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Liberated Central Africans in Nineteenth-Century Guyana[1]

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Statistics of the nineteenth century slave trade and liberated African immigration (1841-1865), while incomplete, show the replacement of a West African by a Central African majority in Guyana, a country comprising the three former Dutch colonies of Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice.[2]

The ethnic patterns of the Dutch slave trade, which supplied the majority of enslaved Africans until British occupation in 1796, indicate that 29 percent of the Africans on Dutch West India ships and 34 percent on free traders' ships came from the Loango hinterland in West Central Africa. Of the remainder transported by the Dutch West India Company, 45 percent originated in the Republic of Benin-western Nigeria area known as the Slave Coast, another 21 percent in the Gold Coast interior, and the rest in the Bight of Biafra region and Senegal. The Windward Coast area of present-day Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire provided 49 percent of the free traders' cargo.[3]

With British occupation in 1796, Guyana obtained an infusion of capital and over 35,000 additional people from Britain's legal African or Caribbean slave trade and from the migration of self-employed slave mechanics and hucksters. Owing to increased African importations early in the nineteenth century, Kongo came to outnumber other African groups in Berbice and probably in Demerara and Essequibo as well. To date, the Berbice slave register for 1819 provides the sole available ethnic profile for the late slave era in Guyana. When the Harvard slave trade database becomes accessible to more researchers, we should gain a more detailed and accurate picture. Unlike the earlier Dutch trade statistics, the 1819 Berbice record produced more than ten years after cessation of the African trade to Guyana, shows a preponderance of West Central Africans. In order of magnitude, Berbice Africans were Kongo and related West Central Africans, Akan (Kormantines), Popo, Igbo, Mandinka, Chamba, Moko, various Windward Coast peoples, Temne and Fulbe.[4]

By the time the African slave trade to new British colonies like Guyana was suspended in 1805, Guyana's Africa-born majority was 75 percent. African mortality was high, however. Deaths exceeded births for the entire slave period**.** By 1832, fewer than 35 percent of Demerara and Essequibo slaves were Africa-born although together, the African and African-descended

population totaled 98,000 at emancipation out of a total Guyanese population of 100,600.[5] By 1841, the Africa-born portion of the population had decreased to 17 percent.[6] In ten years, however, their numbers increased as the remaining 7,083 “old Africans” were augmented by an almost equal number (7,160) of liberated Africans. Captured from foreign slaves ships by the British Anti-Slave Trade Squadron, liberated Africans were transported first to Sierra Leone, St. Helena or Rio de Janeiro, Brazil and thence to Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad and some of the smaller Caribbean islands.

Between 1841-1865, chartered vessels supplied 13,172 Africans, a contingent with an estimated West Central African majority of nearly 8,000 (7,990), to Guyana.[7] The addition of these latecomers to the Central African majority surviving from the first two decades of the nineteenth century justifies singling out this group for study. At 86,455, the Creole or native Afro-Guyanese population continued to outnumber Africans, but this Creole preponderance does not mean isolation from their African antecedents’ culture and institutions.[8] Plantation villages were still divided into ethnic quarters into which many liberated African immigrants moved, reinforcing the communities and culture that Africans and their descendants had established during slavery.

Until 1846, the relative scarcity of labor, a surplus of land, and effective organization enabled freed Guyanese plantation laborers to bargain effectively with employers. Then in 1847-1848, a financial crisis associated with the British Parliament’s eradication of protective duties on British West Indian sugar weakened Guyanese workers’ bargaining position and a strike over sharply reduced wages failed. This crisis coincided with an increase of slave ship captures by the British navy and an influx of African, Indian and Portuguese immigrants.[9] As the liberated African expanded, so did their role in Guyana.

GENDER AND AGE

A gender breakdown is available for 11,740 immigrants, of whom 8,240 were males and 3,500 females, a discrepancy accounted for by the gender imbalance in the slave trade and women’s aversion to plantation labor. Except for the first or second year of Sierra Leonian, as opposed to recaptive immigration, relatively few married couples or families emigrated.[10]

Since an increasing number of juveniles entered the nineteenth-century Atlantic slave trade, many liberated African immigrants were orphaned children recruited from liberated African depots and schools.[11] Sierra Leonian and St. Helena officials fixed the dividing line between adulthood and childhood between twelve and fourteen years, but Guyanese and Jamaican immigration officers complained that children’s ages tended to be inflated. One Guyanese official claimed that of three boys classified as thirteen years of age, two were only eleven and one ten. Responding to criticisms of the large (ninety-nine) contingent of children under age ten transported on the *Helena* in April 1848, the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners in London contended that it was better for British Guiana to acquire such young children than for the *Helena* to leave Sierra Leone empty. In Sierra Leone, a veritable tug-of-war occurred between liberated African scholteachers bent on preventing student emigration and recruiters who embellished opportunities available in the West Indies and Guyana.[12] A Berbice resident from the Congo River entrepôt of Boma later recalled being attracted as a schoolboy in Sierra Leone by a labor recruiter’s extravagant promise of a beaver hat "full, full" of money for a mere week's work in Guyana.[13]

DISEASE AND MORTALITY IN LIBERATED AFRICAN DEPOTS & SHIPS

Illness and death pervaded the liberated African immigrant experience. Having endured both on slave ships, more of the same awaited survivors in the liberated African depots, notably the deplorable Rupert's Valley Station in St. Helena, which even the governor of St. Helena considered an unsuitable location.[14] At the end of 1859, the Church of England Bishop Piers Claughton boarded a ship that had just arrived at Rupert's Valley with 500 recaptive Africans, many of them mere boys, some of whom would soon be bound for Guyana.[15] "I saw the dead and dying together," Claughton wrote,

> and *I could not distinguish them as I passed*, nor could those in charge always -- for one is now living who was landed on that day for burial. I saw groups of the living huddled together on the deck to all [intents?] seeming utterly regardless of what was passing in their misery. And they were leading others, and as I watched their gaunt skeleton forms crawling on the beach, I could not help thinking of Charon and his crew of shades."[16]

Such scenes occurred ever since the south Atlantic island, acquired by the British Crown from the East India Company, became the site of a Vice-Admiralty Court in 1840 and began to receive captured slave ships. St. Helena was barren, rocky, windy and unsuitable for the permanent settlement of large numbers of Africans, as those who had settled there realized. Rupert's was "a desolate valley running down to the sea between bare and bleak hills approached only by a winding path cut in the rock." Huts for Africans and the superintendent and commissariat departments were located near the shore. A small garden contained the site's only trees. Sanitation was atrocious. In short, the station was a death trap. Out of 4,908 recaptives admitted to Rupert's Valley between September and March 1849, 3,394 had to be hospitalized and 1,283 died. Some Africans who survived were permanently scarred by their experiences, blinded by ophthalmia or sunk in depression.[17]

For recaptives, the advantage of Sierra Leone over St. Helena was the opportunity to settle as farmers or traders. In St. Helena, on the other hand, limited domestic service and employment on American whalers were the only available occupations, and in any case, the authorities discouraged Africans from settling. The average stay at Rupert's ranged from one to seven months and up to a year for the very sick. In Sierra Leone, where the option of settlement in the colony had existed since it was made a resettlement colony for liberated Africans, detention in the Liberated African Yard was not necessary. After 1844, however, recaptives in Sierra Leone were held incommunicado from one to three months pending the arrival of immigrant transports, accessible only to military and labor recruiters during that time. Africans who refused to emigrate or serve in the military were released without financial support into the general population.[18]

Between 1859 and 1863, the St. Helena Anglican clergy responded to recaptive Africans' suffering by proselytizing them with the help of an interpreter who, they later discovered, had lied about how much of their teaching the Africans understood. One thing that Africans did grasp was that the dramatic mass baptisms held in the station's garden tended to coincide with the sailing of immigrant ships, an unpleasant prospect for people who had barely survived the slave ships. Therefore, when Bishop Claughton visited the station one afternoon instead of in the morning as he usually did, they ran away, believing that a ship had come for them. Claughton's successor discontinued the naïve practice of hasty instruction followed by mass baptisms.[19]

Africans on board thirty of the seventy-six immigrant ships incurred no mortality while thirty others had mortality of three percent or less, better than the Jamaican immigrant ship

record.[20] The ten vessels listed below were the exceptions. Not surprisingly, it was mostly new recaptives who died.

Shipboard Mortality[21]

		Embarked		Died	%	Hospitalized
		1841				
Dois de Fevreiro	Rio	? – May	154	9	5.8	6
		1842				
Name Unknown	”	Oct.-Nov.	140	14	10.	--
		1844				
Arabian-IV	Sierra Leone	Feb.-Mar.	267	23	8.6	46
Zulmira	Rio	? - Mar.	156	11	7.	--
		1846				
Margaret-II	St. Helena	Aug.-Sep.	351	16	4.5	--
		1847				
Growler	Sierra Leone	Jul.-Aug.	456	20	4.3	25
1848						
Arabian IX	”	Feb.-Mar.	260	22	8.5	44
Helena	”	Mar.-Apr.	121	12	9.9	18
Una	”	Apr.-May	240	52	21.6	38
Reliance	St. Helena	Nov.-Dec.	231	20	8.6	15

Even where mortality was low or nonexistent, recaptives tended embark for Guyana in a debilitated condition, and when they disembarked some were still suffering from medical problems brought on by the slave voyage. Many had to be hospitalized upon arrival and even after allocation to plantations. Of the 436 *Growler* passengers who survived the voyage to Guyana, for example, ten died in the general hospital, another 46 expired after allocation to estates, and nine were still incapacitated by illness at the end of 1847. Some form of diarrhea was the major cause of death, but nurses ascribed the deaths of eighteen *Growler* children on four East Coast Demerara estates to "African *cachexy*" a disorder with which they were afflicted before arrival. As Dr. George Bonyun, the physician who reported on it, realized, *cachexy* described malnutrition, extreme debility usually "induced by bad and insufficient food." In nineteenth century Guyana, however, *cachexy* was considered "more frequently . . . the consequence of great and continued fear. The victims of 'obeah' [witchcraft]," the doctor explained, "are thus destroyed." The St. Helena Colonial Surgeon also placed "the depressing moral influence of fear and anxiety" at the head of his list of causes of recaptives' high mortality rate. Thus from the outset, African immigrants associated the afflictions of enslavement, such as malnutrition which visibly sucked the life out of its victims, with the work of witches, who also suck life, a theme to which I will return later.[22]

ETHNICITY

Liberated Africans were a heterogeneous group, comprising Igbo, Kalabari, Mende, Temne, Mandinka, Yoruba and, above all, West Central Africans. The last two groups are the best documented of the immigrants and preserved both ancestral "hometown" associations as well as a broader awareness of linguistic and socio-political similarities as "Yoruba" ("Aku" in Guyana) or "Kongo."[23] Liberated African geographical locations and identities had already undergone some reorganization before their arrival in Guyana. For several centuries, developments in the Southeastern Atlantic commercial sector -- trade, wars, environmental

disasters, enslavement and sea voyages -- had scattered people widely. Most West Central Africans originated in societies that captured, purchased, held and sold slaves, and were often enslaved themselves. The Tio and Zombo, for instance, purchased each other as late as the 1880s. The Bobangi, a name indicating a particular group of specialist traders operating between Malebo Pool and the Ubangi River, enslaved a wide variety of middle Congo groups in the nineteenth century and were in turn enslaved by others. Bobangi slaves purchased at Malebo Pool were all called "Ko" (Kongo), thus obscuring their true origins. Europeans also played a role in ethnogenesis during the era of the slave trade. Although "Kongo" originally denoted someone occupying the royal court (Mbanza Kongo) of the Kongo Kingdom, Portuguese usage made it an ethnic or cultural label, and in the African diaspora, it served as a catchall term for West Central Africans who spoke western Bantu languages.[24] Thus we cannot always tell whether people identified in Guyana by specific group names were freeborn members of those societies, slaves held by them, fugitives or refugees from other communities. Where possible, Africans in the diaspora either reconstructed ancestral homeland identities or continued to construct new regional and pan-African identities based on linguistic affinity, the coincidence of having been assembled for shipping at the same slave trade ports or having sailed on the same slave or immigrant ship. The ensuing ethnic or national identities were therefore pragmatic, fluid, flexible, instrumental, rational and to some extent fictional or symbolic.[25]

In nineteenth- and twentieth-century Guyana, "Kongo" included KiKongo-speaking people from three old provinces of the Kongo Kingdom (Kongo, Nsundi and Mbata/Zombo). The Nsundi and the Zombo of Mbata, prosperous independent commercial powers by the late eighteenth century, were represented in Guyana.[26] So were Teke-related people from north of Malebo Pool (known as Mondongo or "strangers") and possibly, as in Jamaica, Bobangi (also called Yanzi, Apfuru or Likuba) from the Ubangi and Congo Rivers; Yaka from a slave-raiding and trading state in the lower Kwango River valley; and Ambaka, Ovimbundu and Mbundu people from Angola. Mbundu were probably purchased from markets in Jinga (formerly Matamba) and Kasanje and sold through Luanda by Luso-Africans residing near an old Portuguese military post at Ambaca, while the Ovimbundu, from the Central Highland states of Bihe, Wambu (Huambo) and Mbailundu, would have been exported through Benguela, from whose baracoons the British Navy took captives to St. Helena.[27]

In 1913, a Guyanese Bretheren missionary in Angola mentioned having conversed in the Mbundu language with two elderly Ovimbundu women who had been captured in Bihe.[28] In 1985, Mr. Carmichael of Seafield, West Coast, Berbice, a village with a Kongo majority, recalled the following Central African groups: Zombo (his grandfather's group), Yaka, Mbomo (Mboma?), Zomo (?), and Nsundi.[29] His friends, Mr. Scott and Mr. Pere also knew of the Madinga Kongo (*Madinga* is a distinctive Central African dance style, another word for the Jamaican ancestral rite, *Kumina*) and Mundela Kongo (*mundela* or *mundele*: white person. "Mundele Kong" is not a known KiKongo expression, but perhaps described Luso-Africans).[30] The villagers probably had a St. Helena provenance, because these men had heard of that island but not Sierra Leone. Mrs. Mavis Morrison from Anandale, East Coast Demerara recognized "Munchundu" (Nsundi?), Yaka ("they always there, naked-skin") and Mondongo ("strangers" from north and east of the Congo estuary). "Madongo a' one side," she explained, using the same description employed by Central Africans in Jamaica ("Tell Modongo to stand one side," i.e. stay out of the dance ring). They look "just like Buck [Amerindians] . . . a red-skinned people," Mrs. Morrison added, "but they black." When asked about her father's nation, she

replied, “Me na know what nation is he -- if a Mazumba or what” (later she referred to him as Kongo).[31]

Immigrants, coerced or voluntary, encounter similar organizational and subsistence problems wherever they go, and as Eades found with Yoruba immigrants in northern Ghana, the "symbolically differentiated . . . interest groups," which are conventionally labelled "ethnic," are adapted to managing the distribution of power and resources in multi-ethnic milieus. Migrants competing for scarce resources thus may find associations based on common linguistic and geographical origins useful.[32] Ethnic affiliation, historically based or assumed, appears to have been the most useful factor in liberated African recruitment, employment, and social, economic and political organization.

Although need undoubtedly drove liberated Africans to establish ethnic connections in Guyana, they had precedents in slave era Guyana and in Sierra Leone as well as encouragement from employers and immigration officials. As late as 1813, a variety of West Central African and West African benefit societies known as companies existed among plantation slaves in two Guyana colonies, Berbice and Demerara. Shipmates, who had “walked in the same boat” and therefore were fictive kin, probably reinforced these ethnic associations as they did in liberated African society in Sierra Leone and the Bahamas.[33] Once abolition of the Atlantic slave trade severed the supply of African newcomers, the Kongo Company in Demerara and Berbice spearheaded the reorganization of ethnic welfare societies for greater pan-ethnic cooperation in providing social welfare -- medical care, funerals, and support of widows and orphans. Colonial authorities and slaveowners were suspicious of the goals of welfare societies, however, so the advent of Protestant sectarian missionaries such as the London Missionary Society apparently presented an opportunity for some slaves to construct a legal and therefore more effective welfare system under the protection of Christian missionaries. Friendly societies, which were reported by stipendiary magistrates in the 1840s and flourished in the 1880s, probably provided another home for the ethnic companies.[34] By 1840, ethnic welfare companies were fixtures in Sierra Leone liberated African society. William Hamilton, former Regent village manager and Trinidad’s first labor recruiter in Sierra Leone, described a liberated African newcomer as “driven, *absolutely driven*, by the want of society and friends, to domicile with his neighbours or country people” and to join an ethnic welfare company. Thus people established national residential districts in liberated African villages and organized two types of mutual-aid society, a multi-ethnic “Big Company” comprising shipmates and a “Little Company” composed of “people of one nation exclusively.”[35]

Self-regulated ethnic communities provided immigrants with a collective coping mechanism that also benefited the colonial state, employers and missionary churches. In Sierra Leone, associations of Africans from contiguous countries who shared a common language and common traditions and channeled their members’ efforts towards self-improvement facilitated the recruiting activities of West Indian labor promoters. Recruiters selected interpreters and delegates from representative ethnic groups in Sierra Leone and/or Guyana. These delegates were fulcrums of the recruitment and labor-management system and without the right ethnic delegate, a European recruiter was helpless. For example, when faced with a liberated African depot full of recaptive Kongo who had heard horror stories about murder and dismemberment awaiting them in Guyana, the Guyanese planter and recruiter R. G. Butts, lacking a Kongo delegate, failed to secure any Kongo immigrants.[36]

Delegates tended to be young liberated African middlemen or brokers acting as clients of immigration agents or employers and as patrons of the workers they recruited. The delegates'

position illustrates Barnes' description of clientilism as “a many-tiered phenomenon,” “a network of reciprocal obligations.”[37] Reciprocity made for ambiguity, however, for delegates were simultaneously agents and authorized labor recruiters of a colonial immigration department, plantation foremen, private labor recruiters ("crimps") for individual employers, and headmen and representatives appointed by their own ethnic groups, villages and kin. Delegates' compatriots expected truthful reports about Caribbean working conditions, while planters and British officials required them to act as plantation colony boosters. After learning that they were criticizing Caribbean working conditions and privately shilling for specific plantations, immigration agents screened delegates and even repatriates, but could not dispense with these linchpins of the immigration system.[38]

The assumed social stability associated with ethnic cohesion also served Guyanese authorities' and employers' goals of labor subservience and productivity. Therefore Governor Henry Light ordered immigration officials “to respect the family ties of the Africans, should any exist” when allocating immigrants to plantations. This rule applied to both voluntary Sierra Leone immigrants and recaptured Africans. The immigration register of the first Sierra Leonian immigrants identified a number of families from Freetown and the villages of Wilberforce, Gloucester, Regent, Waterloo, and Goderich, and the seven West Coast Essequibo estates and seven East Coast Demerara estates to which they were assigned.[39] Recaptives from the liberated African depots were another matter, however. In the case of 402 Central Africans who arrived from St. Helena on the *Lady Rowena* in 1842, the Agent-General of Immigration, James Hackett, was able to carry out the instructions only “where I have been able to discover that such [families] existed.” Since these recent victims of the slave trade, many of them children, were not likely to have families, Hackett took into consideration “even mutual preferences and attachments.” Slave and immigrant shipmate ties, relationships formed in the Liberated African yard, and ethnic affinities would have figured in these preferences.[40]

In practice, honoring shipmate (Guyanese *mati*), ethnic, friendship, and family ties was incompatible with another requirement of the immigration system, equitable distribution of immigrants between the three counties of Berbice, Demerara and Essequibo. Although assigned initially to specific estates by the immigration office, for the first nine years of immigration, liberated Africans were not subject to indentures.[41] An inadequate supply of immigrants, planter competition for labor and immigrants' own inclinations made delegates and their compatriots, especially Kru men and Sierra Leonians, free agents. Immigrants shifted from place to place, as the perceptive immigration agent general put it, "until they meet in sufficient numbers to form a society amongst themselves."[42] A plantation survey conducted in 1847 included frequent notations of “African transients” working on estates, a corresponding diminution of the number of permanent plantation residents, and the beginning of land purchases by liberated Africans. Liberated Africans manipulated ethnic networks to elicit information about employment, to sample, control and change work locations, reduce contract duration, raise wages, control labor management and secure repatriation opportunities. These strategies, together with immigrant Africans' “rapid amalgamation with the native black population” (of whom thousands were Africans themselves), explain to a large extent the ability of Central Africans and others to establish community life in Guyana and to place their stamp on Guyanese culture. This “amalgamation”was both the choice of the immigrants and the design of the planters. Just as the planters did with new Indian immigrants, they assigned young Africans to the care and tutelage of an old African man or woman. “The pride of those old people in their charges' progress – in the way they could say the alphabet or repeat the Lord's Prayer – is described as touching,”

Cruickshank wrote in 1919. On Rosehall estate, an old Kongo man played his drum to cheer up newcomers, and old Kongo people acted as interpreters.[43]

By providing liaison with employers and immigration officials, magistrates, and ministers of religion, ethnic middlemen reduced the need for coercion of laborers and implied that liberated Africans would accept European hegemony where it mattered most to Europeans, in plantation fields and sugar factories. Liberated African ethnic clustering was thus well adapted to the goals of planters, stipendiary magistrates and Christian missionaries who tried to reinforce liberated African respect for European authority, values and culture. For these Europeans, the ideal liberated African immigrant was a member of a Christian as well as an ethnic community. Immigrants themselves found Christian affiliation useful.[44] As incentives to labor, planters offered ethnic self-management as well as competitive wages, housing and schools. Ethnic work crews led by their own representatives were the rule on Guyanese plantations, a system deprecated by H. von Griesheim of De Kinderen estate as "this many-headed system of inspection . . . unfortunately . . . rendered necessary by the circumstances of the times." Labor organization was hierarchical, consisting of a European manager assisted by two field overseers and one factory overseer who supervised task overseers (for piece-work) or foremen drawn from each ethnic group who led teams of "Creoles, Barbadians, Coolies, Kroomen, Portuguese, etc." As middlemen, these ethnic team leaders, like delegates (with whom they were often synonymous), were torn between responsibility to their countrymen-clients and their employer-patrons, however. Von Griesheim had no doubt as to whom the ethnic foremen favored, accusing them of disregarding their employers' interests and sleeping on the job.[45]

Planters soon demanded tougher immigration laws to stabilize the immigrant labor force. In 1848 three-year voluntary indentures existed. In 1850, a one-year indenture was legislated by Ordinance 22. The Colonial Office refused to approve compulsory three-year contracts until 1854. Ordinance No. 7 of that year enforced mandatory three-year contracts followed by two one-year contracts for a total of a five-year industrial residence. The one-year contracts could be commuted for a fee. In 1856, taking the youth of many immigrants into account, and wishing to tie youths steadily to one employer, Ordinance 2 required immigrants under age fourteen to be indentured until age eighteen, while those over fourteen continued to work for three years as before. By 1863, indentures were extended to five years with the provision that Africans receive small allotments of land near plantations or existing Creole villages. But the new law came too late to have any significant impact, since relatively few Africans arrived between its passage and the end of African immigration in 1865.[46]

Liberated Africans either rented or purchased land, establishing new ethnic communities on the outskirts of plantations or in existing villages where they tended to locate in ethnic quarters. They could be found all over the coastal and riverain plantation areas. Canal No. 1, a former coffee district on the West Bank of the Demerara River, attracted a diverse group because of its relatively low land values and employment opportunities on sugar plantations nearby. By 1849, not only Central Africans but also Yoruba, Kru, Portuguese and East Indians had joined Guyanese in the purchasing or rental of farms ranging from a few to 20 acres for plantain, root crop, coffee and rice cultivation. Bagotville, a Canal No. 1 village of 3,000 founded earlier by former slaves and centered on a London Missionary Society chapel, had several hundred liberated Africans and an equal number of Portuguese.[47] By 1881, forty-four Kongo people rented or owned land at Geneve estate on Canal No. 1 while working at Le Desir estate and West Coast Demerara sugar properties. As Walter Rodney vividly described, Guyana is below sea level, with massive drainage problems. The Geneve Kongo could not pay their drainage rates

and lost control of Geneve, which became known as "Congo Heart Burn."[48] Kongo reputations for occult powers have survived in the Canal.[49] In 1841, Angolans from Benguela brought from Brazil on the slaver *Dois de Fevreiro* were located on Plantation Overwinning. Before the end of the century, others must have joined them because a small Kongo community with a London Missionary Society chapel inhabited Overwinning village. The no longer-functioning plantation had been sold in small lots, purchased, perhaps, by Kongo from nearby plantations.[50] Other Kongo centers existed on Wakenaam Island, Mara, Enmore, Lusignan and Annandale estates, among others.

In establishing such communities, Kongo and others built on shipmate ties. They attempted to restrict marriage to the ethnic group, but the shortage of women made this difficult. Intermarriage and cohabitation therefore occurred with Africans in general and, inevitably, with the Creole community.[51] Occasionally cohabitation occurred with non-Africans. In 1847, for instance, a presumed Central African woman and Indian man from Lochaber estate, Berbice, were reported to have "two remarkably handsome and well made children."[52] As late as 1901, the Guyana Kongo still celebrated weddings on a scale large enough to attract Central African guests from a wide area and to attract journalistic attention.[53]

HISTORICAL MEMORIES

LANGUAGE

Language could be a powerful social adhesive. Generally, only older Kongo people still use the language for communication today, but KiKongo is retained for ritual use and songs. Three traditions concerning language survival operate among liberated African descendants in Guyana and the Caribbean. One is that African languages died because the original immigrants, wishing to maintain their privacy, used KiKongo or Yoruba to discuss private matters and preferred not to teach it to the younger generation, fearing that children would divulge their affairs to plantation overseers. As a result, the languages died with them. A second tradition states that favorite grandchildren learned an African language from hanging around their grandparents.[54] But according to Mavis Morrison of Annandale, the daughter of the immigrant Jungu, children often jeered at adults speaking an African language, and she made nonsense sounds to indicate how meaningless the language had seemed, like Chinese to her young ears. A third tradition concerned the circulation of African language primers by itinerant traders, missionaries who had been to Africa[55] or Garveyites who provided African language instruction as part of their nationalist agenda. During the 1980s, a prominent member of the Bagotville Yoruba community used to hold Yoruba language classes in the village. Clearly language retention and propagation were important to some Creole Africans, as illustrated by the existence of a handwritten KiKongo-English vocabulary. Mavis Morrison allowed me to photocopy two pages, all that remained of an original six-page lexicon which had been written years before by a friend of hers from Mahaica. Since the wordlist is merely a fragment of the original lexicon no attempt has been made to draw conclusions concerning the selection or the inclusion of invented words. Although some of the words appear to be made up, Professor Wyatt MacGaffey identified the vocabulary as "mostly . . . good KiKongo words with more or less correct meanings." The vocabulary appears to be a dialect of the Ngoyo area on the north bank of the Congo River, possibly from Boma, a leading mid-nineteenth century slave exporting center and the de facto capital of Ngoyo.[56]

A Kongo-Guyanese Word List

Compiled by a Guyanese Kongo Descendant[i]			MacGaffey Translation[ii]	
African		English Meaning		
Zam-bee	1	Almighty God	Nzambi	God
Mi-am-beh	2	Son & Spirit	?	
Moh-lundeh	3	Church	?	
Gambia	4	Church	?	
Con-ga-long-Goon-ga	5	Church	Kongo dia Ngunga	Name for Mbanza Kongo. Most writers assume that ngunga means bell, as in church bell, hence “Kongo of the (church) bell,” from the large number of Kongo churches. MacGaffey considers this “probably a “missionary fantasy” and suggests, instead, “the original (Mbanza) Kongo. ngunga = taproot.” But see no. 29 below.
Zam-bee in Gambia	6	God in Church or house	?	
Mo-an-na	7	child \ young	mwana	child, person
Put-too	8	People / people	mputu	pauper[iii]
Pum-beh	9	Praise	?	
		Condam-buah	10 Dog	“nkondi a mbwa nkondi in form of dog, which some were.”[iv]

List Compiled by a Guyanese Kongo Descendant			MacGaffey Translation	
African		English Meaning		
Yuh-diam	11	House	?	
Sangah	12	Smoke	?	
Tuyah	13	Match	tiya	fire
Lakah	14	Light	nlaku	flame
Gun-deh	15	Leppa (Leper?)	?	
Me-an-eh	16	breast	[ma-]bene	breast
Neng-uah	17	Blood	memga	blood
Lun gah	18	Gold	lunga	bracelet
Bee-zee	19	salt	mbizi	meat, fish
Mungah	20	Fish	mungwa	salt
Beezee-mungah	21	Saltfish	mbizi a mungwa	salt fish
Chenga	22	Cane	cenga [chenga]	sugar cane
Swick-e-dee	23	sugar	sukadi (Fr. Sucre)	sugar
Swick-e-dee mochenga	24	sugar cane		
Fam-what	25	Deft (deaf?)	fwa matu	to be deaf

Zun-doh	26	Invalid	?	
Zowah	27	stupid	zowa	to be stupid
Quenda	28	come & go	kwenda	to go
Gungah	29	Bell	ngunga	bell
Ca-lan-go	30	Calling & ringing	?	
To wee-dee-weh	31	Stop – finish – Done	?	
Vundeh	32	Kill	vonda	to kill
Moon-del-leh	33	European or White People	mundele	white person
Doon-doo	34	Coulard (coloured) people	ndundu	albino
			ndondo	slave
Yal-la	35	Red	?	
Ki Vulla	36	Rain	mvula	rain
Ma-zah	37	Water	maza	water
Kung-ah	38	Song	nkunga	song, music
Bunga	39	Bring out or raise	?bonga	to take, pick up
Gangoo	40	Sense	ngangu[v]	intelligence
Sum-bee	41	send	?	
D. Kan-da	42	Letter	kanda	letter, book
D. A. (?)	43	A Friend	?	
Co-leh-leh (?)	44	soldier	?kolele	how are you?
Pwantee	45	Police	?	

i. Collected from Mrs. Mavis Morrison, Annandale, East Coast Demerara, in 1985, and reproduced as closely as possible to the original, including the styyle of numbering.

ii. My thanks to Wyatt MacGaffey for translation and notes supplied September 26, 28, 1999.

iii. See MacGaffey, *Religion and Society*, p. 62 for Mputu as a short form of Mputulekeezo, meaning Portuguese.

iv. Nkondi: name for a type of Kongo nkisi or charm shaped most often as a terrifying human but also as a dog or leopard and used to seal agreements and hunt witches and evildoers. See Wyatt MacGaffey, translator and editor, *Art and Healing of the Bakongo* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), pp. 121-122.

v. See below where Mr. Carmichael's tale of enslavement involves the collusion of slave buyers with a "sense man."

NAMES

Immigrants retained African personal names for use among themselves, while also adopting the names of estates, their managers or owners.[57] Thus Jungu took Elliot, the surname of the Ogle estate manager, as his first name, and Smith as his surname, because the manager did not want them to share a surname. Later, Jungu decided: "This na' correspond," and he reversed the order of the names. Mrs. Morrison herself had four names: Miriam, Mavis, Mary-Anne, and Mamatch, or "last born," the name by which she was known most of her life. Her siblings were Mutshi (the first born), Eliega (?), Lydia, Theodore, Muda, and Aladi.

A selection of West Central African immigrant names follows, with those printed in bold type discussed below. Starting in the sixteenth century, most Kongo people and some non-Christians in Angola had saints' names. Double and single Christian names were found among both elite and commoner Mbundu in Angola. Thus it is not surprising that two men from the slaver *Libessu* who traveled on the *Arabian-IX* in 1848 had Christian names: John Francisco and Antonio. "John" may have been a clerk's translation of the Portuguese Joao. Francisco was a common Portuguese Christian (i.e. first) name but not a standard Portuguese surname. Six men from the *David Malcolm* who died at sea had African second names and with the exception of

Napoleon Kaboongoo (Napoleon being an unsurprising choice for a man stationed on the island where Napoleon Bonaparte died), English first names -- James Boomgah, Felix Mocaoomb, Saul Chumboo, Archibald Wangie, and Festus Fungee. The African second names are probably not family surnames but appellations chosen to demonstrate a particular descent pattern. The English names probably resulted from a longer than usual residence in St. Helena, the men having left in mid-1862, only three years before the last recaptives went to Guyana. Two men from the *Malaga* who sailed on *Arabian-IX* had names with a religious association -- Zambee (Nzambi, God) and Gangar (Nganga, priest). Endokee (Ndoki, witch) a man from the St. Helena ship *Dominick Daly*, suggests a victim of a witchcraft accusation who was using the name either ironically or defiantly.[58]

SELECTED CENTRAL AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS' NAMES

FROM SIERRA LEONE[59]

***Roger Stewart-I*, 13 Oct. - 17 Dec. 1844**
**Cabondoo (M; Angola,)
***Roger Stewart-III*, 18 Aug. – 19 Sep. 1845** (from Unknown Brigantine, May 1845)
*Mareambar (M 31 yrs)
*Marbango (M 26 yrs)
*Vengoo (M 27 yrs)
*Fartartar (M 11 yrs)
*Lembar (F 23 yrs)
***Rufus*, 13 Sep. - 13 Nov. 1845**
**Carsungu
**Pardie
**Arjubba
**Pembar
***Arabian IX*, 23 Feb-18 Mar. 1848** (from Brazilian *Graça* Aug. 1847, *Libessu*, Oct. 1847 & *Malaga* Dec. 1847)
Libessu
*Yeday (M 21 yrs)
*Arbackeh (F 18 yrs)
Graça
*Kangar (M 19 yrs)
*Carzangar (M 24 yrs)
***John Francisco** (M 24 yrs)
***Antonio** (M 22 yrs)
Malaga
*Maryaingee (M ?)
***Zambee** (M 26 yrs)
***Gangar** (M 26 yrs)
*Zingar (M 27 yrs)
*Cabongo (M 26 yrs)
*Pollah (F 14 yrs)
*Mazekah (F 14 yrs)
***Helena*, 30 Mar. -18 Apr. 1848** (from Brazilian *Graça* Aug. 1847, *Libessu*, Oct. 1847 & *Malaga* Dec. 1847)
Libessu
*Hannoo (F 25 yrs)
*Marworah (F 19 yrs)
*Ambah (F 9 yrs)
Graça
*Carpalay (M 20 yrs)
*Swow (M 13 yrs)

*Ketutee (10 yrs)
*Katriuna (F 17 yrs)
*Caryougo (F 8 yrs)
Malaga
*Gomar (M 10 yrs)
*Panzu (M 10 yrs)
*Bandoo (M 8 yrs)
*Mafullah (M 8 yrs)
*Simbah (M 9 yrs)
*Pembah (F 20)
*Atusabbah (F 13 yrs)
***Una*, 11 Apr. - 5 May 1848** (from Brazilian *Graça* Aug. 1847, *Libessu*, Oct. 1847 & *Malaga* Dec. 1847)
Libessu
*Arqueh (8 yrs)
*Arqudah (M 12 yrs)
*Arbackeh (F 18 yrs)
*Obo (F 17 yrs)
*Annarcocah (F 10 yrs)
*Nesevee (F 10 yrs)
*Nyoh (F 9 yrs)
Graça
*Marhaccalur (F 20 yrs)
Malaga
*Tonyeh (M 12 yrs)
*Beelar (M7 yrs)
*Sambah (M 14 yrs)
Mayaller (M 7 yrs)
*Oombah (F 23 yrs)

FROM ST. HELENA[60]

***Hamilla Mitchell*, 29 Jul-26 Aug. 1856**
***Chaba
***Malenfoo
***Bambia
***Mavoongoo
***Dominick Daly*, 29 Mar.-21 Apr. 1858**
**Labella (M 23 yrs.)
**Kingkala (M 22 yrs)
**Coossoo (F 12 yrs)
**Pembar (F 15 yrs)
**Pembalala (M 13 yrs)
****Endokee** (Ndoki?)
***David Malcolm*, 26 June-5 Aug. 1862**
**Meather Coaah (F 12 yrs)
****James** Boomgah (M 20 yrs)
****Felix** Mocaoomb (M 14 yrs)
****Saul** Chumboo (M 14 yrs)
****Archibald** Wangie (M 20)
****Napoleon** Kaboongoo (M 16 yrs)
****Festus** Fungee (M 20 yrs)
***Reward*, 16 Sep. - 20 Oct. 1863**
***Kazoongah (M)
***Matambah (M)
***Enzambah (F)
***Vallah (F)

* Names marked with one asterisk represent a random portion of recaptives in the Sierra Leone Liberated African Register who emigrated to Demerara or Berbice. F = female, M = male.
**Names of deceased people from ship surgeons' lists.
***Names published by Cruickshank, the Guyana government archivist, in 1919.

ENSLAVEMENT AND DELIVERANCE NARRATIVES

Because liberated African immigrants were both enslaved and wage laborers, coerced and voluntary migrants, they had acute memories of the slave trade, the genesis of Guyana's liberated African community. The narratives they bequeathed to their descendants suggest that the trade was a turning point in their history as well as a formative, motivating force in their lives. Separation from family and the journey into slavery are therefore major sites of memory and ritual.

Two categories of historical narratives spring from this experience. The first, like the story of Jungu related below, are actual experiences of named Africans, personal historical narratives, developed scenarios whose episodes unfold in a meaningful manner, protected from improvisation by their recitation in a circle of knowledgeable relatives or friends who serve as sounding boards for the narrator. They are authentic accounts of enslavement and migration to Guyana, the "First-Time" of a specific immigrant family, describing candidly the role of Africans, even of relatives, in the narrators' enslavement. Immigrants transmitted such life-transforming experiences to their children as a precious legacy, possibly the narrators' sole valuable possession, to be safeguarded and passed on to posterity.

In nineteenth-century West Central Africa, the availability of European goods on credit encouraged many people to borrow, pledging children as security. The forfeiture of a child to discharge a family member's debt was therefore a common occurrence, a transaction that an uncle usually undertook.[61] Such was the fate of an anonymous London Missionary Society (LMS) deacon from the village of Overwinning, Berbice, the twenty-first and youngest child of a family from Boma, the Congo River entrepot. According to the deacon, he had been surrendered to Portuguese slave traders to pay a family debt and with fifty to a hundred men and boys led in chains to a ship, in whose hold they they were placed like "bags of rice . . . one upon another." In about a week's time, the British Navy rescued and escorted them to Sierra Leone where he attended a school for liberated African orphans. Between 1843 and 1845, when Guyanese and West Indian agents were permitted to recruit immigrant labor from the schools he and his schoolmates agreed to emigrate against the governor's advice.[62] In the same decade, two or three African children from a group of 77 juveniles from Cabinda, rescued from a Spanish schooner found drifting off the Essequibo coast, described a similar method of enslavement.[63]

The conservation of such personal, factual accounts of enslavement has been discounted owing to a growing scholarly interest in other, coded or allegorical stories about enslavement. These preserve collective memory through a process of "mnemonic streamlining" whereby "whole groups of traditions . . . abraded to anecdotes, are set up and contrasted so that in every account details are sharpened, altered or left out to imprint the mark of their association to other accounts."[64] They draw on stock African tales about migration, repatriation and occult powers that interweave cosmology and history, probe the deeper meaning of enslavement, exile, and exploitation, and thus "define what they [enslaved or liberated Africans] are and clarify their options for their future."[65]

The existence of allegorical communal narratives should not blind us to the likelihood that individual Africans also deliberately passed on distinctive personal experiences of

enslavement. Nor does it strain belief that children protected this precious inheritance from any "intergenerational crafting," as the concrete experience of a diaspora family founder, as his or her personal *history*. Historian Michael Gomez affirms that in North America "[t]ransported Africans *and their progeny* [my emphasis] were intimately acquainted" with the facts of African complicity in enslavement and he particularly cites the case of enslaved children landed in 1858 Georgia who "were *careful* [my emphasis] to mention that uncles were sometimes the ones who pawned the children. If the debt went unpaid, the children became the creditor's property and were subject to sale into the Atlantic trade." Gomez' penetrating deconstruction of Afro-North American parables of enslavement as a selective, symbolic discourse on the deeper meaning of servitude has so captured the scholarly imagination however, that his carefully considered analysis is now portrayed as a sweeping denial of the existence of *any* reliable factual enslavement traditions.[66]

In the twentieth century, Guyanese Central Africans continued to relate both empirical and allegorical enslavement narratives. An example of the former is the detailed story which Jungu (d. 1933) related to his youngest daughter, Mrs. Mavis Morrison, who became became its custodian. Like the 1858 Georgia slaves mentioned by Gomez, Jungu identified his own uncle as his seller, carefully explaining to his daughter that his uncle handled the transaction because in his society, adult brothers were responsible for each other's children.[67]

<u>Jungu's Narrative of Sale by An Uncle</u>

> [T]he big brother responsible for the small brother home, you get it? And the small brother responsible for the big brother home. . . . they can order anyone to go with him anywhere. So the uncle -- is the small brother brother -- take the small brother child -- the son -- and they always go on Friday, go hunt.

Jungu's uncle convinced him that they were going hunting, but instead led him to the waterfront and delivered him to a slave merchant.[68]

> But one day, the big brother came and ask for him [the nephew] to go. . . . As usual, he asked to go with him. He say, "Boy, come we go take a walk today." Not tell the father nothing, where he carry him. He take a walk, but not in the farm, but he tell he is the farm they going. When they go . . . they get past the farm. So he asked the question, he say, "How far you going? He say, "Just 'til I meet" -- in their language – "Just 'til I meet." And when they go, go so till the boy see a boat, a big boat in the middle of the sea. He say he never see none [before]. . . . [He] ask he uncle, "That is what, uncle?" He say, "Is a boat." He say, "What 'e doing there?" He say, "Come let us go, you going [to] know is what." Well, in the place, they make a place like a platform, they stretch like a -- I going say stelling. [Guyanese word for dock]. Well, he see -- when he walking up, walking up, he see some people, and standing at this place, so he know -- he ask the question, "What they doing there?" He say, "You come along, we going."

Jungu believed that coming from a society where commerce involved barter, his uncle wanted to acquire some cash. "But they do not know 'bout money," Mrs. Morrison stated. "The first time the uncle will get money in his hand -- is the boy -- they do not know 'bout money. They do [know] 'bout swapping. And after he hear about this thing, and he want to see money, he carry

the boy with him." This explanation was probably surmise on Jungu's part, however. A child might not have been aware of any family debt, and his uncle and the merchant conducted their transaction at a distance and out of earshot.

> When they meet [arrived], he see some people hand tie, there one side. . . . Yes, woman and man, sometimes little girls, little boys. . . . Eh, eh, well, he see the man come up to he [the uncle] . . . well, they leave the boy here, and he go stand a little further, and he [the uncle] just go to the man. He aint know what the man give he [the uncle], he say, but he see the man come and put a chain in his hand, a chain to he.

Jungu described the scene at the shore, his boarding of a small boat which ferried him to a ship waiting offshore, and his anguished parting from his uncle.

> Well, was time for the boat to leave, is a small boat there a' stelling side, and the big boat there a' the ocean. They put he inside there. . . . Enough of them, plenty of them. They take them out to the side, 'cause the boat can't come in inside. He say that he watch, he cr-y-y, all he cry, he crying, he crying, he crying. "Uncle, how you go, ow uncle. Well them a fool he, -- coax he, coax he, coax he -- until they get to the boat. Well, get into the boat, all of them one-one they come out -- so they [were] chain[ed] on their hand -- chain. He say they get this chain in their hand, they chain them to the post, in the steamer -- boat. They chain them to the post, and when they chain them there, ahm, they can't get to jump overboard. You understand?

"No slave was ever released from his (or her) arm irons within sight of land," according to Miller. In addition to chains, Jungu described a type of restraint that is not mentioned in slave ship narratives -- the seating of Africans in wet tar spread on the deck to prevent their jumping overboard.[69]

> But when he went to the boat, he say . . . he see enough ladies and gentleman sit down flat. And where they sit down, [it] is tar. You know? Well, he don't know what is it. But when, later on, he say he come, he say they say that them is the one who want to jump over the boat. They chain their hand, and still and still they wrench their hand to jump over. You know, they don't want to go. So they throw some tar and then put their biti there. They got to dirty, pee right there because they can't get up.
>
> Well, then, now, they started to, the boat started to leave, he started to cry, that he leaving home. But when they meet a certain place, the place named St. Helena. When they meet a certain place, he hear they get freedom.

With the mention of St. Helena and Demerara, the narrative becomes somewhat confused. It hints that the slave ship collected slaves at other places after Jungu boarded it, and this process becomes conflated with the voyage to St. Helena, the discovery of their freedom, and the subsequent journey to Demerara. One needs to remember the "half-bewildered condition of . . . Africans landed . . . on a strange shore [St. Helena], and kept in a sort of bondage." Jungu's insistence that "they didn't loose them" immediately is therefore accurate.[70]

During the chase and capture, Jungu and the other slaves would have been in the ship's battened hold oblivious of seizure by the British Navy. His daughter explained,

> They in the boat, you know. And they, the head one, all of them, they say they freedom. The morning when they wake they tell them about freedom, everybody get freedom, but they didn't loose them. . . . They didn't loose them. The freedom, them have to meet at Guyana, where, every place they call in, they [were] sold. . . . But he and his friend[s] and his companions, them, who all live a' one place, they meet in Guyana. Where they going, they picking up people from certain place, he say not Africa alone, no. . . . After then, he says that coming down, they meet in Georgetown. But they get their freedom in boat, but they didn't loose them there.

Like many recaptives, Jungu did not accept the British explanation of indenture as a legitimate reimbursement of transportation costs to Guyana, so he described their acquisition as a *sale*.

> When they come there, now, after they go so far, they [the planters] have to get back their money what they sell this people for -- what they buy this people for. Well, when he come now, he say he come to a manager, Elliott ['s] estate.

That was Ogle, now a residential suburb of Georgetown, the capital of Guyana. Some of Jungu's shipmates were hired with him. Louisa, Uncle Keke, Uncle Dallah, Auntie Mafuta and Auntie Rose (pronounced Laws with a lisp that Mrs. Morrison mimicked and described as typically Kongo) moved away when they became adults, but they kept in touch with each other. After four years, Jungu became technically free, but the Ogle manager kept him on, claiming he was too young to be on his own. He gave Jungu some clothing, money, and a room in a long "range" (the typical Guyanese single story sugar workers' barracks). "Boy, you must behave yourself good, and every morning you must come and see me." Jungu attended school half days[71] and worked first in the manager's house and then with the estate's mules which pulled the sugar cane punts along the estates' canal system, eventually becoming head mule boy.

"They say Kongo like rum," Mrs. Morrison mused, and to celebrate his freedom, Jungu and "he mati Kongo they a tek they snaps [rum]. He . . . come home drunk, and . . . people a call them 'Kongo tar ass,' come here a' drink rum." The epithet referred to the traces of tar from the slave ship that some Central Africans still bore on their bodies after arrival in Guyana. "Tar ass" resembled the "salt water" nickname attached to African newcomers during slavery, meaning "bumpkin" or "uncivilized." When the tipsy Jungu struck a pregnant woman for calling him "Kongo tar-ass," the blow killed her, but her baby was delivered and survived. Jailed for twenty-one days, Jungu escaped trial for murder because his employer argued that "he is a indentured, he na know better." He never drank rum again.[72]

"A first class drummer," Jungu owned three drums: the rondel, the tampalin, and the sassi (*nzazi*?) suziana, a small drum with a high, rapid staccato sound.[73] Jungu left Ogle and "roamed from Georgetown . . . 'til Mara [a Berbice River plantation which employed many Africans]. He get children all about. . . . all about he get children, over West Coast, he get children." Finally, at the age of fifty, he married Mavis' mother, Elizabeth King (d. 1966), the twenty-five-year-old daughter of an African woman and a man from Buxton. Eventually Jungu settled at Annandale estate village. The last of his children by his wife was Mavis (Mamatch). She claimed that both parents died at advanced ages – her father at 115 years old in April 1933 and her mother at 105 years of age in 1966.

<u>Sense Man and Ruler Collaborate with Slave Traders</u>

In 1985 at Seafield on the West Coast of Berbice, three Kongo descendants, Mr. Carmichael, Mr. Scott and Mr. Pere, gathered together by a respected Guyanese elder statesman who also introduced me to Mrs. Morrison, reminisced about the old Kongo immigrants and their own life experiences. Mr. Carmichael related how in Africa, the *nganga*, the sorcerer/magician, played a role in tricking people into going down to the seashore where Spanish slave traders were waiting to seize them. This is a variant of numerous slave narratives that relate not only that white men tricked Africans into captivity with displays of consumer goods ranging from red cloth to trinkets, but also implicate an African middleman.[74] All stylized, allegorical narratives, therefore, do not disregard "African agency and collusion." As the following Guyanese tale relates, the village *nganga*, or priest assisted Spanish slavers in entrapping their victims:

> **<u>Mr. C</u>**: And another thing again, which I know that I've heard, that we came here -- our foreparents -- You know, a village always have Sense Man -- [**<u>Mr. P</u>**: *Gango, man, gango!] -- and the Sense Man he flying -- We came here by Spanol. When the Spanol they go to Africa, they try and intermingle with the Sense Man, and the Sense Man go in the village -- a big man, you know -- and they talk to you, come and say, come let we go a seashore, or you change a certain thing a seashore, and they allow you to go, or you allow yourself to go with them. When they go to Spanol they just hold you. . . . And put you inside the ship. So we came here. . . . Yes, trickery through the Sense Man.
>
> *i.e., *nganga*, magician or priest.

Mr. Carmichael's narrative took an occult turn when it described slaveship conditions. Magical powers of escape came into play as he touched on a common theme about people who found slavery intolerable and were able to fly off the ship because they had observed a salt taboo despite the distribution of salted fish and meat on slave ships. This short narrative, along with the lengthier "Carrion Crow" which follows it, exhibits many stock elements of other Caribbean and Guyanese deliverance tales. These include unbearable slave ship conditions, hard labor,[75] nostalgia for home, fidelity to African customs, ritual singing, ring dancing, drumming and salt avoidance (believed to make the body light[76]), and transformation into a bird, often a vulture (Carrion Crow in Guyana, John Crow in Jamaica) which was associated with occult powers. Missing is the counter "science" of slave ship captains, slaveowners or employers who understood the deadly nature of salt and deliberately plied Africans with it to destroy their occult powers. This is implied, however, by emphasis on some slaves' deliberate abstention from salt.

<u>Flight from A Slave Ship</u>

> **<u>Mr. C</u>**: In coming in the ship, as far as I understood, it was very agering [haggarding? i.e, exhausting?]. It wasn't sweet. They packed like sardine in the ship. And some of the, even the slave, they didn't know the sat ---- [?]. And some of them just -- [**<u>Mr. K</u>**: they need magic!]. Yes, magic. And some of them just fly away and they go right back. . . . They knew their little thing, yes, and they fly away. **<u>Mr. S</u>**: They say they didn't eat salt at the time, they didn't eat salt yet. So they are light [laughter].

<u>Carrion Crow's Flight to Africa</u>

In Mrs. Morrison's tale, "Carrion Crow," the employer and the work environment appear only fleetingly in the description of the protagonist as a bad worker who frightened his employer.[77] Also missing in "Carrion Crow" is the ascension site's proximity to water and trees

where spirits of the dead lurk, and the necessity of talking or "cutting" language prior to ascension.[78] Furthermore, the protagonist, Carrion Crow, is a more ambiguous figure than the heroes of most ocean-crossing tales. As portrayed by Mavis Morrison, following her father's account, Carrion Crow was a mysterious, imperious and anti-social Obeah man, a "sky-pilot," as a Guyanese might have referred to him, who traveled on the same ship as Jungu.[79] During the voyage he kept to himself, sitting silently and staring into space. He kept his country's customs, even though his neigbors found them repellent. "He na eat nothin'. He don't eat salt. . . . But . . . he kept in Guyana the same rule as they have in his country. . . . He don't eat salt, he don't eat too much of flesh, but he want play boss of them." People found his deliberate flaunting of Guyanese etiquette offensive, a sign, perhaps, of a wild, unsocialized force in their midst. As a guest at wedding feasts, for instance, "he nah take knife, he nah tek fork, he tek he teeth feh cut de meat [like a vulture?]. And you *got* to eat it. . . . if you refuse, you dead tomorrow morning. . . . he always put head 'pon de table [to eat?], he cut with he teeth, he tek he hand an' put plantain and put rice. You got feh eat and you boss[ed]." Children who encountered Carrion Crow, died, it was believed. "He was a wicked man, me daddy say. He wicked." Every day people were burying a child. Everyone, even the estate manager, feared him, and he was a bad worker.

Carrion Crow has affinities with the North American King Buzzard, an African ruler who sold people to white slave traders who decided to enslave him as well. When the ruler died, neither heaven nor hell wanted him, and he was condemned to wander alone forever "in de form of a great buzzard . . . known to all de sperrit as de King Buzzard."[80] Carrion Crow also bears a resemblance to a nineteenth century slave dealer, Daaga (Donald Stewart), the adopted son of the ruler of [Grand?] Popo. After he sold a group of Yoruba captives to the Portuguese, the ship's crew lured him aboard "under pretense of paying him," but placed him in irons instead. Reproached by his Yoruba victims, Daaga promised to liberate them and, in a possible reference to occult powers, he threatened to eat the first white man who fell into his clutches. When the British Navy liberated Daaga, he and others enrolled in the First West India Regiment in Trinidad. In 1837 he led a mutiny of Popo and Yoruba recruits who fled to Trinidad's east coast hoping to return to Africa but were captured and court martialed.[81]

One day, Carrion Crow called Jungu, "'Bro Jungu, me wan' go home. . . . This country too hard for me.'" So he sent invitations to all the Kongo from Georgetown to Berbice to attend a farewell dance. They were happy to see him go. On the day before the dance, he dug a long ditch ("hole"). Among the Kongo, some rituals require a trench to define the boundary between this world and the next, to indicate "the possibility of passage."[82] The trench obviated the necessity of a river or other body of water.

> He buy 2 yards [of cloth?] . . . and he tie he waist, tie up all he waist, he tek out [i.e., painted?] he skin, he tek out he toes and he face mark so, all over. At five a.m., he tek a chime [gong], and 'bong-bong-bong-bong-bong.' He come out and he say 'Well, today is my last day.' And he say he want a little food 'til [at?] twelve o'clock. And from twelve you have to sing until six. You going eat breakfast [Guyanese lunch] and come out back again. . . . He beat the drum and said: 'This drum got to knock so 'til me meet where me a' go.'

Carrion Crow set the time of departure for six o'clock. Next he roped off a dance ring or *ganda* from which spectators were barred. Like the trench, the *ganda* was a microcosm. The

drumming started in the morning. Everyone there danced. At noon, Carrion Crow went inside, ostensibly for a quick lunch. He returned with his body painted, "[H]e skin get red, white and blue and black and you know like a' paint. Nobody no paint am," the story goes. Mrs. Morrion thought it must be a jumbi. The colors indicate Carrion Crow's preparedness for a journey to the other world, Africa. White was the other world; black was this world; red, associated with blood, birth, death, sunrise, and sunset, marked the transition between white and black.[83] He commanded: "throw rum right round, *throw rum*, *throw rum*! I going away now, now, *now*! He a go 'way." As the men and women sang,

> This man a dance, he dance . . . from there up to that hole [ditch], and da man jump in the hole. When Carrion Crow jump in that hole, when everybody a' knock and dance at the corner -- nobody can't go in a de ring, the *ganda*, they dance with they back up [back-to-back?][84] -- Carrion Crow come out in the *ganda*: Kumunge, kumunge. Carrion Crow say, 'Jungu boy, I going now.' Vupatap-vupatap-vupatap, three times jump in-a hole. . . . Well them got for sing *now.* They take heavy rum you know. They sing, they sing, they sing, they sing. . . . when they look, they see . . . Carrion Crow in the air, *in the air*, this man get wing and this man *go-o-o-one*. If you hear this drum, if you hear this drum. . . . This man *g-o-o-o-ne*. This man *g-o-o-o-o-ne*. At six o'clock, [Jungu] say, he [Carrion Crow] hand [arm] swell so [sprouting wings?]. . . he ask what o'clock, they say six. One minute past six, he cut out. Everybody sit down and rest. That's how dey get rid out of Carrion Crow. . . . *He is the onliest African [who] come at Guyana -- the only one [to] go back*. He fly. Carrion Crow. *Wing*, I tell you, *wing*! He get de two foot, he get wing."

In fact, 990 liberated Africans and Kru men have been documented as returning to Africa by 1856. In addition, between 1858 and 1864, an unknown number arranged their own passages, some, apparently, on a locally owned ship that sailed regularly between Demerara and the Gambia. The Guyana government continued to receive petitions for repatriation in the 1870s and 1880s.[85] The great majority of liberated Africans remained in Guyana where disappointment produced a critical discourse on enslavement, immigration, working conditions and thwarted escape in the form of these flight narratives. They are part of a larger American, Caribbean and African discourse that has attracted scholarly attention.[86]

Such traditions are stereotypes or clichés that serve as mediums for popular social theories and cosmologies.[87] The deliverance narratives' symbolism locates the slave and immigrant experience within a tradition of parallel worlds of the living and the dead, separated by water, which extraordinary people could cross. Any "socially significant event, any fresh, meaningful experience" -- the creation of the world, death, state building, the founding or expansion of a religion, international commerce, forced or voluntary migration -- is comprehended in terms of passage between the two worlds separated by a body of water. The parallel worlds are conceptualized in many ways – as two banks of a river, two shores of the sea, two halves of a calabash, opposite mountains, above or under water, forest and village, cemetery and village, two distant towns, night and day, Africa and Europe, Africa and America. As the list shows, the two worlds are associated with familiar geographical features. The concept of a permeable boundary of water separating the two worlds (e.g. *Kalunga* or the *Nzadi* (Zaire) River or Atlantic Ocean of primary importance for Africans' efforts to understand their enslavement and immigration experiences.[88] At one ans the same time migration across water connotes a journey to the other world and a journey into enslavement.[89] It features in Caribbean flight

narratives, in African thought about Europe and America, and in diaspora peoples' idealization of Africa and their expectations of return. Guyana's ecology with its complex of rivers and canals would have reinforced such conceptions of enslavement and deliverance. Central African descendants told Guyanese folklore researcher, Kean Gibson that the old Kongo used to perform rites at rivers in the hope of going back to Africa.[90]

Maintenance of contact across the cosmic divide represented by water or the grave seems to be the main point of the Komfo ritual in Guyana. In 1920, Vincent Roth watched an old Kongo man named Doom perform the rites in front of the Gold Office in Arakaka, a mining town. First Doom drummed and then waltzed jerkily down the road to the cemetery from which he later danced back waving large bunches of red croton leaves. He struck the drummers with the leaves and struggled with them until they seized the leaves. Then he dropped to the ground and crawled back and forth before resuming a circle dance. A month later the same ceremony occurred but with the added feature of dancing by a self-described Obeah man dressed in a white gown who moved "with very rapid short steps that were remarkable in that the movements of the limbs ceased at the thighs." About fifty spectators followed Doom to the cemetery, running back in terror at whatever it was they saw there. Doom danced back as before, bearing croton leaves. Roth's description of Doom as a village type, the "local 'Congo-man,'" suggests that by 1920, such Central African survivors, possibly the only remaining Africans, were stock figures in rural areas.[91]

It is deceased persons who characteristically cross the barrier between the two worlds, but as with Carrion Crow, occult powers derived from salt avoidance, initiation, correct ritual and moral rectitude are believed to imbue some of the living with sufficient lightness of body to soar swiftly like angels or birds. The air or water, as Kongo waterside rites of return testify, are routes to what Fernandez, referring to Gabon's Bwiti cult, calls the "spiritual Archimedian point," the "original and final place" -- the land of white-looking water spirits, spirits of the dead.[92] Central and West Africans believe that these water spirits are fabulously wealthy and technologically advanced, having access to swift forms of transportation. Their behavior can also be antisocial and deviant, however. Starting with the arrival of the Portuguese in the 1400s, water spirits were identified as Europeans who were thought to lower African slave laborers into the sea to weave cloth they sold in Africa.[93] A Kongo-Guyanese tale of dealings with a water spirit may be understood as a parable of the unpredictable, dangerous nature of commercial transactions with European traders at the water's edge. The story concerns a man in Africa who daily visited a pond behind his house where a water mumma delivered money to him on a golden plate. One day, however, the man failed to return from the pool, pulled underwater by the treacherous water mumma, consumed by his desire for gold like the Africans in Mr. Carmichael's tale who were enslaved through their attraction to Spanish trinkets.[94]

The Afro-Caribbean discourse of deliverance from such treachery links it with witchcraft, expects rescue by an ideal king, and associates Africa with the Promised Land to which diaspora Africans are traveling. Such beliefs have inspired Caribbean millennialism, Ethiopianism, repatriationism and pan-Africanism.[95]

WITCHCRAFT & BOUNDARY CROSSING

Central (and West) Africans believe that wealth, health and social harmony are finite and can be achieved abundantly only at someone else's expense, through witchcraft or the misuse of occult powers. Thus the immoderate prosperity of a few people resulting from commerce with Europeans was equated with a loss of social equilibrium and blamed for social, medical and

financial misfortune and death. In this view, the slave trade transformed Africans into commodities for consumption on both sides of the Atlantic. The slave trade was represented as witchcraft, cannibalism and vampirism. As witches and cannibals, slave traders were believed to steal souls, imprison them in containers, make them work, sell them or, in the case of European witches, transport them to toil in Europe or America. As an early seventeenth century Portuguese Jesuit reported, "In Angola some of our slaves said . . . we were going to make use of them up to the point of devouring their bones." Europeans were described as "eating" Africans, dismembering and processing African body parts and blood to produce the goods (e.g. oil, cheeses, red wines, red military jackets, gunpowder and black shoe leather) they either consumed at home or exported back to Africa.[96] Such stories were rife in the Sierra Leone Liberated African Yard. In 1844, for instance, Central African newcomers were convinced not to emigrate to Guyana on the grounds that they would be decapitated, their heads boiled to make medicine to boost white men's intelligence, and their blood used to dye British soldiers' coats to make them brave.[97] A man clothed in African blood, feet shod in black African skin and shooting Africans with their own dried bones is a terrifying image of the predatory European. A group arriving in Trinidad from St. Helena in 1843 screamed because they thought they were about to be eaten. Luise White's conclusion about vampire charges against Europeans in southern Africa is equally applicable to Africans' explanations of enslavement: they were "specifically African, colonial discourses that identified new forms of violence and extraction." Bloodsucking was and is "an idiom with which labor was debated."[98]

So is the magical crossing and recrossing of the Atlantic Ocean. Magical migration (or expulsion) across rivers or the ocean is a common way to explain or legitimate pivotal events.[99] In their search for meaning in enslavement, Africans were, in a way, the first Atlantic historians, and more. They manipulated the slave voyage and the crossing from this world to the next as a paradigm and a prophecy. Witchcraft led to enslavement across the water and either exceptional people (like Carrion Crow) could marshall occult power to recross Kalunga personally, or else a redeemer would lead Africans back to an idealized Africa identified with Zion, Jerusalem or Ethiopia.

Like Africans in 1768 Martinique who expected to be ransomed by an anonymous African monarch,[100] liberated Africans and Afro-Guyanese in Guyana and the Caribbean looked to local or external leaders (including British monarchs) to protect or free them. With the failure of Marcus Mosiah Garvey's Atlantic and Caribbean shipping line in 1926, the water-crossing cliché became associated with Haile Selassie, a sovereign African king crowned emperor of Ethiopia in 1930.[101] His great appeal to people who had adopted the Bible as their personal deliverance text was his legitimacy as a supposed descendant of Kings David and Solomon, predicted by Psalm 68:31, "Ethiopia [i.e. Africa] shall soon stretch out her hands to God." Central Africans formed the nucleus of the Rastafarian movement that emerged around 1930 in eastern Jamaica. They propagated the idea of Selassie as King Zambi (KiKongo: *kinzambi*, God; formerly the most remote or "highest spiritual authority"), an apocalyptic World Emperor who would restore them to Africa and restore Africa to greatness. Selassie was expected to fetch his scattered subjects in a huge modern ship or a whole flotilla, either in 1934, the anniversary of slave emancipation, or in 2000. When Selassie's ships failed to materialize in 1934, Rastafarians apparently planned to clear a path with their beards and walk across the sea to Africa. Selassie was also imagined as a "sky pilot" steering an airplane, as in the Revivalist and Rastafarian hymn, "When my pilot come, I'll take an aeroplane ride, I will be happy with the King right by my side."[102] Guyana's black nationalist Jordanite sect also revered Selassie. Like Jordanites,

Jamaican Bedwardites, Garveyites and Rastafarians rejected white hegemony. They predicted the punishment of whites at the imminent end of time when blacks would either leave for Africa in ships or ascend skyward to Africa as Paradise.[103]

SALT AND SUBORDINATION

In Guyanese, Jamaican, Trinidadian and Carriacouan (but not North American) deliverance narratives, the ability to fly or walk back to Africa was believed to have been subverted by the misuse of occult power by masters or employers who sucked the life out of people and fed them the standard salted food of the slave ship and the plantation.[104]

> You see . . . they [the African slaves] learn to fly, they know to fly. This flying business is to go 'way, but people [slaveowners] use it to suck. . . . the evil part of it is to suck.[105]

In order to return home to Africa, people must abstain from salt. Salt is a multi-layered, ambiguous and sometimes contradictory sign, traits typical of symbols that express values about life. Such symbols are open-ended and therefore subject to reinterpretation.[106] Since Europeans and Africans made similar associations between salt avoidance and witchcraft, and since Central and West African exposure to European folkways began in Africa, it is difficult to distinguish European from African beliefs about salt.[107] Nevertheless, African attitudes to salt offer some help in explaining the belief that it prevented escape from slavery.

Salt can be used by Yoruba to "sweeten" human relations and to pay ritual respect to an orisha in Nigeria and Cuba.[108] In this sense "sweet" can mean pleasant, peaceful, docile and submissive. A Guyanese flight narrative states, for instance, that once slaveowners realized that Africans had the power to fly away, "they say, 'well look, the only thing can keep them *sweet* is to give them *salt*.'"[109] Like abstention from sexual relations, salt *avoidance* was associated with strengthening rituals and the assumption of occult powers (such as witches possess) by Central Africans, Haitian Vodun initiates, and Suriname Maroons embarking on a difficult occult task. People also could *protect* themselves from witches by ingesting or applying salt, for witches also believed that salt would make them lose their occult powers, making them too heavy to fly. Thus they were said to avoid people who had been touched with salt. For this reason, the Kongo appear to have been attracted to the Roman Catholic baptismal rite, considering the application of salt on the tongue more significant than immersion or sprinkling with water. Despite missionaries' condemnation of the belief in the mid-1600s, the preferred Kongo term for baptism until the early twentieth century remained *kudia mungwa*, "eat salt," a loaded term which can mean to become like Europeans or to lose one's power by associating with "ordinary," or uninitiated people.[110]

Salt was a preservative of fish or meat in Africa and the Americas, and the deliverance narratives mention it in the form of heavily salted fish and meat fed to slaves. Central Africans associated fish with the dead and therefore with vulture and witch food. Many believed that the salted meat eaten and served to them by Europeans was actually human flesh. Since the slave trade was believed to provide African flesh for European witches, then to "eat salt," might have meant to eat inadvertently the same African flesh (but salted) which European cannibal witches were believed to relish.[111] Over dependence on salted and dried diets contributed to Vitamin C deficiency or scurvy, a disorder that causes joint pain, bleeding gums, tooth loss, paralysis, and scaly gray or white skin and which killed nearly 15 percent of slaves in Postma's sample of Dutch slave cargoes.[112] The deliverance narratives also associated salted slave food with sickness, lethargy and heaviness that prevent flight, and scholars have debated whether a connection existed between slaves' salt-rich diet and hypertension.[113] Salt has another

association with the slave trade. As "probably the first commodity involved in long-distance commerce," rock- and sea-salt were used as currency to buy gold, grain and kola nuts, horses and, in both West and Central Africa, *slaves*.[114] The connection between salt and the slave trade could not have escaped Central Africans who went to Guyana in the nineteenth century. "Gone to fetch salt in . . . Boma," the slave trade port, was a Kongo euphemism for death. Salt thus joined cloth and cowrie shells as currency and as symbols of colonial labor extraction and separation from Africa.[115]

Between 30 and 34 percent of enslaved Africans and over half of the liberated Africans taken to Guyana were from West Central Africa. Guyanese oral evidence attests to the persistence at the end of the twentieth century of a West Central African identity, historical memory and worldview. The analysis of enslavement based on the crossing and recrossing of boundaries between two incompatible parallel worlds -- Africa and America, this world and the next, heaven and hell – is a signal contribution to the conceptualization of African diaspora history. As Vansina wrote, the West Central African worldview was not static but "constantly influenced by practical situations" to which society responded by "ceaselessly alter[ing] the application and derivations of . . . [its] principles, changing as situations and evolving experience dictated."[116] Recognition of the extent of the West Central African presence in multicultural western hemisphere societies like Guyana should prompt historians to identify and analyze the changing circumstances and altered applications of their worldview.

ABBREVIATIONS

CO	Colonial Office
GNA	Guyana National Archives
PP	Parliamentary Papers
SLA	Sierra Leone Archives
USPG	United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

1

ENDNOTES

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[2]. In the course of European wars between the 1780s and 1815, the British occupied the three Dutch colonies of Demerara, Berbice and Essequibo, uniting them as British Guiana in 1831. Johannes Menne Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 284-286, 22-40; Raymond T. Smith, *British Guiana* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 11-26.

[3]. Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, pp. 112-125, 284-291, 298-300.

[4]. See Barry W. Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807-1834* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1984), p. 133. Overall British slave exports from West Central Africa rose considerably just about the time Britain became responsible for the three Guyana colones, from 7.2 percent in 1780-9 to 30.8 percent in 1790-9 and 28.6 percent in 1800-7. This may not reflect the exports to Demerara and Essequibo, however. Exports from the Bight of Biafra topped Central Africa. The amounts were 60 percent in 1780-9, 40.8 percent in 1790-9, and 43.8 percent percent in 1800-7. See David Richardson, "Slave Exports from West and West-Central Africa, 1700-1810: New Estimates of Volume and Distribution," *Journal of African History*, 30(1989): 13.

[5]. See Higman, *Slave Populations*, pp. 77, 122-123, 130-133.

[6]. See Higman, *Slave Populations*, p. 77, and 1841 Census, "Native Countries," enclosed in No. 255, Henry Light to Lord Stanley, 12 December 1844, CO 111/215.

[7]. This is 92 Africans fewer than the 13,264 in the Immigration Office records, a discrepancy attributable to differences between the Colonial Land and Emigration Board's and the Guyana Immigration Office's calculations of mortality. I do not have ethnic breakdowns for all Sierra Leone passengers, and my estimate of only 522 Central African recaptives from Sierra Leone is therefore conservative. I have designated all of the 1,578 Rio and 5,812 St. Helena immigrants in my count as Central African. I have not included 819 immigrants from the Cape Verde islands (1856 and 1858) and from New Providence, Nassau (1837-1846). See James Crosby, Immigration Agent-General, "Statement of the Total Number of Immigrants Introduced into the Colony of British Guiana from the 1st Jan., 1835, to the 31st Dec., 1864. 4 January 1865, CO 111/350. Crosby's table included 91 Africans in 1838, who I have deducted

from his total, but I have added 77 children rescued from a schooner wrecked off the Guyana coast in 1842; it was headed to Brazil from Cabinda. Finally, I have added the final 42 who arrived from St. Helena in 1865. See J. Graham Cruickshank, "African Immigrants after Slavery," *Timehri*, 3rd Series, 6(September 1919): 77 for the Cabinda schooner. Villages along the coasts of Liberia also supplied Kru, Grebo and Vai laborers but they were not liberated Africans. See Monica Schuler, "Kru Emigration to British and French Guiana, 1841-1857," *Africans in Bondage: Studies in Slavery and the Slave Trade*," ed. Paul E. Lovejoy (Madison: African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin, 1986). Immigrant statistics come from a wide range of official correspondence in the CO 267 (Sierra Leone governors' dispatches), CO 111 (British Guiana governors' dispatches), CO 247 (St. Helena governors' despatches), and CO 386 (Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners) series in the Public Record Office, Kew; also from correspondence and newspapers in the Guyana National Archives, Georgetown (GNA).

[8]. Over 9,000 West Indian immigrants boosted the Creole element. See "Census of the Population of the Colony of British Guiana As Taken on the 31st Day of March 1851," enclosed in No. 170, H. Barkly to Earl Grey, 28 November 1851, CO 111/284. According to the census, the population statistics of black people (including immigrants) in Guyana was as follows (the categories are those of the Official Census):

Natives* of B. Guiana:	86,455
Natives of Barbados	4,925
Natives of Other W. I. Islands	4,353
African Immigrants	7,168
Old Africans	7,083
Second West India Regiment**	369
Third West India Regiment**	298

*Afro-Guyanese, not aborigines.
**Mostly Africans.

[9]. See James Rose, "The Strikes of 1842 and 1848," in *Themes in African-Guyanese History*, ed. Winson F. McGowan, James G. Rose, and David Granger (Georgetown: Guyana: Free Press, 1998); Monica Schuler, "Plantation Labourers, The London Missionary Society and Emancipation in West Demerara, Guyana," *Journal of Caribbean History*, 22 (1988): 104-107; Alan H. Adamson, *Sugar Without Slaves: The Political Economy of British Guiana* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 38-43; Brian L. Moore, *Race, Power and Social Segmentation in Colonial Society: Guyana after Slavery, 1838-1891* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1987), pp. 33-34, 40-47. Planters believed that a larger labor force would enable them to dominate the labor market.

[10]. Nevertheless, an immigration law required one third of immigrants to be female. The first voyages from Sierra Leone to Jamaica and Guyana were exceptions to the rule that families did not immigrate. In 1841, for instance, families accompanied African soldiers as well as Jamaican Maroons who had been sent to Sierra Leone in 1800. See Monica Schuler, "*Alas, Alas, Kongo": A Social History of Indentured African Immigration into Jamaica, 1841-1865* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), pp. 17, 18, 22; Monica Schuler, "Recruitment of African Indentured Labourers for European Colonies in the Nineteenth Century," in *Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour Before and After Slavery*, p. 130, ed. P. C. Emmer (Dordrecht and Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1986); Earl Grey to W. Walker, No. 26, 22 July 1848, enclosing W. R. Hamilton Report, CO 114/17. In May 1841, the *Superior* took a number of relatively large families from the liberated African villages to Guyana. See "Nominal List of Africans by the *Superior* from Sierra Leone, and Estates Upon Which They Have Been Located," enclosure in No. 59, Henry Light to Lord John Russell, 21 August 1841, CO 111/182. The gender of the small number of infants was not included. I have not attempted to calibrate gender and age because age information is incomplete and inconsistent. See pp. 3-4 and note 12. Wherever possible, I have relied on passenger statistics generated by the St. Helena Collector of Customs and the Guyana immigration department but I have correlated them with statistics published by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners in London. The variety of statistical sources means contradictory gender classifications and numbers. The term "recaptive" refers to African newcomers taken into Sierra Leone and St. Helena. "Sierra Leonians" refers to liberated Africans who had been settled for a number of years in Sierra Leone.

[11]. According to David Eltis and David Richardson, "West Africa and the Transatlantic Slave Trade: New Evidence of Long-Run Trends," in *Routes to Slavery: Direction, Ethnicity and Mortality in the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, p. 33, ed. David Eltis and David Richardson (London: Frank Cass, 1997), the age composition of enslaved Africans evolved from a comparative absence of children in the 1600s to a predominance of children in the 1800s. Between 1811-1867, 41 percent of slaves from all African regions, 59 percent from Angola and 61 percent from southeastern Africa, were children. See David Eltis, "Fluctuations in the Age and Sex Ratios of Slaves in the Nineteenth Century Transatlantic Slave Traffic," *Slavery and Abolition*, 7, 3 (1986): 259, 262; David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 256-9; Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), pp. 387-389; Paul Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 137-139; Paul Lovejoy, "The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Africa: A Review of the Literature," *Journal of African History*, 30 (1989): 384-386; Patrick Manning, *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental, and African Slave Trades* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 99.

[12] . See J. D. Willan to Sir Charles Elliot, 12 March 1864, enclosed in No. 25, Elliot to Duke of Newcastle, 28 March 1864, CO 247/100, for the calculation of age by an examination of teeth, with the presence of canines associated with the age of twelve, and Copy, John Young to R. C. Pennell, 2 November 1849, enclosed in No. 11, Sir Patrick Ross to Earl Grey, 22 November 1849, "Papers Relative to Emigration from Africa to the West Indies," PP 1850 (643), XL: 364. British authorities defined "child" in various ways according to the circumstances and labor needs. Between 1841 and 1844, orphaned liberated African children between the ages of nine and thirteen could be apprenticed in Sierra Leone. They were also entitled to from one to four years in a liberated African school. West Indian recruiters entertained high hopes for the schools as "nurser[ies] of laborers." Children recruited from liberated African schools were a minority of the emigrant orphans. In 1844, newcomer recaptive children over age twelve were given the choice of military enlistment, emigration to the West Indies, or self-support in Sierra Leone. See Willan to Pennell, No. 264, 11 January 1864, enclosed in Elliot to Newcastle, No. 10, 26 January 1864, CO 247/100 for St. Helena practices. Compare these ages with Miller, *Way of Death*, p. 388, who notes Brazilian preferences for "older [slave] children from eight to fifteen years of age." See Schuler, *Alas*, pp. 114 for totals of liberated African schoolchildren who emigrated to Guyana and the West Indies. See also Copy, Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners to Earl Grey, 19 July 1848, CO 114/17 for comments on the *Helena's* passengers. Even in Guyana there could be disagreement. When the British Guiana government archivist, J. Graham Cruickshank, published data on the *David Malcolm* immigrants from St. Helena, he revised substantially the number of men and boys reported in 1862 by the immigration agent general, James Crosby. Crosby had reported 156 men and 40 boys, which Cruickshank amended to 124 men and 70 boys. See Cruickshank, "African Immigrants, p. 77. Compare with numbers of children transported to the Indian Ocean island of Réunion from 1850 to 1860 in Hubert Gerbeau, "Engagées and Coolies on Réunion Island: Slavery's Masks and Freedom's Constraints," in *Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour Before and After Slavery*, p. 130, ed. P. C. Emmer (Dordrecht and Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1986), p. 236.

[13] . This man, a London Missionary Society deacon in Guyana residing in a Kongo community at Overwinning, was described in L. Crookall, *British Guiana; or, Work and Wandering among the Creoles and Coolies, the Africans and Indians of the Wild Country* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898), pp. 108-109. Recruiters' extravagant promotion of Guyana and the West Indian islands, Sierra Leonians' initial enthusiasm for emigration and their subsequent repugnance are well documented. See Schuler, "Recruitment of African Indentured Labourers," pp. 131-133.

[14]. See Schuler, *Alas*, p. 28, for conditions at Rupert's Valley. See Extract of a Report of Dr. Rawlins, 25 May 1849, enclosed in No. 7, Sir Patrick Ross to Earl Grey, 12 June 1849, "Papers Relative to Emigration from Africa and the West Indies," PP 1850 (643.) XL, p. 387.

[15]. The *Broughton Hall* sailed with 590 on January 28, 1860, six of whom died on the voyage. See James Crosby to Governor's Secretary, 4 February 1860, enclosed in No. 17, Sir Henry Wodehouse to Duke of Newcastle, 6 February 1860, CO 111/326.

[16]. Bishop Piers Claughton to Rev. W.T. Bullock, 29 Dec. 1859 and 17 January 1860. D8 USPG Letters Received from Natal, St. Helena, Sierra Leone, Mauritius, 1850-1859.

[17]. See Schuler, *Alas*, pp. 27-28, and *St. Helena Guardian*, 45(6 March 1862): 3, on p. 157 of USPG Volume, D25, USPG Letters Received, St. Helena, 1860-67, for an African petition to be repatriated to Loanda owing to the high cost of living and scant earning opportunities in the island. See the description of the station in Claughton to Bullock, 29 Dec. 1859. D8 USPG Letters Received from Natal, St. Helena, Sierra Leone, Mauritius, 1850-1859. For mortality, see C. H. Rawlins, M. D., 25 May 1849, "Return of Africans Received on the Station at Rupert's Valley, with the Number Admitted into Hospital; Number Discharged Cured, and the Number Deceased," from Extract of a Report of Dr. Rawlins, 25 May 1849, enclosed in No. 7, Sir Patrick Ross to Earl Grey, 12 June 1849, "Papers Relative to Emigration from Africa and the West Indies," PP 1850 (643.) XL, p. 387; "Report of the Liberated African Establishment, St. Helena: Dr. Vowell's Report," enclosure in No. 7, Sir Patrick Ross to Earl Grey, 12 June 1849, PP 1850 (643) XL, pp. 364.

[18]. Report of Thomas Goodwin, Missy Catechist, St. Helena to USPG for Quarter Ending 30 June 1870. E24 USPG Missionary Reports, 1868-69; Welby to Duke, 27 February 1863, D25 USPG Letters Received. St. Helena. 1860-1870; Schuler, *Alas*, pp. 25-26; John Peterson, *Province of Freedom: A History of Sierra Leone**,** 1787-1870* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), pp. 52, 93-96, 161-174; Schuler, *Alas*, 25-26.

[19]. See Bishop Piers Claughton to Rev. W. T. Bullock, 29 Dec. 1859 and 17 Jan. 1860, D8, USPG Letters Received from Natal, St. Helena, Sierra Leone and Mauritius, 1850-59; Claughton to Bullock, 23 Feb. 1860, and 30 March 1860, and Bishop Thomas E. Welby to Rev. E. Hawkins, 27 Nov. 1862 and 27 Feb. 1863, 28 Jan. 1864, in D25 Letters Received, St. Helena, 1860-1867; Rev. Edward Bennett to W. T. Bullock, 28 Feb. 1860 and 29 June 1861, E5 USPG Missionary Reports, 1859 and E7 USPG Missionary Reports, 1860 and 1861A, Africa, Asia, Australia; Rev. H. J. Bodily to Secretary of the USPG, 30 Oct. 1861,26 June 1862, Quarterly Report, Christmas 1862, 28 September 1863,

E8 USPG Missionary Reports, 1861 and 1861A, E9 USPG Missionary Reports, 1862, and E13 USPG Missionary Reports 1862-63, Africa, Asia, Australia.

[20]. See Schuler, *Alas*, pp. 115-117.

[21]. Ships with more than a 3 percent death rate per voyage. Not included is an anonymous schooner bound from Cabinda to Brazil which was wrecked off the Guyana coast with 77 children on board. Three of the slaves, or 3.89 percent, died. See Cruickshank, "African Immigrants," p. 77. See W. B. Wolseley, Circuit Magistrate's Journal, 22 June to 1 July inclusive, 1841, *Gazette and General Advertiser*, 36, 5530(16 November 1841): 3-4, and John Taggart to H. E. F. Young, 19 May 1841, enclosed in No. 57, Henry Light to Lord John Russell, 19 May 1841, CO 111/178, for the *Dois de Fevreiro*. See Light to Lord Stanley, No. 195, 2 December 1842 and enclosures, CO 111/194, for Brazilian slaver *Name Unknown*, and Light to Stanley, No. 72, 2 April 1844, XO 111/210, for Brazilian slaver *Zulmira*. *Arabian-IV* deaths are documented in Light to Earl Grey, No. 57, 2 April 1844, and enclosures, CO 111/253. The most reliable source for the *Growler* is Appendix No. 5, "Africans Brought by Her Majesty's Steam Ship *Growler*, and George R. Bonyun, M.D., "Remarks to Accompany Table A, enclosed in No. 10, Henry Light to Earl Grey, 11 January 1848, CO 111/250. Johnson U. J. Asiegbu, *Slavery and the Politics of Liberation* (London: Longman, 1969), p. 131, seems to have misread the mortality data, attributing all *Growler* passenger deaths 67 by Bonyun's count, 66 by Asiegbu's, to the voyage when in fact 10 died in hospital and 47 after allotment to plantations. For the *Arabian-IX*, see R. B. Perry Testimony and Edward Duke Bach, R. N. Testimony, Minutes of Enquiry Relative to the Causes of Mortality on Board the Transport Barque *Arabian* on her Passage to Demerara from Sierra Leone, 20 March 1848, enclosed in A. Lyons and J. McLeod to William Walker, 30 March 1848 GNA; Daniel Blair to Light, 24 April 1848, GNA; William Humphtys to Willliam Walker, 28 April 1848, GNA. See also John Johnston to Walker, 19 April 1848, "Report on the Arrival of the Brig *Helena*, with enclosures, GNA; Light to Earl Grey, No. 69, 28 April 1844 and enclosures, CO 111/252; John J. Johnstone, M.D., "Health Officers Report of Immigrants by the Ship *Una*," enclosed in No. 9, Light to Grey, 17 May 1848, CO 111/253; J. Wigley, Commander of *Una*, to William Humphrys, 6 May 1848, GNA; and Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, 10th General Report, PP 1850 [1204.] XXIII, p. 140. See William Walker to Grey, No. 166, 29 December 1848, and enclosures, CO 111/260 and 10th General Report of CLEC, PP 1850 [1204.], XXIII, p. 141, for the *Reliance*.

[22]. See Appendix No. 5, "Africans Brought by Her Majesty's Steam Ship *Growler*, and George R. Bonyun, M.D., "Remarks to Accompany Table A, enclosed in No. 10, Henry Light to Earl Grey, 11 January 1848, CO 111/250. See also "Report of the Liberated African Establishment, St. Helena: Dr. Vowell's Report," enclosure in No. 7, Sir Patrick Ross to Earl Grey, 12 June 1849, PP 1850 (643) XL, pp. 364. See the discussion of *cachexia* in Mary C. Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 181.

[23]. Particularly noticeable was what all observers referred to as Yoruba "compatriotism." See Peterson, *Province*, pp. 212, William Hamilton, "Sierra Leone and the Liberated Africans," *Fisher's Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal* 7 (1841): 27, 34; J. Graham Cruickshank, "Among the Aku, (Yoruba) in Canal No. 1, West Bank, Demerara River," *Timehri*, 3rd Series 4(1917): 74-75. For the Kongo, see "Peculiar Native Wedding Ceremony," *Daily Chronicle* (Wed. 19 June 1901), and Cruickshank, "African Immigrants after Freedom," *Timehri*, 3rd Series 6(1919): 77-78.

[24]. See Wyatt MacGaffey, "Kongo Identity," in *Nations, Identies, Cultures*, V. Y. Mudimbe, ed., (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), a volume of *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 94, 4(Fall 1995): 1027, 1028-1029; Robert W. Harms, *River of Wealth, River of Sorrow: The Central Zaire Basin in the Era of the Slave and Ivory Trade, 1500-1891* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 30-32; Jan Vansina, *The Tio Kingdom of the Middle Congo, 1880-1892* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 277.

[25]. Peterson, *Province*, pp. 191, 194, 196, 202-203; Miller, *Way of Death*, pp. 23-39; S. A. Akintoye, *Revolution and Power Politics in Yorubaland 1840-1893* (New York: Humanities Press, 1971), pp. xviii-xix. Scholars emphasize the flexibility of ethnic identification and its tendency to be manipulated by and for economic and political interests, including those of Europeans; see Wyatt MacGaffey, "Kongo Identity," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 94, 4 (Fall 1995): 1025-1037; H. Leroy Vail, ed. *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); David D. Laitin, *Hegemony and Culture: Politics and Religious Change among the Yoruba* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 97, 120, 145-146; Jan Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1990), pp. 19-21, 148, 151, 219, 226, 230; Harms, *River of Wealth*, pp. 30-32, 126-142, 148-153, 181-186. Vansina, *Tio Kingdom*, p. 311, illustrates how, in the course of long-distance (including slave) trade, a mixed culture developed at the Pool on the Congo River, with Tio and Bobangi sharing villages and borrowing so extensively from one another and from Kongo that outsiders had trouble distinguishing between them. For the Yoruba, see Robin Law, *The Oyo Empire, c. 1600- c. 1836* (1977; reprint ed., Aldershot: Gregg Revivals, 1991), pp. 110-113, 115-118; 205-207, 231-233; J. S. Eades, *Strangers and Traders: Yoruba Migrants, Markets and the State in Northern Ghana* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1994), pp. 8-9, 140-175; Paul E. Lovejoy, "The African Diaspora: Revisionist

Interpretations of Ethnicity, Culture and Religion under Slavery," *Studies in the World History of Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation*, 2, 1 (1997), 22 pp., http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~slavery/essays/ esy9701love.html; Robin Law, "Ethnicity and the Slave Trade: 'Lucumi' and 'Nago' As Ethonyms in West Africa," *History in Africa* 24 (1997): 205. The conflict between proponents of homogeneous vs. heterogeneous slave identities remains strong. See Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, *An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past: A Caribbean Perspective* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1976), pp. 8-11; David Eltis and David Richardson, "The 'Numbers Game' and Routes to Slavery," pp. 10-13, Douglas B. Chambers, "'My Own Nation': Igbo Exiles in the Diaspora," pp. 84, 90-91, Peter Caron, "'Of a Nation which the Others Do Not Understand': Bambara Slaves and African Ethnicity in Colonial Louisiana, 1718-60," pp. 100-101, and Philip D. Morgan, "The Cultural Implications of the Atlantic Slave Trade: African Regional Origins, American Destinations and New World Developments," pp.122-145, in *Routes to Slavery: Direction, Ethnicity and Mortality in the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, ed. David Eltis and David Richardson (London: Frank Cass, 1997); also John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680* (1992; new ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 192-204, 321-323. My own Caribbean research conducted over a thirty-year period leads me to the same view as Thornton. For a European comparison, see Eugeen E. Roosens, *Creating Ethnicity: The Process of Ethnogenesis* (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1989), pp. 11-20, and Roosen's analysis of guest workers in Belgium, pp. 132-137.

[26]. For the Nsundi and Zombo (formerly Mbata, in the Nkisi River valley of West Central Africa), who dominated important east-west caravan routes, see Brodhead, "Beyond Decline," pp. 638, 642-643.

[27]27. See Miller, *Way of Death*, pp. 28-30, 238, 254-263, 387-401; Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests*, pp. 222-230. Recaptives from three Brazilian slavers transshipped to Guyana in 1841 had probably embarked at Benguela. Liberated Africans on the *Mary Hartley*, the first St. Helena immigrant vessel to go to Guyana (Jan-Feb. 1842), were from Benguela, and those on this ship's second voyage in June and July who were noted as being "released" from the "Congo barracoons," (i.e. raided by the British Naval squadron), were most likely from Benguela as well. See *Royal Gazette of British Guiana*, 36, 5456 (27 May 1841): 3., Light to Stanley, No. 168, 3 October 1842, CO 111/193; *Gazette and General Advertiser of British Guiana*, 36, 5523(30 October 1841): 2; Light to Stanley, No. 27, 31 January 1842, enclosing Whinfield and Lowenfeld to Young, 19 and 22 January 1842; Light to Stanley, No. 146, 1 August 1842, and enclosures, CO 111/192.

[28]28. The Guyanese missionary, George R. Murrain, worked in Angola in 1913. His conversation was with John T. Tucker who worked for many years among the Ovimbundu. I am grateful to Linda Heywood of Howard University for sharing this anecdote with me. The source is *John T. Tucker -- A Tucker Treasury*, ed. Catherine Tucker Ward (Windfield, British Colombia: Wood Lake Books, 1984), p. 111.

[29]. Bunseki detected a Zombo accent in the KiKongo speech of Jamaican Central Africans. See Kenneth M. Bilby and Fu-Kiau kia Bunseki, "Kumina: A Kongo-Based Tradition in the New World," *Les cahiers du CEDAF* 8, 4 (1983): 107, n. 33. For a description of the Zombo see Joachim John Monteiro, *Angola and the River Congo*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1875), 1:271.

[30]. Europeans and their Euro-African offspring lived in the hinterland of the port of Luanda and in the Central Highlands' Ovimbundu states (founded by seventeenth-century warlords) of Bihe, Wambu (Huambo) and Mbailundu. See Miller, *Way of Death*, pp. 28-30, 238, 254-263. Mulattos did their best to assimilate to whites in status, culture and dress (breeches and stockings). They were usually assigned to the servant caste but could also be found as as priests and soldiers. See Wyatt MacGaffey, *Religion and Society in Central Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 201-20. See Bilby and Bunseki, "Kumina," pp. 77, 84-85.

[31]. I cannot judge whether Mrs. Morrison's "Mazumba" meant Zombo or Mazumbo. Clearly it was a familiar group to her.

[32]. See, for instance, the discussion of identity theories, hegemony, counter-hegemony and persistence of ethnic identities in Laitin, *Hegemony and Culture*, pp. 97-108 and p. 101. Harms, *River of Wealth*, pp. 141-142; Patrick Harries, *Work, Culture, and Identity: Migrant Laborers in Mozambique and South Africa* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1994), especially p. 39. See Eades, *Strangers and Traders*, pp. 140-141, 148-150.

[33]. See Cruickshank, "Among the 'Aku'," pp. 76-77, for Guyana, and Hamilton, "Sierra Leone and the Liberated Africans," *Fisher's Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal* 8 (1842): 41, for Sierra Leone. Hamilton is the source of the Sierra Leonian expression "walked in the same boat." Compare the administrative structure of Sierra Leonian welfare societies with the eighteenth century British Leeward Islands; see Peterson, *Province of Freedom*, pp. 259-263 and Elsa V. Goveia, *Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 95. See Howard Johnson, "Friendly Societies in the

Bahamas, 1834-1910," *Slavery and Abolition*, 12, 3(December 1991): 183-187, 190, for Bahamas liberated African Kongo, Yoruba and other ethnic welfare societies. The Yoruba and Egba Friendly Societies were founded by 1,043 Africans liberated in 1838 from two Portuguese slavers. In 1884, their children or grandchildren still belonged to the Societies. Bahamas friendly societies had political as well as welfare functions. Central Africans were familiar with other forms of fictive kinship, such as blood brotherhood. For other descriptions of ethnicity and fictive (e.g. shipmate) kinship and diaspora mutual aid associations see Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, pp. 199-204, and p. 322 where Dutch New York African "companies" were also known; Philip A. Howard, Changing History: *Afro-Cuban Cabildos and Societies of Color in the Nineteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), pp. 21-70; Colin Palmer, *Slaves of the White God: Blacks in Mexico, 1570-1650* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 54-55, 138-139; George Reid Andrews, "Race Versus Class Association: The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1850-1900," *Journal of Latin-American Studies*, 2 (May 1979): 35; Maureen Warner, "Africans in Nineteenth Century Trinidad," II, *African Studies Association of the West Indies Bulletin* 6 (1973):20. For Jamaican shipmates, see Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1969), p. 150; Schuler, *Alas*, p. 63, 66, 69, 81, 149n. See Harms, *River of Wealth*, pp. 188-195 for Bobangi marriages, blood brotherhood and ritual prestige; Vansina, *Tio Kingdom*, pp. 263-264.

[34]. See GNA: Berbice Criminal Court Investigation, February 1814; H. W. Bentinck to Earl Bathurst, 22 February and 29 April 1814, CO 111/81; James Rodway, *History of British Guiana from the Year 1668 to the Present Time* (Georgetown: J. Thompson, 1891), II: 297-298. Another factor encouraging the reorganization of African welfare companies may have been the 1807 British restriction of U.S. food imports which led to slave starvation and death. See H.W. Bentinck to William Windham, 19 January 1807, CO111/7. Possibly the Kongo had learned a hard lesson about the counterproductivity of ethnic friction during a major Berbice slave rebellion in 1762. See Monica Schuler, "Akan Slave Rebellions in the British Caribbean," *Savacou* 1(1970): 18, 20. See Schuler, "Plantation Labourers," pp. 93-94. For Guyanese friendly societies in 1847, see "British Guiana, Table A, Half Year Ending 31st December 1847, enclosed in No. 49, Light to Grey, 1848, CO 111/151, and in 1880s, see Walter Rodney, *A History of the Guyanese Working People, 1881-1905* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), pp. 162-163, 170. Compare with Trinidadian, Jamaican and African-American societies in David Trotman, *Crime in Trinidad: Conflict and Control in a Plantation Society, 1838-1900* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986), pp. 110-111, 313-314, n. 19; Maureen Warner-Lewis, *Guinea's Other Suns* (Dover, Mass.: Majority Press, 1991), pp. 32-33 and 58, n 27; Schuler, *Alas*, pp. 66-83.

[35]. Hamilton, "Sierra Leone and the Liberated Africans," *Fisher's Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal* 7 (1841): 27, 34-35 and 8 (1842), 41; Peterson, *Province of Freedom*, pp. 190-213, 220-228, 259-271. Hamilton is also quoted in Peterson, p. 209.

[36]. Given the composition of the Sierra Leone liberated African population, Butts' selection of Yoruba, Igbo, Temne, Popo and Kru delegates was understandable. R. G. Butts to Henry Light, 23 July-7 August 1844, enclosed in No. 57, Light to Lord Stanley, 19 March 1845, CO 111/221. See Peterson, *Province of Freedom*, p. 169, for Sierra Leone's Yoruba and Igbo majorities.

[37]. Sandra Barnes, *Patrons and Power: Creating A Political Community in Metropolitan Lagos* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 7-9.

[38]. See Schuler, *Alas*, pp. 15-16, 19-22, 24-25, for the delegate system. Archival sources do not identify any Central African delegates for Guyana.

[39]. The *Superior* also took 23 Kru men to Guyana where they hired themselves out primarily as boatmen. "Nominal List of Africans by the *Superior* from Sierra Leone, and Estates Upon Which They Have Been Located," enclosure in No. 59, Henry Light to Lord John Russell, 21 August 1841, CO 111/182.

[40]. Henry Light to Lord Stanley, No. 78, 21 April 1842, and enclosures, "Memorandum for the Emigration Agent," 20 April 1842, and James Hackett to H.E.F. Young,, "Report on the Arrival of the Ship Lady Rowena from St. Helena with Captured Africans," 22 April 1842, CO 111/190; Hamilton, "Sierra Leone and the Liberated Africans," *Fisher's Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal* 7 (1841): 27, 34-35 and 8 (1842): 41.

[41]. Cruickshank, "African Immigrants, p. 82.

[42]. Monica Schuler, "Liberated Africans in Nineteenth Century Guyana," The 1991 Elsa Goveia Memorial Lecture (Mona, Jamaica: Department of History, University of the West Indies, 1992), pp. 2-3. See Moore, *Race, Power and Social Segmentation*, pp. 140-141, for similar immigrant Portuguese mobility. Indentured Africans' mobility contradicts the common assertion that only Portuguese indentured workers enjoyed such freedom and that employers and officials thus discriminated in their favor. Compare with South Africa, where migrant workers could

"tramp" to sample the labor market; this discouraged wage cutting and other harmful labor practices. In Natal, the seasonal nature of sugar planting was also a factor, see Harries, *Work, Culture, and Identity*, especially pp. 33, 37.

[43]. George Bonyun, M.D. to Henry Light, 6 January 1848, enclosed in No. 10, Light to Grey, 11 January 1848. The survey was actually devised to study health and mortality conditions of all immigrant plantation laborers. What Bonyun meant by "amalgamation" is unclear. Oral traditions suggest that for some time it meant residence in or on the outskirts of Creole villages, but not necessarily co-habitation or marriage with Creoles. See Cruikshank, "Liberated Africans," pp. 77, 83.

[44]. Peterson, *Province of Freedom*, p. 191, observes that "the success of any one of the early Church Missionary Society missionary superintendents [of Sierra Leone's liberated African districts] depended largely on the effective organization of the majority of the population on a tribal basis." Compare also with Yoruba Christians in Sierra Leone in Peterson, *Province*, pp. 230-234 and Ghana in Eades, *Strangers and Traders*, pp. 140-141, 148-150. Stipendiary magistrates were salaried judges introduced as protectors of apprentices following emancipation and retained as protectors of immigrants. See, for instance, W. L. Burn, *Emancipation and Apprenticeship in the British West Indies* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937); Monica Schuler, "Coloured Civil Servants in Post-Emancipation Jamaica: Two Case Studies," *Caribbean Quarterly*, 30 (1984): 85-86 and Schuler, *Alas*, p. 50.

[45]. Von Griesheim was quoted in Rev. James Aitken. "A Voice from the Past," *Timehri*, 3rd ser., 4 (1917): 134. See below and Schuler, *Alas*, pp. 45-46 for Yoruba headmen/delegates in Metcalfe parish, Jamaica.

[46]. Schuler, *Liberated Africans*, pp. 3, 15 n.10; Cruickshank, "African Immigrants," p. 82.

[47]. Schuler, "Liberated Africans**,**" pp. 3-5; Cruickshank, "Among the Aku," p. 74.

[48]. Interviews, Bagotville, 1980. Although some Indians began rice farming at Vive la Force in Canal 1 in 1853, it was not until the empoldering of the canal began around 1891 that significant numbers were attracted to the area; see J.A. Veerasawmy, "Noitgedacht Murder," *Timehri* 3rd ser., 6 (Sep. 1919): 115; Robert James Moore, "East Indians and Negroes in British Guiana: 1838-1880," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Sussex, 1970, p. 235. Kongo or other Angolan descendants were interviewed in Wakenaam as well as East Coast Demerara and West Coast Berbice in the 1980s.

[49]. Elliott P. Skinner, "Ethnic Interaction in a British Guiana Rural Community: A Study in Secondary Acculturation and Group Dynamics," Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1955, p. 254. According to a missionary, certain Kru who settled in Canal No. 1 in the early 1850s were also consulted as obeahmen; see Schuler, "Kru Emigration to British and French Guiana, 1841-1857," *Africans in Bondage: Studies in Slavery and the Slave Trade*," ed. Paul E. Lovejoy (Madison: African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin, 1986), pp. 179, 180.

[50]. See W. B. Wolseley, Circuit Stipendiary Magistrate's Journal, 22 June to 1 July 1841 inclusive, in *Gazette and General Advertiser*, 36, 5530(16 November 1841): 3-4. See also William Walker to Earl Grey, No. 20, 13 June 1848, CO111/254, for the date of the likely purchase of Overwinning plots by liberated Africans. The letter records the sale in 1847 of two three-acre tracts on Plantation Overwinning, each tract divided into 47 lots, for a total of $2,124.67 for each tract. The names are primarily English, therefore the ethnicity of the purchasers cannot be determined. See Crookall, *British Guiana*, pp. 108-109, for the Kongo of Overwinning.

[51]. Schuler, *Alas*, pp. 66, 70-71, 151-152 n. 26. Guyanese information from interviews in Guyana, especially Mrs. Mavis Morrison of Annandale and her friends, 1985. Compare with liberated Africans in the Bahamas in Johnson, "Friendly Societies," pp. 186, 190.

[52]. Bonyun, "Remarks to Accompany Table A," enclosed in No. 10, Light to Grey, 11 January 1848.

[53]. "Peculiar Native Wedding Ceremony," *Daily Chronicle* (Wed. 19 June 1901). I am grateful to Sister Noel Menezes, R.S.M. for providing me with a copy of this article. Compare with Yoruba marriages in Hastings, Sierra Leone in Peterson, *Province of Freedom*, p. 265; and with the large attendance of shipmates at each others' family weddings and funerals in William Hamilton, "Sierra Leone and the Liberated Africans," *Fisher's Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal,* 8 (June 1842): 41.

[54]. For Jamaica and Trinidad, see Schuler, *Alas*, pp. 82-83; Bilby and Bunseki,"Kumina," pp. 63-92, Warner-Lewis, *Guinea's Other Suns*, pp. 27-29; Warner-Lewis, *Trinidad Yoruba: From Mother Tongue to Memory* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1996).

[55]. The Brethren sect, for instance, had ties with liberated Africans in Guyana. A liberated African, James Nott, probably a Mende, was a Brethren minister, although he does not seem to have worked in Africa. See Case, Henry W, *On Sea and Land, On Creek and River: Being an Account of Experiences in the Visitation of Assemblies of Christians in the West Indies and British Guiana; with Reminiscences of Pioneer Missionaries and the Slave Trade Formerly Carried on from Bristol* (London: Morgan and Scott, Ltd., office of *The Christian*, 1910**).** See the previously mentioned Brethren missionary Murrain, who was acquainted with Ovimbundu in Guyana and worked in Angola early in the twentieth century.

[56]. Mbanza Kongo traded with Boma; see Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, p. 222. My thanks to Wyatt MacGaffey for translation and notes supplied September 26, 1999.

[57] Cruickshank, "Liberated Africans," p. 78.

[58]. John Thornton, "Central African Names and African-American Naming Patterns," *The William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series*, 50, 4(October 1993): 728, 730, 733-739. Among the KiKongo, at least, distinctions were made between female and male names. Customarily, gender was noted in liberated African registers and immigrant ship lists, therefore names are identified in my list as female or male.

[59]. ***Roger Stewart*-I**: William Munro, M.D. to William Humphrys, 25 January 1845, enclosed in No. 30, Light to Stanley, 15 February 1845, CO 111/220; ***Roger Stewart*-III**: "Register of Africans Landed from the Unknown Brigantine, Condemned in the Vice Admiralty Court of the Colony, and Slaves Emancipated on the 28th Day of May 1845;" ***Rufus***: John K. Cameron to John M. Johnstone, M.D., 14 November 1845, enclosed in No. 255, Light to Stanley, 18 December 1845, CO 111/226; ***Arabian-IX*, *Helena*, & *Una***: "Register of Africans Landed from the Brazilian Brigantine Name Unknown (Alias *Libessu*) on the 29th Day of September 1847 and Emancipated in the Vice Admiralty Court on the 14th Day of October 1847;" "Register of Africans Landed from the Brazilian Brigantine *Graca* on the 12th August 1847 and Condemned in the Vice Admiralty Court on the 26th August 1847;" "Register of Africans Landed from the Brazilian Brig *Malaga* on the 28th Day of December 1847 and Condemned in the "Register of Africans Landed from the Brazilian Brigice Admiralty Court on the 11th Day of January 1848; all in Liberated African Register, Nos. 81,946-82,688, Vol. 15, 1845-1848, Sierra Leone Archives (SLA).

[60]. ***Hamilla Mitchell*** and ***Reward***: Cruickshank, "African Immigrants," pp. 77-78; ***Dominick Daly***: John M. Johnstone, M.D., "Health Officer's Report of Immigrants by Brig Dominick Daly," enclosed in No. 47, William Walker to Lord Stanley, 6 May 1858, CO 386/162; ***David Malcolm***: James Crosby to William Walker, 15 August 1862, enclosed in No. 156, Hincks to Duke of Newcastle, 10 August 1862, CO 111/336.

[61]. See, for instance**,** Miller, *Way of Death*, pp. 158-159, 106, 234-236, for drought, debt, and the slave trade, also Harms, *River of Wealth*, p. 102, for a description of the Bobangi sale of children for debt, and Vansina, *Tio Kingdom*, p. 366.

[62]. See Crookall, *British Guiana,* pp. 108-109. Compare the deacon's metaphor "like bags of rice" with Jungu's "packed like sardines" (see below) and Gullah Joe's "pack in there wuss dan hog in a car," quoted in Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: the Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), p. 203.

[63]. See Cruickshank, "African Immigrants," p. 77n, and Henry Light to Lord Stanley, No. 80, 29 April 1842, CO111/190. The drifting schooner was discovered in February 1842.

[64]. See Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), pp. 20-21.

[65]. This section draws upon the analysis of Church Missionary Society Yoruba catechists' journals and their "discourses of contemporary identity" in J. D. Y. Peel, "For Who Hath Despised the Day of Small Things? Missionary Narratives and Historical Anthropology," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 37, 3 (1995): 585-591. See also Richard Price, *First-Time: The Historical Vision of an Afro-American People* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), p. 6. I wish to thank my colleague, Osumaka Likaka, for clarifying the notion of Jungu's enslavement as a deliberately preserved family record guarded from obfuscating symbolic discourse because it was probably the only valuable possession he and his daughter might have had to pass on to posterity.

[66]. These misinterpretations of Gomez have emerged recently in group discussions at scholarly meetings. For a discussion of stereotypical narratives of enslavement which emphasize entrapment of Africans by white slavers, see Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, pp. 199-210. See pp. 206-207 for slaves' familiarity with the kidnapping of children or pawning by uncles and their surrender for unpaid debts and sale as slaves. See Vansina, *Oral Tradition*, pp.

21-22, 89-90, 126, 139-146, and Joseph C. Miller, "Introduction," *The African Past Speaks*, ed. Joseph C. Miller, pp. 7-8, 32, and 33-52 (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1980), for definition and types of clichés and questions of interpretation and historicity.

[67]. The more common pattern in Central Africa was for a maternal uncle to handle the transaction. Jungu or Mrs. Morrison might have mistaken the mother's brother for the father's brother.

[68]. Compare Jungu's experience with the account of a boy sold by his mother's brother, and who "was not supposed to know that he was to be sold and tricked to go to the market," in Vansina, *Tio Kingdom*, p. 366. See also Harms, *River of Wealth*, p. 102.

[69]. Tar, available for caulking, was also burned to fumigate slave holds. Miller, *Way of Death*, pp. 409, 412, 413. According to Postma *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, p. 165, most shipboard revolts occurred close to the African coast because chances of escape were better.

[70]. See "Report of the Liberated African Establishment, St. Helena, Dr. Vowell's Report and Collector's Observations, and Extract of a Report of Dr. Rawlins, 25 May 1849, enclosed in No. 7, Sir Patrick Ross to Earl Grey, 12 June 1849, "Papers Relative to Emigration from Africa and the West Indies," PP 1850 (643.) XL, pp. 361-377, 381-386.

[71]. Estate schools were not unusual. Missionaries ran other schools. See Schuler, "Liberated Africans," p. 5, and also George Bonyun, M.D., "Remarks to Accompany Table A," enclosed in No. 19, Light to Grey, 11 January 1848, CO 111/250 for the school on Skeldon estate in Berbice which had a resident schoolmaster paid by the manager. "Many of the [African] boys and girls can read well," Dr. Bonyun noted.

[72] . It was in order to explain why Jungu never drank that Mavis Morrison mentioned the Kongo tar-ass incident, and it was in order to explain the genesis of the expression that she recounted the story of his enslavement.

[73]. Another Central African drummer identified his drums as the tuta, the ja, and the base.

[74]. See Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, p. 207. Compare with King Buzzard in the U.S. South in, Gomez, 210-211 and Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 4-7.

[75]. Liberated African traditions about hard work and punishment were common, and not only in the context of deliverance narratives. Schuler, *Alas*, pp. 63, 93-96; Bilby and Bunseki, "Kumina," pp. 19-20, 26-28 (for hardships experienced in St. Thomas-in-the-East, Jamaica), and 21-25, 43-45. See also, Kempadoo, "Recordings of Folklore, " K104. Of course it is possible that some of these tales refer to repatriation, marronage, or death. For Maroons, see Richard Price, ed., *Maroon Societies* (Baltimore: The John's Hopkins University Press, 1979) and David M. Guss, "Hidden Histories: African-American Tales of Resistance and Arrival," *Journal of Latin American Lore*, 20, 1(1997): 161-172. In 1985, Mr. Pere of Seaforth, Berbice, related the story of a man who disappeared and was thought to have flown back to Africa. Later, they found his skeleton hanging from a tree by the waterside and concluded that he had committed suicide. For speculation about suicide as the inspiration for flight legends, see Wyatt MacGaffey, *Modern Kongo Prophets: Religion in a Plural Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), pp. 138, 140; Karasch, *Slave Life*, p. 319; Warner-Lewis, *Guinea's Other Suns*, pp. 28, 57-58, note 21, p. 153, n.18; Lorna McDaniel, *The Big Drum Ritual of Carriacou: Praisesongs in Rememory of Flight* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1998), pp. 4, 56-57; Gomez, *Exchanging Their Country Marks*, pp. 117-134, 276-277; Esteban Montejo, *Autobiography* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), pp. 34-35, 102-103, rejected both suicide and drowning by Afro-Cubans in favor of their magical return to Africa. For more documentation of slave owners' belief that slave suicides were motivated by a desire to return to Africa, Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1969), pp. 195-198; Herskovits, *Myth*, pp. 36, 95; Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados* (London: Parker and Guy, 1673), p. 50; Charles Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica* (Edinburgh, 1740), p. 140; George Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies* (London: 1806), p. 168; Richard Cullen Rath, "African Music in Seventeenth-Century Jamaica: Cultural Transit and Transition," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, 1,4(October 1993): 710. Rath connects planters' stereotypes of slave suicide with eighteenth-century Angolans in Jamaica who were notorious runaways and committed suicide when illtreated. My thanks to Richard Rath for providing me with a copy of his article. For suicide inspired by the hope of returning home, see Capt. William Snelgrave, *A New Account of Some Parts of Guinea and the Slave Trade* (1st ed., 1734; London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1971), pp. 173-174, 183-184. William D. Piersen, "White Cannibals, Black Martyrs: Fear, Depression, and Religious Faith as Causes of Suicide among New Slaves," *Journal of Negro History* 62, 2(April 1977): 147-159. But see Wyatt MacGaffey, "Oral Tradition in Central Africa," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 7,

3(1975): 420-421.

[76]. See Kempadoo, "Recordings of Folklore, Drama and Music Made in Guyana, 1971-3," University Library, University of Guyana, 1974, K104: “The drum, the drum, the drum does lift them! The drum does lift them! And when they reach, *they know*.”

[77]. A liberated African descendant in Jamaica described indenture as so much like slavery that “the men never want to work. And they hide.” Echoing folk beliefs about black birds as witch familiars and collaborators of hunters tracking prey, this man claimed that employers introduced foreign blackbirds (their witch familiars?) to hunt runaways from the sky so that “anywhere at all you de [there] now, them find you.” With no place to hide, what alternative was left but to become like those black birds and fly away? See Bilby and Bunseki, "Kumina,” p. 20. Compare with the discussion of the buzzard motif in North American slave narratives in Gomez, *Exchanging Our CountryMarks*, pp. 210-211.

[78]. See Kempadoo, "Recordings of Folklore, Drama and Music Made in Guyana, 1971-3," University Library, University of Guyana, 1974, K104; Schuler, *Alas*, pp. 93-96; Bilby and Bunseki, "Kumina,” pp. 21-23, 43-45; Robert Hill, "Leonard P. Howell and Millenarian Visions in Early Rastafari," *Jamaica Journal* 16, 1 (1981): 34. For related traditions from Trinidad, Carriacou, Cuba, Curaçao, Suriname, Venezuela and the United States, see Maureen Warner-Lewis, *Guinea's Other Suns* (Dover, Mass.: The Majority Press, 1991), pp. 28-29, 57-58 n 21; Lorna McDaniel, "The Flying Africans: Extent and Strength of the Myth in the Americas," *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids/New West Indian Guide*, 64 (1990): 28-40; Lorna McDaniel, *The Big Drum Ritual of Carriacou: Praisesongs in Rememory of Flight* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1998), pp. 2, 4, 57-59; Esteban Montejo, *Autobiography of a Runaway Slave* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), pp. 45, 102-103; Georgia Writers Project, *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies among the Georgia Coastal Negroes* (1940; reprint ed., Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 7, 17-21, 28-29, 108-109, 150-151, 169, 177-178, 182-185; Kenneth Porter, "The Flying Africans," pp. 171-176, in *Primer for White Folks*, ed. Bucklin Moon (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., 1945); Harold Courlander, *A Treasury of Afro-American Folklore* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1976), pp. 285-286; Virginia Hamilton, ed., *The People Could Fly: American Black Folktales* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1985), pp. 166-173; Guss, “Hidden Histories,” 161-172. Compare with Malagasy themes of slaves’ water immersion, salt taboos, and ability to return home in the form of water spirits in David Graeber, “Painful Memories,” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 27, 4 (1997): 374-400. See also the preaching of the Namibian prophet Klaas Stuurman or Hendrik Bekeer, that following the liberation of German Namibia and British Cape Colony from white domination, the liberators would cross a large bridge to Germany where they would kill all whites. See Tilman Dedering, “The Prophet’s ‘War Against Whites’: Shepherd Stuurman in Namibia and South Africa, 1904-7,” *Journal of African History*, 40 (1999): 8. Deliverance traditions collected by the author in Guyana and used in this study have not yet been published.

[79]. See Elliott P. Skinner, "Ethnic Interaction in a British Guiana Rural Community: A Study in Secondary Acculturation and Group Dynamics," Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1955, p. 221.

[80]. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, pp. 210-211, Stuckey, *Slave Culture*, pp. 4-7; Hill to Glenelg, No. 41, 20 June 1837 and Glenelg to Hill, Trinidad No. 227, 1 September 1837, bound with No. 41, CO 295/114; Hill to Glenelg, No. 75, 10 November 1837, CO 295/115; Joseph, *History of Trinidad*, pp. 260-272.

[81]. See George Hill to Lord Glenelg, No. 41, 20 June 1837 and Glenelg to Hill, Trinidad No. 227, 1 September 1837, bound with No. 41, CP 295/114; Hill to Glenelg. No. 75, 10 November 1837, CO 295/115; E. L. Joseph, *History of Trinidad* (London: Frank Cass, 1838, 1970), pp. 260-272.

[82]. See Wyatt MacGaffey, *Religion and Society in Central Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 107, 116.

[83]. MacGaffey, *Religion and Society*, pp. 45-46, 52. According to MacGaffey, there is no KiKongo word for blue. The closest I could come is Devisch’s reference to the Yaka description of blue as the color of “the sun . . . about to rise” from the water of the underworld. See René Devisch, *Weaving the Threads of Life: The Khita Gyn-Eco-Logical Healing Cult among the Yaka* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 65, 67-69; Thornton, *Kongolese St. Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684-1706* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 82, 161; Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), pp. 6, 131; and for a West African people**,** see Robert M. Baum, *Shrines of the Slave Trade: Diola Religion and Society in Precolonial Senegambia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 161-162.

[84]. In a Berbician flight tale set during slavery, Kramanti (Akan) slaves danced back-to-back during their pre-flight ring dancing. See Peter Kempadoo, "Recordings of Folklore, Drama and Music Made in Guyana, 1971-3,"

University Library, University of Guyana, 1974, K104: "You see when they want to fly, they mark a circle, and they [stand] back to back. And soon as they back-to-back, they use the leg, and they use the [hands?], and they gone!"

[85]. See Schuler, *Alas*, pp. 89, 91-92 for returnees from Jamaica, and "Liberated Africans," pp. 12, 21 n. 83 and "Kru Emigration," pp. 172, 179 for returnees from Guyana. It is possible that *emancipados* from Brazil were also repatriated from Guyana. Among those who returned in a chartered ship was the Yoruba Davis family. A son, who later changed his name to Orishatukeh Faduma (1857-1946), became prominent as a Pan-Africanist in Sierra Leone and North America. See Rina L. Okonkwo, "Orishatukeh Faduma: A Man of Two Worlds," *Journal of Negro History*, 68 (1983): 24-36, and Moses E. Moore, *Orishatukeh Faduma: Liberal Theology and Evangelical Pan-Africanism, 1857-1946* (Lanham, MD: The American Theological Library Association and the Scarecrow Press, 1996). The Fadumas had been captured at sea and taken directly to Guyana, bypassing Sierra Leone. Ship charters, while not common, also occurred elsewhere in the hemisphere. Africans from Brazil and Cuba were returning to West and Central Africa at the same time. See Lisa A. Lindsay, "'To Return to the Bosom of their Fatherland'" Brazilian Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Lagos," *Slavery and Abolition*, 15, 1(April 1994): 24-26, for African-Brazilian charters to Lagos and Badagry (Nigeria) in the nineteenth century; Robin Law and Kristin Mann, "West Africa in the Atlantic Community: The Case of the Slave Coast," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, LVI, 2(April 1999): 307-333; Karasch, *Slave Life*, pp. 320-324; Jerry Michael Turner, "Les Brésiliens: The Impact of Former Brazilian Slaves upon Dahomey," Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1975; Rodolfo Sarracino, *Los Que Volvieron* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencas Sociales, 1988). My thanks to Maureen Warner-Lewis for the gift of this book.

[86]. See, for example, Pier M. Larson, "Reconsidering Trauma, Identity, and the African Diaspora: Enslavement and Historical Memory in Nineteenth-Century Highland Madagascar," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, LVI, 2 (April 1999): 337-362; McDaniel, *Big Drum Ritual*; Guss, "Hidden Histories," 161-172; Rosalind Shaw, "The Production of Witchcraft/Witchcraft as Production: Memory, Modernity and the Slave Trade in Sierra Leone," *American Ethnologist*, 24, 4 (1997): 856-876; Baum, *Shrines of the Slave Trade*, pp. 108-163; Peel, " Missionary Narratives," pp. 581-607; Judy Rosenthal, *Possession, Ecstasy, & Law in Ewe Voodoo* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998), p. 27; Graeber, "Painful Memories**,"** 374-400; Luise White, "Vampire Priests of Central Africa: African Debates About Labor and Religion in Colonial Northern Zambia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, 4 (October 1993): 760-764, 767, 770-771. Parallels with Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, pp. 199-219 discussion of red cloth stories are apparent.

[87]. See Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), pp. 10-11, 21-22, 89-90, 126, 139-146; MacGaffey, "Oral Tradition," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 7, 3(1975): 417-424; MacGaffey, *Custom and Government in the Lower Congo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), pp. 17-35; McGaffey, *Religion and Society*, pp. 58-61, 195; Joseph Miller, ed. *The African Past Speaks* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1980), esp. 7-8, 33-52.

[88]. The other world is *Mpemba* or *Mputu* (Kongo), *Asaman* (Asante), *Orun* (Yoruba), *Housandioume* (Diola of southern Senegal), *ro-seron*, a tripartite realm of spirits, ancestors and witches known as *ro-soki*, *ro-kerfi, and ro-seron* (Temne), and *Teme* (Kalabari of the eastern Niger River Delta). The other world's fabulous wealth, to which humans with occult powers can gain access, is usually associated with water spirits. These named rivers are nevertheless "nongeographical." See MacGaffey, "Oral Tradition," 417-421; MacGaffey, *Religion and Society*, pp. 42, 57, 62**;** Baum, *Shrines of the Slave Trade*, p. 72; Robin Horton, *Patterns of Thought in Africa and the West* (New York: Cambridge, 1993; 1997), pp. 25, 38, 217-219; p. 203; Robin Horton, "The Kalabari World View: An Outline and Interpretation," *Africa*, 32, 3(July 1962): 199-203; Shaw, "Production of Witchcraft, pp. 856-857, and "Splitting Truths from Darkness: Epistemological Aspects of Temne Divination," in *African Divination Systems**:** Ways of Knowing*, ed. Philip M. Peek, p. 143 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991). See also R. S. Rattray, *Ashanti*. 1923; reprint ed. (New York: Negro Universities Press,1969), pp. 199-200; C. N. Ubah, "The Supreme Being, Divinities and Ancestors in Igbo Traditional Religion: Evidence from Otanchira and Otanzu," *Africa*, 52, 2(1982): 91, 96; Elisha P. Renne, "Water, Spirits, and Plain White Cloth: the Ambiguity of Things in Bunu Social Life," *Man* n.s. 26, 4 (December 1991): 709-722; Ivor Wilks, *Forests of Gold* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1993), pp. 232-234, A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (1890; reprint ed., Oosterhout, Netherlands: Anthropological Publications, 1970), p. 108; Rosenthal, *Possession, Ecstasy, & Law*, pp. 27, 252-3 n. 1 and 252, n. 5. The Yoruba cosmic symbol is a "calabash of the world" (*iba*). The lower half of the calabash is said to contain *aye*, the earth, the visible world of the living; the top to contain heaven (*orun*), heaven, the invisible realm of gods and goddesses, spirits and ancestors; and the place where the upper and lower halves meet is the threshold between the two realms, approximating Kalunga in the BaKongo cosmogram. See Henry Drewal, Pemberton, Abiodun and Wardwell, eds. *Yoruba: Nine Centuries of African Art and Thought*, pp. 14-15. For Fon (Dahomey) and Haitian cosmologies, see Leslie G. Desmangles, *The Faces of the Gods: Vodou and Roman Catholicism in Haiti* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pp. 100-108.

[89]. See, for example, three West African, a North American and a Cuban case: Olaudah Equiano, "The Early Travels of Olaudah Equiano," in *Africa Remembered*, ed. Philip D. Curtin, p. 97 (Madison: The University of

Wisconsin Press, 1969), p. 96; "Letter of Mr. Samuel Crowther to the Rev. William Jowett, in 1837. . . . Detailing the Circumstances of His Being Sold as a Slave," in *Journals of the Rev. James Frederick Schon and Mr. Samuel Ajayi Crowther* (1842; London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., 1970), pp. 379-380, 382. The attempt at a "radical reading" of the "African voice" ("in Yoruba cosmological terms") in Crowther's enslavement narrative made by Andrew Apter, *Black Critics and Kings: The Hermeneutics of Power in Yoruba Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 195-200, did not consider this river-crossing passage, possibly because it was not "critical" like the passage concerning Europeans as cannibals. But Yoruba would have grasped the deeper meaning of his dread at crossing the river to a "new world." See, for instance, the narratives of Thomas King and James White, Yoruba liberated slavery, quoted in J. D. Y. Peel, "For Who Hath Despised the Day of Small Things? Missionary Narratives and Historical Anthropology," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 37, 3 (1995): 594. William D. Piersen, *Black Legacy: America's Hidden Heritage* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993), pp. 36-37**;** Estaban Montejo, *The Autobiography of a Runaway Slave*, ed. Miguel Barnet (1968; New York: Random House Vintage Books, 1973), p. 16; Rosenthal, *Possession, Ecstasy, & Law*, pp. 27, 252-3 n. 1 and 252, n. 5.

[90]. Personal communication. See Gibson's Cinema Guild video, "a Celebration of Life," which deals in part with Kongo rites in contemporary Guyana. The idea of Guyana as both a hydraulic environment and a hydraulic *society* is derived from pp. Gert Osstindie and Alex van Stipriaan, "Slavery and Slave Cultures in a Hydraulic Society: Suriname," in *Slave Cultures and the Cultures of Slavery*, ed. Stephan Palmié, pp. 79-96 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press). However, the authors appear unfamiliar with the African cosmology behind the religious significance of water that they detect in Suriname.

[91]. See Vincent Roth, *Tales of the Trails* (Georgetown: The Daily Chronicle, Ltd., n.d.), pp. 77-79. Roth's association of Komfo with the Kongo confirms Kean Gibson's contention that it is a Kongo, not an Akan observance as earlier scholars believe. I am indebted to Gibson for this information.

[92]. James Fernandez, *Bwiti: An Ethnography of the Religious Imagination in Africa* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 491-493.

[93]. MacGaffey, *Religion and Society*, p. 81, and MacGaffey, "Kongo and the King of the Americans," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 6 (1968): 181. Cloth was also used as currency. In Kongo, for instance, *libongo* was a standard-size piece of cloth used as money. See Thornton, *Kongolese St. Anthony*, p. 83. For associations of slaves with underwater weaving, see John H. Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo* (1914; reprint edition, New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), pp. 294-295; Wyatt MacGaffey, "Kongo and the King of the Americans," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 6 (1968): 18. The section of the Temne other world called the Place of Witches (*ro-seron*) is the realm that most resembles the consumer paradise associated by the Kalabari with the Water People and the Kongo with Mputu or America. Temne *ro-seron* has for sale such items as luxury automobiles and electronic goods, cooked human flesh and clothing that disguises humans as predatory animals. Here "witch airports dispatch witch planes . . . so fast . . . that 'they can fly to London and back within an hour' – to destinations all around the globe." See Shaw, "Production of Witchcraft," 856-857, 869-870. Compare with the association of railroad stations, trains or planes with physical or symbolic death in the paintings of Tshibumba Kanda Matulu and other Congolese artists in Johannes Fabian, *Remembering the Present: Painting and Popular History in Zaire*, Narrative and Paintings by Tshibumba Kanda Matulu (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 87, 98, 109, 111, 123, 127-131, 203; and in prophetic Kongolese dreams where witches teach a dreamer how to fly an airplane or use a video camera, see Simon Bockie, *Death and the Invisible Powers: The World of Kongo Belief* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993, pp. 52-53. See also articles in Comoroff and Comoroff, eds. *Modernity and Its Malcontents*. Guyanese and West Indians associate treasure with European graves. See Brackette Williams, "Dutchman Ghosts and the History Mystery: Ritual, Colonizer, and Colonized: Interpretations of the 1763 Berbice Slave Rebellion," *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 3, 3 (June 1990): 133-165, especially 144-145. See also Judith Roback, "The White-Robed Army: Cultural Nationalism and a Guyanese Religious Movement in Guyana," Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, Montreal, 1973, p. 103; Elliott Skinner, "Ethnic Interaction," p. 257. A similar myth substituting Spaniards for Dutchmen circulates in Trinidad where Spanish spirits are also believed to live in silk-cotton trees beneath which they were believed to bury their treasure. See Arthur and Juanita Niehoff, *East Indians in the West Indies* (Milwaukee: Olsen Publishing Company, 1960), pp. 160-161. Compare with buried treasure in the American South in Georgia Writers' Project, *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1940, 1986), pp. 15, 41, 97, 124, and in Kongo in Thornton, *Kongolese Saint Anthony*, pp. 159, 160-161.

[94]. Mavis Morrison, Annandale, East Coast Demerara, April 7, 1985.

[95]. See Hollis R. Lynch, *Edward Wilmot Blyden Pan Negro Patriot 1832-1912 (Oxford University Press, 1967)*, pp. 191-247, Patrick Bryan, *The Jamaican People, 1880-1902* (London: MacMillan Caribbean, 1991), pp. 239-263, and Bryan, "Black Perspectives in Late Nineteenth-Century Jamaica: The Case of Dr. Theophilus E. S. Scholes," in *Garvey: His Work and Impact*, ed. Rupert Lewis and Patrick Bryan, pp. 47-63, especially pp. 51-53 (Trenton, N.J.:

Africa World Press, 1982); Leo Spitzer, *The Creoles of Sierra Leone: Responses to Colonialism, 1870-1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974), pp. 117, 121-138, 159-169, 171-179. On Ethiopianism as a pan-African phenomenon see George Shepperson, "Ethiopianism, Past and Present," in *Christianity and Tropical Africa*, ed. C.G. Baeta (Oxford, 1968); M. G. Smith, Roy Augier and Rex Nettleford, *The Rastafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica* (1960; reprint ed. Mona: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1968), pp. 14-16, 19-20, 101; Leonard E. Barrett, *The Rastafarians: A Study in Messianic Prophecy* (Rio Pedras: Institute of Caribbean Studies, University of Puerto Rico, 1969), pp. 109, 128-136; Chevannes, *Rastafari*, pp. 34-41; Jeremiah Moses Wilson, *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American Popular History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); *Classical Black Nationalism from the American Revolution to Marcus Garvey* (New York: New York University Press, 1996); Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850-1925* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1978); Elias Farajajé-Jones, *In Search of Zion: The Spiritual Significance of Africa in Black Religious Movements* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1990); Tony Martin, *Race First* (1976; Dover, Mass.: Majority Press, 1986); Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, pp. 218-219, 267, 277.

[96]. See Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iverson, eds., *Cannibalism and the Colonial World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998) and William Arens, *The Man-Eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979) for discussions of the construction of cannibalism. See Bogumil Jewsiewicki and Mumbanza Mwa Bawele, "The Social Context of Slavery in Equatorial Africa during the 19th and 20th Centuries," in *The Ideology of Slavery in Africa*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy, pp. 75-76 (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1981); Miller, *Way of Death*, pp. 32, 147-149, 157-158 for descriptions of alleged Central African cannibalism. Practices which might have encouraged the association of witchcraft with commerce and exportation of slaves were rotating credit or financial associations such as the Kongo *Kitemo*, the Cameroonian *Ekong* association of chiefs and wealthy businessmen, the Lemba association, and Temne *esusu*, the use of protective shrines by merchants associated with slave trading and Central Congo basin sacrifices of slaves to expiate ritual offences or to mark important political decrees. See MacGaffey, Janzen, de Rosny and Shaw references below. Central African beliefs about witchcraft are discussed in MacGaffey, *Religion and Society,* pp. 162-174; Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests*, pp. 96-98; and Comaroff and Comaroff, eds., *Modernity and Its Malcontents*, Introduction, pp. xxv-xxvi and selected articles. Central African fears of cannibalism are described in Miller, *Way of Death*, pp. 4-5, 389, 409-410, 413-414, 425-426; Harms, *River of Wealth*, pp. 31, 198-210, 240 n. 15; MacGaffey, "Kongo and the King of the Americans," pp. 174-177; Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, pp. 161, 316; Thornton, *Kongolese St. Anthony*, p. 206. See modern Congolese artists' representations of nineteenth century slave-trading chief Ngongo Leteta (1856-1893) as a cannibal and European colonizers as butchers in Fabian, *Remembering the Present*, pp. 32, 49-50, 202, 298-305; Piersen, "White Cannibals," 147-159; Piersen, *Black Legacy*, pp. 5-12, 35-42; Eric de Rosny, *Healers in the Night* (Maryknoll, N. Y.: Orbis Books, 1985), 60-63, 278 n. 24; John Janzen, *Lemba, 1650-1930: A Drum of Affliction in Africa and the New World* (New York, 1982).

For West Africa, see Shaw, "Production of Witchcraft, 856-876, especially 859, 863-864, 867, 868; Hair, "Heretics, Slaves, and Witches," 137; Baum, *Shrines of the Slave Trade*, pp. 115-125, 138-140, 161-162, 221 n.6; K. Onwuka Dike and Felicia Ekejiuba, *The Aro of South-eastern Nigeria, 1650-1980* (Ibadan: University Press, 1990); E. J. Alagoa, "The Niger Delta and Their Neighbours to c. 1800," in *The History of West Africa*, ed. Michael Crowder and J. F. Ade Ajayi, pp. 406-408 (3rd ed., New York: Longman, 1985); and Alagoa, "The Slave Trade in Niger Delta Oral Tradition and History," in *Africans in Bondage*, ed. Paul Lovejoy, p. 127 (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1986); Captain William Snelgrave, *A New Account of Some Parts of Guinea and the Slave Trade*. 1734; reprint ed., 1971 (London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., 1971), pp. 162-163, 172; "Letter of Mr. Samuel Crowther," p. 382, in *Journals*; "The Early Travels of Olaudah Equiano," pp. 92-97; Quobna Ottobah Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery,* ed. Vincent Carretta 1787; (New York: Penguin Books, 1999), pp. 13-14; Selena Axelrod Winsnes, ed., *Letters on West Africa and the Slave Trade: Paul Erdmann Isert's Journey to Guinea and the Caribbean Islands in Columbia (1788)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p.175-177.

Many cases of maritime slave revolt or suicide were attributed to fears of European cannibalism. See, for instance, Winsnes and Pierson references above; Gwendolen Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), pp. 90-91; and Postma *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, p. 165.

[97]. R. G. Butts, the Guyanese labor recruiter who related the tale of red coats and boiled heads, secured immigrants only when the governor of Sierra Leone held recaptives from a Spanish slaver incommunicado to all except labor recruiters. See No. 200, Henry Light to Lord Stanley, enclosing R. G. Butts to Young 23 July-7 August 1844, CO 111/213; No.57, Light to Stanley enclosing Butts to Young 13 March 1845, CO 111/221. See Schuler, *Alas*, pp. 25-26 for Sierra Leone recaptives' reluctance to emigrate and pp. 28, and 134 n.74 for 1843 St. Helena emigrants' fears of being eaten.

[98]. See White, "Vampire Priests of Central Africa," pp. 760-764, 767, 770-771, for discussions of colonial Central African associations of Roman Catholic missionaries with vampirism.

[99]. See notes 88, 91, 92. See Fernandez, *Bwiti*, 1982, pp. 491-493. See MacGaffey, "Oral Tradition," pp. 418-421, MacGaffey, *Religion and Society*, pp. 14, 234, and MacGaffey "Kongo and the King of the Americans," pp. 176, 178 for the initiatory sojourn of Central African chiefs and magicians among the dead underwater or in caves, and a prophet's and a friend's "resurrection" after three days. See Mbundu and Haitian folktales printed in Harold Courlander, *A Treasury of Afro-American Folklore* (1976; reprint ed. New York: Smithmark, 1996), pp. 62-63, 577-579. See Paula Girshick Ben Amos, "The Promise of Greatness: Women and Power in an Edo Spirit Possession Cult," in *Religion in Africa*, ed. Thomas D. Blakeley, Walter E. A. van Beek and Dennis Tompson, p. 125 (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1994), for Benin priests' and priestesses' visits underwater. In Haiti, where Agwe, the god of the sea, is believed to reside in the land of the dead and the gods, an undersea island called Vilokan, associated with Africa or Ginen is the destination of similar underwater visits by priests and priestesses, according to Alfred Métraux, *Voodoo in Haiti* (New York: Schocken Books, 1972)**,** pp. 63, 104. See Karen McCarthy Brown, "Systematic Remembering, Systematic Forgetting," in *Africa's Ogun: Old World and New*, ed. Sandra T. Barnes, p. 67 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989; Desmangles, *The Faces of the Gods: Vodou and Roman Catholicism in Haiti* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pp. 104-105, 106, 154-159; Métraux, *Voodoo*, p. 164; and excerpt from Maya Deren, *Divine Horsemen: The Living Gods of Haiti* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1953), in Courlander, *Treasury*, pp. 32-35, for Agwe and Vilokan. Compare with Brazil in Joseph Murphy, *Working the Spirit* (Boston: Beacon, 1994), p. 79. Compare with David Graeber, "Painful Memories." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 27, 4 (1997): 387 for the nineteenth century Malagasy slave and spirit medium Ranoro who claimed to have lived three days with the water spirits. MacGaffey's, Courlander's, Métraux' and Graeber's accounts measure the length of the underwater stay in threes, either three days or three years. See Metraux, *Voodoo*, pp. 258-259. When Vodun devotees die, they supposedly spend at least a year and a day at the bottom of a lake or river, according to Desmangles, *Faces of the Gods*, pp. 73, 75, 80-85.

[100]. See L. Peytraud, *L'esclavage aux Antilles françaises avant 1789, d'aprè s des documents inédits des archives coloniales* (Paris, 1897), p. 372.

[101]. Tony Martin, *Race First* (Dover, Mass.: The Majority Press, 1986), p. 164. In the African diaspora, many religio-political leaders and their followers conceive of leadership in terms similar to those described for Central African chiefs and "big men" by MacGaffey, *Religion and Society*, pp. 175-178, MacGaffey, "The Religious Commissions of the BaKongo," *Man*, n.s., 5, 1(1970): 27-38, and Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests*, pp. 73-74; Harms, *River of Wealth*, pp. 30-32; Vansina, *Tio Kingdom*, p. 277**.** Although no connection is suggested, it is useful to compare the idealization of the Kongo King and the Kingdom after its abandonment in 1776 with the idealization of Africa and Haile Selassie by diaspora peoples. MacGaffey, for instance, describes Kongo as "primarily a religious idea. . . . the perfect kingdom to which the BaKongo hope to return, a place of peace and prosperity where . . . a benevolent king protects his subjects from all evil and settles all disputes." See Wyatt MacGaffey, *Custom and Government in the Lower Congo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), pp. 17-35; MacGaffey, "Oral Tradition," pp. 420-422; Anne Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 179, 198, 199-210, 218-223; Thornton, *Kongolese Saint Anthony***,** pp. 138, 177-184; 204-211; Adrian Hastings, "The Christianity of Pedro IV of the Kongo, 'The Pacific' (1695-1718)," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 28, 2 (1998): 149-150, 152-155; Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests*, pp. 220-222. Susan Herlin Brodhead, "Beyond Decline: The Kingdom of the Kongo in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 12, 4 (1979): 628-650, quotation on p. 650.

[102]. For the Last World Emperor and the Last World Empire, see Stephen D. O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse: A Theory of Millennial Rhetoric* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 56-58; Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Messianism in Medieval and Reformation Europe and its Bearing on Modern Totalitarian Movements* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), pp. 15, 20, 54-57, 110-112, 122, 128, 135-136, 143-144; Damian Thompson, *The End of Time: Faith and Fear in the Shadow of the Millennium* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1996), pp. 73-74. 51-53,65-66, 67-8. For peasant beliefs in the benevolence of a distant monarch, see James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 333. For Guyanese, West Indian and Afro-North American beliefs in rescue by a British monarch, see Emilia Viotti da Costa, *Crowns of Glory, Tears of Blood: The Demerara Slave Rebellion of 1823* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 177-184; Schuler, *Alas*, p. 37; Mary Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries: The Disintegration of Jamaican Slave Society, 1787-1834* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), pp. 150-151,155-156; Gad Heuman, *"The Killing Time": The Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1994), pp. xvii, 56; Lorna Simmonds, "'The Spirit of Disaffection': Civil Disturbances in Jamaica, 1838-65." M.A. Thesis, University of Waterloo, Ontario, 1982, pp. 5-7, 21, 37-39, 75-87**;** Silvia R. Frey, and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to* 1830 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1998)**,** p. 70; Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth Century Chesapeake and Low Country* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), pp. 649-650**,** and Theophus Smith, *Conjurin' Culture: Biblical Formations of Black America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 103-105; David Geggus, "Slavery, War and Revolution in the Greater Caribbean, 1789-1815," in David Gaspar and David Geggus, eds., *A Turbulent Time: The French Revolution and the Greater Caribbean* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), pp. 1-50. For "Kongo" as "Zion" in the Church of the Holy Spirit in

Republic of Congo, see MacGaffey, *Religion and Society*, p. 240 and for Nkamba as the New Jerusalem, see MacGaffey, "The Beloved City: Commentary on a Kimbanguist Text," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 2(1969): 129-147. For Zion as Africa, see also Murphy, *Working the Spirit*, pp. 141-144, 189; Brooks, *History of Bedwardism* (1909; rev. ed., Kingston: The Gleaner Co., Ltd., 1917), p. 34, for August Town, Jamaica as Jerusalem and Union Camp, where Alexander Bedward's church was located, as Mount Zion. Bedwardites believed that everyone in Union camp would be saved from destruction at the end of the world. Guyana's Jordanites interpreted Revelations 18 to mean that sinners would be destroyed but people in Zion Village, which Prophet Jordan founded, would be spared. They would identify themselves as observers of the law by marking their foreheads. The Jordanites shared Rastafarian , Afrocentric, Ethiopian, millenarian and political orientations. See Judith Roback, "The White-Robed Army: Cultural Nationalism and a Guyanese Religious Movement in Guyana," Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, Montreal, 1973, pp. 1, 30, 38-45, 51-52, 66; 80-82; Roback, "The White-Robed Army: An Afro-Guyanese Religious Movement," *Anthropologica*, n.s. 16, 2 (1974): 241, 253-254. See also Norman Cohn, *Cosmos, Chaos and the World to Come: The Ancient Roots of Apocalyptic Faith* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 137-138, 218. For associations of Zion with Africa or Ethiopia, see Murphy, *Working the Spirit*, pp. 141-144, 189; Elias Farajajé-Jones, *In Search of Zion: The Spiritual Significance of Africa in Black Religious Movements* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1990), pp. 36-37. See also Barry Chevannes, *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1994), pp. 33 (Zion as Africa), 42, 110-117, 121-143, 155, 157-158, 161, 179-180, 241-244, 248; Robert Hill, "Leonard P. Howell and Millenarian Visions in Early Rastafari," *Jamaica Journal*, 16, 1(1981): pp. 28, 30, 32-36, 38; Barrington Chevannes, "Claudius Henry and Jamaican Society," pp. 264-275, in *Ethnicity in the Americas*, ed. Frances Henry (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1976)**;** Kenneth Bilby and Elliott Leib. "Kumina, the Howellite Church and the Emergence of Rastafarian Traditional Music in Jamaica." *Jamaica Journal*, 19, 3(1986): 26 and 28, n. 18; Ken Bilby, "Jamaica," in *Caribbean Currents: Caribbean Music from Rumba to Reggae*, ed. Peter Manuel, pp. 146-150, 159-164 (Philiadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995); see p. 61 for the airplane song; Verena Reckord, "Rastafarian Music -- An Introductory Study," *Jamaica Journal*, 11, 1 and 2 (1977): 3-13, esp. p. 8; See Ken Post, *Arise Ye Starvelings: The Jamaican Labour Rebellion of 1938 and its Aftermath* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978), pp. 164-165, 192-193, 417, 418.

[103]. North American equivalents, the Moorish Science Temple and the Nation of Islam might be analyzed in the same way. The prophet Alexander Bedward (1848-1930) was expected to ascend into heaven on December 31, 1920. Thousands who gathered to witness the vevent were disappointed when he failed to do so. For Jamaican Bedwardites and Revivalists, see W. F. Elkins, *Street Preachers, Faith Healers and Herb Doctors in Jamaica, 1890-1925* (New York: Revisionist Press, 1977), pp. 10-18; Tony Martin, *Race First* (1976; Dover, Mass.: Majority Press, 1986), pp. 12, 110-140, 151-167; Mattias Gardell, *In the Name of Elijah Muhammad: Louis Farrakhan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 12-98, 119-134, 160. Cross-fertilization between these groups is extensive. Not only did the founders or leaders emerge from the Garveyite movement, but they appear to share some of the same esoteric texts such as Levi H. Dowling's *The Aquarian Gospel of Jesus* (1907). According to Roback, "White-Robed Army," 1974, p. 241, Guyanese Jordanites used to read *The Acquarian Gospel* and in 1927 Noble Drew Ali of the Moorish Science Temple plagiarized half of this book for his own *Holy Koran*. See the Rastafarian citations in the previous note. See also Moses, *Afrotopia*. Even though Moses does not so identify it, a West Central African worldview underpins what he calls "Afrotopia" – literary Afrocentrism and pan-Africanism as well as regeneration movements like the Jordanite, Bedwardite, Garveyite, Rastafarian and Nation of Islam organizations. Jordanites supported African independence; opposed the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, and in 1941, one preacher was arrested for allegedly identifying Queen Victoria as the Whore of Babylon. See Judith Roback, "The White-Robed Army: Cultural Nationalism and a Religious Movement in Guyana." Ph.D. Dissertation, McGill University, Montreal, 1973, p. 46.

[104]. Warner-Lewis, *Guinea's Other Suns*, pp. 31-32, 120; Schuler, *Alas*, pp. 93-96; McDaniel, *Big Drum*, pp. 79-80.

[105]. Kempadoo, "Recordings of Folklore, Drama and Music Made in Guyana, 1971-3," University Library, University of Guyana, 1974, K104.

[106]. Vansina, *Tio Kingdom*, pp. 234-237.

[107]. See Newbell Niles Puckett, *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro* (New York: Dover Publications, 1969), pp. 154-156, 160-161, which also includes European beliefs and practices; Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, p. 8.

[108]. See Morton Marks, "Exploring *El Monte*: Ethnobotany and the Afro-Cuban Science of the Concrete," in *En Torno a Lydia Cabrera* ed. Isabel Castellanos and Josefina Inclán, p. 238 (Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1987) and Andrew Apter, *Black Critics and Kings: The Hermeneutics of Power in Yoruba Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 158.

[109]. Kempadoo, "Recordings of Folklore," K104.

[110]. Compare with Merina belief and practice in Graeber, "Painful Memories," pp. 385-386. Bilby and Bunseki, "Kumina," pp. 23, 43-45. Thornton, *Kongolese Saint Anthony*, pp. 17, 149-150, 175, 206. It was not unusual for people to implore a visiting Capuchin friar: "Father, Father, holy salt"! See also Thornton, "Central African Names and African American Naming Patterns," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 50 (1993): 731 mentions baptism in Kongo and Portuguese Angola . See Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, p. 98 for the baptismal rite and its meaning for the Kongo in seventeenth-century Kongo. See Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, pp. 269, 323 for baptisms by Africans in two late sixteenth-century South American Maroon communities and by Kongo slaves in the Danish Virgin Islands. The original reference is in C. G. A. Oldendorp, *History of the Mission of the Evangelical Brethren on the Caribbean Islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John*, ed. Johann Jakob Bossar, p. 263 (1877; reprint ed., Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, 1987), pp. 195, 263. The Portuguese Roman Catholic rite in Brazil also included salt application as a central feature. Candidates were asked if they wished to "eat the salt of God?" and salt was applied to the upper lip and the forehead as well as the tongue. See Karasch, *Slave Life*, pp. 255-256 and n. 6, p. 257; Robert Edgar Conrad, *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 155, 186-187. Both Koster (in Conrad, 187) and Métraux, *Voodoo*, attributed the desire for Roman Catholic baptism to a desire to "belong" to the new society of baptized slaves. Neither Métraux, *Voodoo*, pp. 331-332 nor Desmangles, *Faces of the Gods*, pp. 27, 85-91 mentioned the use of salt in the Haitian Vodun baptismal rite, however. Since Oldendorp emphasized the widespread desire for the salt rite, an overpowering desire for protection from sorcery and all of its ramifications by people who had just survived the middle passage ought to be considered. Métraux, *Voodoo*, pp. 263, 202, mentioned the Haitian avoidance of salt in food cooked as offerings for the dead (which must be cooked by men only) and in the food served novices undergoing initiation. See also Métraux, p. 283, for salt and *zombi*. In a personal communication with the author, Gary Brana-Shute confirmed that Surinamese Maroons abstain from salt prior to undertaking important occult activities. See also Skinner, "Ethnic Interaction," p. 235; Moore, *Cultural Power*, p. 147; Donald M. Hogg, "The Convince Cult in Jamaica," *Papers in Caribbean Anthropology*, ed. Sidney W. Mintz, p. 15 (New Haven: Department of Anthropology, Yale University, 1960); Schuler, *Alas*, pp. 77, 93, 96; Bilby and Bunseki, "Kumina," pp. 42-44. Leonard E. Barrett, *The Rastafarians: A Study in Messianic Cultism in Jamaica* (Rio Pedras, Puerto Rico: Institute of Caribbean Studies, University of Puerto Rico, 1968), p. 155; Chevannes, *Rastafari*, pp. 34-35. Compare with liberated African salt beliefs in Trinidad in Warner-Lewis, *Guinea's Other Suns*, pp. 31-32, 120, Teke abstention from salt-eating as a strengthening ritual in Fernandez, *Bwiti*, p. 303; MacGaffey, *Religion and Society*, pp. 7, 9, 160-5, 171-173, 218-219. A Haitian corollary is the belief that even a grain of salt ingested by a *zombi* will awaken it to its true status as an enslaved dead person, enraging it and leading it to kill its master before returning to its grave. See Métraux, *Voodoo*, p. 283, for salt and *zombi*. See also Graeber, "Painful Memories," pp. 385-390, for a case which suggests a way to interpret Caribbean attitudes to salt, water and slavery. For Guyanese Jordanites' avoidance of salt, see Roback, "White-Robed Army," 1973, p. 245.

[111]. Africans who observed European sailors eating salted pork, assumed they were eating human flesh. See Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, pp. 13-14. Schuler, *Alas*, p. 96; Bilby and Bunseki, "Kumina," pp. 21-22; Miller, *Way of Death*, pp. 5, 418-421, 425-426; MacGaffey, *Religion and Society*, p. 133; MacGaffey, *Modern Kongo Prophets*, p. 134. For another reference to Central Africans' association of fish with the dead, see Igor Kopytoff, "Revitalization and the Genesis of Cults," p. 196.

[112]. Significantly, African newcomers in Rio de Janeiro's slave market attributed their whitish crusty skin (called *sarna* or *mal de loanda* in Brazil) to the salted food fed them on the slave ship. See Conrad, *Children of God's Fire*, p. 51, for an excerpt from Robert Walsh, *Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829*, 2 vols, II, which describes the slaves' appearance. Karasch *Slave Life*, pp. 35, 40, 166, 179, 182-183. Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, p. 246.

[113]. Schuler/Carmichael, Schuler/Scott interviews, Seafield, Guyana, 1984; Kempadoo, "Recordings of Folklore, Drama and Music Made in Guyana, 1971-3," University Library, University of Guyana, 1974, K104. Wilson and Grim suggest that ship and slave owners' attempts to replace salt lost from slaves' excessive sweating, vomiting and diarrhea on slave ships and during "seasoning" on plantations by providing extra salt in slaves' diet might have contributed to hypertension in African Americans. See Thomas W. Wilson and Clarence E. Grim, "The Possible Relationship between the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Hypertension in Blacks Today," in *The Atlantic Slave Trade: Effects on Economies, Societies, and Peoples in Africa, the Americas, and Europe*, ed. J. Inikori and S. Engerman, pp. 350-353 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992). McDaniel, *Big* Drum, p. 80 is aware of a relationship between salt intake and a heavy or bloated sensation, but does not pursue the connection. I have not found salt references in the flight narratives from the Georgia Sea Islands, and the relationship between a high-sodium slave diet and African-Americans' salt-sensitive hypertension remains controversial.

[114] See George Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society, and Trade in Western Africa, 1000-1630* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), pp. 50, 259-260, 277-280; Miller, *Way of Death*, pp. 37, 56-7, 64, 143-144, 214-215, 236, 274-276, 395, 396, 402-404, 685; Friedman, *Catastrophe and Creation*, p. 36; l Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, pp. 95, 162-163, 169, 180, 189; Lovejoy, *Salt of the Desert Sun: A History of Salt Production and Trade in the Central Sudan* (London: Cambridge University Press 1986), pp. 15-29, 281, 283; E. Ann McDougall, "Salts of the

Western Sahara: Myths, Mysteries and Historical Significance," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 23, 2(1990): 235-236, 239-241, 250, 255, 256 for the salt-slave trade of the western Sudan; E. Ann McDougall, "Salt, Saharans and the trans-Saharan slave trade: Nineteenth-century developments," in *Slavery and Abolition*, 13, 1 (April 1992): 61-80; McDougall, "In Search of a Desert-Edge Perspective: the Sahara-Sahel and the Atlantic Slave Trade, c. 1815-1890," pp. 224-230 in Robin Law, ed. *From Slave Trade to 'Legitimate' Commerce': The Commercial Transition in Nineteenth-Century West Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); McDougall, "Banamba and the Salt Industry of the Western Sudan," in *West African Economic and Social History: Studies in Memory of Marion Johnson*, ed. David Henige and T. McCaskie, pp. 151-170 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990); Robin Law, *The Slave Coast of West Africa* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 42-43; 45-46, 57, 206, 220; Law, *The Oyo Empire c. 1600-1836*; 1977 (Aldershot: Gregg Revivals, 1991), pp. 208-209, 214, 219; P. D. Curtin, *Economic Change in Pre-Colonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975), pp. 269-294; also Alagoa, "Slave Trade in Niger Delta," pp. 127-128; B. Marie Perinbam, "The Salt-Gold Alchemy in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Mande World: If Men Are Its Salt, Women Are Its Gold," *Africa in History*, 23 (1996): 259, 265, 266-267, 269, 272-273; Ralph A. Austen and Jonathan Derrick, *Middlemen of the Cameroons Rivers: The Duala and their Hinterland c. 1600-c. 1960* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 28, Table 2.5, 49, 54, 71-72, 199 n.6, 205 n. 96. McDaniel, *Big Drum*, pp. 79-80 mentions salt in slave food, its destruction of witches' power, its absence from spirit food, and its exchange for gold. See also Ann Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, pp. 98, 99; Thornton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, pp. 60, 66; Shaw, "Production of Witchcraft," pp. 861, 864**;** Walter Rodney, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast: 1545 to 1800*. (1970; reprint ed. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980), pp. 18-21, 193-194, 205-207, 226-227. See Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, pp. 199-209 and Piersen, *Black Legacy*, pp. 35-42 for red cloth in the slave trade narratives.

[115]. See Wyatt MacGaffey, "The West in Congolese Experience," in P. D. Curtin, ed., *Africa and the West: Intellectual Responses to Western Culture*, p. 55 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972) for Boma. See note 93 above for Central African beliefs about slaves weaving cloth underwater. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, pp. 199-209 and Piersen, *Black Legacy*, pp. 35-42 discuss red cloth. For beliefs that African bodies were used as hosts to breed the cowrie shell currency of the slave trade, or African limbs and blood fed to cowries, see Abiola Félix Iroko, "Cauris et esclaves en Afrique occidentale entre le XVIe et le XIXe siècles," in *De la traite à l'esclavage*, ed. Serge Daget, 2 vols., 1:199-200 (Nantes: Centre de Recherche sur l'Histoire du Monde Atlantique, 1988); White, "Vampire Priests of Central Africa, p. 771.

[116]. See Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests*, pp. 98-99.