CHAPTER 8

Movement People

Movement has long been a principal characteristic of the African Diaspora. The period from 1945 to 1968 was an important era of "movement," a term that, in contrast to involuntary transatlantic transfers and reluctant labor migrations, came to signify organized campaigns to reverse the legacies of slavery and discrimination. Black people were indeed on the move, fighting racism and colonialism globally. In concert with each other and the aspirations of the similarly downtrodden, the period witnessed the persistence of a defiance made manifest with the first slave revolt, the continuing quest for the full free.

The period after the Second World War created new conditions for freedom's struggle. Nazi Germany's defeat discredited racism and brought the concept of empire under increasingly unfavorable light. Returning African veterans further fueled anticolonial protests, adding to the costs of maintaining colonies. Europe, seat of colonial power in Africa, was superceded by the United States and the Soviet Union as the two world superpowers, neither with territorial claims in Africa. The new Cold War facilitated the anti-imperial struggle while transforming parts of Africa into an East–West theater of conflict. Egypt's Gamel ʿAbd al-Nāṣir took power in 1952 and ended British military control of the Suez Canal in 1956, the year of Sudan's independence. In fact, the 1950s saw a number of African colonies held by the British, French, and Belgians achieve a generally peaceful transition to independence, in contrast to the more turbulent transition in Kenya from

1952 to 1963. With the exception of Zimbabwe, Nambia, and South Africa, the rest of the continent became independent by 1975, although often via war.

Africa's independence movement took place concurrently with parallel developments elsewhere, especially in India and China, and it was also unfolding at a time of tremendous unrest in the United States, the Caribbean, and Latin America. The imagination of the African Diaspora was especially captured by five developments in Africa: Ghana's independence under Kwame Nkrumah in 1957; the bloody struggle of Jomo Kenyatta and the Kenyan Land and Freedom Army (the so-called Mau Mau) against the British, culminating in Kenyan independence in 1963; Congo's independence (1960) and the assassination of its first prime minister, Patrice Lumumba (1961); the Algerian War (1954–1962), a particularly grim, intense struggle against the French; and the ongoing antiapartheid campaign in South Africa. Like Senegal's Léopold Senghor, many anticolonial leaders had studied in Europe and the United States and had been influenced by Garvey, Du Bois, Padmore, and others. This was true not only of Nkrumah, who envisioned a United States of Africa as a part of his pan-Africanism, but also Nnamdi Azikiwe, who also studied at Lincoln University and the University of Pennsylvania and had Nkrumah as a student while teaching in Ghana. Azikiwe (or "Zik") became Nigeria's president in 1963 and the father of Nigerian nationalism; he was a pragmatic leader and unifier of disparate groups. Thus the dawn of African independence included illumination from the Diaspora, and the effect of simultaneous conflict in Africa and the Diaspora were closer cultural and political links between the two.

Freedom and Fire

Technological advances, especially in mass media, were important components of American social movements of the 1950s and 1960s. Social protest formed around various issues, including the Vietnam War and the feminist movement, but the struggle for civil rights and the rise of the black power movement, broadcast nightly on television for all to see, exposed America's principal fault line, the fundamental divide of race, which would preoccupy much of American domestic policy for the remainder of the century.

Racial segregation suffered serious assault in the U.S. military during the Korean War, when black and white troops began fighting in integrated units. The U.S. Supreme Court overturned the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling with its 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, and the steady surge of southern blacks north and west saw some modification of employment and housing discrimination. Black participation in the franchise was increasing, and in 1954 the House of Representatives included three black men – Adam Clayton Powell of New York, Charles Diggs, Jr. of Michigan, and William Dawson of Illinois. But such modest gains were far from characterizing the experience of a growing number of blacks trapped in what were to become rapidly expanding urban ghettoes; indeed, Chicago politicians, for example, planned the construction of vast, high-rise housing projects on its south side to minimize the amount of land a swelling black population would require. Unemployment, inadequate housing, substandard education, and restricted access to quality health care resulted in rising crime and festering resentment. Both in the North and South, black folk were catching hell.

Organizations such as the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), founded by Bayard Rustin and James Foreman in 1942, pioneered nonviolent protest against discrimination in public accommodations, and the successful Baton Rouge, Louisiana bus boycott of 1953 preceded the more famous 1955 bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, a nonetheless crucial campaign ignited by the refusal of Rosa Parks, a member of the NAACP, to yield her seat to a white man. The strategy of CORE and the NAACP was to fight both in the courts and in the marketplace, making discrimination illegal and costly. The 1956 Supreme Court decision declared Alabama bus segregation laws unconstitutional, and it signaled the emergence of twenty-seven-year-old Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who had led the boycott while pastoring Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. In soon founding the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to challenge segregation throughout the South, King exemplified an Africanization of Christianity, as he drew deeply from the well of black experience to fashion the religion into an implement of liberation.

That Ghana's independence and congressional passage of the Civil Rights Act both occurred in 1957 was no coincidence. The Act, establishing a commission to help defend blacks' voting rights while monitoring abuse of their civil liberties, reflected increasing awareness in

the U.S. government that its treatment of African Americans now carried international significance. But the struggle was far from over, as President Eisenhower evinced little interest in enforcing the Act. Black students pressed the issue by launching the sit-in movement, beginning in Wichita, Kansas in 1958 but bursting on the national scene in February of 1960, when four students attending North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College in Greensboro, North Carolina sat at a lunch counter and were refused service. Sit-ins, involving black and white students, erupted all over the South that spring and summer, only to be followed by CORE's Freedom Rides in 1961, involving students using public transportation to test interstate antidiscrimination laws. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), newly formed with the encouragement of NAACP veteran Ella Baker, also contributed freedom riders, but SNCC and SCLC met with stiff opposition in Albany, Georgia in 1961, followed in 1963 by the brutality of city commissioner of public safety Bull Connor in Birmingham, Alabama.

Albany and Birmingham were setbacks, but on August 28, 1963, the March on Washington drew hundreds of thousands, the highlight of which was King's "I Have a Dream" speech. W. E. B. Du Bois had died in Ghana the day before, perhaps a symbolic passing of the torch. For all of their differences, King and Du Bois shared a powerful critique of American capitalism and imperialism, emphasizing their concern for the working classes of all races. King's detractors within the black community, focusing on his method of nonviolent protest and civil disobedience, would subsequently brand him an accommodationist and an integrationist, who sought acceptance and inclusion into the American mainstream. There is some truth in such an assessment, but any serious review of King's writings and speeches would also find that his vision of a nonracist America was directly related to his call for a redistribution of resources and eradication of poverty. Like Anna Julia Cooper, King was one of the few to make connections between imperialism, industrialism, and domestic policy, calling for an end to corporate greed and the Vietnam War.

The history of the civil rights movement is often written with an emphasis on leaders, especially men. But the movement was borne by the labor of women who cooked and sold chicken dinners, answered the phones, ran the endless errands, cleaned up after the meetings, and were still able to march in the streets as well as help plan strategy. As for leaders, Fannie Lou Hamer joined Ella Baker as one of the most

electrifying, male or female, in her capacity as cofounder of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party and powerful orator. Ann Moody, activist in SNCC, CORE, and the NAACP; Daisy Bates, leader of the movement in Little Rock, Arkansas; and Jo Ann Robinson, cofounder of the Montgomery Improvement Association are just a few of the other prominent movement women.

In response to the March on Washington in August, the death of four little black girls in the bombing of a Birmingham church in September, and the assassination of President Kennedy in November, President Johnson signed into law the Civil Rights Act of 1964, a comprehensive set of legislation aimed at relieving discrimination in public housing, accommodations, education, and voting. Resistance to such reforms in Selma, Alabama led the SCLC and SNCC to organize a march from that city to Montgomery; on "Bloody Sunday," March 7, 1965, state troopers viciously assaulted some 600 marchers on Selma's Edmund Pettus Bridge. On August 4, Johnson again responded with the Voting Rights Act of 1965, but by then the pattern was clear: Before the federal government would act, participants in the civil rights movement had to pay dearly in lives, sacrifice, and commitment.

King, though in communication with the larger African Diaspora and supportive of anticolonial struggles, is not often characterized as a pan-Africanist; this may be due to his universal appeal, his commitment to nonviolence, and his engagement with ideas not primarily concerned with the Diaspora, perhaps most notably those of Mahatma Gandhi. Malcolm X, a King critic for part of his life, was on the other hand the quintessential pan-Africanist, the very embodiment of the Diaspora. In accepting the Nation of Islam's teachings while in prison, Malcolm was in some ways returning to his origins, as his parents were Garveyites. That his mother was from the Caribbean also meant he shared a bond with the Diaspora beyond the rhetorical. He turned from a life of crime and became the Nation of Islam's most public and articulate spokesman, an ardent advocate of black nationalism and a student of the larger black world. In keeping with the Nation of Islam's principles, Malcolm rejected King's vision of an integrated America, calling for racial separation instead. Malcolm viewed nonviolence as counterintuitive and ineffective, a position from which he never wavered. However, Malcolm renounced the racism of the Nation of Islam once he split with that organization and embraced orthodox Islam in early 1964. At that time he made the pilgrimage to Mecca, after which he returned to Africa to meet with heads of state and students. Having

made a brief trip to Egypt and Saudi Arabia in 1959, he spent nearly half of 1964 in Africa and the Middle East.

It was Malcolm who repeatedly raised the issue of American involvement in the assassination of Lumumba, and it was he who kept the plight of the Congo and other African nations in the forefront of his followers' consciousness. He consistently spoke out against apartheid in South Africa, and he supported the anticolonial struggle in Kenya and elsewhere. In imitation of the Organization of African Unity, Malcolm created the Organization of Afro-American Unity. While events in Africa were high on his agenda, he was also careful to address developments involving the African-descended in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Europe. It was his ambition to coordinate the struggle for freedom in the United States with those elsewhere in Africa and the Diaspora, and to that end he extended his offer of help to Dr. King and others in the civil rights movement. Cautious for the most part, civil rights leaders began organizing a meeting between King and Malcolm two weeks before the latter's assassination on February 21, 1965.

Malcolm's brilliance and uncompromising fearlessness had a profound impact, and they were the modern basis for the black power movement. Frustrated with the incremental pace of progress, many in the black community began to deemphasize integration as a realistic or even desirable goal, instead focusing on developing the economic and political clout of African American communities. Stokely Carmichael, born in Trinidad, may be the best example of a former SNCC member who, under the influence of Malcolm's philosophy, rejected nonviolence and began to speak of revolution. Later changing his name to Kwame Toure and repatriating to Guinea, it was Carmichael who coined the phrase "Black Power!" In 1967, the Black Power Conference in Newark, New Jersey, in which writer and scholar Amiri Baraka played a vital role, called for an independent black homeland on U.S. soil. In Oakland, California, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale founded the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense.

King, who had shifted his efforts to include discrimination in the North, was having trouble containing what he called "this marvelous new militancy." A careful reading of his later writings and speeches reveals his own frustration with intractable racism. Many in the black community, while deeply respectful of King, were beginning to question his approach. A rifle shot ended the challenge to his leadership on April 4, 1968. The perennial threat of "hot summers," having exploded in Watts, Los Angeles in 1965, erupted into multiple conflagrations in

both the immediate aftermath of King's assassination and the ensuing summer. Over 100 cities were scorched from several days of rioting, looting, and burning; some have yet to recover.

Developments in the Caribbean, Latin America, and Europe

From the mid-1960s forward, many of the Caribbean colonies achieved independent status, paralleling events in Africa and Asia. Trinidad's petroleum and natural gas resources distinguished it from the rest of the region, where economies saw agribusiness replace plantations, increasing emigration pressures on the unemployed. In addition to destinations such as New York, Toronto, Paris, and London, emigrants journeyed to rural areas as well. Haitians and Dominicans followed the earlier pattern of migrating to the U.S. and Canada, where they were joined by American southerners and Central Americans in picking fruit and vegetable harvests and working as domestics. Migrant workers often did not come to stay but rather to save enough money to create better conditions for themselves and their families back home. Whether their movement was temporary or permanent, some 300,000 per annum were leaving the Caribbean by the early 1960s.

While pockets of English-speaking blacks have influenced race in places like Costa Rica and Nicaragua, the U.S. empire in the Americas was perhaps a greater factor in that it exported a model of racism contributing to conditions in which the African-descended had the least education, occupied the lowest economic levels, and were without political power. Their plight can be difficult to discern in Latin America, where many cultures do not acknowledge the existence of discrimination, or even race, citing the high rate of miscegenation and mixed marriages as proof.

Race in the Dominican Republic highlights the extent to which it is an arbitrary and politicized concept, and is significantly conditioned by Haiti; the fear of being mislabeled a Haitian led many to undervalue their African heritage. Sixty percent of the country is of mixed ancestry, but those of the upper class are classified as white, illustrating the principle that class "whitens" throughout Latin America, while the 12 percent of "purer" African ancestry are invariably poor.

The idea of a color-blind "Cuban race" has been contested, as African Cubans were the worst educated, eking out an existence in rural backwaters or as unskilled laborers in urban areas. Their situation

remained unchanged under Fulgencio Batista, of partial African ancestry himself, who assumed power in 1933 when Cuba was the playground (casinos, etc.) of the United States. Although controversial, there is no gainsaying that since coming to power via armed revolution in 1959, the education, health care, and living conditions of African Cubans have improved dramatically under Fidel Castro.

In Mexico, the 3 percent of the population of African descent are mostly descendants of maroons, with a number of "Afro-mestizo" communities lining Mexico's Gulf and Pacific coasts. Reference to African Mexicans as Afro-mestizos underscores the general Mexican self-description as mestizo while connoting that the African component is an unacceptable part of the meld. Indeed, the African Mexicans themselves, until the recent rise of tourist interest, emphasized their mestizo heritage as a result of the devaluation of both indigenous and African identity.

The theme of the invisible African also emerges in South America's southern cone. Argentina is the best example, where significant numbers of Africans imported through the eighteenth century seemingly disappeared by the end of the nineteenth. Black participation in frequent wars, horrendous living conditions, and Argentina's nineteenth-century policy of importing Europeans to whiten the population help explain the decline, as the number of blacks plummeted from 30 percent of the total population in the early nineteenth century to less than 2 percent by 1887. However, remaining African Argentinians continued their mutual aid societies and newspapers, their numbers augmented by the early-twentieth-century arrival of Cape Verdeans. Living in a country proud of its distinctive "whiteness," African Argentinians have lived under considerable duress. Paraguay's African-descended population was similarly decimated by incessant war; by the mid-twentieth century, most were actually descendants of blacks from Uruguay called Cambá Cuá ("place of the blacks" in Guaraní, their adopted language). Rural and few in number, their land has been the target of government appropriation since the 1940s. Uruguay was home to another beleaguered, small community who in 1936 started their own Partido Autóctono Negro (Native Black Party) to agitate for inclusion, an attempt resisted by a government that repressed the African music and dance of *candombe* in the mid-twentieth century. As for Bolivia, the tiny number of the African-descended, concentrated in the Yungas provinces, has continued with such African-influenced practices as *el rey negro*, crowning a king every year in a

ceremony similar to those in New England and the Caribbean during slavery.

Venezuela's racial history of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries resembles that of Argentina, while its subsequent history approaches that of Cuba. African Venezuelans descend from distinct groups and historical moments; they are the descendants of the enslaved, the hispanicized progeny of late-nineteenth-century Caribbean immigrants, and Guyanese blacks maintaining their own culture. While acknowledging the African presence, Venezuelan leaders believed it was inferior and set upon a policy of whitening that also called for blacks to surrender their African heritage in hispanicization. Before 1945, most blacks were uneducated and suffered significant discrimination; they were far from acceptable to the Venezuelan elite. After 1945, however, the party Acción Democrática took power, extolling the triple heritage of Venezuela (African, European, and Native American), and referring to Venezuelans as a *café con leche* (brown-skinned) people, a concept that included the African contribution. The African-descended have since experienced some amelioration of their conditions, with more employment, improved education, and movement of individuals into positions of leadership.

The popular understanding of race in Brazil has been heavily influenced by the work of sociologist Gilberto Freyre, who in the 1930s made the deceptively persuasive argument that Brazil, because of its large African-descended population and extensive racial miscegenation, was a racial democracy, and that race was not an impediment to the individual. Since the 1950s, scholars like sociologist Florestán Fernandes have been busy debunking racial democracy as a myth. Brazilians of African descent have been disproportionately poor and uneducated, achieving significant status only as star athletes and entertainers. Attempts to address these deficiencies included cultural responses, and in 1944 the *Teatro Experimental do Negro* was created under the direction of Abdias do Nascimento. The absence of organization among blacks since the Second World War, however, combined with a repressive military regime from 1964 to 1985, meant that more intense political activity did not commence until the 1970s.

As for Europe, two principal sites for the African Diaspora have been Britain and France. Enslaved Africans arrived in England in the sixteenth century, although references to Africans date as far back as the early third century, when Rome sent a "division of Moors" to help defend Hadrian's wall. By the late eighteenth century, there

were as many as 10,000 enslaved blacks (often called "blackamoors") in Britain, mostly in London, Bristol, and Liverpool, which was a major port in the slave trade. Black seamen had become fixtures in the various ports, where they played leading roles in labor struggles. Early-twentieth-century England boasted a small black community numbering in the thousands, but subsequent immigration of colonial subjects from Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean in response to the labor and soldiering needs of two world wars significantly augmented their numbers. Caribbean labor continued to arrive in the 1950s to assist in the rebuilding of Britain's postwar economy, but a growing black presence had the effect of increasing white resentment, xenophobia, and violence over the fear of economic competition. Racial antagonisms helped to shape a black culture or set of black cultures in Britain, emphasizing ties between Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean.

Developments in France were analogous. With expansive territorial claims in both North and West Africa, the Caribbean, and the Indian Ocean, France has long been acquainted with people of African descent. Its conflict with Algeria has profoundly impacted race relations in France, and the experience of the North African immigrant, originally recruited to fill labor needs, has been the most critical of all. Anti-North-African sentiment in France was inflamed not only by the end of the Second World War and the reclamation of jobs by white Frenchmen, but also by the Algerian Revolution. Islam is an important dynamic, as North Africans are highly integrated into the Muslim world. However, North Africans also acknowledge ties to the non-Muslim African world, the best example of which was their acceptance of Martinican Frantz Fanon. A psychiatrist and participant in the struggle against the French in Algeria, his 1963 publication *The Wretched of the Earth* helped to popularize the Algerian Revolution throughout the African Diaspora, establishing it as a model for subsequent revolts. Xenophobia has since been on the rise in France, with North and West Africans as the principal targets.

Since the Second World War, African and African-descended populations have achieved appreciable numerical levels throughout Europe. Italy, Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, and Germany (via American troops) all have recognizable populations of African-descended individuals, often owing to very different historical circumstances. Even Russia has a black history, though nothing like that of the Americas, which includes the servants of Peter the Great (d. 1725) and other czars. Such great Russian personalities as Alexander Pushkin had

direct ties to Africa, as his great-grandfather Abram Hannibal (d. 1781), a major general in the Russian army, was possibly Ethiopian. Imperial Russia's interest in Africa was largely confined to Ethiopia, because of their similar Christian orthodoxies and the strategic location of the latter. Soviet Russia would become a magnet for African university students and visiting black intellectuals, including Claude McKay, Langston Hughes, George Padmore, W. E. B. Du Bois, Paul Robeson, and Harry Haywood, a leading activist and international figure in the Communist Party who in 1978 wrote *Black Bolshevik: Autobiography of an Afro-American Communist*, 1978. They saw in the Soviet Union an alternative model to the pervasive racism of the West.

Cultural Innovations

In the North America of the 1950s and 1960s, blacks were openly embracing their African heritage while pushing for full equality as Americans. Full lips, nappy hair, and dark skin, once despised, were now celebrated, while such descriptors as "colored" and "Negro" were rejected for "black" and "Afro-American." Long neglected in textbooks as unworthy of formal study, the history and culture of Africa and African Americans began to appear in schools and universities around the country, a concession to growing student demand and new geopolitical realities. In the 1960s and 1970s, black studies programs were inaugurated on majority-white campuses, corresponding to modest increases in the numbers of black college students, while the curricula at such historically black colleges and universities as Spelman, Morehouse, Fisk, Dillard, Morris Brown, and Howard, among others, were infused with African-related content.

In resonance with the call for black power was the black arts movement, led by such writers and poets as Amiri Baraka (Le Roi Jones), who published *Preface to a Twenty-Volume Suicide Note* in 1961, and who wrote and produced *Dutchman* in 1964, founding the Black Arts Repertory Theatre/School that same year; Gwendolyn Brooks, celebrated author of such works as *A Street in Bronzeville* (1945), *Bronzeville Boys and Girls* (1956), *The Bean Eaters* (1960, in which can be found the previously published "We Real Cool"), and *In the Mecca* (1968); Sonia Sanchez, whose period plays and poetry include *Sister Son/ji* (1969), *Home Coming* (1969), and We *a BaddDDD People* (1970); Haki Madhubuti (Don Lee), founder of Third World Press in 1967 and author

of *Don't Cry, Scream* (1969); Mari Evans, renowned poet of *Where is All the Music?* (1968) and *I Am a Black Woman* (1970); and Nikki Giovanni, poet and essayist whose first works, *Black Feeling, Black Talk* (1968) and *Black Judgement* (1969) established her as a critical voice. Many were more radical than James Baldwin, whose novels and social commentary *The Fire Next Time* (1963) are often hailed as emblematic of the period. In turn, Baldwin had been in dialogue (and competition) with Richard Wright, whose *Native Son* (1940) and *Black Boy* (1945) identified him as a major writer and thinker. However, Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1952) remains one of the more profound analyses of race in America.

African American expatriation to France resurfaces with mention of Wright and Baldwin. The former lived in Paris from 1947 to his death in 1960, and his writings from the period suggest an evolving view of race. Baldwin arrived in Paris in 1948, often returning to New York until the period 1957 to 1963, when he remained in the United States as a participant and observer in the civil rights movement while exploring race and homosexuality in such novels as *Go Tell It on the Mountain* (1953) and *Giovanni's Room (1956)*. Chester Himes, author of *Cotton Comes to Harlem (1965)*, part of a detective series featuring protagonists Grave Digger Jones and Coffin Ed Johnson, also came to France in 1953.

While in France, African American writers came into contact with French-speaking black intellectuals who included Alioune Diop, director of the journal *Présence Africain*, and Ousmane Sembene, author and film maker. Senghor and Césaire remained the leaders of the black francophone elite, and they cooperated with Wright and others to form the Congress of Negro Artists and Writers in 1956, a critical meeting of some sixty delegates from twenty-four countries, among whom were Mercer Cook, a scholar of black literature, and Horace Mann Bond, a major figure in higher education and civil rights. Influenced by the philosophy of négritude, the gathering discussed matters of race, colonialism, and culture and contributed to a decolonization effort in dialogue with such non-African intellectuals as Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus.

Caribbean intellectuals in addition to Césaire played a large role in conceptualizing the global African Diaspora following World War II. Edouard Glissant of Martinique laid the theoretical foundations for "Caribbeanness," a response to négritude that emphasizes the multiple influences in Caribbean life and culture. His first novel, *La Lézarde*

("The Ripening," 1958), was followed by a series of works whose critique of négritude is echoed in the poet and writer Derek Walcott of St. Lucia, whose *In a Green Night* (1964) brought attention to his promise. But perhaps the consummate intellectual-activist was Trinidadian Eric Williams, whose *The Negro in the Caribbean* (1942) was followed two years later by the classic *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944). These books, so critical to an understanding of the Western world, came out of a diasporic context, as Williams taught at Howard University between 1939 and 1948. He would go on to serve as Trinidad and Tobago's prime minister from 1962 to 1981, dying in office.

In addition to black literature and scholarship, connections within the African Diaspora were facilitated through music and dance. Indeed, diasporic musical genres would proliferate throughout the twentieth century, engaging and borrowing from each other as well as non-African traditions. In the United States, the sorrow songs and field hollers and spirituals of slavery, all having their roots in African musical traditions, slowly gave way in the late nineteenth century to a profusion of musical expressions. There was continuity of idiom and form, but the content changed. Work songs developed, epitomized by ballads concerning black folk hero John Henry, but like other black folk music these songs remained largely unknown outside the African-descended community. The creation of the Fisk Jubilee Singers in 1867, one year after the founding of Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, began to change this, as the group toured the United States and Europe, introducing their spirituals and folk songs and inspiring the development of similar groups. Black minstrel groups, known as Ethiopian minstrels, also toured the country in the last quarter of the nineteenth century with their ballads and comic songs. Black minstrelsy would give way, in turn, to vaudeville, with an expanded repertoire that included operatic scenes and arias.

While some black minstrel troupes were able to expand the genre, minstrelsy on the whole has impeded the progress of the African-descended all over the world. The first minstrel show began on the slave ship, when Africans were forced to dance and sing and hide their suffering. Then, in New York City as early as 1843, whites in black face found a way to commercially benefit from the caricaturing and belittling of slaves and exslaves. This brand of live entertainment, otherwise known as a "coon show," quickly became very popular (Mark Twain was an ardent fan). In 1926, two white men began a radio show called *Sam n' Henry*, which became *Amos and Andy* in 1928.

Its popularity was such that in 1951 a television version using black actors was launched. Black protest led to its cancellation in 1953, but reruns in syndication remained until 1966. The film industry's projection of the coon worldwide not only has facilitated white racism but also has led to misunderstandings between diasporic communities, as blacks outside of the United States have also been exposed to the stereotype of the shiftless, scheming, absurdly ridiculous nigger. The trajectory and legacy of minstrelsy have yet to end, but there is an alternative tradition of serious black theatrical performance, with partial roots in the founding of the African Grove Theatre in New York City in 1821. There, at the corner of Mercer and Bleecker Streets, tragedies, ballets, and operas were performed by blacks, the most famous of whom was Ira Aldridge (1807–1867), an internationally acclaimed Shakespearian actor, touring Europe as far as Russia.

Minstrels employed music, but musical innovation went far beyond minstrelsy. The rise of the "jig piano" in the late nineteenth century, a style in which the left hand takes the place of foot stomping and the right hand delivers syncopated tunes similar to those of the banjo and fiddle, was the basis of ragtime, a genre made famous by Scott Joplin (d. 1917). The term *rag* was synonymous with dance, and ragtime emerged at a time when the cakewalk, a dance of plantation and ultimately African origin, was in vogue. Meanwhile, the blues and the spirituals were being popularized, the distinction between them essentially one of content rather than form. Sacred music was sung through much of the twentieth century by "lining-out," where the leader states the next "Dr. Watts" line (writer of many hymns) to be repeated by the congregation in a slow imploring of the heavens. The blues, focusing on the tragedies and disappointments of the individual (rather than the group), is laced with humor and irony, its ultimate objective the upliftment of the human condition. While its origins go back to an undetermined past, the blues were first popularized by W. C. Handy's 1912 published composition *Memphis Blues*, followed two years later by *St. Louis Blues*. By the early 1920s the blues had become the preserve of black female vocalists, including Mamie Smith, Bessie Smith, and Ma Rainey. Georgia-born Thomas Dorsey, who toured with Ma Rainey from 1923–1926, came to Chicago and incorporated blues into the sacred, resulting in gospel music. Mahalia Jackson, whose voice became the clarion sound of gospel, became associated with Dorsey in Chicago, while the Clara Ward Sisters, also affiliated with Dorsey, became the first gospel group to sing at the Newport Jazz Festival in

1961. Of course, there were many other gospel legends, including Alex Bradford and James Cleveland, who also had Chicago connections.

The early decades of the twentieth century also saw the development of black brass bands throughout the country, especially in New Orleans, where black and colored creole bands competed in "cutting" or "bucking" contests. Out of this interaction came Buddy Bolden, regarded by some as the "father" of jazz. In New York City, James Reese Europe organized a dance band and invented the fox-trot and turkey trot in the process, and during the First World War took an army band to Europe where he, along with other such bands, introduced the music. By 1918, the term *jazz* was common currency and was played as dance music by both black and white bands. Learned through listening to others, jazz came to be characterized by a high degree of improvisation, a call-and-response relationship between two instruments (or solo instrument and ensemble) that derived from the blues, breaks in which the soloist is featured, riffs or short phrases repeated by the ensemble, and scatting, where vocalists often imitate instruments. The following discussion of artists refers to specific recordings, but they represent only a fraction of their vast body of work.

Great jazz innovators include "Jelly Roll" Morton, whose integration of blues, ragtime, and jazz qualifies him as the father of the solo jazz piano and, for some, the first true jazz composer, publishing his *Jelly Roll Blues* in 1915; Louis Armstrong, whose genius in playing the trumpet and distinctive singing qualifies him as the premier jazz soloist, after whom so many have modeled themselves; King Oliver, a mentor of Louis Armstrong who launched King Oliver's Creole Band in Chicago in 1922 following the start of his career in New Orleans; Mary Lou Williams, viewed by some as the "First Lady of Jazz," having profoundly influenced the Kansas City sound as a pianist, composer, and arranger while serving as sidewoman for major bands; Fats Waller, pianist and composer best known for his 1929 *Ain't Misbehavin'*; Duke Ellington, master composer of an unparalleled orchestral style that, assisted by the pianist-composer Billy Strayhorn, resulted in more than 3,000 compositions, including *Mood Indigo*, *Sophisticated Lady*, *Tell Me It's the Truth; Come Sunday* (a blend of jazz and sacred music), and *Take the A Train*; Lester "Prez" Young, melodic alto saxophonist who played with a number of legends, including Billie Holiday, and whose style would influence many; Ethel Waters, whose early career as a blues singer (she would later sing religious music) included such hits as *Down Home Blues* and *Oh, Daddy*; Count Basie, whose band incorporated

the Kansas City jazz sound into a style copied by many, producing such recordings as *April in Paris*, *Lester Leaps In*, and *Jumping at the Woodside*; Billie "Lady Day" Holiday, a lyricist whose unforgettable vocal quality produced *God Bless the Child* as well as *Strange Fruit*, an attack on lynching and American racism; and Ella Fitzgerald, whose range, articulation, and scatting were incomparable, as evidenced in such classics as *Lady, Be Good* and *How High the Moon*.

Mention of Mary Lou Williams underscores the fact that although black women were prominent in blues and jazz as vocalists, they were also musicians of note. The piano was often the instrument of choice, as demonstrated by the careers of Chicago's Lil Hardin Armstrong and New Orleans' Emma Barrett in the 1920s. But Dolly and Dyer Jones (daughter and mother) were trumpeters, and women playing instruments other than the piano often played in all-women bands. In the 1930s the pattern of women pianists playing with otherwise male bands and nonpianist female musicians playing in all-women bands became more familiar, the latter perhaps best exemplified by the Harlem Playgirls. While the outbreak of the Second World War saw more women incorporated into previously male bands by necessity, groups such as the International Sweethearts of Rhythm, who played before African American soldiers stationed in Europe, continued to perform as all-female ensembles.

The sounds of blues, gospel, and jazz were popularized during the interwar period by the mass production and distribution of "race records," aimed at black consumers but enjoyed (and studied) by whites as well. With the end of the Second World War came a new era in jazz – bebop – led by such giants as saxophonist Charlie "Bird" (or "Yardbird") Parker, whose *Now's the Time* and *Parker's Mood* heralded his genius; pianist Thelonius Monk, a maverick whose unconventional approach to music can be sampled in such works as *Misterioso*, *Straight No Chaser*, and *Round Midnight*; and trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie, composer of such standards as *Salt Peanuts* and *A Night in Tunisia*. In part a rebellion against swing, dominated in the 1930s by white musicians Benny Goodman, Tommy Dorsey, and Gene Krupa, bebop joined a flatted fifth of the scale to already existing "blue" or "bent" notes, and it was characterized by complicated polyrhythms, dissonance, and irregular phrasing, to which dancing became very difficult. Cool jazz followed next, led by Miles Davis, his minimalist technique exemplified in *Birth of the Cool* (1949–1950). Hard bop ensued, as such artists

as tenor saxophonist Dexter Gordon (*Our Man in Paris*, 1963) and drummers Max Roach (who together with Clifford Brown recorded *Study in Brown* in 1955) and Art Blakey (*Hard Bop*, 1956) attempted to move the music back to an earlier period when it connected with the audience. The 1960s saw the rise of avant-garde or free jazz, led by saxophonist Ornette Coleman, whose 1959 album *The Shape of Jazz to Come*, followed by the 1960 *Free Jazz*, signaled his new musical direction; saxophonist John Coltrane, who catapulted to fame with his 1959 *Giant Steps*, followed (after other recordings) by perhaps his best-known work, *A Love Supreme* (1964); and bassist Charles Mingus, composer of enormous talent whose repertoire includes *Pithecanthropus Erectus* (1956), *Mingus Ah Um* (1959), and *The Black Saint and the Sinner Lady* (1963). The music became exploratory, decoupled from fixed chord progressions and tonality, and in many ways was in concert with the turbulence of the times. As was true of jazz since its inception, these artists all played with each other at various points in their careers, in ever-shifting configurations.

An important example of interconnections in the African Diaspora was the rise of Afro-Cuban jazz in New York. Led by the great Machito, the African Cuban percussionist, Afro-Cuban jazz (also known as Cubop) was based on African-derived, 6/8 polyrhythms that developed into the *clave* pattern. This form of jazz enjoyed an intimacy with dance, as it was associated with mambo, cha-cha, and guaguancó (a subdivision of rumba), all African-based dances. African-derived musical instruments, such as the conga and Batá drums and shekerés (calabash gourds), are fundamental to the music and are also associated with orisha worship. Cuban-born Celia Cruz would draw upon similar sources to fashion salsa, a five-note, two-bar rhythm also organized around clave. Two other African-based dances, the tango and samba, would disseminate from Uruguay–Argentina and Brazil, respectively, and they would impact dance around the world. Puerto Rican legend Tito Puente (who recorded the classic *Oye Como Va* in 1963–1964) played in both Machito's band and that of Fernando Alvarez, along with Tito Rodriguez. Their music, influenced by the African rhythms of *bomba* and *plena* in Puerto Rico, would affect Dizzy Gillespie, who also incorporated North African, West African, and Middle Eastern elements into his work. Such influences were also embraced by Yusef Lateef, a master of multiple reed instruments; Pharoah Sanders, who plays various saxophones and flutes and is famous for *The Creator Has*

a Masterplan; the learned pianist and composer Randy Weston; and McCoy Tyner, longtime pianist for John Coltrane. A number of these artists, such as Randy Weston and Max Roach, were also descendants of Caribbean immigrants, adding to the complexity of their sound. The African Diaspora was therefore connecting in important ways in New York City and elsewhere.

African American musical distinction was not confined to jazz, gospel, and the blues; it was achieved in every genre and expression. Concert artists such as Roland Hayes, Paul Robeson, and Marian Anderson received acclaim from the 1920s to 1950s, while operatic prima donna Leontyne Price soared to prominence in the 1950s and 1960s. Jessye Norman, in turn, began devoting her talents to opera in the mid-1970s. Likewise, black dance was not limited to church and dance halls. The black concert dance troupe began in the 1930s, most famously led by Katherine Dunham's Ballet Nègre. Dunham, a student of diasporic dance forms, especially those of Haiti, drew upon folk music for her performances, and she laid the foundation for the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater in 1958, followed by Arthur Mitchell's Dance Theatre of Harlem in 1966, the first black classical ballet company in the United States.

Black dance troupes relied upon black composers and various black music for their performances. Black music produced in the United States, in turn, became popular around the world not only because of its power but because of technology. Recordings and radio programs emanating from the United States would enjoy an advantage over those musical forms not similarly promoted. This was especially true of rhythm 'n' blues, a phrase gaining currency in 1949, and soul music, the term of the 1960s. Motown records, founded in Detroit by Berry Gordy in 1959, signed such artists as Smokey Robinson and the Miracles, Martha Reeves and the Vandellas, Diana Ross and the Supremes, the Temptations, Aretha Franklin, Stevie Wonder, and Marvin Gaye. Motown had a distinct urban sound, combining rhythm 'n' blues and gospel with driving beats consonant with the social movements of the time. Competing with Motown was Stax Records and its more bluesy, rural sound exemplified by Otis Redding, Johnny Taylor, and Booker T. and the M.G.'s, and it was not unlike James Brown, the "godfather of soul," who stressed racial pride in some of his music. Motown and Stax were complemented by the Philadelphia sound, a smooth rendering led by Kenny Gamble, Leon Huff, and Thom Bell. But perhaps no artist expressed the tenor of the times better than Nina Simone,

Sam Cooke, and Curtis Mayfield of the Impressions, whose political discourse was straightforward, unapologetic, and soul-stirring.

The political connotations of North American soul music were matched and perhaps exceeded by Trinidadian calypso (or kaiso). Introduced to the broad American public by the Andrew Sisters' 1944 recording *Rum and Coca-Cola* and further popularized by Harry Belafonte's 1956 album *Calypso* featuring the "Banana Boat Song," calypso in fact goes back to the African-born presence in Trinidad, the calypsonian the descendant of the griot turned chantuelle, who rose to prominence through annual competitions at Carnival. The first calypso recording was made in 1914, and by the 1930s such artists as Atilla the Hun, Roaring Lion, and Lord Invader (*Rum and Coca-Cola*'s original recorder) were prominent. Lord Kitchener emerged in the 1940s and dominated calypso through the late 1970s together with the Mighty Sparrow, who first achieved acclaim with his 1956 hit *Jean and Dinah*, celebrating the removal of U.S. troops from Trinidad. The 1940s also saw the rise of pan, or steel drum, another distinctly Trinidadian form. By the late 1970s, calypso was declining in popularity and was eclipsed by soca, a more up-tempo, less politicized version of calypso popularized by such artists as Lord Shorty (later Ras Shorty I). Calypso remains current and is a major vehicle of sociopolitical commentary, while soca has been infused with influences from Indian culture, Jamaica, hip hop, and French and Spanish cultures resident in the island, resulting in chutney soca, dance-hall soca, ragga soca (soca and reggae), rapso (soca and rap), parang soca, and so on. These forms are paralleled in the French-speaking Caribbean by *zouk*, a sound divided into dance (*chire zouk*) and more mellow expressions (*zouk love*).

Jamaica had its own version of calypso, called mento, that in the 1950s mixed with North American rock 'n' roll to form ska. Ska was the major Jamaican musical form by the mid-1960s, but by then the slower beat of rock steady had also taken hold, popularized through Prince Buster's *Judge Dread*. By the end of the 1960s, reggae had begun to make an impression, with its Rastafarian spirituality, critique of government, and lament of poverty. Toots and the Maytals, along with Jimmy Cliff, were early artists, but the genre became an international phenomenon through Bob Marley. His first group, the Rudeboys, later became the Wailers and included Peter Tosh and Bunny Wailer. In 1973 the group became Bob Marley and the Wailers with the addition of Rita Marley, Marcia Griffiths, and Judy Mowatt. The 1972 release

of Marley's first album, *Catch A Fire*, together with the premier of the film *The Harder They Fall*, starring Jimmy Cliff, launched reggae into a global orbit.

Black music from the Caribbean, Latin America, and the United States traveled the world over and has been a major influence since the Second World War. In places like Britain, Caribbean forms have mixed with African genres to create new profusions, while in the United States these influences would eventually give rise to hip hop. In the African continent, diasporic musical forms, with their basis in earlier African traditions, were reintegrated into the work of such artists as Fela Anikulapo Kuti, born in Abeokuta, Nigeria in 1938. Joining a highlife band in 1954, he launched what he called Afro-beat in 1968, a convergence of West African music with jazz (and some James Brown). Fela was more diasporically influenced than his fellow countryman, King Sunny Ade and his African Beats, who perform a genre known as Juju. Like Marley, Fela was an outspoken critic of Nigerian despotism and a proponent of pan-Africanism. His own political ambitions were silenced by death in 1997. South African Hugh Masekela, the "father of African jazz," was similarly influenced by his political surroundings. Exiled in 1961, he came to the United States and began experimenting with novel musical expressions, producing his 1968 hit, *Grazing in the Grass*. He eventually married fellow South African Miriam Makeba, the quintessential vocalist, whose exile from South Africa began in 1963. Her former marriage to Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael) further underscores the interconnectedness of the African Diaspora and its common struggles.

Of course, music and dance are intimately associated with Carnival, a melange of African and European elements that takes place, for the most part, prior to the Lenten season. The African-descended in the Americas have also celebrated at other times, such as Pinkster in New Jersey and New York during the eighteenth and first part of the nineteenth centuries. The Dutch observance of Pentecost (or advent of the Holy Spirit), Pinkster was held seven weeks after Easter. Other examples include Crop Over in Barbados in late July to early August; June and July festivals in Santiago de Cuba; the Grenada Carnival in the second week of August; Carabana in Toronto in early August; and London's Notting Hill Carnival in late August (these dates are subject to change). Invariably, Carnival provides an opportunity for a variety of African-based cultural expressions, from the samba schools and "blocos Afros" (drummers, in the hundreds) of Brazil to

the steel bands of Trinidad. New Orleans has its version in Mardi Gras, but Carnival in Trinidad is rivaled only by its counterparts in Rio de Janeiro and Salvador, Bahia. Carnival has reinforced cultural affinities throughout the Diaspora.

With Carnival and music come food. African cuisine accompanied Africans throughout the Diaspora, constituting its own widespread dispersal. Examples of foodways transferred to the Americas from Africa include rice, black-eyed peas, okra, and palm oil, called *dendê* in Brazil (probably from the Angolan term *ndende*). Akee, a red tropical, bland-tasting fruit consumed in Jamaica, is also of West African origin. Large white yams were brought to Brazil and other parts of the American southern hemisphere, but in the United States they were replaced by sweet potatoes and yellow or orange yams. Peanuts, originating in South America, were first brought to Africa by the Portuguese and then reintroduced to the Americas via the slave trade as goobers (from *nguba* of West Central African origin). Transferred African cooking techniques included deep oil frying, fire roasting, steaming in leaves, and boiling in water to produce soups and stews. Spicy seasoning, such as hot sauces and pepper sauces, was used everywhere. Certain foods remain associated with African deities, so that in Brazil the orisha Ogun, god of metallurgy, prefers black-eyed peas, roasted yam, and *feijoada*, a mixture of black beans and smoked meats that has become Brazil's national dish. *Acarajé*, a popular snack in Brazil, is derived from the Yoruba bean fritter *akará* and is associated with Yansã, goddess of cemeteries and whirlwinds. Rum, a sugar by-product and a major factor in black enslavement in the first place, is not from Africa but is associated with African labor in the Caribbean and remains an important regional beverage. Local and regional preferences have followed the African-descended in their various migrations since slavery's end, from Caribbean cuisine in North America to soul food prepared by North American musicians working in Paris. Not all of these preferences have been the healthiest, some contributing to a disproportionately high incidence of high blood pressure, heart disease, and cancer.

A final realm within which the Diaspora interacted culturally was sports. Baseball, international amateur competitions, and boxing were major arenas for fans of all colors and nationalities, and they were especially important to groups struggling to prove their worth. Baseball, segregated through the first half of the twentieth century, was perhaps the most significant vehicle through which diasporic communities learned of each other. Professional black teams were formed as

early as the 1880s and included the Philadelphia Orions, the St. Louis Black Stockings, and the Cuban Giants. Through 1920, black teams "barnstormed," traveling from town to town, playing any team the town could assemble, of any color. The Negro National League was founded in 1920, followed by the Eastern Colored League in 1923. The Negro National League was revived in 1933 after folding two years earlier, and it featured such legends as Cool Papa Bell, Satchel Paige, and Josh Gibson. It was during this period that Cuba, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic emerged as premier baseball venues, as white and black teams could compete in these countries during the winter. But in addition to playing in Latin America, American black teams had also been playing Latino teams since 1900, and in 1910 the Cuban All-Stars were an important part of black baseball, evolving into the New York Cubans in 1935. Only the Indianapolis Clowns had as many Cuban, Puerto Rican, Dominican, Mexican, and black American players. The New York Cubans won the Negro World Series in 1947, fielding such greats as Luis Tiant, Sr. and Martin Dihigo of Matanzas, Cuba. Jim Crow baseball came to an end with the Brooklyn Dodgers' signing of Jackie Robinson that same year.

International amateur competitions include football or soccer's World Cup series, the Pan-American Games, and the Olympics. While fostering international relations as a whole, such competitions have played a vital role in promoting an awareness of the African Diaspora through the emergence of the black athlete. Concerning the World Cup, probably the most famous example is Pelé, the "black pearl" who in 1958 led Brazil to the championship at age 17. Scoring some 1,280 goals in 1,362 games, he was declared a national treasure in Brazil. There are numerous Olympic examples to choose from, but the gathering of athletes every four years has exposed the world, via television, to the existence and excellence of black athletes from the Caribbean, Latin America, Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and the United States. That black athletes competed from North America and the Caribbean came as no surprise, but the rise and dominance of black athletes elsewhere, especially Cuba and Brazil, has been a revelation to many. Certainly, Jesse Owens' winning four gold medals at the 1936 games in Germany was an historical watershed, and following a young Cassius Clay's (later Muhammad Ali) victory in the light heavyweight boxing division in 1960, everyone took notice of the dominance of Cuban heavyweight Teófilo Stevenson in 1972 and 1976.

Just the appearance of successful black athletes was a source of pride for fans, as was the case in 1957 when Althea Gibson became

FIGURE 12. Group portrait of the Cincinnati Clowns, 1941 champions of the Negro American League. Back row (l. to r.) Buster Haywood, Pepper Bassett, Leovildo Lugo, Aleo Radoliffe, Jesse "Hoss" Walker (manager), Albert Overton, Henry Merohant, Walter "Rev" Canady, Bus. Mgr. McKinley "Bunny" Downs. Centre (l. to r.) Al Lipkins, Armando Vazquez, Fermin Valdes, Antonio Ruiz, Johnny Ray. Front (l. to r.) King Tut, Rafael Cabrera, Harry Jeffries, Henry Smith, Roosevelt Davis. Photographs and Prints Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

the first black tennis player to win the Wimbledon tournament. Stars experienced enormous pressure as their race's "representatives" to live as models of decorum and to avoid political controversy. The 1960s changed all that, as athletes began to politicize the games and relate their solidarity with freedom movements around the world. The medal ceremony for Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the Mexico City Games in 1968, at which the two raised their gloved fists and lowered their heads at the singing of the American national anthem, remains emblematic of the tensions of the period. In 1976, thirty African countries boycotted the games in protest against South African apartheid, a protest actively supported by tennis star Arthur Ashe, who won the U.S. Open in 1968.

Professional boxing was perhaps the most glamorous of the three categories, and if the discussion is limited to heavyweights after Joe

Louis (champion 1937–1948), there is no question that Muhammad Ali is the paradigmatic champion of the entire Diaspora. He is man whose appeal transcended sports, an eminently political figure whose conversion to Islam, announced immediately after his defeat of Sonny Liston in 1964, catapulted him into a rarified atmosphere. Perfecting a pugilistic style featuring circular dance and uncanny speed, his principled refusal to fight in Vietnam, his suffering the removal of his championship title, and his pan-Africanist perspective endeared him to millions all over the world. His identification with Africa reached its zenith with his reclamation of the title in the 1974 "rumble in the jungle" against George Foreman in Congo (then Zaire); his overall career underscores the vital role of international sports in the rise of the contemporary African Diaspora.

Suggestions for Further Reading

The second half of the twentieth century would see the emergence of literature seeking to treat the African Diaspora as a single subject, or as a series of related subjects. A number of edited volumes have been produced among these works, including Joseph E. Harris, ed., *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora* (Washington, DC: Howard U. Press, 1982); Darlene Clark Hine and Jacqueline McLeod, eds., *Crossing Boundaries: Comparative History of Black People in Diaspora* (Bloomington: Indiana U. Press, 1999); and Sheila S., Walker, ed., *African Roots/American Cultures: Africa in the Creation of the Americas* (Boston: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001). One of the better, coauthored syntheses is Michael L. Conniff and Thomas J. Davis, *Africans in the Americas: A History of the Black Diaspora* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994). One work examining the linkages between liberation struggles not yet mentioned is Imanuel Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement; A History of Pan-Africanism in America, Europe, and Africa*, trans. Ann Keep (New York: Africana, 1974. An important article reviewing the historiography of the Diaspora is Tiffany Ruby Patterson and Robin D. G. Kelley, "Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World," *African Studies Review* 43 (April, 2000: 11–45).

Concerning Africans and their descendants in Europe, one could begin with David Northrup's very useful *Africa's Discovery of Europe: 1450–1850* (New York and Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 2002) and should

consult Winston James and Clive Harris, eds., *Inside Babylon: The Caribbean Diaspora in Britain* (London: Verso, 1993); James Walvin, *Making the Black Atlantic: Britain and the African Diaspora* (London and New York: Cassell, 2000); Tahar Ben Jelloun, *French Hospitality: Racism and North African Immigrants*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York: Columbia U. Press, 1997); Allison Blakely, *Russia and the Negro: Blacks in Russian History and Thought* (Washington, DC: Howard U. Press, 1986) and *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society* (Bloomington: Indiana U. Press, 1993); Adam Lively, *Masks: Blackness, Race and the Imagination* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1998); and Inongo-Vi- Makomé, *La emigración negroafricana: tragedia y esperanza* (Barcelona: Ediciones Carena, 2000). There is also a wonderful collection of visuals in the multivolumed *The Image of the Black in Western Art* (Cambridge, MA: Menill Foundation, Inc. and Harvard U. Press, 1976–89).

The civil rights movement in the United States has engendered a great deal of research. Just a few include Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision* (Chapel Hill and London: U. of North Carolina Press, 2003); Kay Mills, *This Little Light of Mine: the Life of Fannie Lou Hamer* (New York: Dutton, 1993); Chana Kai Lee, *For Freedom's Sake: the Life of Fannie Lou Hamer* (Urbana: U. of Illinois Press, 1999); Belinda Robnett, *How Long? How Long?: African-American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights* (New York and Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 1997); Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–63* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988) and *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years, 1963–65* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998); and Vincent Harding, *There is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981). On Malcolm X, the best source remains *The Autobiography of Malcolm X, With the Assistance of Alex Haley* (New York: Grove Press, 1965). Also see John Henrik Clarke, ed., *Malcolm X; The Man and His Times* (New York: Macmillan, 1969). An accessible work examining Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. is James H. Cone, *Malcolm and Martin and America: A Dream or a Nightmare?* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1991). Read it with Lewis V. Baldwin and Amiri YaSin al-Hadid, *Between Cross and Crescent: Christian and Muslim Perspectives on Malcolm and Martin* (Gainesville: U. of Florida Press, 2002).

Of course, there is voluminous work on black music. One of the most important publications on the topic is Le Roi Jones (Amiri

Baraka), *Blues People: The Negro Experience in White America and the Music That Developed from It* (New York: Morrow, 1963), but not far behind are Eileen Southern and Josephine Wright, *Images: Iconography of Music in African-American Culture, 1770s–1920s* (New York: Garland, 2000), and Samuel A. Floyd, Jr., *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting Its Music From Africa to the Americas* (New York: Oxford U. Press, 1995). A good general source is Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History* (New York: Norton, 1997), 3rd ed. Regarding women in jazz and the blues, see Angela Davis, *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism: Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Billie Holiday* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998); D. Antoinette Handy, *Black Women in American Bands and Orchestras* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1999), 2nd ed.; Sherrie Tucker, *Swing Shift: "All Girl" Bands of the 1940s* (Durham, NC: Duke U. Press, 2000).

Calypso and reggae and related music can be read about in Kwame Dawes, *Natural Mysticism: Towards a New Reggae Aesthetic in Caribbean Writing* (Leeds, England: Peepal Tree Press, 1999); Chuck Foster, *Roots, Rock, Reggae: An Oral History of Reggae Music From Ska to Dancehall* (New York: Billboard, 1999); Lloyd Bradley, *This is Reggae Music: The Story of Jamaica's Music* (New York: Grove Press, 2000); J. D. Elder, *From Congo Drum to Steelband: a Socio-Historical Account of the Emergence and Evolution of the Trinidad Steel Orchestra* (St. Augustine, Trinidad: U. of the West Indies, 1969); Donald R. Hill, *Calypso Calaloo: Early Carnival Music in Trinidad* (Gainesville: U. of Florida Press, 1993); Rudolph Ottley, *Women in Calypso* (Arima, Trinidad: [s.n., 1992); Louis Regis, *The Political Calypso: True Opposition in Trinidad and Tobago 1962–1987* (Barbados: U. of West Indies Press and Gainesville: U. of Florida Press, 1999); and Keith Q. Warner, *Kaiso! The Trinidad Calypso: a Study of the Calypso as Oral Literature* (Washington, DC: Three Continents Press, 1992).

You can read about blacks in film in Karen Ross, *Black and White Media: Black Images in Popular Film and Television* (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 1996), and Michael T. Martin, ed., *Cinemas of the Black Diaspora: Diversity, Dependence, and Oppositionality* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State U. Press, 1995).

The list is long concerning blacks in sports. Just two examples of serious scholarship are Jeffrey Sammons, *Beyond the Ring: The Role of Boxing in American Society* (Urbana: U. of Illinois, 1988), and Kenneth Shropshire, *In Black and White: Race and Sports in America* (New York: New York U. Press, 1996).