Listening for Africa

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Introduction

1 Jones, Blues People, x.
2 Johnson, Book of American Negro Spirituals, 12.
3 Throughout this book I refer to “historicism” and “historicist” in two interrelated ways: first, in reference to History as determined by modernity’s claims of immutable or naturalistic laws; and, second, as the historian’s project to understand the human agency necessary to the application or rendering of History as such. Ranjana Khanna’s study of the uses of psychoanalysis ethnographically and in terms of its worlding is especially influential in this aspect of the book’s methodology, as is Paul Gilroy’s commentary on historicality in reference to the differentiating of people temporally and racially. See Khanna, Dark Continents; and Gilroy, Against Race.
4 From the Asadata Dafora Papers, newspaper clippings, 1934–1962.
5 Jones, Blues People, x.
6 See Edwards, Practice of Diaspora, 7–15.
7 See Gilroy, Against Race, 54–58.
8 See Gilroy, Against Race, 31, 67. My use of the notion “un-raced” derives from Judith Butler’s formulations of melancholy, unmarked bodies, and normativity wherein whiteness, along with heterosexuality and patriarchal masculinity, becomes the race par excellence whose contingency (or “loss”) modernity cannot grieve and thus necessitates and sustains the racialized Other. In fact, Butler considers sexuality, gender, race, class, and other identificatory formulations as forming the same “dynamic map of power in which identities are constituted and/or erased, deployed and/or paralyzed” (Butler, Bodies That Matter, 117; see also 170–171, 233–236). Although she considers sexism as the most widespread form of oppression, tracing back to the family and home, bell hooks also sees the interconnectedness of systems of oppression when she says “destroying the cultural basis for [sexist] domination strengthens other liberation struggles” against racism and classism (hooks, Feminist Theory, 40–41).
9 It is important to point out, too, that because the terms “Negro” or “negro” used to describe and identify music and dance were specific to the historical
period under consideration, and because this book focuses on the ontological and historicist implications in the question of black music’s and dance’s African origins from the 1930s through the 1950s, it keeps this terminology accordingly for documentary and analytical purposes and turns to contemporary terminology (e.g., African American) when making interpretive observations from a current perspective.

10 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari define their notion of the machine as a “system of interruptions or breaks. . . . Every machine, in the first place, is related to a continual material flow . . . that it cuts into.” Their theorization of capitalism as a schizophrenic machine is especially important to my analysis of mambo in chapter 5 (see Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, 33–36).

11 Whereas Edwards tracks a difference between Africa as diasporic project, the emergence of which he traces to the 1950s, and Africa as incursion into modernity, which he notes was the original rationale for *Présence africaine* (1947), this book focuses on the interstices connecting both diaspora and modernity, namely, constituted in their shared temporal and spatial configuration. See Edwards, “Uses of Diaspora.”

12 I use the notion “case study” not in the clinical sense as understood in psychotherapy, psychology, and psychiatry but rather as used more generally in the humanities to mean an individual and events that serve as the focus of my analysis.


17 Throughout this book, I use Stuart Hall’s notion of “articulation” to highlight the processes that enable connections or links of two unlike elements to be made under certain conditions. Hall explains that an articulation “requires particular conditions of existence to appear at all, and so one has to ask, under what circumstances can a connection be forged or made” (Hall, *Cultural Studies 1983*, 121).


19 Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus*, xvi.


23 This application of practice and space is drawn from Henri Lefebvre’s writings on spatial practice and neocapitalism in *Production of Space*, 33–38. Lefebvre’s historicist account of the emergence of the modern city separate from the countryside is particularly pertinent to the spatial workings of the logic of black music’s and dance’s African origins studied here. The conception of this separateness and its perception in terms of distance, according to Lefebvre’s estimation, emerged with the spatial practices of town dwellers in Europe and Spanish America beginning in the sixteenth century (*Production of Space*, 268–272). Ana María Ochoa Gautier similarly points to the sixteenth century’s significance as the moment of global, capitalist modernity’s emergence (Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality*, 10).


28 For an intellectual history of the primitive, see Kuper, *Reinvention of Primitive Society*.

29 Spengler, *Decline of the West*, 231; see also 72.


31 Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 12, 17–18, 25–26. Also informative in the critique of the racial implications in Kant’s and Hegel’s philosophy are Camara, “Falsity of Hegel’s Theses”; Kleingeld, “Kant’s Second Thoughts on Race”; and Verharen, “New World.”


33 Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folk*, 102 (my emphasis); see also Sundquist, “Introduction,” 10.

34 bell hooks reminds us that Fanon and other important political thinkers often ignored issues of sexist oppression in their own writing (*Feminist Theory*, 41–42).


41 Modupe, *I Was a Savage*, 3.

42 For explanations of conceptual equipment and temporality, see Heidegger’s *Basic Problems of Phenomenology*.

43 E. P. Thompson, “Time.”

44 hooks, *Feminist Theory*, 60.


47 My use of “striation” is taken from Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari’s discussion of striated space (cf. “smooth space”) as that which limits or restricts by direction or boundaries anyone or anything in motion. Examples of striating forces include religion, the state, history, philosophy, psychology, and so on (see Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus*, 381–385).


Chapter 1. African Origins

1 UNESCO, Race Concept, 6.
2 UNESCO, Race Concept, 7.
4 UNESCO, Race Concept, 11.
6 UNESCO, Race Concept, 13.
7 Herskovits to Métraux, October 22, 1952.
10 UNESCO, Race Concept, 10.
11 See Gilroy, Against Race, 32–35.
12 Heidegger, Being and Time, 476–477; and Basic Problems of Phenomenology, 262, 270–274. See also Fabian, Time and the Other, 17; and Martin, Languages of Difference, 22–24.
13 Du Bois, Souls of Black Folk, 199 (my emphasis).
14 As Mudimbe argues, “Time, space, and the (un)conscious of the scientist” constituted the “ideological locus” of scientific practice in Africanist anthropology through the 1980s (Invention of Africa, 175).
15 Mudimbe’s Invention of Africa is particularly pertinent in this regard.
16 The historiographical scholarship on Herskovits’s work, particularly of the 1930s, has not adequately addressed the direct impact Nazism had on his work and thinking, particularly in regard to his collaborations with Kolinski.
18 UNESCO, Race Concept, 5.
19 Richard Price and Sally Price state that Herskovits and his wife and coresearcher Frances routinely “Africanized” their informants when doing fieldwork in Suriname and artificially isolated the territory of the “bush” from the outside world. See Price and Price, Root of Roots, 21, 46–48.
22 Herskovits, Myth of the Negro Past, 32.
23 Williams Jr., Rethinking Race, 27–36.
26 Herskovits, “Negro in the New World,” 1.
27 See Jacobson, Whiteness of a Different Color, 187–199.
Robin Moore traces this shift in Ortiz’s scholarship. From the 1900s through the early 1920s, Ortiz studied Afro-Cubans from criminology and social Darwinist perspectives and called for the de-Africanization of Cuba, targeting practitioners of Santería as deviant members of Cuban society. See Moore, “Representations,” 36.

Ortiz, “Relations between Blacks and Whites,” 21. This is a published version of a speech Ortiz delivered to Club Atenas, a black and racially mixed middle-class social club, in 1942.


Presumably, the book that Ortiz refers to is *Los instrumentos de la música afrocubana*, the first volume of which he would not publish until 1952.

Ortiz to Herskovits, November 26, 1931.

Herskovits to Ortiz, February 2, 1932.

Ortiz to Herskovits, November 15, 1934.

“Estatutos de la Sociedad de Estudios Afrocubanos,” 7 (my emphasis).


Gershenhorn provides a detailed analysis of this debate as it pertained to Herskovits’s research in the early 1920s (*Melville J. Herskovits, 27–57*).


Williams Jr., *Rethinking Race*, 4–36.

See chapter 2 for a more detailed explanation of Gestalt psychological theory as used by Richard Waterman in his research and scholarship on New World Negro music.


Herskovits to Hornbostel, June 10, 1927.

Hornbostel to Herskovits, June 27, 1927.

Herskovits to Hornbostel, October 5, 1927.


“Two Scientists Back from Trip to Dark Africa,” *Sun* (Kansas), September 7, 1928.


Locke, “Apropos of Africa,” 263.

Herskovits to Hornbostel, November 18, 1929.


Hornbostel to Herskovits, January 5, 1930.

Hornbostel to Herskovits, July 9, 1930.

Herskovits to Hornbostel, May 13, 1930.

Herskovits, “Social History of the Negro,” 2.4.4, 2.4.6 (my emphasis).

For an explanation of the differences between “icon” and “index” in Peircean semiotics, see Turino, “Peircean Thought,” 214.

Hornbostel to Herskovits, September 20, 1930.

Herskovits to Hornbostel, March 6, 1932.

Herskovits, “New World Negroes,” 258n60.


Ash, *Gestalt Psychology*, 326.


Herzog to Herskovits, April 25, 1933.

Hornbostel to Herskovits, September 4, 1933.

Herzog to Herskovits, April 25, 1933.

Herskovits to Herzog, May 18, 1933.

See Beckwith, “Kolinski,” xvii.


Besides Hornbostel and Kolinski, Curt Sachs fled to Paris, and Robert Lachmann to Jerusalem (Rice, “Comparative Musicology”).

Roberts to Herskovits, April 18, 1934.


As Edward Downes wrote in the *New York Times*, “The American group lost heart, lost funds, lost contact with each other, and World War II did the rest” (Downes, “Group Mixes Anthropology with Musicology,” 95).


Herskovits to Hornbostel, October 4, 1930.

Hornbostel to Herskovits, March 3, 1931.

Hornbostel to Herskovits, September 29, 1931.
87 Herskovits to Hornbostel, October 19, 1931.
88 Herskovits to Hornbostel, March 6, 1932.
89 Herskovits to Kolinski, April 5, 1932.
90 Kolinski to Herskovits, October 22, 1932.
91 Herskovits to Kolinski, November 10, 1932.
92 Herskovits to Kolinski, January 30, 1933.
93 See Ash, Gestalt Psychology, 39–41.
94 Herskovits and Herskovits, Suriname Folklore, 517 (my emphasis).
95 Herskovits and Herskovits, Suriname Folklore, 517.
96 Herskovits and Herskovits, Suriname Folklore, 498–499, 518.
97 Herskovits and Herskovits, Suriname Folklore, 520.
98 Herzog to Herskovits, April 30, 1935.
100 Herskovits to Kolinski, February 10, 1933. Herskovits’s student, Richard Waterman, completed his dissertation in 1943, in which he compared Kolinski’s analyses with his own comparative musicological study of Herskovits’s Trinidadian field recordings of 1939 (see chapter 2). In fact, by 1943 Waterman confirmed that “modern collecting of American Negro songs has begun to outgrow the bias in favor of the Spirituals and is becoming increasingly aware of the rich material to be found in the non-religious songs,” and among these were commercial recordings of jazz and swing music, “which show obvious traces of West African musical tradition” (R. Waterman, “African Patterns,” 164). Nevertheless, the denial by some of the spiritual’s African influences continued to motivate Waterman and others to pursue research on Africanisms in New World Negro music long after the 1930s.
101 Herskovits to Kolinski, April 2, 1934.
102 Kolinski to Herskovits, February 14, 1935.
104 Herskovits to Kolinski, March 1, 1935.
106 Herskovits continued to formulate the significance of cultural focus in his scholarship. In 1948, for example, he stated: “The hypothesis of cultural focus, which points the way toward a comprehension of the primary concerns of a people, and, in contact situations, illustrates the carryover of aboriginal modes of custom in unequal degree as the different aspects of culture lie within the focal area or outside it” (Herskovits, “Contribution of Afroamerican Studies,” 1–10; see also Herskovits, Myth of the Negro Past, 136).
107 Herzog to Herskovits, April 30, 1935; and Herskovits to Herzog, June 11, 1935. The footnote in question remained in the published manuscript (see Herskovits and Herskovits, Suriname Folklore, 520n1).
108 Herskovits to Herzog, June 11, 1935.
110 Herskovits to Herzog, April 30, 1935.
113 Roberts to Herskovits, June 4, 1935.
114 Herskovits to Kolinski, July 29, 1935.
115 Herzog, Review of *Suriname Folklore*, 505.
116 Kolinski to Herskovits, August 10, 1935.
119 Herskovits, “Significance of West Africa,” 100.
120 Herskovits to Herzog, June 11, 1935.
121 Herskovits to Kolinski, November 15, 1937.
122 Herskovits to Boas, August 18, 1938.
123 Herskovits to Smets, August 18, 1938.
124 Herskovits to Leland, December 16, 1938.
125 Herskovits to Flexner, December 31, 1938.
126 Louis Sussdorf, Jr., to Carlton Sprague Smith, October 27, 1939.
127 Addison Hibbard to Herskovits, March 13, 1939.
128 Herskovits to Goldsmith, March 23, 1939.
129 Herskovits to Embree, March 27, 1939.
130 Goldsmith to Herskovits, March 28, 1939; Herskovits to Drury, March 31, 1939.
131 Drury to Herskovits, April 8, 1939.
132 Herskovits to Goldsmith, April 12, 1939.
133 Goldsmith to Herskovits, April 10, 1939.
134 Herskovits to Goldsmith, April 12, 1939.
135 President, Northwestern University, to Charles C. Broy, May 5, 1939; Hibbard to Kolinski, May 5, 1939.
136 Herskovits to Kolinski, May 16, 1939, and May 25, 1939.
138 Louis Sussdorf, Jr., to Scott W. Lucas, January 23, 1940.
139 Herskovits to Kolinski, May 14, 1940.
140 Herskovits to Duggan, April 9, 1941.
144 See, for example, Fontaine, “Interpretation of Contemporary Negro Thought”; A. Ramos, “Acculturation among the Brazilian Negroes”; Wieschhoff, “Social Significance of Names”; and Znaniecki et al., “Abstracts from the Annual Meeting.”
145 See Ramsey, “Politics”; and Osumare, “Katherine Dunham.”
146 Osumare, “Katherine Dunham,” 613.
150 Dunham to Herskovits, June 18, 1933; “Portrait of Mrs. J. G. Coleman Will Be Unveiled at Tea Today,” Chicago Daily Tribune, April 17, 1933, 17.
151 “Portrait of Mrs. J. G. Coleman,” 17.
153 Dunham to Herskovits, June 18, 1933.
154 Herskovits to Dunham, June 20, 1933.
155 Ogbar marks the beginning and end of the Harlem Renaissance as the antiblack race riots of 1919 and the Great Depression and the Harlem Riots of 1935, respectively (“Introduction,” 2).
156 Jackson, “Melville Herskovits,” 114; see also Ramsey, “Politics,” 201.
157 Yelvington, “Invention of Africa,” 70. Jackson also describes Herskovits’s successful attempts to derail Du Bois’s editorship, as well as the animus Herskovits expressed toward Charles S. Johnson’s legitimacy as a social scientist (“Melville Herskovits,” 116).
158 Dunham to Herskovits, June 23, 1935.
159 Herskovits briefly commented on the “vitality of the Garvey movement” and sentiments toward Haile Selassie as were shared among some of his informants while conducting fieldwork in Trinidad in 1939. See Trinidad, Field notes, August 10, 1939, Box 15, Folder 82, Melville J. Herskovits and Frances S. Herskovits Papers.
160 Aschenbrenner, Katherine Dunham, 44–45. Embree, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 33–35. The Julius Rosenwald Fund supported the “advancement of the Negro and the promotion of better race relations” in the United States. True to its philanthropic mission, the fund employed a racially diverse staff and named African Americans and other minorities to its board. In the mid-1930s the fund focused on supporting the following two areas, African American education in rural regions and African American welfare and race relations throughout the country, both of which overlapped particularly in regard to the fund’s work in the South. In supporting the arts, for instance, the fund believed it could affect race relations by the demonstration of the intelligence and creativity within the black community. African American fellows included Ralphe Bunche (to conduct dissertation research in Africa) and Marian Anderson (to study and perform in Germany), in addition to W. E. B. DuBois, Langston Hughes, and Richard Wright (see Perkins, Edwin Rogers Embree).
161 See Averill, Day for the Hunter, 42; and Yelvington, “Invention of Africa,” 52–57.
162 Dunham to Herskovits, December 10, 1935. Little is known about Reiser, or Doc Reeser, except that Dunham, in her book Island Possessed, explains that he, a

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white American marine, had been a ship’s pharmacist during the occupation and remained on the island, where he immersed himself in, and was accepted by, the local Vodun culture (Dunham, *Island Possessed*, 18–20).

163 See Averill, *Day for the Hunter*, 42; and Yelvington, “Invention of Africa,” 52.

164 Lowenthal, “Ritual Performance,” 397.


166 See García, “Contesting Anthropology.” Price-Mars fell out of favor among the Haitian masses beginning in 1934 because of his opposition to the popular president Sténio Vincent’s economic policies. In February 1935, four months before Dunham’s arrival, the entire Haitian Senate, including Price-Mars, was removed from office by Vincent as a result of a nationwide plebiscite supporting his policies in the face of the nation’s worsening economy. He and his fellow ousted senators became “subject to close government surveillance, which extended to their American friends residing in Haiti” (Shannon, *Jean Price-Mars*, 142–154).


170 Herskovits to Dunham, August 26, 1935.

171 The article published in *Mademoiselle* was reprinted in Clark and Johnson, *Kaiso!*, 267–271.

172 Dunham, “Goombay,” 269.


174 Dunham to Herskovits, September 10, 1935. Current dance scholars use the spellings bele and ladja, respectively. See Cyrille, “Sa Ki Ta Nou.”

175 Herskovits to Dunham, October 25, 1935.

176 Dunham to Herskovits, October 27, 1935.

177 See Dunham, “L’a’ya of Martinique,” 204–205.


179 Dunham to Herskovits, June 23, 1935.

180 Dunham to Herskovits, November 15, 1935.


183 By “gnostic insight” I am directly referencing V. Y. Mudimbe’s use of “gnosis” to capture the breadth and complexity of African knowledge, including its extension into Western epistemological territory. See Mudimbe, *Invention of Africa*, 186.

184 Dunham to Herskovits, November 15, 1935.

185 Dunham to Herskovits, December 28, 1935.
186 Herskovits to Dunham, January 6, 1936.
187 Dunham to Herskovits, January 13, 1936; see also Dunham, *Dance of Haiti*, 1983.
191 Dunham, *Island Possessed*, 228.
192 Ramsey, “Politics,” 211.
194 Dunham to Herskovits, June 23, 1935.
195 Katherine Dunham, student field notes. This excerpt appears in Dunham, *Journey to Accompong*, 150.
196 Dunham to Herskovits, October 27, 1935.
197 Dunham to Herskovits, September 10, 1935.
199 Herskovits to Roberts, April 25, 1935.
200 For a critique of racism in the feminist movement in the United States, see hooks, *Feminist Theory*, 50–60.
201 As noted earlier in this chapter, Roberts’s fieldwork in Jamaica resulted in three articles, but she had been unsuccessful in finding a university press to publish her work as a book. In addition, at the time of her correspondence with Herskovits, Roberts was serving as the secretary of the American Society for Comparative Musicology and was “left doing all the secretarial and other work” of the society’s president, Charles Seeger, and its treasurer, George Herzog, which contributed to her quitting her post and to the eventual dissolution of the society (see Frisbie, “Women and the Society for Ethnomusicology,” 250).
204 R. Waterman, review of *Journey to Accompong*, 180.
206 Herskovits to Dunham, October 24, 1935.
207 Dunham to Herskovits, November 15, 1935.
209 Herskovits to Dunham, August 31, 1936.
210 Dunham to Herskovits, September 23, 1936.
211 Herskovits to Dunham, September 29, 1936.
212 Herskovits to Redfield, January 7, 1937.
213 Dunham to Herskovits, April 4, 1937.
214 Dunham to Herskovits, May 5, 1937.
Chapter 2. Listening to Africa

1 Ash, *Gestalt Psychology*, ix, 33.
2 Koffka, “Perception,” 531.
11 Erlmann, *Reason and Resonance*, 22; see also 307–342.
15 See Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 1–27.
20 Also known as Regla de Ocha, Santería is the common name for Cuba’s religious tradition of oricha (deity) worship, the practices of which developed from related practices of West Africa.
22 The recent publication of Michael Iyanaga’s article “On Flogging the Dead Horse, Again” in *Ethnomusicology* is a welcomed reconsideration of Waterman’s contributions to the study of black music. It is important to point out, however, that Iyanaga’s representation of Waterman’s theory of “hot” rhythm, that is, its provenance, and the part the unconscious plays in this theory lacks a critical historiographical perspective, one which I attempt to present in this chapter.


28 See de la Fuente, “Two Dangers, One Solution,” 32–33. In an article published in 1942, Duvon C. Corbitt gives a detailed outline of Cuban immigration history, throughout which definitions of whiteness and blackness varied according to religious affiliation, foreign status, and skin color (Corbitt, “Immigration in Cuba”). For instance, in the early nineteenth century, colonial officials marked Mexican Indian and Chinese immigrants to Cuba as “white colonists,” a category namely based on a hyperdefinition of skin color (i.e., nonblack) predicated on the fear of black slave revolts. In contrast, records from the 1840s indicate that some Canary Island immigrants regarded immigrants from Catalan as “Catalan Negroes.”

29 See Grossberg, *Dancing in Spite of Myself*, 13, 97.


31 Fajardo Estrada, *Rita Montaner*, 149.

32 See Departamento de Turismo del Municipio de La Habana, 139–140.

33 García Agüero, “Presencia africana,” 127.

34 See García Agüero, “Presencia africana,” 118, 121–123.

35 García Agüero, “Presencia africana,” 115 (my emphasis).


37 García Agüero, “Presencia africana,” 118.


40 Departamento de Turismo, 139.

41 *Las comparsas populares*, 28 (my emphasis).


43 See Departamento de Turismo, 140–141.


45 “Notas y noticias,” 163.

46 Orovio, *Cuban Music*, 140–141. Montaner had premiered several of Valdés’s compositions (e.g., “Baró” and “Sangre Africana”) as early as 1935 in Havana (Fajardo Estrada, *Rita Montaner*, 124).
47 Orovio, Cuban Music, 218.
48 Departamento de Turismo, 141.
49 These pitch placements were in fact specific to the unconsecrated drums that were reportedly constructed especially for Valdés’s concerts (see Ortiz, La africana, 376–377). Although the tunings of the batá drum heads do correspond to a fixed system, the actual notes vary from one set to another and, more importantly, throughout the course of a performance (see Amira and Cornelius, Music of Santería, 20–21).
50 Departamento de Turismo, 141. Of the pieces that his orchestra performed at these concerts, Valdés recorded three—“Tambó,” “Sangre africana” (African blood), and “Rumba abierta” (Open rumba)—with RCA Victor in May 1940 (Díaz-Ayala and Florida International University, Encyclopedic Discography of Cuban Music). In addition to these recordings, I have obtained a copy of the piano score for “Ilé-ńko Ilé-ńbe” dated 1937 (courtesy of Robin Moore); this is in addition to its orchestral score dated 1946 and is used as part of Katherine Dunham’s Bal negre (see chapter 3).
51 Departamento de Turismo, 142 (my emphasis). RCA Victor contracted Gilberto Valdés to record “Tambo” and “Sangre africana,” the recordings of which were made on May 6, 1940.
52 Radano, Lying Up a Nation, 235–236.
54 See Radano, Lying Up a Nation, 214, 223.
55 Arredondo, El negro en Cuba, 160–163.
56 Arredondo, “El arte negro a contrapelo,” 20 (my emphasis).
57 Arredondo, “Eso que llaman afrocubanismo musical,” 6.
59 Arredondo, “Eso que llaman afrocubanismo musical,” 5.
60 Arredondo, El negro en Cuba, 135.
63 Demaison’s article was translated into Spanish and published in Estudios Afrocu- banos (see Demaison, “Escuchando a Gilberto Valdés”).
64 Demaison, “Escuchando a Gilberto Valdés,” 154 (my emphasis).
65 See Radano, Lying Up a Nation, 76.
68 For an explanation of equipment, see Heidegger, Basic Problems of Phenomenology, 303–305.
For a survey of the history and uses of techniques such as the whole-tone scale, octatonicism, and the mystic chord in modernist music, see Morgan, *Twentieth-Century Music*, 44–58.


Ortiz, “La música sagrada,” 92.

Ortiz, “La música sagrada,” 89.

Ortiz, “La música sagrada,” 96.

Ortiz, “La música sagrada,” 100.

Departamento de Turismo, 144.

Ortiz, “La música sagrada,” 103.

Ángel Lázaro, “La academia y los tambores,” *Carteles*, June 20, 1937, 11.


Waterman eventually published this paper in the journal *Ethnomusicology* in 1963. See R. Waterman, “On Flogging a Dead Horse.”

R. Waterman, “On Flogging a Dead Horse,” 83.

The historiographical literature on sound recording technology in the fields of anthropology, folklore, and comparative musicology is large. See, for example, Brady, *Spiral Way*; Shelemay, “Recording Technology”; and Sterne, *Audible Past*, 310–333.


Herskovits to Waterman, June 17, 1941.

R. Waterman, “African Patterns,” i.

Herskovits to Waterman, August 20, 1941.

Herskovits to Waterman, June 17 and August 20, 1941.

Robert H. Seashore’s chapters in *Fields of Psychology*, published in 1942, in which he summarizes these and other fields and their main theoretical viewpoints, strongly indicate that Waterman received his inspiration to use these concepts from Seashore’s instruction.


Melville J. Herskovits to President Franklyn B. Snyder, June 30, 1944, Box 6, Folder 5, Franklyn Bliss Snyder Papers.


99 Mieczyslaw Kolinski to Melville Herskovits, December 11, 1944. See also Beckwith, “Kolinski,” xviii.

100 Edith van den Berghe was the daughter of Fritz van den Berghe and the assistant of linguist and anthropologist Frans M. Olbrechts (Kolinski to Herskovits, December 11, 1944). According to John Beckwith, Kolinski decided to register as a Jew with Nazi officials, and in 1942 he received an order from the Nazi authorities in Belgium to present himself for deportation to a labor camp in northern France. He was warned by another Jewish friend not to appear at his deportation, for the French camp was an interim gathering point for Jews who were eventually to be removed to concentration camps, including Auschwitz and Buchenwald. Kolinski took her advice and went into hiding at the home of the van den Berges (Beckwith, “Kolinski,” xviii).

101 Melville Herskovits to Mieczyslaw Kolinski, December 21, 1944.

102 Beckwith, “Kolinski,” xviii.

103 During the summer of 1946, Waterman conducted field recordings in Puerto Rico, sponsored by the Library of Congress’ Music Division and the Office of Information for Puerto Rico, located in New York City (Max A. Egloff to Richard Waterman, June 18, 1946, Series 35/6, Box 36, Folder 11, Melville J. Herskovits [1895–1963] Papers. These recordings resulted in the production of Folk Music of Puerto Rico (AFS-L18), which was released in 1947. Waterman also traveled to Havana to make his own field recordings, while also supervising the fieldwork of Berta Montero-Sánchez, who was a student of Cuban folklorist Herminio Portel Vilá (Waterman to Egloff, June 24, 1946). Waterman’s recorder, however, never functioned properly, and he was thus unable to collect any recordings in Cuba. Waterman planned to return to Havana to conduct field recordings during the summer of 1947, but his application to the ACLS was unsuccessful (Waterman to Herskovits, September 10, 1946).

Starting in 1946 Montero-Sánchez taught Spanish at Northwestern while studying anthropology with Herskovits. Her proposed research was to study child education for black children in Cuba; in reality, however, she conducted fieldwork on Africanisms in Santería (Berta Montero-Sánchez to Herminio Portel Vilá, March 6, 1946, and Montero-Sánchez to Melville and Frances Herskovits, September 16, 1947, Series 35/6, Box 33, Folder 51, Melville J. Herskovits [1895–1963] Papers).

104 Mortimer Graves to Melville J. Herskovits, January 17, 1944.

105 Melville J. Herskovits to Thomas Moody Campbell, January 22, 1944.

106 Department of State, Music Advisory Committee, Sub-Committee on Non-European Areas, minutes, June 10, 1944, Box 36, Folder 3, Melville J. Herskovits (1895–1963) Papers.

107 Northwestern University Bulletin 46, no. 11 (February 11, 1946): 42.
110 Melville J. Herskovits to George Herzog, October 25, 1939, Box 9, Folder 22, Melville J. Herskovits (1895–1963) Papers.
111 Herskovits and Herskovits, Trinidad Village, 3.
112 Herskovits to Courlander, October 3, 1939.
115 R. Waterman, “African Patterns,” 63. Herskovits made his field recordings in Trinidad using a SoundScriber Junior recording machine, Western Electric “saltshaker” microphone, SoundScriber cutting head, steel styli, premium Trimm headphones, and twelve-inch acetate discs. He also used a Kato three-hundred-watt belt-drive gasoline engine to power the recording machine (order form, Sound Specialties Company, May 20, 1939, Box 15, Folder 84, Melville J. Herskovits and Frances S. Herskovits Papers).
117 See Seashore, “Convergent Trends in Psychological Theory,” 611–613. In his essay “The Uneven Development of Africanist Ethnomusicology,” Christopher A. Waterman addresses Waterman’s use of acculturation, Gestalt theory, behaviorism, and his own experience as a jazz bassist in fashioning his theory of metronome sense. To better understand the significance of Waterman’s work on race and music in the 1940s, a more critical analysis and historical contextualization are needed of, for example, (1) Waterman’s thinking in regard to recordings and musical transcription and how these aspects, along with Gestalt theory and acculturation, factored in the development of his metronome sense, beginning with his notion of “hot” rhythm; and (2) the intellectual and disciplinary historical context in which Waterman worked, including Kolinski’s effect on Waterman’s methods.
121 See Köhler, Gestalt Psychology, 219.
123 “List of Papers Read at Annual Meetings,” 34. The other two presenters on Waterman’s panel were Homer Pearson (“The Pattern of Propaganda in Music”) and Karl Geiringer (“The Beginnings of the String Quartet”). Waterman eventually published this paper as an article in the first volume of the Journal of the American Musicological Society (see R. Waterman, “Hot’ Rhythm in Negro Music”).
124 Richard A. Waterman to George Herzog, January 3, 1944, and George Herzog to Richard A. Waterman, January 7, 1944, George Herzog Correspondence.
125 R. Waterman to George Herzog, January 3, 1944.


Abdul K. Disu to Richard Waterman, May 17, 1943; Melville J. Herskovits to Abdul K. Disu, May 20, 1943; Melville J. Herskovits to Pendleton Herring, April 14, 1944. During the spring of 1944, Herskovits asked Disu to review his *Dahomey, an Ancient West African Kingdom*, “noting similarities and differences between the culture described therein and the Yoruban culture as it is known to you” (Melville J. Herskovits to Abdul K. Disu, March 6, 1944).


The fact that scholars today still quote or reiterate Waterman’s claim of taking the concept “hot” rhythm from a linguistic concept of “West African tribesmen” or from West African musical parlance is as much the result of the “shadows” of the anthropological bush as the need for more historiographical research on the early history of American ethnomusicology in the twentieth century. See Iyanaga, “On Flogging the Dead Horse,” 179; and Burford, “Mahalia Jackson,” 14.


R. Waterman, “‘Hot’ Rhythm in Negro Music,” 37 (my emphasis).

R. Waterman, “‘Hot’ Rhythm in Negro Music,” 29.

Herskovits, “Freudian Mechanisms.”


See Erlmann, *Reason and Resonance*, 60–68.

149 See García Agüero, “Presencia africana,” 115–118, 125–126. For Freud’s explanation of phobia as originating from the dynamics of repression, see General Psychological Theory, 128–134.

150 Ranjana Khanna’s work on the provincialization and parochialization of psychoanalysis is particularly instructive in this instance (Khanna, Dark Continents, 10–12).


156 Shelemay, “Recording Technology,” 281.


158 George Herzog’s transcriptions and analyses of Courlander’s Haitian field recordings were included in his Haiti Singing.

159 Harold Courlander, application to the American Council of Learned Societies, January 31, 1941, Series 35/6, Box 6, Folder 16, Melville J. Herskovits (1895–1963) Papers (my emphasis).

160 Apparently, Courlander confused Zaya’s first name for Alfredo in his diary (see Courlander, “Abakwa Meeting in Guanabacoa” and “From the Field”).

161 Courlander’s and Waterman’s recordings are currently kept at the Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University.

162 See Díaz-Ayala and Florida International University, Encyclopedic Discography of Cuban Music.


165 “Toitica la Negra” (Decca 40028) was recorded in New York City on November 8, 1945 (Ruppli, Decca Labels, 3:115).

166 “Enlloro” (Decca 50011) was recorded in New York City on July 17, 1942 (Ruppli, Decca Labels, 2:792)

167 For information on the enlloro ritual, see Cabrera, El monte, 208; and Ortiz, La africanía, 386–387.

168 Cabrera, El monte, 198; see also 199–201.


170 Sargeant, “Cuba’s Tin Pan Alley,” 146.

171 Sargeant, “Cuba’s Tin Pan Alley,” 151 (my emphasis).
172 Díaz-Ayala and Florida International University, *Encyclopedic Discography of Cuban Music*.


174 The booklets for both releases (*Music of the Cults of Cuba*, D1SC Ethnic Album 131, and *Cult Music of Cuba*, Ethnic Folkways Library P 410) were slightly edited versions of Courlander’s article “Musical Instruments of Cuba,” which he published with the *Musical Quarterly* in 1942.


176 *Down Beat* 14, no. 6 (March 12, 1947): 9. D1SC’s *Folk Music of the Central East—USSR* (D1SC Ethnic Album 132) was not recorded by Harold Courlander. He did, however, record the sides in the *Folk Music of Ethiopia* (D1SC Ethnic Album 141) album, while he was working for the US Government in Ethiopia during World War II (Goldsmith, *Making People’s Music*, 199–200).

177 Harold Courlander to Melville Herskovits, September 10, 1940.

178 Courlander, application to the American Council of Learned Societies, January 31, 1941, Box 6, Folder 16.

179 Courlander, “Abakwa Meeting in Guanabacoa,” 462.

180 Courlander, *Music of the Cults of Cuba*.

181 Definitions of “cult” among social scientists during the 1930s and 1940s were anything but consistent. The meanings of “cult” as outlined by Shepherd and Introvigne, for example, do not seem to match exactly with Courlander’s uses. Instead, Courlander seems to have drawn from Herskovits’s understanding of the term as demonstrated in his article “African Gods and Catholic Saints in New World Negro Belief,” in which he traces the fear exhibited toward “fetish cults” in Brazil, Cuba, and Haiti to the threat of revolt that Europeans attributed to African cults during slavery. Courlander also points to the cultural and social practices differentiating the Lucumí, Abakuá, Arará, and Congo as features of cults (see Courlander, “Musical Instruments of Cuba,” 228).

182 There is no indication that the Abakuá music on the D1SC and Ethnic Folkways Library albums was recorded at this ceremony. Upon close listening, there is no audible chatter or singing from others who are not near the mic, which one tends to hear on recordings made at actual ceremonies. Also, Courlander does not say he made recordings at this ceremony, which is significant, since his diary entry for this event is otherwise very detailed (see Courlander, “Abakua Meeting in Guanabacoa”).

183 Courlander, “Abakua Meeting in Guanabacoa,” 465.

184 Courlander, “Abakua Meeting in Guanabacoa,” 465 (my emphasis).


188 See Olmsted, *Folkways Records*, 61–64.

Chapter 3. Embodying Africa

1. Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination*, 243. Bakhtin uses the notion of the chronotope (meaning “time-space”) as an analytical device in his literary criticism. He regards the chronotope as a formally constitutive category of literature wherein the interrelationship between time and space functions not only in the structuring of the novel’s narrative but also in the authorial and interpretive process itself (Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination*, 84, 250–258).


10. See Garcia, “‘We Both Speak African.’”


18. For a contemporary report of this rally, see James et al., *Fighting Racism*, 213–217.


30 For historical insight into racial uplift and social mobility in Africa, see Gershoni, *Africans on African-Americans*, 112–14; and in Cuba, see Montejo Arrechea, “Minerva,” 33–48; and Guridy, *Forging Diaspora*.
32 “Reseña social,” *El mundo*, October 1, 1922, 8.
35 Guridy, *Forging Diaspora*, 58; see also 82–83, 155–156. To Herndon’s claim of this meeting being the “first link” to African American and Afro-Cuban cooperation, Marcus Garvey had visited the Club Atenas during his trip to Havana in 1921, though the members of the club ultimately disavowed Garvey’s pan-African ideals (see Fernández Robaina, “Marcus Garvey in Cuba,” 121).
37 “Music and Drama,” *Chicago Defender*, June 2, 1928, A5.
38 For information on the opera careers of African American women in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, see Eidsheim, “Marian Anderson,” 648–653.
39 Beatrice Wilson’s name appears on various black newspapers’ social calendars during this period. For example, Wilson was listed among the guests of parties hosted by Caska Bonds and Countee Cullen (see Bessye J. Bearden, “Tid-Bits of New York Society,” *Chicago Defender*, November 24, 1928, 11; “Poet Honored at Elaborate Party,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 12, 1932, 8). Justa Gálvez was also reported to be among a group of vacationers that included Beatrice Wilson in Sheepshead Bay, New York, in August 1936 (“At the Resorts,” *New York Amsterdam News*, August 8, 1936, 9).
41 In all likelihood, Gálvez observed this performance at the Cameroon and Togo pavilion.
42 The director of the Elkins-Payne Singers, William C. Elkins was considered a traditionalist among choir directors specializing in spirituals. Elkins’s aim was to preserve the spiritual as it was sung in its original form with simple harmonies and no instrumental accompaniment (“Negro Spiritual Rendition Stirs Up Big Composers War,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 25, 1924, 11).
43 Gálvez, “Una melodía negra,” 25.
Paris enrolled under the name of David Benjamin Mudge Paris at Hampton Institute in fall 1922 (“Item of Interest,” David Benjamin Mudge Paris, Hampton University Archives). See also Ohman, “Musicians Seeking Progress,” 374.


“U.S. War Dept. in Paris Denies War Mothers’ Jim Crow,” *Afro-American*, July 18, 1931, 17.


“A New Singer Sings His Song,” 5 (my emphasis).


“John Brown’s Birthday to Be Celebrated May 9th,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 21, 1928, 2.

“Pilgrims to the Grave of John Brown are Increasing as the Years Roll By,” *Philadelphia Tribune*, May 24, 1928, 9.

Ohman, “Musicians Seeking Progress,” 375.


As Ohman documents, Paris’s work with organizers of the Chicago World’s Fair came to an abrupt end in August 1932 after organizers received complaints from several individuals, accusing Paris of multiple counts of fraud, some in association with Ephriam (see Ohman, “Musicians Seeking Progress,” 378–379). None of
these accusations, apparently, was ever pursued in court, nor have I found newspaper reports documenting the veracity of these accusations. As documented in performance announcements and reviews published in newspapers throughout his career, Paris claimed to have been, or was reported as being, a “prince,” a member of the royal family of Nigeria, and a descendant of African kings; a native of Lagos, Nigeria, Freetown, Sierra Leone, and Liberia; and a graduate of Oxford University and New York University. Paris’s father was born in Nigeria, and his mother’s Susu ethnic group does encompass the western portions of Sierra Leone as well as most of southeastern Guinea. In addition, documents indicate that he did intend to study medicine at Oxford University, but his father refused to pay for his costs after they had a disagreement (“Items of Interest,” David Benjamin Mudge Paris, Hampton University Archives). According to another document, Paris began studying mining engineering at New York University before giving this up for performing music and writing plays and stories (“Mr. Mudge Paris, African Baritone,” 7). At least one reporter expressed his suspicion over Paris’s claims of being an heir apparent to a throne (see Lee Shippey, “The Lee Side o’ L.A.” *Los Angeles Times*, October 31, 1935, A4).

73 “The Minutes,” April 2, 1931, Series I, Box 369, Folder 11817, Century of Progress.
74 Modupe Paris to Colonel John Stephen Sewell (my emphasis). See also Ohman, “Musicians Seeking Progress,” 376.
76 It is worth noting that by 1932 Herskovits had not published any findings regarding the African origins of the spiritual. Hornbostel, however, had published his articles “American Negro Songs” and “African Negro Music” in 1926 and 1928, respectively. It is plausible that at their meeting the year before Herskovits shared with Paris insight into his and Hornbostel’s theories of the origins of the spiritual, which might have included discussing the characteristics of African music and their transmission to the New World and retention in the Negro spiritual. While Paris’s assertion that “music is an ingrained part of the Negro nature” is as derivative of stereotypical discourse as Hornbostel’s similarly conceived “[the Negro] is a born musician,” his discussion of the interrelationship between language and melody in the process of musical change does invite speculation that Paris might have also drawn from Hornbostel’s discussion of the relationship between

77 See Bourdieu, Logic of Practice, 110.


79 The Afro-American and the Pittsburgh Courier reprinted the article in their issues of July 16, 1932, and the Atlanta Daily World reprinted the article on July 14, 1932.


82 Andreu, “Spirituals negro songs,” 90 (my emphasis).


84 Guridy, Forging Diaspora, 145–146.

85 Ortiz, “La música sagrada,” 94.


89 Andreu, “Spirituals negro songs,” 85–86.

90 hooks, Feminist Theory, 60, 82.

91 See Gramsci, Prison Notebooks, 369, 404–405.


93 “‘O, Sing a New Song’ Draws 40,000 People,” Philadelphia Tribune, August 30, 1934, 2; and “5,000 in Cast of Pageant at World’s Fair,” Afro-American, September 1, 1934, 1. From at least the 1910s, American Negro productions of historical pageants were largely deliberate acts of resistance toward their history’s misrepresentation in or altogether erasure from white-produced pageants depicting American history (Glassberg, American Historical Pageantry, 132–135). To rectify this erasure, W. E. B. Du Bois wrote and produced The Star of Ethiopia (1913), which dramatizes the Negro’s gifts (iron, civilization, religious faith, humiliation, struggle toward freedom, and freedom) to the world. In doing so, Du Bois fulfills the Hegelian narrative of human history, starting with the African savage’s fear of Nature before his initiation of the path toward modernity with the gift of iron. Tom-tom music accompanies the emergence of civilization and religion, and the story moves teleologically from there (Du Bois, “Star of Ethiopia,” 305–310).

94 “‘O, Sing a New Song’ Draws 40,000 People”; see also “Chorus of 5,000 to Be Heard in Negro Pageant,” Chicago Daily Tribune, August 5, 1934, SW 4.

95 “‘O, Sing a New Song’ Draws 40,000 People”; see also “Chorus of 5,000 to Be Heard in Negro Pageant,” Chicago Daily Tribune, August 5, 1934, SW 4.

96 William G. Nunn, “65,000 Attend Pageant and East-West Game in Chicago,” Pittsburgh Courier, September 1, 1934, 1, 4.


98 To this point, Fanon invited his readers to attempt the following experiment: “Attend showings of a Tarzan film in the Antilles and in Europe. In the Antilles,
the young Negro identifies himself *de facto* with Tarzan against the Negroes. This is much more difficult because for him in a European theater, for the rest of the audience, which is white, automatically identifies him with the savages on the screen” (Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 152–153n15). Susan Manning refers to this racially intersubjective process as two-way cross-viewing (see Manning, *Modern Dance, Negro Dance*, 143).


100 Nunn, “65,000 Attend Pageant” (my emphasis).


102 Lawrence F. LaMar, “Prince Modupe Paris Carves Niche for Self in Movie Industry,” *Chicago Defender*, September 12, 1936, 24. It was because of his father’s Yoruba ethnicity that Paris often claimed to be Nigerian. But, as he confirmed in his autobiography, he was born in Dubréka, French Guinea.


111 In spite of *Zoonga*’s African theme, its music was apparently influenced by Western operatic aesthetics (see “St. Marks’ M. E. Church,” *New York Age*, March 31, 1934, 11). See also “Mother Africa,” *New York Amsterdam News*, June 28, 1933, 7; “Author Wants to Use Cast of ‘Kykunkor’ in Movie,” *Plaindealer*, July 6, 1934, 6.


115 Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination*, 250.


126 Melville Herskovits reported to Dunham that he had met with Robeson in Chicago during his stopover on his way to Los Angeles to film *Show Boat* (Melville J. Herskovits to Katherine Dunham, November 11, 1935, and Katherine Dunham to Melville J. Herskovits, December 28, 1935, Series 35/6, Box 7, Folder 12, Melville J. Herskovits [1895–1963] Papers). Neither of these films, however, was produced.


According to Pozo, he also composed the music for Lichine’s ballet, while Alfredo Brito, who was the director of the Tropicana’s house orchestra, arranged it (Arturo Ramírez, “Compositores cubanos de hoy: ‘Chano’ Pozo,” *Carteles*, June 14, 1942, 6–7.


I am referring here to Deleuze and Guattari’s notion of the body as not only a human or animal body but also a body of work, a social body or collectivity, a linguistic corpus, and political party, or even an idea (Baugh, “Body,” 35–37).


“Paraphernalia for African Dance Revue Explained at Meeting,” *New York Age*, November 27, 1943, 10. In addition to being colleagues, Okala and Mbadiwe were apparently close friends. For example, in April 1942, Mbadiwe was best man at Okala’s wedding; Okala married Ollie Sims, a nurse with a masters’ degree in public health from Columbia University (“Talented Ollie Sims Bride of Prince Okala,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 25, 1942, 10).


African Dance Festival, for Release Sunday, November 14th, African Academy of Arts and Research, African Dance Festival, MGZR. Performing Arts Research Collections, Dance. Performing Arts Library, New York Public Library.
“African Dance Show Planned,” newspaper article [uncited], African Academy of Arts and Research, African Dance Festival.


In fact, President Roosevelt maintained publicly throughout the war that the charter applied to the entire world, including British colonies in Asia and Africa (see Hubbard, United States, 8–14).


Festival of Music and Fine Arts, program, Asadata Dafora Papers, MG 48, Box 1.


Denby, “Dance Criticism,” 83; see also Morris, “Modernism’s Role.”

Roosevelt, “Prejudice Springs from Ignorance,” 18–19; and Bethune, “Hands across the Waters,” 19.


174 Kykunkor, program, n.d., Asadata Dafora Papers, MG 48, Box 1.
175 See Gilroy, Black Atlantic, 108–128.
176 The increasing racial tensions and number of lynchings between 1939 and 1945 in the United States are chronicled in James et al., Fighting Racism.
177 African Dance Festival, n.d., African Academy of Arts and Research, African Dance Festival, MGZ.
179 See Sherwood, “No New Deal.”
180 Lynch, “Pan-African Responses,” 82; see also Sherwood, “No New Deal,” 88–89.
184 African Academy of Arts and Research presents the African Dance and Music Festival, program, December 17 and 18, 1945, African Academy of Arts and Research, African Dance Festival, MGZ.
185 Rosenberg, “African Rhythm in the West,” 26. Rosenberg, who was at the time a student of anthropology at New York University, prepared this essay to provide background information for Dafora’s program of April 1945.
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195 Mbadiwe, Rebirth of a Nation, 22; Lynch, “K. O. Mbadiwe,” 200–201. See also Liberian Age, April 15, 1948, 7.


198 See programs for Batanga, October 1947 and April 1948, Box 1, MG 48, Asadata Dafora Papers.

199 See James, “Popular Art,” 248–252.

200 UNESCO, Basic Texts, 5.

Chapter 4. Disalienating Movement and Sound

1 Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks, 225–226. This is my retranslation of the English version of Black Skin, White Masks based on the original French Peau noire, masques blancs (217).

2 Anders, “Pathology of Freedom,” 280. Anders originally presented this essay as a lecture to the Kant Society in 1929. The French translation of the lecture was later published in 1936. See Erlmann, Reason and Resonance, 322, 394n45.

3 Anders, “Pathology of Freedom,” 279, 293. See also Wolfe, “From the Archive.”

4 Anders, “Pathology of Freedom,” 284, 300, 301.


6 A retranslation of this passage is especially crucial given the use of the French future perfect (e.g., seront désaliénés) in the original (217), which is not translated as such in the English version (226).

7 For an explanation of Jacques Lacan’s definition of logical time and chronological time, see Evans, Introductory Dictionary, 205–207. For a definition of original time and Temporality, see Heidegger, Basic Problems of Phenomenology, 241, 307.


9 Anders, “Pathology of Freedom,” 307; cf. Small, Musicking, 9–10. Compare, also, UNESCO’s statements on race and racial difference (which were drafted at the same time Fanon wrote and published Peau noire, masques blancs), the authors of which depended solely on the natural and social sciences; this entire enterprise fell under both Stern’s and Fanon’s critique of philosophical anthropology and science as they pertain to human identification (see chapter 1).

10 Erlmann, Reason and Resonance, 339.


12 I base my understanding of New Negro ideals and aesthetic principles on McKinley Melton’s discussion of the role of self-definition in New Negro ideology in his “Speak It into Existence.”


14 Manning, Modern Dance, Negro Dance, 143.
Clark focuses on Dunham’s choreographies in *Stormy Weather* (1943), *L’Aig’ya* (1938–1944), *Southland* (1951), and *Tango* (1954) as repositories of Caribbean and African American memory and history. She encourages analyzing Dunham’s choreographical work in its historical context and through a critical discourse, focusing on the dialogues between her research, performance, and training of dancers, the ways her repertoire changed over time, and how she articulated difference to class, gender, race, and politics in her works. *Southland* (1951) and *Tango* (1954), she notes, are two rare examples of Dunham choreographies characterized by agitprop. See Clark, “Afro-Caribbean Dance,” 323–324, 327.


For a contemporary overview of avant-garde film production in the United States in the 1940s, see Jacobs, “Avant-Garde Production in America.”

Jacobs, “Avant-Garde Production in America,” 139.

Deleuze, *Cinema 2*, 159–167.


“Hotel Refuses Dunham Players,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 24, 1942, 7. This particular incident was also reported in the *New York Amsterdam Star-News* and the *Philadelphia Tribune*. See also Manning, *Modern Dance, Negro Dance*, 125.

See “Bal Negre” programs, Box 9, Katherine Dunham Papers.

“Heat Wave,” script, undated, Box 54, Folder 13, Katherine Dunham Papers.

For a more detailed analysis of Hammond’s *From Spirituals to Swing* concerts and the traditionalist-modernist divide in jazz critical discourse of the 1940s, see Gennari, *Blowin’ Hot and Cool*, 43–49, 119–120. To clarify, though Hammond was regarded as a hot jazz purist, his civil rights activism as well as his commercial prerogatives seemed to trump his stylistic allegiances, as was demonstrated by his engagement of black and white swing musicians such as Duke Ellington, Benny Goodman, Cab Calloway, and many others for recording dates and concerts (see Gennari, *Blowin’ Hot and Cool*, 26, 34–43).

*From Spirituals to Swing*, 1938 program, 7.

Gennari, *Blowin’ Hot and Cool*, 44.


36 Albert Goldberg, “Notes of Music and Musicians,” Chicago Daily Tribune, August 8, 1943, E3; and Blesh, Shining Trumpets, xi. In addition to his lectures, Blesh hosted a jazz radio show, served as president of the San Francisco Hot Jazz Society, and wrote a freelance jazz column for the San Francisco Chronicle, all of which contributed to the growing New Orleans jazz revivalist movement on the West Coast (see Gennari, Blowin’ Hot and Cool, 119–122, 126, 130–137).

37 Blesh, Shining Trumpets, x.

38 Blesh, Shining Trumpets, 39–40. Blesh’s lectures of April 1943 date after Waterman defended his dissertation in February but before he read his paper “‘Hot’ Rhythm in Negro Music” at the American Musicological Society in December.

39 See Clark and Johnson, Kaiso!, 634–636; see also C. V. Hill, “Collaborating with Balanchine,” 243, 247n3.

40 Hammond in fact helped promote White’s career by securing his recording contract with Columbia Records in addition to performance opportunities (see Wald, Josh White).

41 “Heat Wave,” script, undated, Box 54, Folder 13, Katherine Dunham Papers.

42 Blesh, Shining Trumpets, 142–143.

43 Blesh, Shining Trumpets, 142–143.

44 See Wald, Josh White, 90–124.

45 See Porter, This Thing Called Jazz?, 293–299.

46 Blesh, Shining Trumpets, 310–311.

47 Burley, Dan Burley’s Jive, 216.

48 See Ferguson, Sage of Sugar Hill, 52–62.

49 Blesh, Shining Trumpets, 337.


54 Hurok, S. Hurok Presents, 58.


57 Davidson, “New Café Revues.”
58 “Katherine Dunham Closes on Broadway.”
60 See Hurok, S. Hurok Presents, 59, 60.
66 “Miss Dunham’s Dance Revue Is Brilliant Show,” Chicago Daily Tribune, May 9, 1944, 15.
68 Franziska Boas, daughter of Marie Krackowizer and Franz Boas, had opened her progressive dance school in Manhattan in 1933. Allana C. Lindgren details the issues of race, gender, sexuality, and progressive politics that transpired in the founding and operation of the Boas School of Dance (see Lindgren, “Civil Rights Strategies”).
69 Dunham, “Katherine Dunham School of Arts and Research,” 472–478. According to Aschenbrenner, Columbia University accepted credits from the Dunham School, and classes at the school were accepted for the G1 Bill (Aschenbrenner, Katherine Dunham, 137).
70 Aschenbrenner, Katherine Dunham, 138; Dunham, “Dunham Schools,” 480.
72 Katherine Dunham to George Abbott, January 22, 1946, Box 7, Katherine Dunham Papers.

74 “Katherine Dunham Made $891,000 Last Year; Must Go to Work—She’s ‘Broke’?,” Afro-American, August 24, 1946, 6.

75 See memorandum: “Bal Negre.”

76 See “Bal Negre,” draft program, Box 9, Katherine Dunham Papers.


81 Denby, “Katherine Dunham,” 142.

82 For example, see Porter, This Thing Called Jazz, 32–39; and Manning, Modern Dance, Negro Dance, xx, 142.


84 “Katherine Dunham Balks Plugs,” Chicago Defender, October 12, 1946, 10.

85 See Aschenbrenner, Katherine Dunham, 124.


88 Pierre, “Katherine Dunham.” See also Dunham, “Katherine Dunham School of Arts and Research,” 473.

89 The following theoretical insights are drawn from Cull, “Introduction.”

90 Richard A. Long to Katherine Dunham, September 15, 1946; and “Dance Movement” (poem), Box 9, Katherine Dunham Papers.


93 “We Negro Americans to the President and Congress of the United States,” People’s Voice, April 26, 1947, 7; “Rally with Robeson,” People’s Voice, April 26, 1947, 25.


97 “3-Man Committee to Plan for Liberian Centennial,” Afro-American, May 17, 1947, 14; “Dawson Challenges U.S. to Give Tangible Recognition to Liberia,”

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98 Blesh, Shining Trumpets, 134, 144. John Hammond and many other jazz critics shared Blesh’s consternation over Ellington’s music, particularly his multimovement works, such as Black, Brown and Beige (see Gennari, Blowin’ Hot and Cool, 53).

99 See Porter, This Thing Called Jazz, 35–53.


102 Tucker, “Two Early Interviews,” 45.


109 See Sundiata, Brothers and Strangers, 121–139.

110 Ferguson, Sage of Sugar Hill, 19–20. A search of Schuyler’s articles and editorials on Liberia in the ProQuest Historical Newspapers database brings up dozens of results.

111 See Sundiata, Brothers and Strangers, 61–76.


114 “National Committee for the American Celebration of the 100th Anniversary of Liberia June 7, 1947,” Series 4 Oversized Graphics, Map Case 2, Drawer 17, Folder 20, Duke Ellington Collection (my emphasis).


117 Tucker, “Previews,” 156.

118 Tucker, “Previews,” 156.


For a detailed history and analysis of the founding of Liberia, see Clegg, *Price of Liberty*, 29–44.


The main materials for my analysis of *Liberian Suite* are the score’s 1947 manuscript and parts (*Liberian Suite*, Series 1A, Music Manuscripts, Boxes 199 and 200, Duke Ellington Collection). In addition, my analysis draws from the recording of the concerts at Carnegie Hall in December 1947 (Duke Ellington and His Orchestra, *Carnegie Hall Concerts, December 1947*).


Tucker, “Interview in Los Angeles,” 150.


See Sundiata, *Brothers and Strangers*, 164, 167, 188.


“Duke at Carnegie Hall on Night of ‘Blizzard,’” *People’s Voice*, January 3, 1943, 22; ‘Duke’ Plays Liberian Composition,” *New York Amsterdam News*, January 10, 1948, 4. Writing for *Down Beat*, Michael Levin criticized the orchestra for its lack of fire and technical execution. Levin was one of Ellington’s strongest defenders of his *Black, Brown and Beige*, but his support of *Liberian Suite* was lukewarm at best, even though he concluded that it was the standout piece of the concert. See Michael Levin, “Ellington Pleases Concert Crowd,” *Down Beat*, January 14, 1948, 3.


Cf., for example, Monson’s explanation of such clashes to the rising moral standards of the civil rights movement (Freedom Sounds, 61).

Jacobs, “Avant-Garde Production in America,” 132–133.

See Stauffacher, Art in Cinema; and Sexton, “Alchemical Transformations.”


Smith to Hilla von Rebay, June 17, 1950, Box 11, Folder 4, Harry Smith Papers.

On multiplicities and arborescent schema, see Deleuze and Guattari, Thousand Plateaus, 11–17.


Sitney, “Film Culture,” 56.


See Gennari’s analysis of Cold War intellectual thought and jazz criticism of the late 1940s through the 1960s (Blowin’ Hot and Cool, 165–170).

Sitney, “Film Culture,” 53. According to Smith’s “Curriculum Vitae,” available on his online archive, he edited his Film No. 3 down from its original thirty minutes to match “Guarachi guaro” (Harry Smith Archive, accessed March 12, 2015, http://www.harrysmitharchives.com/).

Smith to Hilla von Rebay, June 17, 1950.
159 For example, see “Record Reviews,” *Down Beat*, April 22, 1949, 14.
160 Gillespie with Fraser, *To Be, or Not . . . to Bop*, 322–323 (my emphasis).
163 See Gillespie with Fraser, *To Be, or Not . . . to Bop*, 290.
164 See Dizzy Gillespie and His Orchestra, *Dizzy Gillespie: The Complete RCA Victor Recordings*, Metronome and *Down Beat* published the first record reviews of “Guarachi guaro” in April 1949.
165 Smith to Hilla von Rebay, June 17, 1950.
171 Gillespie with Fraser, *To Be, or Not . . . to Bop*, 138, 265.
172 Smith to Hilla von Rebay, June 17, 1950.
173 Smith claimed to have recorded similar jam sessions, which took place following the showing, but no such materials apparently have survived (see Smith to Hilla von Rebay, June 17, 1950).
178 Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, 34.

Chapter 5. Desiring Africa
2 In his *Folklore y cultura* Liscano cites Oswald Spengler’s *The Decline of the West* as his main source for defining folklore as an actively generating force of culture and civilization as the provenance of the folk “cultured” and not the urban intellectual class, among which he lists folklorists (12, 16). For his discussion of “civilization” and the tensions between the city and province, see Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, 24–27. Cuban music critic and novelist Alejo Carpentier helped establish a specifically Latin American rendering of magical realism, beginning
with his first novel *El reino de este mundo* (The kingdom of this world), which he completed in 1948. He referred to this Latin American version of magical realism as *lo real maravilloso* (Carpentier, *El reino de este mundo*, 9–11). The significance of *real maravilloso* to this chapter pertains specifically to Carpentier’s *El reino de este mundo* and its critical analysis by others.

3 Liscano, *Folklore y cultura*, 14–23.

4 For Sartre’s explanations of anguish, see his *Being and Nothingness*, 66–78 and *Existentialism Is a Humanism*, 25–27.

5 “Propositor,” *Afroamérica* 1, nos. 1–2 (January and July 1945), 3.

6 It is important to stress that the emergence of Afroamerican studies or estudios afroamericanos named as such did not occur only in the United States but indeed throughout the Caribbean, Mexico, and South America in the 1940s. Melville J. Herskovits, himself, regarded Juan Liscano’s research on the festivals of San Juan among Afro-Venezuelans in Barlovento as of “first rate importance for our work in Afroamerican cultures” (Herskovits to Concha Romero James, January 16, 1948, Box 39, Folder 6, Melville J. Herskovits [1895–1963] Papers).

7 Diop, “Niam n’goura,” 8. See also Mouralis, “Présence Africaine,” 5.

8 Diop, “Niam n’goura,” 7.


11 Sartre, *Black Orpheus*, 9. I have substituted “the gaze” as it appears in this translated version with Sartre’s original *les regards* since the gaze is associated more with Jaques Lacan’s later work (see Sartre, “Orphée noir,” ix).


15 It is worth noting that the publication of Freud’s *Civilization and Its Discontents* in Germany in 1930 coincided with Melville Herskovits’s initiation of his fieldwork and correspondences with Erich von Hornbostel and Fernando Ortiz on the African origins of New World Negro culture. Also, Zoila Gálvez and Modupe Paris had added the Negro spiritual to their repertoires, and the League of Nations charged Liberian government officials with the forcible export of labor of the nation’s native individuals. In each of these co-occurrences the human inclination to cruel aggressiveness was of concern, as demonstrated in the horrors of World War I (as noted by Freud and anticipated by Oswald Spengler), in the study of race relations and the performance of the history of slavery in the United States, or under Western Europe’s and racial progress’s capitalist regime in West Africa (see Spengler, *Decline of the West*, xiv, xxi).

16 Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, 58 (my emphasis).

17 Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, 100.

18 Jacques Attali theorizes silence as a form of capitalism’s violence emanating not in the literal silencing of music but rather in its commodification, consumption, and
thus repetition. As he notes, the “triumph of capitalism” is that it made “people accept identity in mass production as a collective refuge from powerlessness and isolation” (Attali, *Noise*, 121–124).

For an explanation of “movement” and perception as utilized here, see Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus*, 280–282. Their key explanation is: “It is in jumping from one plane to the other, or from the relative thresholds [of perception] to the absolute threshold [of imperceptions] that coexists with them, that the imperceptible becomes necessarily perceived” (282).

Aguilar and Craddock interview. Pedro Aguilar, in spite of the implications of his professional name, “Cuban Pete,” was born in Bayamón, Puerto Rico.

The charanga is an ensemble format whose instrumentation includes flute, violins, piano, bass, timbales, congas, guiro, and vocals. The repertories most associated with charanga ensembles are danzón and chachachá.


For analytical examples of the mambo rhythm, see Garcia, *Arsenio Rodríguez*, 41–55. See also López Cano, “Apuntes para una prehistoria del mambo.”


Cuéllar Vizcaíno, “La revolución del mambo,” 98.


Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus*, 296; see also 300–302.


Cané interview.


Aguilar and Craddock interview.


52 “Tele-Radiolandia,” *Bohemia*, February 18, 1951, 42.
55 See Attali, *Noise*, 122.
63 For Deleuze and Guattari’s critique of capitalism’s creation and use of Oedipus as its internalized limit, see *Anti-Oedipus*, 50, 262–271. See Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 246–273.
64 “Sambo” is an Anglicization of the Latin American *zambo*, a term that originated in the colonial period to denote the Afro-Indian racially mixed caste (see Andrews, *Afro-Latin America*, 48, 203–205). All issues of *Life* are available digitally at http://books.google.com/books?id=N0EEAAAAMBAJ&source=gbs_nava... all_issues_anchor.
75 For an analysis of this film, see Garcia, “Going Primitive,” 514–518.
77 McBride, “Existentialism,” 51. During his time as a columnist, García Márquez wrote about and cited the work of Sartre and Camus (see García Márquez, Textos costeños, 594–595, 616–618).
79 “Dámaso Pérez Prado, creador del ‘mambo’,” La Prensa, March 6, 1951.
83 Excelsior, December 4, 1950, 25; El Universal, December 5, 1950, 23.
84 “Protestan en Perú por bailes de Amalia Aguilar,” La Prensa, March 27, 1951.
85 See Holland, Modern Catholic Social Teaching, 114, 171, 233–235.
87 Pius XII, Evangelii praecores, pars. 17–18.
88 Holland, Modern Catholic Social Teaching, 282.
89 Gerassi, Jean-Paul Sartre, 30.
91 García Márquez, Textos costeños, 542–543; El nacional, February 27, 1951, n.p.
92 García Márquez, Textos costeños, 542–543.
93 “Mambo King,” Ebony, September 1951, 48.
94 Sartre, “Commentary on The Stranger,” 78.
95 “The Mambo,” 41.
98 This explanation of existential naturalism is based on Friedrich Nietzsche’s philosophy. See Hatab, “Nietzsche,” 139, 152.
99 Attali, Noise, 121.
100 “Mambo King,” 45.
101 Sartre, “Commentary on The Stranger,” 78.
102 Sartre, Black Orpheus, 50–51.
103 Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks, 133–135.
104 Mikics, “Derek Walcott and Alejo Carpentier,” 385.
106 See Zea, El positivismo en México, 28.
107 Zea, El positivismo en México, 29.
110 For an analysis of *Víctimas del pecado*, see García, “Afro-Cuban Soundscape.”
112 Pérez Prado’s orchestra with featured vocalist Beny Moré recorded this song in Mexico City in October 1949.
122 “Mambo King,” *Ebony*, September 1951, 47.
123 See Monson, *Freedom Sounds*, 31–49. As Monson mentions, New York’s Local 802 and Detroit’s Local 5 were the only integrated locals in the AFM. Official efforts to integrate Los Angeles’s Local 47 began in November 1951, the same month of Pérez Prado’s tour of California. Local 47 would not officially become integrated until 1953.
126 Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 258.
These ads were published between November 10 and 21, 1951.


Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 51.

Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus*, 175 (my emphasis); see also 184–187, 190.


**Conclusion**

1 “A Syllabus of Fifteen Lectures on the History of Jazz,” Box 17, Folder 28, Marshal Winslow Stearns Collection.

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