Treasure in the Terror: The African Cultural Legacy in the Americas

Dedicated to Kenneth Bilby, Kamau Brathwaite, Kenneth Dossar, Henry Drewal, K. Kia Bunseki Fu-Kiau, Robin Kelley, Zeca Ligiero, Jacqui Malone, Barbaro Martinez-Ruiz, John Mason, Ivor Miller, Lubangi Muniania, T. J. Desch Obi, Edward L. Powe, Robert Farris Thompson and Cedric Robinson, all scholars whose works have informed and inspired this paper.

Introduction

The contemporary Americas have benefited from the intellectual heritage of three major cultural groups, i.e., the Native American, the European and the African. This paper is concerned with the African contribution.[1] Much of the scholarship concerning Africans in the Americas has functioned under the myopia of the "Deficit Model", a term frequently used by Robert Farris Thompson to explain the tendency of scholars to view African cultural contributions as nonexistent, or at best, deficient.[2] The Deficit Model presumes that because of their lack of material goods and deprived social conditions under the yoke of chattel slavery, Africans were unable to contribute in any significant way, other than their labor, to the formation of the cultures in the Americas. Because of the forced or involuntary nature of the African Diaspora, it is often forgotten that these migrating groups, in this case enslaved humans, carried with them more than their bodies. They brought their cultures, religious traditions, artistic forms, philosophies, social mores, and ideas about governance and political organizations. Writing about Karl Marx and the Black radical tradition, historian Cedric Robinson eloquently states that:

> *..Marx had not realized fully that the cargoes of laborers also contained African cultures, critical mixes and admixtures of language and thought, of cosmology and metaphysics, of habits, beliefs, and morality. These were the actual terms of their humanity. These cargoes, then, did not consist of intellectual isolates or deculturated Blacks---men, women, and children separated from their previous universe. African labor brought the past with it, a past that had produced it and settled on it the first elements of consciousness and comprehension.*[3]

In other words, Africans brought with them to the Americas their most important possessions, their minds. Those minds were and are essential in the formation of the world we now inhabit. Those minds, functioning under the terror of slavery and continued oppression, also contained the treasure of African (i.e., Yoruba, Kongo, Mande, etc.) art,

philosophy and spirituality.[4] This treasure, although often unacknowledged, misattributed or seen as only popular culture without specific historical or cultural connection to an African root, has become the vibrant enlivener of world culture. As we shall see, much of the planet thinks, prays, plays, dances and sings using the models created, established and disseminated by Africans and the African Diaspora.

Eight relevant texts attempt to fill some of the gaps in the history of the African cultural contributions in the Americas. *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy* and *Face of the Gods: Art and Altars of Africa and the African Americas*, both by Robert Farris Thompson, illustrate the continuing influence of African religions in the Americas. *Working the Spirit: Ceremonies of the African Diaspora* by Joseph M. Murphy focuses on five African based religions in the Americas and the Caribbean. *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800* by John K. Thornton offers a carefully documented record of Africans in the Atlantic world. *African Roots/American Cultures: Africa in the Creation of the Americas*, edited by Sheila S. Walker, uses twenty-four authors, including cultural leaders and artists, to illustrate the depth and complexity of the African contribution. *Rethinking the African Diaspora*, edited by Kristin Mann and Edna G. Bay, focuses on the influence of the Bight of Benin on Brazil. *Beads, Body and Soul: Art and Light in the Yorùbá Universe* by Henry John Drewal and John Mason reveals the visual and intellectual beauty of Yoruba art in Africa and the Americas. *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora*, edited by Linda Heywood, is concerned with the Central African or Bantu influence in the Americas.

Three other texts offer similar information for the United States: *Africanisms in American Culture* by Joseph E. Holloway; *Black Legacy: America's Hidden Heritage* by William D. Piersen; and *Exchanging our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* by Michael Gomez. One text, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* by Cedric Robinson, succeeds in placing the African-American struggle for political consciousness in a larger historical context. These are just a few of the relevant texts, but they offer examples of excellent recent scholarship.

Resistance to Slavery

Africans in the Americas had various ways of resisting slavery and oppression including, but not limited to, work slowdowns, breaking of tools, escape and revolt.[5] Revolts and runaways gave the Americas numerous heroes particularly in the Caribbean, Central America and South America. Some exceptional leaders are still celebrated: Captain Lemba[6] in the Dominican Republic; Yanga[7] in Mexico; King Zumbi[8] in Brazil; King Benkos Bioho[9] in Columbia; King Bayano[10] in Panama; Queen Grandy Nanny[11] and Captain Kojo[12] in Jamaica; King Miguel Guacamaya[13] in Venezuela; Makandal[14] and Boukman[15] in Haiti; and, although not as well known as the others, John Horse[16] (aka Juan Caballo or Gopher John) in the United States and Mexico. Many of these maroon leaders claimed a royal heritage hence their titles of king and queen. Given the royal intrigue in many African kingdoms, their claims of an aristocratic heritage may well be true.[17] More importantly, the popular imagination has offered them a coronation by consensus in which legends and songs have declared their nobility.

Zumbi of Palmares was celebrated in recent recordings as a king[18] and as a lord.[19] As Brazilian pop singer Jorge Ben put it:

> *I want to see what will happen*
> *When Zumbi arrives.*
> *Zumbi is the Lord of war,*
> *Zumbi is Lord of demands.*
> *When Zumbi arrives*
> *It will be he who commands.*[20]

Beginning in 1978 members of the Black Movement and other activist formally celebrated Zumbi of Palmares as the national hero of Afro-Brazilians.[21]

Liberated African communities were called by different names depending on their location. The English word "maroon" comes from the Spanish *cimarrón*, which in turn has an Arawak (Taino) origin.[22]

> *Cimarrón originally referred to domestic cattle that had taken to the hills in Hispaniola, and soon after it was applied to American Indian slaves who had escaped from the Spaniards as well. By the end of the 1530's, the word had taken*

on strong connotations of being "fierce," "wild" and "unbroken," and was used primarily to refer to African-American runaways.[23]

Cimarrón became *cimanól,* which in turn became "Seminole" in English. Many enslaved Africans brought with them the skills used in the process of maroonage. In the Kingdom of the Kongo for example, those affected by the continuous civil wars between 1641-1718 had to learn how to mobilize troops or even whole villages, evacuate an area and re-situate in a protected or unreachable location.[24] These logistical skills were exactly the ones necessary to establish maroon communities.

In most of the Spanish speaking Americas maroon societies were know as *palenques*, Spanish for "arena, enclosure, palisades," although in Venezuela, they were also called *cumbes*. Creole language scholar Ian Hancock explained that the strongest continuations of African-influenced languages found in the Americas occur in areas that contained maroon settlements.[25] It should then come as no surprise that some of the names for these types of settlements are in African languages. In Brazil they were known as *quilombos* from the Kikongo and Kimbundu *kilombo* meaning respectively "troops, military unit"[26] and "capital, town, settlement, confederation."[27] Brazilians also called them *mocambos* from the Kimbundu *mú kambu* meaning "hideaway."[28] Many of these specific communities had and have names that indicated their geographic affinities in Africa, for example *El Calunga* in Cuba[29] and *Kalunga* in Brazil,[30] indicates a Bantu or Central African origin for at least the name. *Kalûnga*, as it is written in Kikongo, is an important word in South American, Caribbean and Central African religious thought. In Kikongo it can mean "ocean, sea,"[31] or "god-of-change"[32] with the implications of vastness and completeness. Runaway communities produced major problems for the system of slavery and were described by plantation society as the "chronic plague" and "gangrene."[33]

Longing to Be Free and the Reclaiming of Resistance

If a slave is defined as "a person held in servitude as the chattel of another"[34] then once they have run away, they are no longer slaves. Most texts refer to "ex-slaves" which privileges their potentially temporary social position of enslavement over their permanent humanity. The other inaccurate term is "runaway slave" which by definition is illogical. In

discussing the maroons, I prefer the term self-liberated Africans. These self-liberated Africans established thousands of communities in the Americas. For example in the Cuban province of Pinar del Río, during a five-year period (1837-1842), one maroon hunter attacked 41 different palenques.[35] Many maroon societies exist today with Brazil having the largest amount. Just one state, Maranhão in northern Brazil, still has over 400 quilombos with only nine officially recognized by the government.[36] Suriname and French Guiana in South America also have vibrant maroon communities whose main groups are the Ndyuka, Saramaka, Matawai, Aluku (Boni), Paramaka and Kwinti. Owing mainly to the scholarship of Richard Price, Sally Price, and Kenneth Bilby, there is an excellent body of work in English documenting the maroons of Suriname and French Guiana.[37] The history and concerns of Jamaican maroons have also been well recorded by Kenneth Bilby,[38] Mavis Campbell,[39] Edward Kamau Brathwaite,[40] and Karla Gottlieb.[41]

Africans, in their longing to be free, also established other models for all inhabitants of the Americas, including Europeans. As Cuban scholar and social activist Carlos Moore has written:

> *After being cut off from the motherland for almost a century, the black slaves had lost all hope of returning to Africa. They now recognized this land, Cuba, as their land – their home. But this process of "Cubanization" on the part of black slaves, taking place in the midst of the harshest of conditions imposed by slavery, did not involve the Spanish in any way; in other words, the blacks were becoming Afrocubans, whereas the whites were remaining Spanish*.[42]

Europeans were sending their children to Paris, London, Madrid, etc., to be educated and acculturated. As Moore indicated, the *ideas* of independence in this new environment were established by Africans. In some cases these ideas were Native American, as in the example of the Iroquois League and its influence on the constitution of the United States.[43] Moreover, I would like to point out that the *models* for independence were the quilombos, palenques and maroon societies. In an academic journal, appropriately titled *Cimarrón*, Rafael Duharte Jiménez states, " Palenques in Cuba were islands of freedom in the sea of colonial oppression."[44] In the early 1600's while the Europeans in Mexico were still in alliance with Spain, there already existed an independent, non-indigenous republic led by Yanga in Vera Cruz. In Brazil, while the Dutch and Portuguese were fighting over Amerindian land, the African based but multiracial, *Quilombo dos Palmares* (Quilombo of

the Palms), existed for approximately one hundred years (1595-1695).[45] The motto of Palmares was "*Quem vier para amor à liberdade, fica"* (Whoever comes for the love of liberty, stays).[46] While celebrating the 300th anniversary of the death of Zumbi, the leader of Palmares and now the most celebrated Afro-Brazilian hero, Ambassador Raymundo Souza Dantas points out that, "*Palmares deve ser lembrado como o primeiro movimento social onde a noção de cidadania começa a surgir*" (Palmares should be remembered as the first social movement where the notion of citizenship began to arise.)[47] Africans longing to be free established the models for Brazilian independence that are still relevant to African Brazilians in the 21st Century. This is illustrated by the recent creation of numerous groups using quilombo in their names, e.g. *Quilombohoje* (Quilombo Today) a group of Afro-Brazilian writers, *Gremio Artístico e Recreativo-Quilombo* (Quilombo Artistic and Recreational Association) a samba school and movement created by Candeia, Nei Lopes and Martinho da Vila, and *Quilombismo* (Quilomboism) a socio-political project organized by Afro-Brazilian writer/political leader Abdias do Nascimento.[48] By choosing these names, these groups are consciously reclaiming resistance as a necessary part of their daily lives.

In the mid 1970's a debate arose in Brazil regarding what would be the appropriate date to celebrate Afro-Brazilian heritage. The Brazilian government chose May 13th the day Princess Isabel signed the papers supposedly freeing the enslaved population. Afro-Brazilians disagreed saying that liberation never came, and if anything, Princess Isabel was forced to sign because of their fierce resistance to slavery, not out of the kindness of her heart. They instead chose November 20th, the day when Zumbi was killed, as Zumbi Day or the Day of Black Consciousness.[49] Capoeira Angola master Pedro Moraes Trinidade (Mestre Moraes) wrote a *ladainha*, a song used to open the ritual of play or *joga* in capoeira, to discuss the issue of emancipation and to celebrate Zumbi:

King Zumbi of Palmares

History deceives us
Says everything contrary
Even says that abolition
Happened in the month of May
The proof of this lie

Is that from misery I do not escape.

Long live the 20th of November
Moment to be remembered
I don't see in the 13th of May
Anything to commemorate
A long time passes
And the black man always will struggle.

Zumbi is our hero
Zumbi is our hero, old friend
Of Palmares he was the leader
For the cause of the black man
It was he who fought the most
In spite of all the fighting, my friend
The black man did not liberate himself, comrade![50]

Capoeira is an Afro-Brazilian martial art, used historically to resist slavery and oppression, so it is understandable that a capoeira master like Mestre Moraes would write such a homage with a grounding in the past, but also expressing the continuing problems of today.

The reclaiming of the past to restructure resistance in the present is an ongoing process in Brazil. On a trip in 2001 to the *Quilombo Santa Joana* in Itapecurú, Maranhão, a group of Afro-United Statesian scholars and tourists, were treated to a song by the *quilombolas*, the inhabitants of the quilombo.[51] The song, "Êe Meu Pai Quilombo" (Hey, My Father Quilombo), told of the pride and bravery of the quilombolas and celebrated the life of Zumbi. Founded in 1821, the Quilombo Santa Joana has a long history of resistance. As it so happened, their song was not originally from the quilombo, but was created in 1992 by Paulinho Akomabu of *Akomabu*,[52] a *Bloco Afro* located in the capital city of São Luis, Maranhão. A bloco afro is a community carnival group that uses African themes. The name, Akomabu, is from the Ewe language of Ghana and Togo. It means, "a culture should not die."[53] In this case a bloco afro, inspired by the history and socio-political legacy of the quilombos, created a musical tribute to them. This musical homage was recognized by the quilombolas themselves as an honest and worthy appreciation of their lives and struggles. They in turn accepted the tribute, and incorporated it into their daily lives as a tool for developing self-esteem and to reinvigorate the moral of the quilombo.

Haiti provided one of the most important models for Africans living in the United States. News of the Haitian revolution in 1791created "the black scare"[54] in the Caribbean and southern United States and led to the doubling of the population of New Orleans in a decade.[55] Most of this new population was fleeing Haiti and Cuba, making New Orleans truly a Caribbean city. This same news had the opposite effect on African Americans in the United States. Among other things, it inspired the rebellions of Gabriel Prosser (1880)[56] and Denmark Vesey (1822),[57] encouraged members of the first black Masonic lodge formed by Prince Hall,[58] and led to celebrations in remote black towns like Nicodemus, Kansas more than a century after the end of legal chattel slavery.[59] In 1973 José Luciano Franco wrote *Los palenques de los negros cimarrones* (The Palenques of the Black Maroons)[60] which quickly became the definitive book on the maroons in Cuban. According to Ivor Miller, the appearance of *Los palenques…* changed the socio-political discourse in Cuban society. In 1976, Cuban president Fidel Castro was inspired to declare Cuba as having a Latino-African culture and people.[61] The ideas of the quilombos, palenques and maroon societies are still alive and informing our lives, whether as found in an independent and secure organization/community/country, or in a more abstract manifestation as a safe intellectual haven for ideas and cultural/artistic production.

Musical Legacy

Some of the most important treasures hidden in the cultural cargo of Africans shipped to the Americas were their ideas concerning music and dance. This is especially true for the people of Central Africa, in particular the Bakongo from the old Kingdom of the Kongo. Parts of this kingdom now form sections of the current countries of Angola, Congo-Brazzaville, Congo-Kinshasa and Gabon. The Bakongo, and those in their sphere of influence, made up the largest percentage of enslaved Africans coming to the Americas.[62] They in turn had a powerful influence on the musical cultures of the Americas. One Bakongo scholar, Fu-Kiau, philosophizes about the place of music and dance in Kongo tradition:

> *Drumming, singing and dancing are a source of inspiration, energy and joy. Kôngo people drum, sing and dance to raise their families with the balance provided by the sound of music. They drum, sing and dance to moan their dead; they drum, sing and dance to strengthen their institutions. Furthermore, African people drum, sing and dance because "Life itself is a perpetual melody"* (Zîngu

> kiau-kibèni i kumu diakwâma). *They produce music, and enjoy it, to be in peace with themselves, nature, and with the universe as well. Drumming, singing and dancing form a powerful "spiritual medicine"* (n'kisi) *that helps one to excel at work, at war, even under oppression.*[63]

If as Fu-Kiau asserts, music "helps one to excel at work, at war, even under oppression," then it was and is a necessary medicine for Africans in the Americas, who developed this medicine to a powerful therapeutic dosage, and then administered it to an also needy planet. Although one could make a case for other musical influences in the Americas (e.g., a West Central Sudanic influence on the blues[64] in the United States, or a Yoruba and Arabic-Islamic contribution to rumba vocalizing in Cuba,)[65] I will stress the Central African effect on national musics because, as stated earlier, it is probably the most important.

Samba and Tango

The national dance and music of Brazil is *samba*,[66] which in the Kikongo language can mean, "to pray"[67] or "a type of dance."[68] Taken together, these two definitions can also represent a process in African Brazilian ritual performance, in which a sacred *Candomble* or *Umbanda* ceremony ends and becomes a secular samba party. The word can also be written as *nsàmba*[69] with the same meaning as "a type of dance." A cognate word in Brazilian Portuguese is *bamba*, which can mean "an important person in the samba world"[70] or "an authority on any topic."[71] The word *bamba* is derived from *kibamba*, which in Kikongo and Kimbundu can mean, "champion, hero, courageous."[72] The instrument most identified with Brazilian samba is the *cuica*, *puita* or *onça*[73] a type of friction drum from Central Africa where it is known as *kwika*, or *pwita*,[74] obviously related to the American instruments. A similar drum is known as *kinfuiti* in Cuba.[75]

Argentina and Uruguay are known for the music and dance *tango*,[76] which is an outgrowth of other older African-based[77] dances and musical forms of *milonga*,[78] *candombe*[79] and *canyengue*,[80] and *habanera*,[81] a rhythm from Cuba. It is interesting to note that the most prolific writer of milongas was the Afro-Argentinean, Gabino Ezeiza (1858-1916),[82] with more than 500 compositions to his credit. In Kikongo the term related to tango is *tanga*,[83] meaning "feast, festival, banquet" which is exactly how the word 'tango' was used in

Afro-Argentine newspapers.[84] In the early 1800's both Buenos Aires and Montevideo had weekly dances or parties referred to as "*tangos de los negros*" (tangos of the blacks.)[85] Another associated term is *tangana*,[86] which means "to go, to walk like a chameleon" with the idiomatic sense of "to walk that walk, or to strut."[87] Although there were numerous earlier tangos, the first tango with a known author was *El Entrerriano* (The Person from Entre Ríos),[88] written in 1896 by Rosendo Mendizábal, an Afro-Argentine accordionist.[89] Despite the abundant musical and etymological evidence in Argentina and Uruguay, the African cultural contribution is obscured through racism and poorly constructed history.[90]

Rumba

In Cuba the African contribution is now celebrated as in President Castro's declaration of Cuba's Latino-African ethos. The *rumba* is generally considered the most influential secular music and dance form in Cuba.[91] Its Central African roots are obvious from the word 'rumba' itself to the type of drum, *conga*, used to perform it. The word is probably derived from the Kikongo *lùmba* (to go, walk, 'work out' or 'get down').[92] There are three basic styles of rumba: *yambú*, a slow, elegant couples dance; *guaguancó*, a dance of flirtatious competition between male and female dancers; and *columbia*, a fast solo demonstration of athleticism performed by males.[93] Yambu is derived from the Kikongo *dyambu* (word, opinion, thought, judgement, etc.)[94] The plural of dyambu is *mambu*, which is the source of the word and the dance *mambo* in Cuba. Guaguancó is most likely derived from the Kikongo phrase *kwa wa kó*, literally 'you never listen'.[95] The phrase is also an onomatopoetic rendering of the playing of a drum or the clicking of sticks together.[96] Interestingly, the *clave*, the basic rhythmic pulse of rumba, is maintained by striking together a pair of hard wooden sticks, also known as 'clave.'[97]

In rumba the standard drum is called the 'conga drum' because of its Congolese cultural origins.[98] Within the rumba instrument ensemble the largest drum with the lowest pitch is called the *tumbadora*,[99] most likely derived from the *tumba*[100] or *ditumba*[101] drum of Central Africa. Both words are from the Kikongo and Kiluba languages. In 1998 Lubangi Muniania, then Director of Education at the Museum for African Art (NYC), produced a lecture and concert, *From Ditumba to Tumbadora*, to celebrate the Central African

heritage in Cuban music.[102] *Tumba Francesa*[103] is the name of a song and dance form performed by Haitians living in eastern Cuba. Making a return trip to Africa in the late 1950's, Cuban rumba became *rhumba* in the Congo and functioned as the foundation for the popular music created by musicians and singers like Tabu Ley and Franco.[104]

Cumbia, Bomba and Reggae

Cumbia is the most representative music and dance of Colombia, but it has also become popular throughout the Americas and the Caribbean. The name 'cumbia' is derived from the Kikongo verb *kumba* (to flow, to move like a current, to carry in great quantity.)[105] There is also the noun *kumbi* (an institution for female initiation, candidate for initiation, a dance performed during the initiation process, a person who carries knowledge)[106] leading to *kumbia-kumbia* (a way of moving in the dance.)[107] The cumbia of Columbia is closely associated with the Palenque de San Basilio, in which *Palenque*,[108] a Kikongo-based language, is still spoken.

In Puerto Rico the national musical genre most associated with the islands' African roots is the *bomba*.[109] It may have originated in St. Dominigue (Haiti) and migrated to other Caribbean islands after 1815.[110] Some scholars have speculated that its African origin is in Ghana,[111] but because of the word itself and the style of drumming and dancing, a Kongo origin for bomba seems more accurate. In Kikongo *bomba* means "to exhort, to persuade."[112] Another dance-related term in Kikongo is *bumbakana*, meaning "to dance face to face bumping (hitting) into each other,"[113] a description that is true for both bomba in Puerto Rico and rumba in Cuba. The bomba drumming style of sitting astride a horizontal drum while playing is similar to other Central African derived forms of drumming found in the Americas. These practices include: *ka*[114] drumming for *kalinda*,[115] a stick fighting tradition found in Trinidad; *gwoka* music of Martinique[116] and Guadeloupe;[117] *Kumina* religious and secular musics of Jamaica;[118] and the rural style of *merengue* in the Dominican Republic.[119] Appropriately for the words 'ka,' 'kalinda,' and 'gwoka,' the words *ká* and *khá* in Kikongo signify the " onomatopoetic crack! noise made by the chop of an axe, the blow of a stick"[120] and obviously the striking of a drum.

A genre like *reggae*, although a relatively young musical form, has roots in other Afro-Jamaican musics, like mento, rock steady, ska, Revival and Nyabingi, as well as gospel, rhythm and blues, and pop songs from the United States.[121] One of the most important elements in reggae is the Nyabingi drumming style, which because of Jamaica's strong connection to Akan culture, was thought to be rooted in Ghana. In reality, Nyabingi drumming is more closely connected to two older Kongo-based traditions, *Buru*[122] and *Kumina*.[123] Buru is a secular percussion style found in the parishes of St. Catherine and Clarendon.[124] Kumina is a Kongo-based religious form brought to Jamaica by indentured servants in the mid-1800s.[125] Kumina practitioners belong to what they call the "Bongo Nation"[126] and have their own language termed "Country," "African" or "Kongo language,"[127] most heavily influenced by Kikongo in grammar[128] and vocabulary.[129] Like many Kongo-based religions in the Americas, e.g., *Palo Monte Mayombe* in Cuba, *Umbanda* and *Cabula* in Brazil, and *Candombe* in Uruguay and Argentina, Kumina centers on possession by the spirits of the dead.[130]

Conclusion

The title of this paper "Treasure in the Terror" is a dramatic stating of an often-unacknowledged reality; that is to say that even in the darkest moments of enslavement, Africans brought with them and maintained their cultural treasures. By doing so, they greatly enriched their new environments in the Americas. To restate an important point in the introduction, succinctly put by Henry Drewal, "When Africans were brought against their will to the Americas they may have come empty-handed, but they didn't come empty-headed."[131] Those African heads (and minds) were and are filled with intellectual histories and proclivities, and they were full of creative potential desiring to be fulfilled. However, because of ongoing racial oppression in the Americas, in particular in the United States,[132] the African intellectual and artistic contribution in the forming of contemporary cultures is rarely discussed or taught. There is only the brief consideration given to slavery and the Civil Rights Movement, as though African history and thought began with European contact and ended with a few minor social reforms.

We are afflicted with a continuous generational amnesia regarding Africans and their place in American societies. The reality that we live is however quite different. According to Prince Brown, Jr., "America is a multicultural society sheathed in a European veneer."[133] This is true for all of the Americas. We are prevented from learning about and celebrating the African legacy because of this "European veneer" which was created and perpetuated by a blindly Eurocentric educational structure, and because of White Supremacy as a pervasive international philosophical system.[134] This veneer also negatively affects the appreciation of the offerings of Native American and non-European immigrants as well.

"Treasure in the Terror: The African Cultural Legacy in the Americas" has offered only a cursory discussion of the African ideas regarding politics, music, and religion as found in the Americas. It has looked at how through their resistance to slavery and through their aspirations for liberation, Africans helped construct American ideas concerning freedom and the socio-political structures now found in this hemisphere. This paper has also focused on their musical contributions in Argentina, Brazil, Columbia, Cuba, Jamaica, Puerto Rico and Uruguay. It has not discussed the rich legacy of Africans in the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Panama, Peru, United States, or numerous other nations where there were also major cultural and philosophical offerings. Yet even with this brief description and in spite of its omissions, we can see that without the African contribution, there could be no contemporary Americas as we know them. Through worldwide telecommunications and the Internet, and through the distribution of recordings and cinema, the cultures of the African Americas have been shared with a greater international audience. Using their philosophical, artistic and religious creations and continuations, Africans in the Americas have made this planet immeasurably richer. It is time to honor the treasures they have shared with us all.

C. Daniel Dawson
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[1] An interesting addition to the literature on the Native American contribution is found in two books for popular audiences by Jack Weatherford: *Indian Givers: How the Indians of the Americas Transformed the World*, Fawcett Columbine Books, New York, 1988, and *Native Roots: How the Indians Enriched America*, Fawcett Columbine Books, New York, 1991.
[2] Thompson has developed the idea of the Deficit Model in numerous conversations and lectures since the early1980's.
[3] Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2000, pp. 121-122. I am grateful to Robin Kelley for pointing out Robinson's words in his forward to *Black Marxism*, pp. xiv. The author would also like to thank him for his comments and suggestions for developing the ideas in this paper.
[4] Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy*, Random House, New York, 1983.
[5] Robinson, op. cit., pp. 123-125. See also Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development and Structure of Negro Slave Society in Jamaica*, MacGibbon and Kee, London, 1967, pp. 260-267.
[6] José L. Franco, "Maroons and Slave Rebellions in the Spanish Territories," in Richard Price [ed.], *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1979, p. 40.
[7] Ibid., pp. 10, 20-21, 33, 94-95ff. See also Sagrario Cruz Carretero, Alfredo Martínez and Angélica Santiago Silva, *El Carnaval en Yanga: Notas y Commentarios sobre un Fiesta de la Negritud*, Serie Ollin 2, Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, Veracruz, Mexico, 1990. It had been thought that Yanga was of the "Bron nation," but recent research by Chege Githiora indicates that he was probably from the Sudan.
[8] Décio Freitas, *Zumbi dos Palmares*, Cadernos do Museu da Escravatura No. 3, Museu Nacional das Escravatura-Instituto Nacional da Património Cultural, Ministério da Cultura, Luanda, 1996.
[9] Gabino Hernandez Palomino, "Maroon Struggle in Colombia," in *1992 Festival of American Folklife*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. 1992, p.78.
[10] Richard Price, "Introduction: Maroons and Their Communities," in Richard Price [ed.], op. cit., pp. 20, 30.
[11] Edward Kamau Brathwaite, *Wars of Respect: Nanny, Sam Sharpe and the Struggle for People's Liberation*, Agency for Public Information, Kingston, 1977, pp. 5, 13-18. See also Karla Gottlieb, *"The Mother of Us All": A History of Queen Nanny Leader of the Windward Jamaican Maroons*, Africa World Press, Inc., Trenton, 2000.
[12] Colonel M. L. Wright, "The Accompong Town Maroons: Past and Present," in *1992 Festival of American Folklife*, op. cit., p. 74.
[13] Jesús Blanco Sojo, *Miguel Guacamaya: Capitán de Cimarrones*, Colección "El Otro Discurso" No. 1, Editorial APIGUM, Caracas, 1991.
[14] Sidney Mintz and Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "The Social History of Haitian Vodou," in Donald J. Cosentino [ed.], *Sacred Arts of Haitian Vodou*, UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, Los Angeles, 1995, pp.135-138.
[15] Ibid., p 138.
[16] Kenneth Bilby and Diana Baird N'Diaye, "Creativity and Resistance: Maroon Culture in the Americas," in *1992 Festival of American Folklife*, op. cit., p. 58.
[17] William D. Piersen, "The Aristocratic Heritage of Black America," in *Black Legacy: America's Hidden Heritage*, University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst, 1993, pp. 74-98.
[18] See, or hear, as the case may be "Ladainha: Rei Zumbi dos Palmares," (Opening Ritual Song: King Zumbi of Palmares) by capoeira master Pedro Moraes Trinidade (Mestre Moraes) on the CD *Capoeira Angola from Salvador, Bahia*, SF CD 40465, Smithsonian Folkways, Washington, 1995.
[19] In his 1974 pop song 'Zumbi,' Brazilian singer Jorge Ben declared that "Zumbi is the Lord of war/Zumbi is the Lord of demands."
[20] Peter Fryer, *Rhythms of Resistance: African Musical Heritage in Brazil*, Wesleyan University Press, Hanover, NH, 2000, p. 71.

[21] Ibid., p. 68-72. In this section, Fryer expresses his debt to the work of George Reid Andrews, in particular *Blacks & Whites in São Paulo, Brazil*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison and London, 1991, p. 217.
[22] Richard Price, "Maroons: Rebel Slaves in the Americas," in *1992 Festival of American Folklife*, op. cit., p. 62.
[23] Ibid., p. 62.
[24] John K. Thornton, *The Kingdom of the Kongo: Civil War and Transition 1641-1718*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1983, pp. 6-7.
[25] Personal conversations with Ian Hancock, n. d.
[26] Personal conversation with K. Kia Bunseki Fu-Kiau a Bakongo scholar, n.d. See also *kilòmbo* in Pierre Swartenbroeckx, *Dictionnaire Kikongo et Kituba – Français*, CEEBA Publications, Série III, Vol. 2, Centre D'Etudes Ethnologiques. Bundundu, 1973, p. 149.
[27] John T. Schneider, *Dictionary of African Borrowings in Brazilian Portuguese*, Helmut Buske Verlag, Hamburg, 1991, pp. 250-251.
[28] Ibid., p. 210.
[29] Rafael Duharte Jiménez, "Palenque: Economy and Society," in *Cimarrón: New Perspectives on the Caribbean*, Vol. 1, No. 2, CUNY Association of Caribbean Studies, New York, 1986, p. 38.
[30] Nelson Rodrigues, Filho, "Kalunga: A Força de Uma Raça," in *Piracema*, Pubilição Trimestral No. 5, Ano 3, 1995, Fundação Nacional de Arte-Ministério da Cultura, Rio de Janeiro, 1995, pp. 38-61. See also André Vilaron, "O Quilombo Kalunga," in Joel Rufino dos Santos [ed.], *Negro Brasileiro Negro-Revista do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional*, No. 25, 1997, Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (IPHAN) do Ministério da Cultura, Brasilia, 1997, pp. 246-259.
[31] Laman, op. cit., p. 207.
[32] K. Kia Bunseki Fu-Kiau, *Tying the Spiritual Knot-African Cosmology of the Bântu-Kôngo-Principles of Life & Living*, Athelia Henrietta Press, Brooklyn, NY, 2001, pp. 19-22.
[33] Richard Price, "Maroons: Rebel Slaves in the Americas," op. cit., p. 63.
[34] See *Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary*, G. & C. Merriam Company, Springfield, MA, 1971, p.818.
[35] Rafael Duharte Jiménez, "Palenque: Economy and Society," op. cit., p. 38.
[36] Personal communications with Ivan Costa on June 28, 2000 during a trip to visit two quilombos (*Filipa* and *Santa Rosa do Pretos*) in Maranhão, Brazil. At the time Ivan Costa was co-director of *Centro de Cultura Negro do Maranhão* (Center for Black Culture of Maranhão) and *Projecto: "Vida de Negro"* (Black Life Project) which focused on securing government recognition and on improving the life of the quilombo communities in Maranhão. The quilombos still have problems with protecting their lands from greedy and ruthless politicians, ranchers and farmers. See Jean-François Véran, "Quilombos and Land Rights in Contemporary Brazil," in *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 3, 1989, pp. 20-25.
[37] See: Richard Price and Sally Price, *Maroon Arts: Cultural Vitality in the African Diaspora*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1999; Sally Price, *Co-Wives and Calabashes*, 2nd ed., University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1993; Richard Price, *Alabi's World*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1990;Kenneth Bilby, "The Aluku and the Communes: A Problematic Policy of Assimilation in French Guiana," in, *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 3, 1989, pp. 71-75; and Kenneth Bilby, *The Remaking of the Aluku: Culture, Politics, and Maroon Ethnicity in French South America*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1990.
[38] See: Kenneth Bilby: "The Kromanti Dance of the Windward Maroons of Jamaica," *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids 55 (1/20)*, pp. 52-101, 1981; "Maroon Culture as a Distinct Variant of Jamaican Culture," in E. K. Agorsah [ed.], *Maroon Heritage: Archaeological, Ethnographic and Historical Perspectives*, Kingston, Canoe Press, 1994, pp. 72-85;and "Swearing by the Past, Swearing to the Future: Sacred Oaths, Alliances, and Treaties among the Guianese and Jamaican Maroons," *Ethnohistory* 44:4, pp. 655-689.
[39] Mavis Campbell, *The Maroons of Jamaica 1655-1796: A History of Resistance, Collaboration & Betrayal*, Granby, MA, Bergin and Garvey, 1988.
[40] See Brathwaite, op. cit.
[41] See Gottlieb, op. cit.
[42] Carlos Moore, "Cuba: The Untold Story," *Presence Africaine* Vol. 24, No. 52, Fourth Quarterly, English Edition, 1964, pp. 177-229.

[43] Jack Weatherford, "The Founding Indian Fathers," in *Indian Givers*, op. cit., pp. 133-150.
[44] Rafael Duharte Jiménez, "Palenque: Economy and Society," op. cit., p. 47.
[45] See Gilberto R. N. Leal, "*Fárígá/Ìfaradà:* Black Resistance and Achievement," in Sheila Walker [ed.], *African Roots/American Cultures*, op. cit., p. 293.
[46] Ibid., p. 293.
[47] Raymundo Souza Dantas, ""A Democracia Racial no Brasil É Pura Falácia"," in *Piracema*, Pubilição Trimestral No. 5, Ano 3, 1995, Fundação Nacional de Arte-Ministério da Cultura, Rio de Janeiro, 1995, p.20. This article is in fact an interview with Ambassador Dantas. The title, a quote from Dantas, translates as "Racial Democracy in Brazil is Pure Fallacy," a brave statement from one who has served as Brazilian ambassador to Ghana, Togo and Dahomey (Benin). This issue of *Piracema* was in celebration of the 300th anniversary of the death of Zumbi, and in honor of the numerous quilombos still existing in Brazil.
[48] These few examples of the current use of the word 'quilombo' were provided by Brazilian scholar Zeca Ligiero in a telephone conversation from New Haven, CT, November 20, 2002. A full list would number in the thousands.
[49] See Isa Pessoa, "Negros renegam 13 de Mayo em favor do herói de Palmares; Zumbi contra Princesa," (Blacks renounce the 13 of May in favor of the hero of Palmares; Zumbi versus the Princess) in *O GLOBO*, Segundo Caderno, p. 12 , February 7, 1988.
[50] Mestre Moraes, "Ladainha: Rei Zumbi dos Palmares," in the CD *Capoeira Angola from Salvador, Bahia*, SF CD 40465, Smithsonian Folkways, Washington, 1995, accompanying booklet p. 24. This song is a translation from the original Portuguese by Greg Downey, Heidi Rauch, Cobra Mansa, Janaina Garro, Jussara Silva, and Luis Coimbra.
[51] This visit on June 28, 2001 was part of an African Legacy Tour of Brazil organized by the author, Your World Consultant Group, and the Center for Black Culture of Maranhão (CCN/MA). Our guide Ivan Costa, co-director of CCN/MA, provided us with the information regarding the history of Quilombo Santa Joana.
[52] The information concerning the date of the song and the bloco afro *Akomabu* is taken from the booklet (without author), *Akomabu2000-Axé Pove Afro-Tupy*, Projecto Vida de Negro-PVN da Sociedade Maranhense de Direitos Humanos e do Centro de Cultural Negra do Maranhão (Black Life Project-PVN of the Maranhão Society of Human Rights and the Center for Black Culture of Maranhão), São Luís, 2000, p. 4-5. The booklet was produced to explain the history of Akomabu and to promote their carnival theme for the year 2000. That years' theme, *Axé Povo Afro-Tupy*, was celebrating the intrinsic power (*Axé*) of the African-Amerindian (*Afro-Tupy*) people (*Povo*).
[53] Ibid., p. 3.
[54] Rafael Duharte Jiménez, "The 19th century black fear," in Pedro Perez Sarduy and Jean Stubbs [eds.], *Afrocuba: An Anthology of Cuban Writing on Race, Politics and Culture*, Ocean Press-Latin American Bureau, Melbourne, Australia, 1993, pp.37-40. The translators of the Jiménez article are interpreting the Spanish *temores* to mean 'fears' in English. It is commonly called the "black scare" in other texts.
[55] Christopher Washburne, "The Clave of Jazz: A Caribbean Contribution to the Rhythmic Foundation of an African-American Music," in *Black Music Research Journal*, Vol. 17, No. 1, Spring 1997, Center for Black Music Research-Columbia College, Chicago, IL, pp. 61-64/
[56] Robinson, op. cit., p.146. Robinson is quoting Eugene Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution*, Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1979, pp. 95-96.
[57] Ibid., p. 146.
[58] Lerone Bennett, Jr., *Pioneers in Protest*, Penguin Books, New York, 1969, p. 39.
[59] In 1977 while working on a film in the all-Black town of Nicodemus, Kansas, we interviewed the town historians Mrs. Burney and Mrs. Mary Wilson. They explained that the townspeople had tricked whites into thinking they were commemorating U. S. Independence on the Fourth of July, while in reality Nicodemus was celebrating Haitian independence. The interviews were recorded and should be in the possession of the director, Doug Harris.
[60] See José Luciano Franco, *Los palenques de los negros cimaronnes*, Colección Historia, La Habana, 1973.
[61] The importance of the publication of *Los palenques*.. was explained to Ivor Miller , a scholar of Cuban and African American cultures, by Rogelio Martínez Furé, one of Cuba's most celebrated scholar/artists. President Castro's statement was made in April of 1976. I would like to thank Dr. Miller for his generosity in sharing this story with me.

[62] Linda M. Heywood, "Introduction," in Linda M. Heywood [ed.], *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge and New York, 2002, pp. 8-13.
[63] K. Kia Bunseki Fu-Kiau, "A Powerful Trio: Drumming, Singing and Dancing," in *Bulwa Mèso: To Have One's Eyes Opened*, Master's Voices of Africa, Volume I, unpublished manuscript courtesy of the author, p.65.
[64] Gerhard Kubik, "Why Did a West Central Sudanic Style Cluster Prevail in the Blues?," in *Africa and the Blues*, University of Mississippi Press, Jackson,1999, pp. 96-104.
[65] Lecture by Robert Farris Thompson at Yale University on November 14, 2002, and a telephone conversation with Robert Farris Thompson in New Haven, CT, December 02, 2002.
[66] José Carlos Rego, *Dança do Samba: Exercício do Prazer*, ALDEIA Editor e Graphic LTD., Rio de Janeiro, 1994, pp. 2-3
[67] W. Holman Bentley, *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language*, Baptist Missionary Society and Trübner & Co., London, 1887, p.413.
[68] Karl E. Laman, *Dictionnaire Kikongo-Français*, Vol. II M-Z, Gregg Press Ltd., Hants, England, 1964 (Originally published by Institut Royal Colonial Belge in Brussels, 1936), p.870.
[69]Ibid., p. 755.
[70] Luis D. Gardel, *Escolas de Samba: A Descriptive Account*, Livraria Kosmos Editôra, Rio de Janeiro, 1967, p. 189.
[71] Yeda Pessoa de Castro, *Falares Africanos na Bahia: Um Vocabulário Afro-Brasileiro*, Academia Brasileira de Letras & Topbooks Editora, Rio de Janeiro, 2001, p. 166.
[72] Ibid., p. 166.
[73] Gerhard Kubik, *Angolan Traits in Black Music, Games and Dances of Brazil: A Study of African Cultural Extensions Overseas*, Estudos de Antropologia Cultural No. 10, Junta de Investigações Científicas do ULTRAMAR, Lisboa, 1979, pp. 22-24, Fig. 7.
[74] Ibid., p 23-24.
[75] Ana Victoria and Casanova Oliva, *Problematica organologica cubana*, Premio de Musicologia-Casa de las Americas, La Habana, 1986, p 45, 85, 86, Ilustraciones s.n. For a photograph of a kinfuiti drum being played, see Natalia Bolívar Aróstegui and Carmen Conzáles Díaz de Villegas, *Ta Makuende Yaya y Las Reglas de Palo Monte*, Ediciones UNIÓN, La Habana, Cuba, 1998, fifth photograph (s.n.) titled "Tambor Kinfuiti de los descendientes de congo, provincia de Pinar del Rio."
[76] Jorge B. Rivera, "Historias Paralelas, 1. El camino del tango," in Manuel Pampín [ed.], *La Historia del Tango: Sus Orígenes*, Ediciones Corregidor, Buenos Aires, 1976, pp.13-21. See also Tomás Olivera Chirimini, "Candomble, African Nations, and the Africanity of Uruguay," in Sheila Walker [ed.], *African Roots/American Cultures: Africa in the Creation of the Americas*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Lanham, MD, 2001, pp. 265, 269-270.
[77] Blas Matamoro, "Origenes musicales raíces negras del tango," in Manuel Pampín [ed.]. op. cit., pp. 57-79. I am grateful to Robert Thompson for the information regarding tango, milonga, candombe, canyengue and habanera. Through numerous discussions, both in person and by telephone, he has shared his research for his upcoming book *Tango: An Art History of Love*, published in 2006.
[78] Ibid., p. 13.
[79] Ibid., p. 19. See also Alejandro Frigerio, *Cultura Negra en el Cono Sur: Representaciones in Conflicto*, Ediciones de la Universidad Católica Argentina, Buenos Aires, 2000, pp. 45-72, 80-92. See also Tomás Olivera Chirimini, "Candomble, African Nations, and the Africanity of Uruguay," in Sheila Walker [ed.], op. cit., pp. 256-274.
[80] Ibid., 13-15.
[81] Jorge B. Rivera, op. cit., p. 19.
[82] Ibid., pp. 14-16.
[83] Karl E. Laman, op. cit., p. 952.
[84] George Reid Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires: 1800-1900*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1980, pp. 165.
[85] Ibid., p. 165.
[86] Karl E. Laman, op. cit., p. 953.
[87] Personal communications with Robert Farris Thompson, n.d..

[88] Entre Ríos is the name of a province in Argentina to the west of Uruguay.
[89] George Reed Andrews, op. cit., p. 165.
[90] Lucía Dominga Molina and Mario Luis López, "Afro-Argentineans: "Forgotten" and "Disappeared"-Yet still Present," in Sheila Walker [ed.], op. cit., pp. 332-347.
[91] Peter Manuel, "Cuba," in Peter Manuel, Kenneth Bilby and Michael Largey [eds.], *Caribbean Currents: Caribbean Music from Rumba to Reggae*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1995, p.24. See also Larry Cook, "The Form and Formation of the Rumba in Cuba," in Vernon W. Boggs [ed.], *Salsiology: Afro-Cuban Music and the Evolution of Salsa In New York City*, Greenwood Press, New York, p. 31.
[92] Karl E. Laman, op. cit., p. 430. Personal communication with Robert Farris Thompson, n.d..
[93] See note 87, Peter Manuel, op. cit., pp. 24-26, and Larry Cook, op. cit., pp. 34-41.
[94] Karl E. Laman, op. cit., p.138.
[95] Telephone conversation with Fu-Kiau on December 25, 2002. See also "RUMBA: The Classic Dance of Black People of Cuba" the class notes for a lecture by Robert Farris Thompson at Yale University on November 14, 2002.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Peter Manuel, Kenneth Bilby and Michael Largey [eds.], op. cit., p. 249.
[98] Ibid., p 22-23.
[99] Peter Manuel [ed.], *Essays on Cuban Music: North American and Cuban Perspectives*, University Press of America, Lanham, MD, 1991, p. 319.
[100] Personal conversation with Lubangi Muniania, December 24, 2002.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid. During the concert *From Ditumba to Tumbadora* the ditumba was played by Elie Kihonia formerly of the National Dance Company of Zaire.
[103] Peter Manuel [ed.], *Essays on Cuban Music*.., op. cit., p. 319.
[104] Ken Braun, "The Wonders of the Golden Age in Congo and Zaire." *New York Times*, Sunday, October 4, 1992, p. 28H
[105] Telephone conversation with Fu-Kiau on December 4, 2002.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Armin Schwegler, "El palenquero," in Matthias Perl and Armin Schwegler [eds.], *América negra: panorámica actual de los estudos lingüísticos sobre variedades hispanas, portuguesas y criollas*, Vervuert-Iberoamericana, Frankfurt-Madrid, 1998, pp.219-291. See also: William W. Megenney, *El palenquero. Un lenguaje post-criollo de Columbia*, Instituto Caro y Cuervo, Bogotá, 1986; and Armin Schwegler: *"Chi ma nkongo": lengua y rito ancestrales en El Palenque de San Basilio (Colombia)*, Vervuert- Iberoamericana, Frankfurt-Madrid, 1996.
[109] Jorge Duany, "Popular Music in Puerto Rico: Toward An Anthropology of *Salsa*," in Vernon W. Boggs [ed.], op. cit., pp. 75-77.
[110] Ibid., p. 75.
[111] Ibid., p, 75. Duany is referencing James A McCoy, *The Bomba and Aguinaldo of Puerto Rico as They Have Evolved from Indigenous, African and European Cultures*, Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1968, p. 96,
[112] Karl E. Laman, op. cit., p. 52.
[113] Ibid., p. 71.
[114] See compact disc booklet, John Crowley, "Introduction," in *Caribbean Voyage: Trinidad Carnival Roots*, The Alan Lomax Collection, Rounder CD 11661-1725-2, Cambridge, MA, 2000. The author wishes to thank Ricardo Belcon for bringing this compact disc to my attention.
[115] Maureen Warner-Lewis, *Guinea's Other Suns: The African Dynamic In Trinidad Culture*, The Majority Press, Dover, MA, 1991, pp. 92, 151-152, 177, 190.
[116] See the compact disc, *Chants et Musiques Negro Martiniquais*, Vol. 1, AM4-001, Mi Mès Mamnmay Matinik (AM4), Martinique, n. d., see cover photograph.
[117] See the compact disk *Guadeloupe: Gwoka, Soirée lèwoz à Jabrun*, Ocora C560030, Ocora-Radio France, Paris, November 1992, see cover photograph.
[118] Kenneth Bilby, "Caribbean Crucible," in Geoffrey Haydon and Dennis Marks [eds.], *Repercussions: A Celebration of African-American Music*, Century Publishing, London, 1985, pp. 133-136.

[119] See the film directed by Dennis Marks, *Repercussions: A Celebration of African American Music*, Vol. VI, Caribbean Crucible, Third Eye Production Ltd./Channel Four & RM Arts, London, 1984. The film contains sections on Kumina and merengue, with both sections illustrating the drumming style under discussion.
[120] Karl E. Laman, op. cit., p. 197.
[121] Kenneth Bilby, "Caribbean Crucible," op. cit., pp.140-147. The writings and recordings of Kenneth Bilby are the primary sources for information concerning the history of reggae.
[122] Kenneth Bilby, "Jamaica," in Peter Manuel, Kenneth Bilby and Michael Largey [eds.], *Caribbean Currents: Caribbean Music from Rumba to Reggae*, op. cit., pp. 151-164.
[123] Kenneth Bilby, "Caribbean Crucible," op. cit., p. 133-136, 146. See also Kenneth Bilby, "Jamaica," op. cit., pp. 146-153,159-172.
[124] Kenneth Bilby, "Jamaica," op. cit., pp. 162.
[125] Monica Schuler, "Alas, Alas, Kongo," *A Social History of Indentured African Immigration into Jamaica, 1841-1865*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1980.
[126] Kenneth Bilby and Fu-Kiau kia Bunseki (K. Kia Bunseki Fu-Kiau), *Kumina: A Kongo-Based Tradition in the New World*, Cahiers du Centre d'Etude et de Documentation Africaines, Brussels, 1984, p. 1.
[127] Kenneth Bilby and Fu-Kiau kia Bunseki, op. cit., pp. 12.
[128] Ibid., pp. 50-64
[129] Ibid., pp. 65-97.
[130] Maureen Warner Lewis, *The Nkuyu: Spirit Messengers of the Kumina*, Savacou Publications, Kingston, 1977.
[131] Henry John Drewal, "Memory and Agency: Bantu and Yoruba Arts in Brazilian Culture," in Nicholas Mirzoeff [ed.], *Diaspora and Visual Culture: Representing Africans and Jews*, Routledge, London and New York, 2000, p.241.
[132] Joe R. Feagin, *Racist America: Roots, Current Realities, and Future Reparations*, Routledge, London and New York, 2001, pp. 37-67.
[133] Prince Brown, Jr. quoted from a letter to the author, dated October 4, 2002.
[134] Richard Delgado and Jean Stefanicic [eds.], *Critical White Studies: Looking Behind the Mirror*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1997. This text contains 114 essays by various authors discussing racism and white supremacy. Of particular interest to our concerns are: "White Racial Formation: Into the Twenty-First Century" by Charles A. Gallagher (pp. 6-11); "Dysconscious Racism: Ideology, Identity, and Miseducation" by Joyce E. King (pp. 128-132); and "The Changing Faces of White Supremacy" by Loretta J. Ross and Mary Ann Mauney (pp. 552-557). See also George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1998, pp. 6-25.