BRILL

THE FLYING AFRICANS: EXTENT AND STRENGTH OF THE MYTH IN THE AMERICAS
Author(s): Lorna McDaniel
Source: *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids / New West Indian Guide*, Vol. 64, No. 1/2 (1990), pp. 28-40
Published by: Brill on behalf of the KITLV, Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies
Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/24027305
Accessed: 05-10-2018 00:02 UTC

REFERENCES
Linked references are available on JSTOR for this article:
https://www.jstor.org/stable/24027305?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents
You may need to log in to JSTOR to access the linked references.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at https://about.jstor.org/terms

JSTOR

KITLV, Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies, Brill are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids / New West Indian Guide*

This content downloaded from 164.106.248.203 on Fri, 05 Oct 2018 00:02:33 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Lorna McDaniel

THE FLYING AFRICANS: EXTENT AND STRENGTH OF THE MYTH IN THE AMERICAS

The theme of human aerial flight permeates the mythology of Black America. Examples of the metaphor are found in major musical genres, myths and poetry in Black cultures that span the Caribbean and southern North America, embracing generations to testify to the depth of the cosmological and conscious projection of systems of flight escape and homeland return. While the theme of human flight does not occur in any significant proportion in West African mythology related themes of transformation and pursuit do appear. However, in African thought, witches and spirits possess the power of flight; a flight that can be blocked by the use of salt. The belief in spirit flight, ubiquitous in the Black diaspora of the New World, parallels that in African thought, but in the New World it is enlarged to include humans as possessors of the capability of flight.

In the Haitian tale, "Pierre Jean's tortoise" (Courlander 1964:29), birds present the tortoise with feathers, but at the moment of danger, retrieve them, leaving the tortoise to sing: "If I could fly, ehe, What a tragedy, I have no wings." The South Carolinian story, "All God's children had wings" (Hughes 1958:62) repeats the notion of the repeal of the power of flight. The story begins: "Once all Africans could fly like birds"; the gift of flight was repealed, but freedom and escape through the ability to fly is again awarded the besieged slaves who soar above the slavers' heads accompanied by their own singing. In both stories song or magical words precipitate or accompany freedom and in the several variants of the myth (Georgia Writers Project 1940:150, 116, 117), where song is not employed, code words facilitate flight. The most recent published retelling of the story forms the title piece of a children's book of African/American

This content downloaded from 164.106.248.203 on Fri, 05 Oct 2018 00:02:33 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

tales called *The people could fly* by Virginia Hamilton.

One can find thousands of variants throughout the Caribbean among older folk who know the myth, tale or story (that I call "The flying Africans") and who express the actualization of flight with conviction. Ritual songs use the same metaphor of homeland return though expressed in recondite language. On Curaçao the following Makamba song, translated from Papiamento by Frank Martinus, is supposedly sung by a captured African who bids farewell to his friends as they rise from the ground:

> I am in trouble
> I am in trouble, man
> I am in trouble
> If you see god
> Give my compliments to him. (Martinus 1988)

Richard Price, in *First-Time*, documents many beautiful and ancient histories of the Saramacan past. Among these is the following:

> ...he could walk in a wink from here to the river ..., and walk right across it as if it were solid ground. ...They say that Vuma could fly like a bird. But he was a human being. He'd prepare the *obia* till it was just right, push the ring onto the tip of his thumb, *suuu*, like this (motions). That's what let him walk on water. Well, his parrot feather, specially prepared. He'd tie his belt like this- *saaa*. And he'd fly, *vauu piii*! ... (Price 1983:112)

The story above uncovers the use of charms like the ring and feather to conjure flight. In Guiana the people say that the old Africans would simply put themselves into a hollowed out gourd (gobi), put the cover in place and fly back to Africa (Liverpool 1988). A similar belief is recorded by Miguel Barnet in his edition of the autobiography of Esteban Montejo, an ex-slave in Cuba: "...what happened was that their spirits left their bodies and wandered about over the sea and through space, like when a snail leaves its shell and goes into another and then another and another" (Montejo 1968:131). Some stories describe the aviators with corn cobs tucked under their armpits (Elder 1988) while others recount their spinning around to induce flight. Tobago poet Eric Roach dramatizes the magical journey of Canga Brown, "a man turn soucouyan", who flew in a ball of fire (Roach 1955).

Each mode of travel projects, in a structural way, a cultural and personal system of flight. Whether the Africans rode in a calabash, floated in a sea shell or on a leaf, soared on a wing, on the back of a bird or simply walked upon the water, they had to overcome the sea. The sea (or a body

This content downloaded from 164.106.248.203 on Fri, 05 Oct 2018 00:02:33 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

of water) represents the obstacle against return and is used as the symbol of deterrence in much of the lore presented here. The following slave era song from Carriacou, Grenada, overtly acknowledges homeland longing and the barrier to return – the sea. The song appropriately belongs to the Bongo dance type, traditionally associated with death observances in Caribbean African-type dance rituals (McDaniel 1986:101). The language is French Creole.

Oyo, Mama, Bel Louise oh
Nu kai alé nâ ginî pu
kotwé pawâ mwê
lame bawé mwê

We shall go to Africa to meet
my parents
The sea bars me (Pearse 1956:5)

"The Flying Africans" myth is also perpetuated in Jamaica and documented by Zora Neale Hurston in this way:

> ...salt is not given because it is heavy. It holds duppies (spirits) to the ground. He can not fly and departs if he has salt. Once Africans could all fly because they never ate salt. Many of them were brought to Jamaica to be slaves, but they never were slaves. They flew back to Africa. Those who ate salt had to stay in Jamaica and be slaves, because they were too heavy to fly.
>
> (Hurston 1938:62)

Salt as Symbol

The item above introduces a significant theme that merges with and extends the significance of the sea symbol. Salt, like the watery saline barrier, blocks flight. Just as people intent upon return abstain from the ingestion of salt so also do spirits and witches avoid salt. The use of salt as a protective agent against flying witches is found in the folklore throughout the southern part of the United States as well as in the Caribbean; and in West Africa too, similar patterns of belief exist. "...the witch leaves her skin behind on going out, and among the Vais it is thought that salt and pepper sprinkled in the room will prevent her from getting back into her hide" (Puckett 1926:155). It is reported that during the 1920s in Nigeria people thought that malevolent spirits of sleeping humans prowled during the night and would succumb at the presence of salt and be annihilated, not being able to reinhabit the body (Da Costa 1984). This belief is mirrored in the folk

This content downloaded from 164.106.248.203 on Fri, 05 Oct 2018 00:02:33 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

thought of Carriacou that embraces the idea that the flying monsters, the *lougarou* and *soucouyan*, who shed their skin outdoors, can be apprehended by spreading salt. Salt obstructs the reentry of their spirits into the covering. Grains of sand from the fine-sanded neighbor island, Sandy Island, may also be scattered on the door-step for the sand deters the witch that must count every grain before its exit. Other Caribbean cultures retain similar folk beliefs with only minor variations exhibiting belief/practices too wide-spread to have been invented in isolated areas (Puckett 1926:155).

On West Coast Africa in the Sudanic and Saharan regions, salt, gold and cola nuts were major pre-colonial trade commodities and from those early times the significance of salt was most likely imbued with symbolic strength. Salt was a precious item whose weight was at times exchanged equally for gold.

One can easily perceive the New World extension of the salt metaphor in African legends and in history where the distasteful, salty and death-laden Atlantic Passage could have logically reinforced the association of salt with death and the spirit world. The sea is the physical barrier and salt, in its association with the sea, also inhibits return, but in an alternative way. It is the abstinence from salt that could permit flight or "confer special powers like those of witches..." or even make one "powerful enough to fly back to Africa" (Schuler 1980:96). Food in the 18th century Caribbean was preserved in the sea-like brine and reeked of the infamous salt. Weekly allowances of salted codfish, mackerel, herring or pork constituted the new and foreign food culture of the enslaved that was dictated by the Beneficent Clauses of the Code Noir and British slave laws. No doubt the acceptance of salted food implied to the slave the acceptance of bondage from which he could not "fly".

The significance of salt permeates African-type religious ritual throughout the Caribbean as an ingredient abhorrent to the spirit world. In modern ceremonies perpetuated throughout the Caribbean that are staged in honor of ancestral memory, salt is withheld from the food cooked in honor of the *old parents*.

Victor Turner (1967:30) suggests that symbols may operate on several levels and in polarized dimensions, being at once, "sensory" (affective, easily recognized, and physiological) and at the same time "ideological" (stressing a larger societal value). The physiological connotation of heaviness and groundedness is easily recognized in the physical effect of salt on the body, while the cultural and mythological meanings are less evident and more difficult to discern. However, in the social ownership of the symbols the multiple and sometimes conflicting metaphors mingle, being

This content downloaded from 164.106.248.203 on Fri, 05 Oct 2018 00:02:33 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

accepted by some on its sensory and by others on its ideological level. The sensory explanation of magical power is offered by Eric Roach in the same poem introduced above, "The Ballad of Canga Brown".

What give Canga Brown that power?
He don't eat salt nor sugar,
His flesh like Ibo yam,
His blood like clean rain water".

(Roach 1955)

The Igbo Tale

"The Flying Africans" myth/tale as a whole, granting a polarization of meaning, alludes not only to the imagination of supernatural power and the soul's return from exile, but also to the ideological choice of suicide that was often made by enslaved Africans. This logical and defiant act of rebellion actualized the return to Africa. The Igbo most often made that choice for, as it was reasoned, he suffered from a state termed "fixed melancholy". Eighteenth century literature describes the Igbo as having a

> ...timidity and despondency of mind;" and a "depression of spirits... (it) gives them an air of softness and submission, ...which (causes) them frequently to seek, in a voluntary death, a refuge from their melancholy reflections. (Edwards 1794:76)

Igbos, coming from a highly individualistic society were probably extremely perplexed at their condition under slavery, and being assured that they would consummate their existential notion of the inseparability of their culturally essential brotherhood, could not conceive of not rejoining their families at death. These notions are expressed in contemporary culture in several ways. For instance, the Igbo mythological involvement with flight centers upon the eagle (*ogu*) that flies without intermittent perchings to its destination. The feathers and eggs of the *ogu* operate in Igbo culture as metaphors of light, beauty and excellence and these feathers help celebrate the Igbo ordination of the chief (Nwokah 1984).

A Georgian variant of "The flying Africans" called "The Igbo landing" (Georgia Writers' Project 1940:150) recreates an incident involving a group of Igbos who walked singing into the water at Dunbar Creek, Georgia. The suicide site is named Igbo Landing and the myth now transforms itself into a historical tale. The story below is told by a Georgian culture bearer who interprets the action literally and does not perceive the intent of return by suicide in the "march to Africa":

This content downloaded from 164.106.248.203 on Fri, 05 Oct 2018 00:02:33 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

> Heahd bout duh Ibo Landing? Das duh place weah dey bring duh Ibos obuh in a slabe ship an wen dey git death, dey ain lak it an so dey all staht singin and dey mahch right down in duh ribbah tuh mahch back tuh Africa, but dey ain able tuh get deah. Dey gits drown. (Georgia Writers' Project 1940:185)

The themes of water and song that surround flight in oral literature repeat themselves in several contemporary songs, poems and novels by Caribbean writers like Joseph Zobel, the author of *la Rue Casse-Nègres* (Sugar Cane Alley); but Black American female writers especially underpin their new literature with this rich material from the past. In the novel, *Praisesong for the widow*, Paule Marshall incorporates the same historical tale of mass suicide by drowning. Her segment on the "Igbo landing" recaptures the unified act as one of indomitable spirituality.

> ...they turned ...and looked at the white folks what brought 'em here. Took their time again and gived them the same long look. ...and walked on back to the edge of the river here. ...They just kept walking right on out over the river. Now you wouldna thought they'd of got very far seeing as it was water they was walking on. Besides they has all that iron on 'em. Iron on they ankles and they wrists and fastened 'round they necks like a dog collar.
> ...And chains hooking up the iron. But chains didn't stop those Igbos none. Neither iron. ...they just kept on walking like the water was solid ground. And they was singing by then ...When they realized there wasn't nothing between them and home but some water and that wasn't giving 'em no trouble they got so tickled they started in to singing... (Marshall 1983:39)

Also retaining the profound symbols of water and song in *Song of Solomon*, novelist Toni Morrison recounts another tale of a young man's suicide, in which he, in imitation of his great grandfather, leaps to prove that "If you surrendered to the air, you could ride it" (Morrison 1977:337). Besides Marshall and Morrison several contemporary Black female novelists, that include Maryse Condé, Jamaica Kincaid and Toni Cade Bambara, allude to mysterical corporal displacement or integrate the complete tale of the Flying Africans in culturally telling ways.

Flight in Black Song

Like the myth, folk tale, historical narrative and the modern novel, Black American song is filled with references to flight. The blues, more than any other song genre, projects the veiled but common metaphor of physical flight in the recurrent train imagery to represent social escape (Chartres

This content downloaded from 164.106.248.203 on Fri, 05 Oct 2018 00:02:33 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

1963:70). Especially in the male-owned country blues the texts speak not of suicide, but of running away, fleeing from betrayal and from the terror of a strained and repressive context. Charged with the same message, the Negro Spiritual adapts the Christian vision of the soul's ascent to heaven, of its flight "to Jesus and to rest". There is the widely held notion that some spirituals, though religious in practice, held a double function as signal songs of slave escape. Items like "Steal away" and "Follow the drinking gourd" are thought to have been used secretly and with alternative meanings to alert and direct the bands of enslaved people in escape plots (Southern 1983:144). Though I do not suggest that "All God's children got wings", "If I had the wings of a dove", "If I had two wings", "Motherless child", "Now let me fly", were used as "alerting" songs, they all contain the structural depictions of flight. Selected verses of these Negro Spirituals and favorite hymns sung in Black churches (including one from the Trinidad Spiritual Baptist repertoire) are presented below.

Lend me your wings

Lend me your wings
Let me fly to glory
Blessed are the pure in heart (Trinidad Spiritual Baptist "Trumpet" song)

Motherless child

Sometimes I feel like a motherless child,
Sometimes I feel like a motherless child,
Sometimes I feel like a motherless child,
A long way from home,
A long way from home.

Sometimes I feel like a feather in the air,
Sometimes I feel like a feather in the air,
Sometimes I feel like a feather in the air,
And spread my wings and fly,
And I spread my wings and fly. (Hughes 1958:290)

Now let me fly

Way down yonder in de middle o' de fiel',
Angel workin' at the chariot wheel,
Not so partic'lar 'bout workin' at de wheel,
But jes' want-a see how de chariot feel.

Now let me fly
Now let me fly,

This content downloaded from 164.106.248.203 on Fri, 05 Oct 2018 00:02:33 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Now let me fly,
Into Mount Zion, Lord, Lord. (Hughes 1958:301)

You may bury me in the East

In that dreadful Judgment day,
We'll take wings and fly away
For to hear the trumpet
Sound-in-a that morning (Work 1940:56)

I'll fly away

Some glad morning
When this life is over
I'll fly away
Like a bird
From prison bars has flown
I'll fly away

I'll fly away, oh, glory
I'll fly away
Oh, when I die,
Hallelujia, bye and bye
I'll fly away (Brumley 1981:183)

Two wings

Lord, I want two wings to veil my face
I want two wings to fly away (Hayes 1948:41)

Ev'ry day'll be Sunday

One o'these mornin's bright and fair
Ev'ry day'll be Sunday
Bye an' bye
Goin' to take my wings an' cleave the air
Ev'ry day'll be Sunday bye an' bye (Work 1940:213)

I have italized significant flight images in the spirituals: the first commenting on the morning backdrop to the action and the second referring to ascent or the use of wings. The line, "one of these mornings, goin' to take my wings an' cleave the air" contains pictorializations especially essential in South Carolinian thought. The folk imagery and song repertoire of South Carolina was thoroughly researched and incorporated by George and Ira Gershwin, students of South Carolinian folklore. They created the familiar

This content downloaded from 164.106.248.203 on Fri, 05 Oct 2018 00:02:33 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

"Summertime" using sets of images and phrases from Negro Spirituals. The song conforms to the idea of the ascent being a morning event in which wings are employed and where song accompanies flight.

Summertime

One of these morning
You goin' rise up singing
Then you'll spread yo' wings
an you'll take the sky
But till that mornin'
there's a nothin' can harm you
With Daddy and Mammy standin' by (Heyward and Gershwin 1935:16)

UNIVERSALITY OF THE THEME

In Robert Hayden's poems, "Middle passage" and "O Daedalus, fly away home" (Hayden 1966:65, 71) the essential themes in Black mythology, water, song, and flight reemerge. Hayden employs European mythology in "O Daedalus, fly away home" to express the universality of homeland longing. In Greek mythology, Daedalus with his son, Icarus, both fixed with wings, escaped prison through flight; but Icarus rode too close to the sun, causing his feathers to fall and like the tortoise from the Haitian myth above, the gift of flight was recalled from Icarus.

Certainly, the vision of flight is a universal quest and the ideas discussed here are not exclusive to Black mythology and thought; we find identical themes and imageries in biblical references, in hymn language and in European folklore. A well-known example of such a parallel is the European folk notion of the vulnerability of the bird to salt. Children are advised to "put salt on his tail and you could capture him".

Myths, cosmological symbolizations and national attitudes were also part of the abducted Africans' ideation and all, not only the Igbo, had to reorganize their thinking in the Americas. As the Africans' thinking became infused with Christian/colonial dogma the new symbols mixed with and in some respects complemented traditional thought. We see in "The flying Africans" myth African symbols reciting the African struggle for freedom in the New World and reflecting Black affect and need. The myth has not escaped the contemporary novelist, song-writer, or anthropologist – nor have the people in the Caribbean forgotten it. They continue to rely upon the magical value and power of flight to explain the unexplainable and rest the logic of disappearances upon this gift. In folk

This content downloaded from 164.106.248.203 on Fri, 05 Oct 2018 00:02:33 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

thought illusive historical heroes like the 18th century Grenadian revolutionary, Julien Fedon, the popular 20th century Trinidad labor leader, Uriah Butler, and the Jamaican orchestrator of the modern Back to Africa movement, Marcus Garvey, possessed mystical powers of flight.

The folktale, "High John de Conquer" recreated by Zora Neale Hurston, projects the mythical hero, John, arriving from Africa "walking the winds" and following the slave ship "like an albatross". John teaches the people to use their power of flight in times of need, but not simply as a physical displacement, but as a mental escape in creativity and personal spirituality. Again the elements of song and water appear along with a reference to morning in this narrative of slave escape. The following is taken from the segment that dramatizes John de Conquer's mobilization of the misused people. The people have complained that they would be detected as absconded slaves if sighted wearing their tattered clothing. John instructs them this way:

> "Oh, you got plenty to wear. Just reach
> inside yourselves and get out all those fine
> raiments you been toting around with you for
> the last longest. They is in there, all right, I
> know. Get 'em out, and put 'em on." ...And then
> John hollered back for them to get out their
> musical instruments so they could play music
> on the way. They were right inside where they
> got their fine raiments from. ...After that they
> all heard a big sing of wings. It was John come
> back, riding on a great black crow. The crow
> was so big that one wing rested on the morning,
> while the other dusted off the evening star. John
> lighted down and helped them, so they all mounted
> on, and the bird took out straight across the deep
> blue sea. (Hurston 1973:546)

The Hurston interpretation adds new dimensions to the escape tale making it very different from Marshall's proud recounting of the historical past of rebellion and Morrison's concentrated integration of the myth. Hurston superimposes a stilted racial perspective in suggesting later in her adaptation, that the mental fantasy of flight and the accompanying search for song are somehow linked to the creative energies of Black people – implying that past atrocities were responsible for more than just Black culture; they were somehow effective in producing a Black "personality" of forebearance infused with "song and laughter".

This content downloaded from 164.106.248.203 on Fri, 05 Oct 2018 00:02:33 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Conclusion

It is important in reading the several settings of the myth that we allow for double or triple meanings and that we frame the special experience that inspired the secret dreams of revolt and freedom within the slave context. The exact meaning in the several versions of the myth is difficult to ascertain as is a full interpretation of the meanings of the heavenly ascent so often portrayed in the Negro Spiritual. Their meanings extend further than the obvious statements. With this in mind we can see in each of the far flung articulations presented above an underlying connectedness in the historical/cultural imageries of passage and silent diffusions of symbolic statements.

The cultural variations and the wide distribution of the myth/tale, "The flying Africans" declare a common origin and a shared experience. The imagination that bestowed humans with the ability of flight clearly evolved from the desire for freedom and where it is not a myth, but a narrative of resistance, it announces the ultimate act of suicide. The desire for astral flight resounds in the ecstatic motion of dance and music of the Black church and vibrates in the inspired political acts of slave resistance. When discovered in the myth, tale, historical chronicle, or song, and whether interpreted as physical, cosmological or political events, these modes of flight are connected and share the same symbols. The unifying symbols emanate from the Black experience of slavery and recapitulate their meanings in literary forms and songs from various eras and continents.

Bibliography

Bambara, Toni Cade, 1977. *The sea birds are still alive.* New York, Random House.

Brumley, Albert E., 1981. *Songs of Zion.* Nashville, Parthenon Press.

Chartres, Samuel, 1963. *Poetry in the blues.* New York, Oak Publication.

Condé, Maryse, 1986. *Moi, Tituba Sorciere... Noire de Salem.* Paris, Mercure de France.

Courlander, 1964. *"Pierre Jean's tortoise", The Piece of Fire and Other Haitian Tales.* New York, Harcourt, Brace and World.

DaCosta, Adrian, 1984. [Personal communication].

Edwards, Bryan, 1794. *The history, civil and commercial of the British Colonies.* 2 vols., London, John Stockdale.

This content downloaded from 164.106.248.203 on Fri, 05 Oct 2018 00:02:33 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Georgia Writers' Project, Savannah Unit, Work Projects Administration, 1940. *Drums and shadows: Survival studies among the Georgia coastal Negroes.* Reprint ed., University of Georgia Press, 1973.

Hamilton, Virginia, 1986. *The People could fly.* New York, Knopf.

Hayes, Roland, 1948. *My songs: Afro-American religious songs.* Boston, Little, Brown.

Hughes, Langston, and Arna Bontemps, 1958. *The book of Negro folklore.* New York, Dodd, Mead and Company.

Hurston, Zora Neale, 1938. *Tell my horse.* Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott. Reprint ed., Berkeley, California, Turtle Island, 1983.

———, 1973. "High John de Conquer" *in* Alan Dundes (ed.), *Mother wit from the laughing barrel.* N.J., Prentice Hall.

Kincaid, Jamaica, 1986. *Annie John.* New York, New American Library.

Liverpoole, Thelma, 1988. [Personal communication].

Marshall, Paule, 1983. *Praisesong for the widow.* New York, Dutton.

Martinus, Frank, 1988. *"Guene: the connection between Papiamento and Africa".* Unpublished paper presented at Creole Roundtable, University of Georgia, Athens, Feb. 1988.

Montejo, Esteban, 1968. *The autobiography of a run-away slave.* Ed. Miguel Barnet. New York, Pantheon Books.

Morrison, Toni, 1977. *Song of Solomon.* New York, Alfred A. Knopf.

Nwokah, Osita, 1985. [Personal communication].

Pearse, Andrew, 1956. Recording insert. The big drum dance of Carriacou. *Ethnic Folkways Library,* Album No. FE4011.

Price, Richard, 1983. *First-Time: The historical vision of an Afro-American people.* Baltimore, London, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Puckett, Newbell Niles, 1926. *Folk beliefs of the Southern Negro.* University of North Carolina Press. Reprint ed., New York, Negro Universities Press, 1968.

Roach, Eric, 1955. Ballad of Canga. *Caribbean Quarterly,* vol. 4, no. 2, (December).

Schuler, Monica, 1980. *Alas, alas, Kongo: A social history of indentured Africans' immigration into Jamaica, 1841-1865.* Baltimore, London, John Hopkins University Press.

Southern, Eileen, 1971. *The music of black Americans.* 2nd edition, New York, London, W.W. Norton, 1983.

This content downloaded from 164.106.248.203 on Fri, 05 Oct 2018 00:02:33 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Turner, Victor, 1967. *The forest of symbols, aspects of Ndembu ritual.* Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press.

Work, John, 1940. *American Negro song and spirituals.* New York, Bonanza Books.

Zobel, Joseph, 1974. *La Rue Casse-Nègres.* Paris, Presence Africaine.

Lorna McDaniel
2006 Oak Lane Road
Wilmington, DE 19803
U.S.A.

This content downloaded from 164.106.248.203 on Fri, 05 Oct 2018 00:02:33 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms