and future."<sup>83</sup> Weston reinterpreted African repetition by melding it with the chorus structures of songs that he orchestrated through an arsenal of rhythms. Weston's music and philosophy revealed the interchange and interrelation between the wealth of ideas and inspiration that have been generated from the diversity of the continent's expressive forms and its rich history as well as the debt to modern music owe to Africa. Weston pulled together an Afro-diasporic "powerhouse battalion" with players from all over the African Diaspora. It was a truly big band. He worked with jazz giants Clark Terry, Freddie Hubbard, Slide Hampton, Yusef Lateef, Ron Carter, and Max Roach and others to complete the project.<sup>84</sup> The entire project was an ode to the independence of the entire continent of Africa, and included songs *Uhuru Kwanza*, which Weston described in the liner notes as a song that was about African people having the "right to determine their own destiny."

Another tune, *African Lady* from the album was a tribute to “all those strong sisters like her [Weston’s mother] who had to toil and scrub folks’ floors to make that measly \$15 a week, and they would never complain, never beg.”<sup>85</sup>

Weston was also influenced by an artist who participated in the annual “Jazz Roundtables” at the Music Inn, later to be named the Lennox School of Jazz.<sup>86</sup> Themes like *From Folk Music to Jazz* were featured at the “Jazz Roundtables” and made the cultural connections to “how the folk music of the African diaspora constituted the roots of blues and jazz.”<sup>87</sup> The roundtables served as a catalyst for Weston to bring in the African and Afro-Cuban influences heard in Chano Pozo and Gillespie’s collaborations, in his own music. When Weston returned to Brooklyn, Fulton Park was nicknamed “Brooklyn’s Congo Square” by community members, for hosting African drum circles and cultural presentations to mirrored Congo Square in New Orleans the spot of nineteenth-century African drumming. The suite was a “manifesto, a declaration of independence for Africa... and its descendants.”<sup>88</sup> Notably, no performer was late to the rehearsals or the recording sessions, because of the symbolic and historical nature of the suite.<sup>89</sup>

In the fifth stream of the African Diaspora, Guy Warren, or Kofi Ghanab, born in Ghana, made an even a greater effort to connect with his West African heritage in African Diaspora communities in America and England. He was also a journalist, and one of the most influential and well-travelled Ghanaian musicians of the mid-twentieth century. He epitomized the transnational migration of African people from Africa who spawned and transmitted intra-diasporic trends in jazz among various imagined African Diaspora communities. He pioneered Afro-Jazz a musical style born of the fusion of African American jazz brewed with Yoruba melodies, rhythms, and cultural sensitivities. Within the Afro-Jazz other sub-genres evolved that were informed by geo-cultural spaces such as Cape-Jazz played by pianist and composer Abdullah Ibrahim whose musical influences reflected the multicultural port areas of Cape Town, and bandleader and saxophonist Bra Ntemi Piliso who fused swing jazz riff with township melodic *marabi* sounds of the restless rhythm of an uprooted culture, Then there are other like Manu Dibango’s musical style that fused jazz, funk, Congo-rumba, and other Cameroonian musical traditions.<sup>90</sup>

Warren propagated that idea of reuniting of African-American jazz with its African roots, and emphatically emphasized that African was the origin of jazz. The master drummer, Max Roach, a colleague of Warren’s, said, “He knew that in order for Afro-American music to be stronger, it must cross-fertilize with its African origins.”<sup>91</sup> Kelly’s book takes its title from one of the Guy Warren’s jazz compositions, *Africa Speaks, America Answers* that he recorded in 1956. It is “arguably the first LP in history that fused jazz and African music.”<sup>92</sup> It cross-fertilized African and Western rhythms and introduced authentic instrumentation into the music. It was a marker of Warren’s talents. It showed his mastery of everything from drum kit to talking “squeeze” drum, and the large, upright fandom from drums.<sup>93</sup>

Warren claimed that he introduced West African music in the United States, but it is indisputable that it arrived in North America with enslaved African people. Warren's musical skills were further cultivated at Achimota College, where he studied music theory. Under Yebuah Mensah, he played ballroom music, highlife, and ragtime that during the war catered to British and American servicemen. In 1943, American military intelligence recruited him, he travelled to Lima, Vera Cruz, and Key West. His service led him to experience jazz music stateside. He travelled to Chicago, where he encountered a thriving jazz scene. In 1947, he joined the Tempos, and played alongside trumpeter E. T. Mensa and saxophonist Joe Kelly, who had sowed the seeds of a modern music scene, playing for allied servicemen. The Tempos played swing-style as well as calypso and jazz-accented version of highlife.<sup>94</sup>

In 1950, after the arrival of an influx of West Indian migrants that began with the docking of the *Empire Windrush*, he spent nine months with Kenny Graham's Afro-Cubists in London, a saxophonist inspired by Dizzy Gillespie's experiments with Afro-Cuban rhythms. He also DJ' BBC radio's series "Calling West Africa." He played with the all-Ghanaian band the Afro-Cuban Eight and mixed with West Indian musicians at Piccadilly's Caribbean Club. His hand-drummers of dexterity were unknown in British jazz, and he was welcomed by beboppers. He brought African percussion to Afro-Cubist. The Afro-Cubist mixture with African elements inspired Nigerian saxophonist Chris Ajilo who was then a student at the London School of Music. In 1953, Warren went to Liberia for a short stay.<sup>95</sup>

By the early 1950s, he was a gigging musician in the United States army and soon immersed himself in the jazz scene in Chicago and New York. He introduced "talking-drums," playing them with the saxophonist Lester Young. He mixed Ghanaian drumming with bop. By the mid-1960s, tiring of the racism that he was experiencing in the United States, he returned to Accra bursting with ideas, carrying Latin American instruments and recordings of calypsos he had heard sung by West Indians in London, which he taught to his peers. He added New World songs to his repertoire. He led his own Cubop Quartet and, as a journalist, espoused the nationalism of his friend Nkrumah. According to Warren, his African identity afforded him, in his own mind, to have authority over the African influence in jazz. He said that he was to jazz music what Nkrumah was to modern African politics.<sup>96</sup>

In the *Black Atlantic*, Paul Gilroy explains that the sense of identity is always becoming rather than being and the African Diaspora imagined community accentuates this complexity.<sup>97</sup> Since identity is non-static, growing, and "becoming" the Africa Diaspora's identities of jazz musicians, jazz itself, jazzophiles, and general audiences are always in the process being while tied to national and racial roots. For this reason, African people in Africa, and people of African ancestry in the diaspora do not all "share the specificity of the African personality," but they do tend to share an affirmation of African heritage. This re-working with nationalism, colonialism, colorism, etc. and all their contradictions, intermixtures, mirroring affinities, play a role in formulating the rudiments of the streams of the African Diaspora.

The imagined African Diaspora communities function in two ways in jazz, in one sense the music interacts with those who thrive and shape individual identity through musical collaboration inside and outside of their homeland. In a second way, the jazz music travels and through its interactions alters performances, representation, and claims to the music within the various streams of the African Diaspora.

Throughout modernity, Africanisms was embedded in jazz in at least two streams of the African Diaspora and intersected with various intra-diasporic sub-streams. The continuous renovation, re-invention, and root-working of significant structures of African origin and new world elaboration can be seen by exploring these modalities of intra-diasporic musical traditions. It can also show how the interrelation of expressive modes and the ways in which the iconicity of styles in African-Diasporic culture manifest while continually transforming. The jazz tradition has African linkages that will continue to evolve and mirror new values, attitudes, and lifestyles as its interactions with intra-diasporic jazz practices that will occur throughout the African Diaspora. There are African retentions as well as new melodic patterns and sycophantic rhythms that reveal themselves in post-World War II African jazz diaspora such as the Afro Pop genre. African music, informed American music, which becomes jazz, then returned to Africa, cross-fertilized, and became the Afro Pop of Fela Kuti.<sup>98</sup> Since Kuti was nine years old, he took piano lessons. As a teenage Fela decided to leave Nigeria to study classical music at Trinity College of Music in London. In after-hours jazz clubs in the city, he discovered trumpet players such as Miles Davis and Dizzy Gillespie and ended up taking up the instrument in order to replicate the twists and turns of bop. He started playing jazz when he returned to Nigeria and was leading a "cool" jazz band when he met drummer, Tony Allen, a Nigerian drummer, composer, and songwriter, who help Fela develop what would become the signature Afrobeat sound. Allen had worked with Dizzy Gillespie, Charlie Parker, Thelonious Monk, and Max Roach. Warren was also a key inspiration for Kuti's Afrobeat.<sup>99</sup>

The past in jazz is relevant for the present, invoking the idea of a living history. The African Diaspora is the "cultural memory" while the jazz performance is a particular kind of living experience that stems from one's African Diasporic consciousness, identity, and Blackness. A relationship of identity is enacted in the way the performer dissolves into the audience. They collaborate together in a creative process governed by formal and informal, democratic rules" where the performer is in the role of storyteller. It is a ritual of performance that is constant across the diaspora. The musical performance invites theorization of the polyrhythmic nature of historicity and African diasporic consciousness, during intermeshing complexities of commodification and popular expression.<sup>100</sup>

The uniquely American definition of jazz has its place within the national meta-narrative, but it is narrow and static. To appreciate the historical fluidity of jazz, it should be defined within the context of the streams, sub-streams, and intra-diasporic streams of the African Diaspora. By doing this, it will have the net effect of regentrifying the Blackness of the canon, and this is crucial because jazz is a genre that calls the imagined African Diaspora communities into existence.



## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993), 1-39, 72-110.

<sup>2</sup> Travis A. Jackson, "Jazz Performance as Ritual: The Blues Aesthetic and the African Diaspora," in *The African Diaspora: A Musical Perspective*, Ingrid T. Monson, ed., (New York: Routledge, 2003), 21.

<sup>3</sup> Robin D.G. Kelly, *Nathan I. Huggins Lectures: Africa Speaks, America Answers: Modern Jazz in Revolutionary Times* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), x, 6.

<sup>4</sup> Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); Lisa E. Davenport, *Jazz Diplomacy: Promoting America in the Cold War Era* (Jackson, Miss.: University of Mississippi Press, 2009); Ingrid T. Monson. *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call out to Jazz and Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

<sup>5</sup> Robin D.G. Kelly, *Thelonious, Monk: The Life and Times of an American Original* (New York: Free Press, 2009); Robin D.G. Kelly, *Nathan I. Huggins Lectures: Africa Speaks, America Answers: Modern Jazz in Revolutionary Times* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012); Amiri Baraka, *Blues People; Negro Music in White America* (New York, W. Morrow, Apollo editions 1963).

<sup>6</sup> Amiri Baraka, *Blues People; Negro music in white America. passim.*

<sup>7</sup> Ingrid T. Monson, Ingrid, eds., *The African Diaspora: A Musical Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 2.

<sup>8</sup> Ingrid Monson, "Art Blakey's African Diaspora," in *The African Diaspora: A Musical Perspective*, Ingrid T. Monson, ed. (New York: Routledge, 2003), 329-356.

<sup>9</sup> Travis A. Jackson, "Jazz Performance as Ritual: The Blues Aesthetic and the African Diaspora," in *The African Diaspora: A Musical Perspective*, Ingrid T. Monson, ed. (New York: Routledge, 2003), 23-82.

<sup>10</sup> Rashida K. Braggs, "Excerpts from Jazz Diasporas Race, Music, and Migration in Post-World War II Paris," *Journal of Transnational American Studies*, 7,1 (2016); <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/03d48720> (Accessed 13 April 2017).

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<sup>11</sup> Colin Palmer, "Defining and Studying the Modern African Diaspora" *Perspectives on History*, September 1998. <http://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/september-1998/defining-and-studying-the-modern-african-diaspora> (Accessed 15 Jan 2013); Kim D. Butler, "Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse," *Diaspora* 10,2 (2001):189-219.

<sup>12</sup> Butler, "Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse," 192.

<sup>13</sup> Benedict, Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

<sup>14</sup> Palmer, "Defining and Studying the Modern African Diaspora;" Butler, "Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse," *Diaspora* 10, 2 (2001):189-219.

<sup>15</sup> Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, 72-110.

<sup>16</sup> Melville Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1941 [1990]), *passim*.

<sup>17</sup> Braggs, "Excerpts from Jazz Diasporas Race, Music, and Migration in Post-World War II Paris."

<sup>18</sup> Baraka, *Blues People; Negro music in white America*,70-71.

<sup>19</sup> Jerah Johnson, *Congo Square in New Orleans* (New Orleans: Louisiana Landmarks Society 1995); Joshua Jelly-Schapiro, "In Congo Square: Colonial New Orleans," *The Nation* 10 December 2008: <https://www.thenation.com/article/congo-square-colonial-new-orleans/>(Accessed 13 June 2014); Baraka, *Blues People; Negro music in white America*, 71-72.

<sup>20</sup> Johnson, *Congo Square in New Orleans*; Jelly-Schapiro, "In Congo Square: Colonial New Orleans;" Baraka, *Blues People; Negro music in white America*, 71-72.

<sup>21</sup> Johnson, *Congo Square in New Orleans*; Jelly-Schapiro, "In Congo Square: Colonial New Orleans;" Baraka, *Blues People; Negro music in white America*, 71-72; Charles Hersch, *Race and the Birth of Jazz in New Orleans* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 39, 89.

<sup>22</sup>Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*,73-76.

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<sup>23</sup> Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*; Lisa E. Davenport, *Jazz Diplomacy: Promoting America in the Cold War Era* (Jackson, Miss.: University of Mississippi Press, 2009).

<sup>24</sup> Braggs, "Excerpts from Jazz Diasporas Race, Music, and Migration in Post-World War II Paris;" Carol A. Muller, "The New African Diaspora, the Built Environment and the Past in Jazz," *Journal Ethnomusicology Forum* 15 (Aug 2006): 63-86.

<sup>25</sup> Ronald W. Walters, *Pan Bandung in the African Diaspora: An analysis of Modern Afrocentric Political Movements*, (Detroit, Mich: Wayne State University Press, 1993), 383.

<sup>26</sup>Palmer, "Defining and Studying the Modern African Diaspora."

<sup>27</sup>Palmer, "Defining and Studying the Modern African Diaspora."

<sup>28</sup>People-to-People Program, Box no. 1, Folder 1 Berklee College of Music Archives (BCMA) (Boston, MA: Stan Getz Library, Berklee College of Music); Lawrence Levine, "Jazz and American Culture," *The Journal of American Folklore*, 102, 403 (Jan. - March 1989): 6-8.

<sup>29</sup>Berklee College of Music Course Catalog (Boston: Berklee College of Music, 1952), 43; Levine, "Jazz and American Culture."

<sup>30</sup>Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove/Atlantic, Inc., 2004), 148-149.

<sup>31</sup> Davenport, *Jazz Diplomacy: Promoting America in the Cold War Era*, 112-111.

<sup>32</sup> U.S. Congress, House. H.R. 57, "A concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress respecting the designation of jazz as a rare and valuable national American treasure" 100th Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess. 7 December 1987 (Version 1, Version Date, 12/7/1987) Text from: Library of Congress online database, (Accessed 9 Nov 2012).

<sup>33</sup> James McNair, "Highlife Giants: West African Dance Band Pioneers by John Collins – a love letter to West African music," *The National*, 10 November 2016; John Collins, *Highlife Giants: West African Dance Band Pioneers* (Abuja [Nigeria]: Cassava Republic, 2016), 15; Uchenna Ikonne, "Highlife in West Africa," *Music Africa*, 21 Apr 2016; <http://musicinafrica.net/fr/highlife-west-africa>; (25 April 2017).

<sup>34</sup> McNair, "Highlife Giants;" Collins, *Highlife Giants: West African Dance Band Pioneers*, 15; Ikonne, "Highlife in West Africa."

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<sup>35</sup> McNair, “Highlife Giants;” Collins, *Highlife Giants: West African Dance Band Pioneers*, 15; Ikonne, “Highlife in West Africa.”

<sup>36</sup> Njoroge, “‘Chocolate as surrealism:’ Music, movement, memory and history” (PhD Diss., New York University, 2007), 55-56.

<sup>37</sup> Norman C. Weinstein, *A Night in Tunisia: Imaginings of Africa in Jazz* (New York: Limelight, 1993).

<sup>38</sup> Harvey G. Cohen, *Duke Ellington’s America* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 53-59; Kimberley Hannon Tea, “Beyond the Cotton Club: The Persistence of Duke Ellington's Jungle Style,” *Jazz Perspectives* 6, Issue 1-2 (8 Jan 2013): 123-149; Baraka, *Blues People; Negro music in white America*, 153.

<sup>39</sup> Kimberley Hannon Tea, “Beyond the Cotton Club: The Persistence of Duke Ellington's Jungle Style,” *Jazz Perspectives* 6, Issue 1-2 (8 Jan 2013): 123-149; Baraka, *Blues People; Negro music in white America*, 153.

<sup>40</sup> Jazz standards are songs that are a part of the regular learning repertoire. They consist of show tunes and other popular jazz songs that are known by most jazz musicians and are used to introduce jazz to aspiring players.

<sup>41</sup> Eric Porter, “‘Dizzy Atmosphere’: The Challenge of Bebop,” *American Music* 17, 4 (Winter, 1999): 422-446; Kelly, *African Speaks*, 16.

<sup>42</sup> Kelly, *African Speaks*, 16.

<sup>43</sup> Monson, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call Out to Jazz and Africa*, 140.

<sup>44</sup> Ingrid Monson, “Art Blakey's African Diaspora,” in *The African Diaspora: A Musical Perspective*, Ingrid T. Monson, ed. (New York: Routledge, 2003), 332-333.

<sup>45</sup> After independence, Kingsley Ozuombo Mbadiwe became the ambassador of Biafra and serve as Nigeria's central minister of communications and aviation. Michael M. Ogbeidi, “Non-Governmental Organisation and the Promotion of American Education in Nigeria, 1941-1953,” *Nebula: A Journal of Multidisciplinary Scholarship* 6, 4 (December 2009): 2-

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<sup>46</sup>Kelly, *African Speaks*, 16; “African Academy of Arts and Research Makes Plans,” *New York Amsterdam News* 10 Feb 1945, A14.

<sup>47</sup> “People-to-People Program,” Timeline 1955, BCMA, Box 2, Folder 3.

<sup>48</sup> “The Case of Miss Toshiko Akiyoshi of Japan” People-to-People Program, BCMA, Box 3, Folder 3, 1954.

<sup>49</sup> People-to-People Program, BCMA, Box no. 1, Folder 1.

<sup>50</sup> Pan African Congress—Resolutions to be presented to the United Nations Assembly, African Academy of Arts and Research. Letter from African Academy of Arts and Research to W. E. B. Du Bois, October 9, 1946. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b109-i110> (Accessed 23 April 2017); Letter to George Padmore from W.E.B. Du Bois, 27 January 1955, W.E. B. Du Bois Papers, Reel 71, 00643; Letter to W.E.B. Du Bois from George Padmore 12 January 1955, W.E.B. Du Bois Papers, Reel 71, 00640-00641; “Communism Was No Issue At Bandung: Dr. Cartwright Says Primary Purpose Was To give Asians and Africans a Chance to Know One Another,” *Pittsburgh Courier* 28 May 1955, 1.

<sup>51</sup> There are three American Americans serving in the United States Congress. They were William Dawson, of Illinois; Adam Clayton Powell, of New York; Charles Diggs, Jr., of Michigan. The most widely known of the Black Congressmen, and surely the most colorful was Adam Clayton Powell

<sup>52</sup> Irwin Ross, Robert G. Spivak, Robert, David Gelman, “Adam Clayton Powell Jr.” *Afro - American*, 5 Star edition 18 Aug 2012, C6, C8; “Standing Ovation Notes Win Over Reds at Bandung,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, 30 Apr 1955, 1; “Powell Is Slated For Press, Television Talk,” *Atlanta Daily World*, 6 May 1955, 1; Hoarce R. Cayton, “World at Large: Congressman Powell and Bandung,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, 14 May 1955, 25; “Laud Powell’s Role In Asia: Upset Strategy Of Red Envoys,” *The Chicago Defender*, 07 May 1955, 1; “Rep. Powell Rips U.S. Snub Of Afro-Asians,” *Los Angeles Sentinel*, 21 Apr 1955, A1.

<sup>53</sup> Dizzy Gillespie, *To Be or Not... To Bop* (New York: Doubleday Books, 1979), 412.

<sup>54</sup> Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, 14.

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<sup>55</sup> Gillespie, *To Be or Not...To Bop*, 412-413.

<sup>56</sup> Baraka, *Blues People; Negro music in white America*, 218; Njoroge, “Chocolate as surrealism,” 178.

<sup>57</sup> Monson, *Civil Rights Call out to Jazz and Africa*, 99.

<sup>58</sup> Robin D. G. Kelly, *African Speaks*, *passim*.

<sup>59</sup> Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, 19.

<sup>60</sup> Gillespie, *To Be or Not*, 414.

<sup>61</sup> Monson, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call Out to Jazz and Africa*; Krin Gabbard, “Louis Armstrong's Life as a Man,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 46, 43 (30 Jun 2000); B9-B10.

<sup>62</sup> Monson, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call Out to Jazz and Africa*; Gabbard;” Louis Armstrong's Life as a Man;” McNair, “Highlife Giants: West African Dance Band Pioneers.”

<sup>63</sup> Scotty Barnhart, *The World of Jazz Trumpet: A Comprehensive History & Practical Philosophy* (Hal Leonard Corporation: Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 2005), 36; “Hugh Masekela Official Site,” 2017; <https://hughmasekela.co.za/biography/> (Accessed 23 April 2017)

<sup>64</sup> “Back O' Town Blues” Louis Armstrong Lyrics,” <http://www.azlyrics.com/lyrics/louisarmstrong/backatownblues.html>; (Accessed 30 June 2014); Daniel Stein, “Onkel Satchmo Behind the Iron Curtain: The Transatlantic Politics of Louis Armstrong's Visit to East Germany,” *Americana: The Journal of American Popular Culture (1900-present)*, 12, 1(Spring 2014); [http://www.americanpopularculture.com/journal/articles/spring\\_2014/stein.htm](http://www.americanpopularculture.com/journal/articles/spring_2014/stein.htm) (accessed 13 April 2017).

<sup>65</sup> Monson, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call Out to Jazz and Africa*, 132-133; Gabbard, “Louis Armstrong's Life as a Man;” Louis and Lucille Armstrong, ‘We Found Gold on That Gold Coast’ as told to Newell Johnson, *Los Angeles Sentinel* 18 Oct 1956, A12; “Satchmo Home; Praises Those Cats’ in Congo,” *Los Angeles Times*, 4 May 1961, 9.

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<sup>66</sup> Monson, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call Out to Jazz and Africa*, 132-133; Gabbard, "Louis Armstrong's Life as a Man;" Louis and Lucille Armstrong, "We Found Gold on That Gold Coast" as told to Newell Johnson, *Los Angeles Sentinel* 18 Oct 1956, A12; "Satchmo Home; Praises Those Cats' in Congo," *Los Angeles Times*, 4 May 1961, 9.

<sup>67</sup> Ingrid Monson, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call Out to Jazz and Africa*; Gabbard, "Louis Armstrong's Life as a Man;" Louis and Lucille Armstrong, "We Found Gold on That Gold Coast."

<sup>68</sup> Ingrid Monson, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call Out to Jazz and Africa*; Gabbard, "Louis Armstrong's Life as a Man;" Louis and Lucille Armstrong, "We Found Gold on That Gold Coast."

<sup>69</sup> "Ambassador 'Satchmo,'" *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, 2 July 1957, C19; "Witness Birth of a Nation," *Crusader* [Rockford, Illinois], 15 March 1957, 1.

<sup>70</sup> Letter to King from C.L.R. James, London, 5 April 1957, The Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers Project, TLS. MLKP-MBU: Box 60A.

[http://kingencyclopedia.stanford.edu/primarydocuments/Vol4/5-Apr-1957\\_FromJames.pdf](http://kingencyclopedia.stanford.edu/primarydocuments/Vol4/5-Apr-1957_FromJames.pdf) (Accessed 14 April 2017).

<sup>71</sup> The Ahmadiyya Muslim is a sect of Islam. It was founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian in 1889. Ahmad claimed that he was the awaited Messiah and Mahdi prophesized by Prophet Muhammad and foretold by the Holy Qur'an. Muslims who believe in the Messiah, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, are known as Ahmadi Muslims. They adhere to the same Islamic declaration of faith, "There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is His Messenger. We likewise observe the same 5 Pillars of Islam and same 6 Articles of Faith. The only difference in belief is that Ahmadi Muslims believe the awaited Messiah and Mahdi has come in the person of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, while the rest of the Muslim world is awaiting Jesus Christ's physical descent from heaven, a concept Ahmadi Muslims reject based on their understanding of the Qur'an and ahadeeth.

<sup>72</sup> Monson, "Art Blakey's African Diaspora," 18-19, 330; Amiri Baraka, *Blues People; Negro music in white America*, 210.

<sup>73</sup> Monson, *Freedom Sounds*, 136, 138-141.

<sup>74</sup> Monson, *Freedom Sounds*, 136, 138-141.

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<sup>75</sup> Art Blakey, *Nothing But the Soul*, Blue Note Records, 1955.

<sup>76</sup> Monson, *Freedom Sounds*, 134.

<sup>77</sup> Mau Mau was militant nationalist movement in Kenya. Its origins can be traced back to the Kikuyu Central Association, founded in 1920, and it was initially confined to the area of the White Highlands which Kikuyu people regarded as having been stolen from them. It imposed fierce oaths on its followers. It was anti-Christian as well as anti-European. From 1952, it became more nationalist in aim and indulged in a campaign of violence, killing some 2000 African people who failed to support its programs as well as some 230 Europeans. Jomo Kenyatta was designated as the alleged Mau Mau leader in 1953. In a brutally effective counter-insurgency campaign the British placed more than 100,000 Kikuyu in detention camps. Widespread political and social reforms followed, leading to Kenyan independence in 1963.

<sup>78</sup> Kelly, *Africa Speaks*, 17.

<sup>79</sup> Monson, "Art Blakey's African Diaspora," 330.

<sup>80</sup> Monson, *Freedom Sounds*, 136, 138-141.

<sup>81</sup> Randy Weston, *Little Nile*, 1958, United Artist.

<sup>82</sup> Kelly, *Africa Speaks*, 59.

<sup>83</sup> Kelly, *Africa Speaks*, 61.

<sup>84</sup> Randy Weston, *Uhuru Afrika*, Randy Weston 1006 (65001), (New York: Roulette, 1960); Njoroge, "Chocolate surrealism," 193, 201.

<sup>85</sup> Kelly, *Africa Speaks*, 59

<sup>86</sup> The idea of the School of Jazz grew out of the desire of jazz musicians, critics, and auditors who have attended the Folk and Jazz Roundtables at Music Inn to give the discussions and conclusions of the Roundtable some permanence. In the sixth Roundtable, 1956, traditionalist jazz musicians and your musicians of the new school talked and played together for the first time and discovered in these sessions that though their styles were totally unlike, their roots were the same...that jazz has not been set of unrelated episodes under the generalization, jazz, but, instead, a steady and, in its later development, an extremely disciplined art form.



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To insure the continuing development of jazz within its own traditions and conceptions, the School of Jazz was organized and held its first session on the grounds of Music Inn in August 1957. It is the purpose of the School of Jazz to give the student a solid foundation in the jazz tradition, a greater technical facility in the jazz approach to his instrument, and a background in the indigenous nature and development of jazz improvisation and composition. Lennox School of Jazz, *1958 School of Jazz Brochure*, Music Inn Archives. <http://www.musicinn.org/1958-school-of-jazz-brochure.html> (Accessed 18 June 2014).

<sup>87</sup> Kelly, *Africa Speaks*, 48.

<sup>88</sup> Langston, Hughes, "Uhuru Afrika Liner Notes," Randy Weston Discography; <http://www.randyweston.info/randy-weston-discography-pages/1960uhuruafrika.html> (Accessed 18 June 2014).

<sup>89</sup> Kelly, *Africa Speaks*, 58.

<sup>90</sup> John Lusk, "Kofi Ghanaba: Drummer who pioneered Afro-jazz," *The Independent*, 9 March 2009; Nago Seck, "Afro Jazz," *Afrisson*, 8 February 2008; <http://www.afrisson.com/afro-jazz-4891.html>; (1 April 2016).

<sup>91</sup> John Lusk, "Kofi Ghanaba: Drummer who pioneered Afro-jazz."

<sup>92</sup> Kelly, *Africa Speaks*, 23.

<sup>93</sup> Val Wilmer, "Obituary: Kofi Ghanaba, Influential Ghanaian drummer who emphasised the African origins of jazz," *The Guardian*, 7 February 2009.

<sup>94</sup> Lusk, "Kofi Ghanaba: Drummer who pioneered Afro-jazz;" Wilmer, "Obituary: Kofi Ghanaba, Influential Ghanaian."

<sup>95</sup> Lusk, "Kofi Ghanaba: Drummer who pioneered Afro-jazz;" Wilmer, "Obituary: Kofi Ghanaba, Influential Ghanaian drummer;" Marc Matera, *Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2015), 196-197.

<sup>96</sup> Wilmer, "Obituary: Kofi Ghanaba;" Lusk, "Kofi Ghanaba: Drummer;" Kelly, *Africa Speaks*, 18-19, 23.

<sup>97</sup> Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, 16-19, 30.

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<sup>98</sup> Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, 199.

<sup>99</sup> David Fear, “Afropop Culture: 5 Facts We Learned From 'Finding Fela',” *Rolling Stone*, 29 July 29, 2014; Christopher R. Weingarten, Jon Dolan, Matt Diehl, Ken Micallef, David Ma, Gareth Dylan Smith, Oliver Wang, Jason Heller, Jordan Runtagh, Hank Shteamer, Steve Smith, Brittany Spanos, Kory Grow, Rob Kemp, Keith Harris, Richard Gehr, Jon Wiederhorn, Maura Johnston, Andy Greene, “100 Greatest Drummers of All Time,” *Rolling Stone*, 10 March 2016; Lusk, “Kofi Ghanaba: Drummer.”

<sup>100</sup> Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, 200, 73-76.