Introduction

1 Herskovits, *Cultural Anthropology*, 296. For a critic of this theory see Hernnerz, “Fluxos, Fronteiras, Hibridos,” 3.


3 It is notable that the original application of the theory was in specific reference to Native American cultures.


5 Mason demarcated eighteen culture areas in his work. Then, Clark Wissler developed the concept with his study of the indigenous Native American traditions.

6 Wissler, *American Indian*, 220.

7 Herskovits, *Myth of the Negro Past*, 6. Herskovits pioneered this field of study with the objective to restore dignity to the Africans.

8 Elkins, *Slavery*, 91, 101–2. For an engaging analysis of these ideas, see Young, “African Religions,” 1–18.

9 Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 47. Although Raboteau was specifically speaking about African traditional religious presence in the U.S. South, the entire notion of an individual with a form of cultural/mental erasure is inconceivable. It is devoid of any scientific logic or evidence.


11 For a cursory survey of this, see Cohen, *Masquerade Politics, Politics of Elite Culture*, and *Customs and Politics*.

12 Scher, *Carnival*.


15 Gray, *Black Theater and Performance*.

16 See Miller, *Voices of the Leopard*; Nicholls, *Old-Time Masquerading*; and Falola and Genova, eds., *Orisa*, esp. 143–386. The various chapters of the volume explored the similarities of Yoruba culture with the New Orleans, Cuban, and other African Diaspora identities.

18 See Okere, “Assumption of African Values,” 6, 11. Against this background, it is apparent, as we have seen with Western education, soccer, and masquerade carnivals that certain institutions and ideas transcend their initial places of origin. For a further reading on this, see also Njoku, “Originality of African Philosophy,” in *African Philosophy*, eds. Oguejieofor and Onah, 104.


20 Stuckey, “Through the Prism of Folklore,” 417–37. See also Stuckey, *Slave Culture*.


23 Benjamin, *Atlantic World*.

24 Strogatz, *Nonlinear Dynamics and Chaos*.

25 Just to mention a few of these opposing views, see Perry, *Landscape Transformations* particularly, 22–24; and Russell, Silva, and Steele, “Modelling the Spread of Farming,” 1–9.


27 Bracketed explanations of the four key concepts are mine. Courgeau, Bijak, Franck, Silverman, “Model-Based Demography,” in *Agent-Based Modelling*, eds. Grow and Bavel, 29–51.

28 Although Westermarck did not relate his findings on the Berbers to the Bantu, the similarity is striking. See Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*. See also Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*.

29 In the United States today, we are seeing the struggle between English and Spanish; in the United Kingdom, the wrestling match between English and Irish continues; and in Belgium, the Flemish and French languages often clash.


36 Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*. Gomez argues that the millions of
Africans brought to America would not have initially thought of themselves as Africans; rather, they were Asante, Yoruba, or Igbo, their lives and characters defined by village or nation.

37 For a similar idea, see the impressive study by Jackson and Mosadomi, “Cultural Continuities,” in Falola and Genova, Orisa, 143–45. Interestingly, there also is a secret society called “Egungu” (without the second “n”) among the Osomari Igbo community. See Nzimiro, Studies in Ibo Political Systems, 81.


41 It is important to note that the mainstream studies on the Bantu may not recognize all these groups, especially the Igbo, as belonging to the proto-Bantu. My personal research based on linguistic, cultural, and geographical evidence indicates otherwise.

42 Cohen, Masquerade Politics, 3. See also Crowley, “Traditional Masques of Carnival,” 194–223; and Mayer, Origins, Commodification, 2.

43 Enweonwu, Keynote Address (FESTAC), 4.

44 I spent the Christmas period of 2008, 2009, and 2010 on fieldwork in eastern Nigeria, observing the masquerade dances of Igbo, Ibibio, and Èfik communities, interviewing the participants, and comparing the data with that obtained from Mali.

45 Miller, “Cuban Abakuá Chants,” 23–58; Chambers, Murder at Montpelier; Nicholls, “Igbo Influences,” in Igbo in the Atlantic World, eds. Falola and Njoku, 228–52.


Chapter 1


2 Lawal, Gèlédé Spectacle, 39–40.

3 Kajobola, personal communication, Tuesday, June 6, 2017. According to Kajobola, in the Yoruba culture, Gélédé could also be used as a blanket name for “masquerades.”


5 Dete, Wole Soyinka, 22. See also Babatunde, “New Light on Gelede,” 66–70, 94; and Drewal, “Gelede Masquerade,” 8, 19, 62–63, 95–96.

7 See, for instance Johnson, *Venice Incognito*.
8 Glotz and Qerlemans, “European Masks,” 14.
9 Carroll, “Carnival Rites,” 490.
10 Ibid., 489–90.
11 Ugorji, personal communication, June 27, 2008. Vicky lived in Italy for twenty years and helped put this information in proper perspectives.
13 In another way, this was a plan devised by the Spanish authorities to encourage French nationals from neighboring islands to move to Trinidad in order to help them with managing the island, which the Spaniards could not staff at this time.
14 SCRBS, SCMG 264, Michael Anthony Papers, 2.
15 Ibid.
16 Hill, *Trinidad Carnival*, 11. See also Fraser, “History of Carnival, Colonial Office Original Correspondence, Trinidad” (CO 295), vol. 289, Trinidad No. 6160. Anthony and Carr said that “the Africans began to take part in Carnival after they had attained freedom under the Emancipation Bill of 1833.” Anthony and Carr, eds., *David Frost*, 57.
17 Pearse, “Carnival in Nineteenth Century Trinidad,” 176–77; Anthony and Carr, *David Frost*; Leon, *Calypso from France to Trinidad*.
18 Chasteen, “Prehistory of Samba,” 29–47, 35.
19 I got this insightful proverb from my grandmother Nne Nkáru Njoku, personal communication, October 10, 1973.
20 For the original series, see Udal, “Dorsetshire Folklore,” 174–81. See also Alford, *Hobby Horse*, 59.
21 Hole, *Dictionary of British Folk Customs*, 70.
26 Baines and Lacovara, “Burial and the Dead in Ancient Egypt,” 5–36. See also Ikram and Dodson, *Mummy in Ancient Egypt*.
27 See one of the most authoritative studies by Budge, *Tutankhamen*. For a discussion on Egyptian origin of masks and carnivals, see Liverpool, “Origins of Rituals and Customs?” 24–37.
28 Zarate, *Dia de los Muertos*; Garciagodoy, *Digging the Days of the Dead*.
30 The Manchester Museum in the United Kingdom holds two crucial pieces of art that provide solid evidence of the use of masks in ancient Egypt.
42 Igwebe, *Original History of Arondizuogu*, 63.
43 Ibid., 66.
44 Bascom, “Forms of Folklore,” 4.
45 Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*.
47 Ibid.
49 In their study on Andhra Pradesh, India, Lambert et al. observed that the family, neighbors/neighborhood, and peer pressures are more effective in social control than the court system, police, and correctional facilities. See Lambert, Jiang, Karuppannan, and Pasupuleti, “Correlates of Formal and Informal Social Control,” 1–12.
50 Sigler and Aamidor, “From Positive Reinforcement,” 249–53.
51 Kalu, “Under the Eyes of the Gods.”
55 I have italicized the word “conceptual” in order to contrast it to the word “practical.”
56 Nlenanya, *Ahiajoku Lecture*.
57 Eliade, *Cosmos and History*.
60 Feuerbach, *Essence of Christianity*.
61 Durkheim, *Division of Labor*.
64 Ibid., 3.
65 Just to be clear, Judas Iscariot had left the flock after his betrayal of Jesus the Christ.
The exception here is in theatrical plays, which are nothing comparable to the serious spiritual dimension with which the Africans went about their masquerade business.

Rotimi, “Through Whom the Spirits Breathe,” in *Masquerade in Nigerian History.*


Eziekojiaju, “Igbo Divination Poetry,” 38. The author calls for the need for Igbo scholars to collect, classify, and analyze texts, particularly of Igbo oral poetry.

Ilah, “Performing Arts of the Masquerade,” 8.


For a detailed read on this, see Horton, *West African Countries,* esp. 19–21.

Brown, “Patterns of Authority in West Africa,” 261–78.


Except for the Tallensi of Ghana, remarkably most these societies included in this model operated masquerade institutions.


See Packard, *Chiefship and Cosmology,* 4–6, 84; and Packard, *Politics of Ritual Control.*


Chapter 2


1 Falola, *Culture and Customs of Nigeria,* 38.


4 Other authors have emphasized this point. See for instance Sieber and Walker, *African Art.* For a detailed read on African cosmology, see the authoritative works of Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religion,* esp. 34–59; and also Mbiti, *African Religion and Philosophy.*

5 Nwanunobi, *African Social Institutions,* 168. This reminds us of Inglehart’s argument that economic development, cultural change, and political change go together in intelligible and sometimes discernible patterns. This implies that while certain changes are predictable, some trajectories of socioeconomic change are more likely than others. Once a society starts to industrialize, for example, a whole syndrome of related sociopolitical and economic changes, including new gender roles, tend to emerge. These changes in worldviews seem to reflect changes in the economic and political environment. See Inglehart, *Modernization and Postmodernization,* 3–8.

6 Coulanges, *Family, Kin and City-States.*

7 Oliver, “Bantu Genesis,” 2.45–58. Linguistic and archaeological evidence places the
cradle of Bantu-language speakers in the Nigeria-Cameroon border area. See also Philipson, *Later Prehistory*.


9 In line with this thinking, see for instance Basden, *Among the Ibos of Nigeria*; Meek, *Law and Authority*; Forde and Jones, *Igbo and Ibibio-Speaking Peoples*; Ilogu, *Christianity and Igbo Culture*.


13 Onwu, “Uzo Ndu Na Ezi Okwu.”


15 For an engaging analysis of the Greek gods, see Kullmann, “Gods and Men,” 1–23.


20 Colonial anthropological reports show that there were thousands of these village-based deities across Igboland; see for instance UMIPROF, PC.10/1911–6/1/2, Obonorie Juju, Report by H. R. A. Crawford, 1911; ONPROF OP.363/27–7/14/139, Omaliko Juju at Agbaja, Report on, 1927; and ABADIST 589–1/26/305, Nnechetara Juju, 1933–49. NNAE, AFDIST 13/1/6, Report on the Cult of Arunsi Edda, 1934.


23 Chidi Osuagwu, personal communication, Owerri, December 9, 2010.


30 Enwonwu, Keynote Address (FESTAC).

31 Trowell, Classical African Sculpture; Willett, African Art, 40. As Willett has argued, the huge variety of African cultural spaces underscores “the dangers of generalization” (9).


33 Thompson cited in Harn, African Art, 2.

34 MacAlon, “Introduction,” in Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle, ed. MacAlon, 1.

35 According to local historians, the Aro people conquered the Ibibio people, who were the original inhabitants of the land now occupied by the Aro. The story has it that the Ibibio warriors who fought in the war were slain at Oror; hence it became the chieftaincy village.

36 Igwebe, Original History of Arondizuogu, 66–67. There have been ideas floating that the Ogéne Njímá masquerade club was instituted in 1972 to revitalize the pre-civil war (1966–1970) masking culture of the community. But the evidence of Richard Igwebe’s study of Arondizuogu masquerades before the war shows that Njímá was not even mentioned among such masquerades as Oganigwe, Ájikwu, and Onyekurum—all of which the author described as “Night Masquerades,” which were the most powerful spirits. According to Igwebe, Onyekurum was “more useful than all other masks,” because it characteristically challenged anybody, including the king. “Onyekurum has all rights to abuse anybody when it comes out.”

37 Nzekwu, “Masquerade,” 188.


39 Onwuejeogwu, Evolutionary Trends, 12.

40 Falola, Culture and Customs of Nigeria, 142.


42 NNAE, OG/670 UNWANA Clan—AFDIST 15/1/37 Report on Social Organization of Afíkpo Division, 1930–3. See Nwafo, Born to Serve, 13; Johnson, Of God and Maxim Guns, 64–65. The present author was not allowed to watch the Egbele festival during his fieldwork in Afíkpo and Unwáná in October–November 2001.

43 Duerden, African Art, an Introduction, 2.

44 Millington cited in Harn, African Art, 2.

45 For a detailed discussion on this with specific reference to other parts of Africa, see the excellent work of the Hurst Gallery, African Arts of War and Peace.

46 Eze, personal communication, Umuahia, July 5, 2011. For practice of this in Amobia village in early 1900s, see MAA, N.71635.GIJ. “Ghost Police, Amobia Village by G. I. Jones Photographic Archive, 1932–1939.
47 Collins Utube Umoh, personal communication, Calabar, July 10, 2011.
49 Kalu, *Embattled Gods*, 121; and “Under the Eyes of the Gods.”
50 Isaac Kanu, personal communication, July 4, 2011. Formerly, it was important for every person of Ar’igbo descent to attend the annual Ikeji festival. In recent times, it has become practically difficult for those far away in Europe, America, or Asia to honor the annual festival.
51 The “Ukwu” suffix to the name “Enugu” is an Igbo adjective meaning “big.”
54 See Willett, *African Art*, 188. Emphasizing this point, Ndukaihe reiterates that masquerade is a universal traditional and recreational activity in the Igbo culture that establishes friendship not only within but across ethnic boundaries. See Ndukaihe, *Achievement as a Value in Igbo/African Identity*, 229. See also Tomaselli and Wright, *Africa*, 132.
55 Ukaegbu, “Composite Scene,” 34.
57 Baldwin Anyasodo, an emeritus professor and professional artist, provided this insight; personal communication, July 26, 2008.
59 Today this genre of masquerades also takes advantage of their disguise to extort money from spectators and nonmembers.
63 For a similar observation with African arts in other ethnic societies, see Rachewiltz, *Introduction to African Art*, 70–73; 74–80.
64 For an excellent account on this aspect of core versus peripheral Igbo areas, see Afigbo, “Igboland Before 1800,” in *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, ed. Ikime, 73–88.
66 See OW.Conf.1/13–1/4/1 ABADIST Long Juju of Aro Revival of the worship of
by Aro resident in the Okigwe District, 1913. For the various studies, see Afigbo, “Eclipse of the Aro,” 3–24.

68 NNAE, Ajali-Aro Agreement of August 17, 1911. See also Edhe, Towards an Igbo Metaphysics, 11; Nwabar, Iboland, 19; Hives, Juju and Justice, 248–52.
69 See Afigbo, “Igbo Subculture Areas,” for a good summary. See also Talbot, Peoples of Southern Nigeria.


71 Several studies on the Igbo Ukwu culture have shown that this culture, renowned for its numerous sculptures, vessels, and ornamental objects, was “largely locally evolved.” See Sutton, “International Factor at Igbo-Ukwu,” 145–60. See also Afigbo, “Anthropology and Historiography,” 1–16.

72 Udo, who has studied a plethora of the Ibibio masquerade art forms from inside, also underscores similar dynamics. See Udo, Who Are the Ibibios? 138.
73 Feierman, Peasant Intellectuals. See also Falola, Yoruba Guru.

FIGURE 2.1. Dancing initiation masks, boys’ initiation, Cross River. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology (N.13095.GIJ).

Chapter 3

1 Malcolm Guthrie coined the word “proto-Bantu.” It is important to point out up front that some scholars put the starting date of the migrations at somewhere between 5000 and 3000 BCE. See for instance the authoritative work of Vansina, “Bantu in the Crystal Ball,” 287–333. I have deliberately chosen 2500 BCE as a very conservative estimate. This is approximately when the migrations assumed a more meaningful momentum.

2 Wang, “Globalization Enhances Cultural Identity,” 84. Similar views have been emphasized by Labes, “Globalization and Cultural Identity,” 88; and Inda and Rosaldo, World in Motion.

3 Linton, Study of Man.

4 For an in-depth discussion on this, see Ellwood, “Theories of Cultural Evolution,” 779–800.

5 Perry, Children of the Sun. This is the book in which Perry expressed the belief that culture or civilization flows from Egypt. See also Rivers, History and Ethnology. The Egypt-centered approach would later inform Diop and Asante’s Afrocentricity theory in African Studies. See Asante, Cheik Anta Diop.
6 Ratzel, an ethnogeographer, believes that after diffusion, a culture trait could then undergo adaptation to local conditions. See Erickson and Murphy, *History of Anthropological Theory*, 58. Frobenius, *Vom Kulturreich des Festlandes*, used patterns of geography to explain diffusion. He saw culture as a living organism that is born, develops, and dies. See also Schmidt, “Fritz Graebner,” 203–14.


9 Malefijt, *Images of Man*, 170. Again, the network of culture traits seemed to be too complex to sort out and understand clearly.

10 One of his very influential works remains Boas, “Methods of Ethnology,” 311–21.


13 Mason, *Influence of Environment*. This work was first published in the Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution.

14 Ibid. Mason found as many as eighteen culture areas in his study and Clark Wissler subsequently provided systematic treatment of the paradigm following his study of Native American indigenous cultures.


16 Currie, Meade, Guillen and Mace, “Cultural Phylogeography,” 1–8. The authors remind us that there is a concession among scholars on the point of the Bantu cradle. However, some other studies have included some parts of the Shaba territory in the Republic of Zaire as part of the original Bantu homeland. See for instance, Kahlheber, Bosteon, and Neumann, “Early Plant Cultivation,” 253–72; Amadi, “Northern Factor,” 87; and Vansina, “Bantu in the Crystal Ball,” 306.

17 Oliver, “Problem of Bantu Expansion,” 361–76. In fact, by 1966 when Oliver’s essay was published, the cause of Bantu expansion was seen to be the desiccation of the Sahara, a point taken from Clark, “Prehistoric Origins of African Culture,” 181–82. In other words, the idea of conquest and invasion propounded by Johnston had been abandoned.

18 Russell, Silva, and Steele, “Modeling the Spread of Farming.”


20 Split and compare is different from what Meeusen likened to the peeling of an onion: a few languages evolve from the mass of dialects; later, another few break off; and so on until the core of the onion suddenly fell apart. See Guthrie, “Comparative Bantu: A Preview,” 6–18.

21 But more important, we should also remember that the pioneers of Bantu studies for a while concentrated on ethnic groups found in the Southern region of Africa. For an engaging exposition on the Bantu and the southern reaches of Africa, see Vansina, “Bantu in the Crystal Ball,” 299–311.

22 In a letter to the editor of *Science Progress* dated May 23, 1922, Sheldon used the word “races” to refer to the Bantu. See Sheldon, “Bantu Races,” 303.

24 Bleek, *Comparative Grammar*. Bleek coined the name *Bantu* in the 1850s.


27 The emphasis on “think” is mine to denote the obvious problem of errors of omission and inclusion. Johnston, “Bantu and the Semi-Bantu Languages,” 97–110, and *Comparative Study of the Bantu*; Guthrie, *Classification of the Bantu Languages*, *Bantu Language*, and *Bantu Sentence Structure*. See also Bryan, ed., *Bantu Languages of Africa*.


30 Research notes and personal communication with three Kenyan professors, April 2–3, 2008. For a similar work on Bantu words in Zulu, see Werner, “Some Bantu Language Problems,” 157.

31 A similar observation concerning other African language classifications has been noted by Vansina, “Bantu in the Crystal Ball,” 314.


36 Vansina, “Bantu in the Crystal Ball,” 294. See also Bennett and Sterk, “South Central Niger Congo,” 241–73.


39 See Wissler, *American Indian*, 142–48. Wissler explored the similarities in poems found among the various groups separated by geography. More important, see his chapter 10 on “Social Grouping.”

40 One revelation made by Russell King in relation to this study is that we are not really in the “Age of Migration” as some exponents of globalization assume. With only 3 percent of the global population representing international migrants, the Age of Migration was actually in the Ancient Global Age as demarcated in this study. See King, *Theories and Typologies of Migration*, 5.

41 Posnansky, *Archaeology and Linguistic*.


46 Amadi, “Northern Factor,” 80–89, has explored this idea. Further studies are required in this direction.

47 While some of the Bantu may have left to avoid inter-and intragroup conflicts, including family quarrels, nonetheless, love, hate, the quest for freedom from oppression, and the sheer spirit of adventure usually play determinant roles in migrations around the world. If the French, Belgian, and German colonial stranglehold in Africa could serve as an example, the colonized people tried to escape from these Europeans’ African dominions as expressions of their objections to excessive imperial taxation, forced and free labor demands, and other forms of oppression. It is well known that the first consequence of the mass movement of populations in history is displacement. Powerful people need living space or what the Germans call lebensraum.

49 Palmer, “From Africa to the Americas,” 225.
51 See Pulford, ed., Peoples of the Ituri; Turnbull, Forest People and Mbuti Pygmies. For a similar Igbo culture, see Onyishi et al., “Female Genital Cutting,” 1–7.
53 Isiugo-Abanihe, “Bridewealth, Marriage, and Fertility,” 151–78. However, this tradition has undergone considerable changes over the years to now involve heavy monetary demands.

54 Benti, Urban Growth in Ethiopia.
55 See Turton, “Bantu, Galla, and Somali Migration,” 519–37. For more on this, see Njoku, History of Somalia, 12–13, 49, 109, 162.
56 I spent parts of 2009, 2010, and 2017 on ethnographic fieldwork in eastern Nigeria observing the masquerade dances of Igbo and Èfik communities, interviewing the participants, and comparing the data with similar data obtained from Mali.
58 See UNESCO, “Makishi Masquerade.”
59 Ibid. See also Leo and Jordan, Makishi Lya Zambia; and Jordán, “Chokwe!” 18–35.
60 Russell, Silva, and Steele, “Modeling the Spread of Farming.”
63 Afigbo, Igbo History and Society, esp. 125–42.
64 Beleza, Gusmao, Amorim, Carracedo, and Salas, “Genetic Legacy of Western Bantu,” 366–75.
65 Herskovits, Cultural Anthropology, 296. A student of Boas, Herskovits remains one of the proponents of this view.
Chapter 4

1 Jones, *The Trading States of the Oil Rivers*, 15–17. See also Oriji, “Oracular Trade,” 42. Oriji sees the Kálábári part of the Bight’s port as the Dutch sphere, and when the volume of trade shifted to the other ports, “the Arò trade network was stimulated.”

2 I am using data from the UNESCO Slave Trade Project. See Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database (www.slavevoyages.org/). Estimates from other studies may vary.

3 The name *Biafra* became controversial when the eastern Nigeria enclave, led by the first republic Igbo politicians, seceded with that name from the Nigerian State in 1967.

4 I gained this insight from Catharine Anosike, personal communication, December 10, 2008. *Fára* is a local dialect for “pick up” for the Ṍbakuru community in Mbieri.

5 I thank Professor Douglas Chambers for drawing my attention to this discussion. See Goldie, *Dictionary of the Efik Language*, xlvi, 5, 25, 49; and *Addenda to the Efik Dictionary*, 8, 13, 24–25. See also Kaufman, *Ibibio Dictionary*, 15, 72.

6 Álvares, *Ethiopia Minor*, chap. 13. See also Johnson, “Visit to Fernando Po.” The visit covered Fernando Po, Old Calabar, Bonny, and Opobo in the Niger Delta, as well as Èfik, Benin River, and the interiors—areas the bishop identified as the Bight of Biafra. This article was first published in *Church Missionary Intelligencer and Records* (December 1904): 896.


8 Wright, *World and a Very Small Place*.

9 Nicklin in his “Cross River Studies,” *African Arts* 24–27, has made a similar point by stating that “research and publication on the peoples and cultures of the Cross River region have never progressed systematically and without interruptions.” Not even the resourceful Imbua and coauthors’ recent work could deal with the aspect of the historical trends prior to the sixteenth centuries or the masquerade traditions associated with the region as detailed in the preceding chapter. See Imbua, Lovejoy, and Millar, eds., *Calabar on the Cross River*.


12 These are among the major scholars who helped create the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database (www.slavevoyages.org/).


14 Eltis and Richardson, “A New Assessment of the Transatlantic Slave Trade,” in *Extending the Frontiers*, eds. Eltis and Richardson, 46–47. For an engaging read on the effects of the trans-Atlantic slave commerce on the Bight of Biafra and its hinterlands, see Brown and Lovejoy, eds., *Repercussions of the Atlantic Slave Trade*.

15 As Morgan noted: “High population densities in the Igbo heartland, sustained by a balance between the sexes and good reproductive capacity, meant that large numbers of slaves could be supplied to ships without depleting the demographic stock.” Morgan, “Atlantic Slave Trade,” in *Igbo in the Atlantic World*, eds. Falola and Njoku, 82.
16 This was the period when the Igbo entered into the slave trade fully. Brown and Lovejoy in *Repercussions of the Atlantic Slave Trade* have provided a good account of this dynamics.


19 Despite their elaborate story of the Aró, Dike and Ekejiuba ignored these diverse and multidimensional contexts. See Dike and Ekejiuba, *Aro of South-Eastern Nigeria*.

20 Forde and Jones, *Ibo and Ibibio-Speaking Peoples*.


23 Isichei, *Igbo Worlds*, 10. See also Onwuejeogwu, *An Nri Civilization*.


25 NNAE, EP1331/07–16/2/608 CALPROF “Cameroon-Nigeria (Cross River) and Cameroons (Yola) Boundary Delimitation, 1907.”


31 This conclusion is drawn based on the evidence presented by the research of Shaw and Onwuejeogwu. See Shaw, *Igbo-Ukwu*; Onwuejeogwu, *Igbo Civilization*.

32 Alagoa, “Long-Distance Trade,” 319–29. Alagoa, “The Development of Institutions,” 269–78. It is important to remind the reader once again that initially the Ijọ indigenous political system was same as the Ibo Ibibio village-based democratic system, and this blueprint for the sociopolitical organization did not change despite the transition to the centralized system.

33 None bears this story of kidnapping better than the experience of Olaudah Equiano. See Equiano, *Interesting Narrative*, esp. 45–47.


35 For more details, see AfiGbó, *Abolition of the Slave Trade*, 128.


41 For more on cultural emersion, see Añgbo, *Abolition of the Slave Trade*, 111–12.


47 Young, *Tour through the Islands*, 269.


51 See Prichard, *Researches into This Physical History*, 210–12.


55 Moreton, *Manners and Customs*, 153; see also Nicholls, “Igbo Influences,” 231.


58 Nicholls, “Igbo Influences,” 231.


60 The most celebrated of these stories is the so-called Igbo landing at Dunbar Creek on Saint Thomas Island, Glynn County, Georgia, where it was reported that a cargo of Igbo slaves disembarked at the port and committed mass suicide by drowning in order to evade slavery. See, for instance Goodwine, *Legacy of Ibo Landing*.

61 McDaniel and Hill, *Tombstone Feast*. See also Nicholls, “Igbo Influences,” 231.


63 Sloane, *Voyage to the Islands*, xix.

64 Leslie, *New and Exact Account of Jamaica*, 326; and Spencer, *Crop-Over*, 4.

66 Details of the cargo came from the record of sale and the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database (2008). See National Archives, Kew Gardens [hereafter NAK], C107/59 John Goodrich to James Rogers, December 30, 1792; John Goodrich to James Rogers, January 11, 1793; John Goodrich to James Rogers, January 24, 1793; John Goodrich to James Rogers, June 15, 1793; “Sales of 342 Slaves Imported in the Ship Jupiter,” July 3, 1793.

67 See for example Eltis and Engerman, “Was the Slave Trade Dominated by Men?” 237–57.

68 NAK, 1792, C107/13, Captain Forsyth to James Rogers, July 9, 1792. A fact to consider is that the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database shows that the dominant majority of captives shipped across the Atlantic from the Cameroons between 1750 and 1808 were males. See also Donnan, Documents Illustrative, 590.


70 Forde and Jones, Ibo and Ibibio-Speaking Peoples, 4, 10, 28–57. See NNAK, File No. 15911 vol. 1, Tribes of Nigeria (i) Inter-Relations (ii) Arochukwu, Jukun, etc.; and Nigerian National Archives Ibadan (NNAI) CSO 26/2.40 File No. 29380, Milne Report on Ogboli Group of Nsukka Division (n. d).

71 Coleman, Nigeria, 340.

72 NNAE, C 632, RIVPROF 2/1/87, Activities of Village Unions (1947); C 633, RIVPROF 2/1/87, Native Authorities and Clan Unions (1947).

73 NNAE, OP 5029, ONDIST 12/1/2094, Ibo State Union Matters Affecting (1949).


75 Equiano, Interesting Narrative, 5, 43.


81 In total, the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database has records for 254 British ships that documented the number of children leaving the Biafran coast between 1701 and 1808. For sixty-one of these, children accounted for greater than 30 percent. See, http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/.
82 Approximately 10 percent of Biafran captives on British ships ended up in Martinique, Guadeloupe, and the Spanish, Dutch, and the Danish Caribbean. For the statistics, see the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/.
83 NAK C107/9, James Maud to James Rogers, July 30, 1786 (Antigua); and Samuel Richards to James Rogers, June 21, 1788.
84 NAK C107/9, Francis Grant to James Rogers, August 4, 1789; Francis Grant to James Rogers, October 10, 1789.
85 NAK C107/8 Francis Grant and Robert Smyth to James Rogers, February 22, 1788. See also C107/7, Box 2. Reporting on Jamaica, Francis Grant also advised that slaves from Old Calabar were of less estimation in Jamaica than those from the Gold Coast. Francis Grant to James Rogers, December 1788. For another reference to Jamaica, see a note by John Taylor where he noted that slaves from Angola are of less value in Jamaica than slaves from “Eboe.” John Taylor Letter to Simon Taylor, August 7, 1793, Taylor/14, Letter book A. In a memo from Grenada, a trade specifically requested for a couple of good Bonny slaves See Munro MacFarlane to James Rogers, September 4, 1792, C107/5.
93 Craton, “Jamaican Slave Mortality,” 3. See also Higman, Slave Populations, 78.
94 According to Higman, the enslaved population of Barbados “leveled off” after about 1710; see Slave Populations, 43.
95 Edwards, History, Civil and Commercial, 117, 342.

Chapter 5

1 As one may recall also, Angola has an early history with Portuguese Catholic evangelism. See Palmer, “From Africa to the Americas,” 229, 234.
2 Heywood, ed., Central Africans; Konadu, Akan Diaspora in the Americas.
4 Nicholls, Old-Time Masquerading. One of the strengths of Nicholls’s works is that
the complications of ethnic identification in the African Diaspora are acknowledged. See also for instance MacGaffey, “Twins, Simbi Spirits, and Lwas in Congo and Haiti,” in *Central Africans*, ed. Heywood, 211–26.


6 Heywood, “Portuguese into Central Africa,” *Central Africans*, in Heywood, 91–116. In this essay, Heywood contends, “by the beginning of the eighteenth century, a Creole culture had already emerged in Portuguese Angola and Benguela and was undergoing significant transformation” (91). For a similar argument, see Candido, *An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World*, 93–94. These studies refute the notion that African cultures were unchanging prior to the colonial era.

7 Ortiz, Herskovits, and Cedeño, “Abakuá Secret Society in Cuba,” 149.


9 See *Cornwall Chronicle*, St. George Workhouse, February 5, 1816. See also Chambers, *Enslaved Igbo and Ibibio in America*, 13–14. According to May, first-generation slaves taken from Africa rather than Creole were called “saltwater slaves.” See May, *Women in Early America*, 144. “On plantations that had both saltwater and Creole slaves, there was often a divide between the two.”


11 Schuler, “Akán Slave Rebellions in the British Caribbean,” 373–86; Sherlock, *West Indian Nations*. It is significant whether a trait has roots in Senegambia or Cameroon because these areas are indicative of wider cultural regions. Upper Guinea groups may possess Sudano-Sahelian influences or inherit the legacy of the ancient empires of Ghana, Mali, and Songhai, while forest groups may be more representative of the locally based, segmentary societies. See Herskovits, *Man and His Works*, 191. In his map of cultural areas of Africa, Herskovits positions Senegambia in the “Western Sudan” region and southeastern Nigeria and the Cameroon in the northwestern “Congo Area,” with the “Guinea Coast” area in between.

12 Crahan and Knight, *Africa and the Caribbean*, 11.


15 Hans Sloane has left us with an informed knowledge of the Caribbean island nations and the wide range of cross-cultural borrowing among them. See Sloane, *Voyage to the Islands*.

16 See Chambers, *Enslaved Igbo and Ibibio*.

17 This is despite their relatively late appearance in the trans-Atlantic slave trade exchanges.

19 For a detailed discussion on this in regard to Igbo family system and socialization, see Njoku, *African Cultural Values*, esp. chaps. 3–5.

20 This is in line with the American Diffusion School championed by Boas, “Methods of Ethnology,” 311–21; Herskovits, *Cultural Anthropology*. The Heywood edited volume took a shot at this but the coverage was limited to the Congo-Angola culture area. See Heywood, “Introduction,” in *Central Africa*, 1–20.


22 The trio of Virgin Islands—Saint Thomas, Saint Croix, and Saint John—was formerly known as the Danish West Indies. But the Virgin Islands were acquired by the United States in 1917. They are now run as an American territory.

23 LCCN 84037526, *The Saint Crois Avis*, “A Watcher Against His Will,” Christiansted, Saint Croix [V.I], January 3, 1901. The term Corromantee [Koromanti] was originally given to the enslaved Ashanti people in Jamaica by the British slavers. It was later generally applied to the all Akán slaves from the entire Gold Coast.


26 Achebe, *Trouble with Nigeria*, 45–46. These points were recapped in Achebe, *There Was a Country*. For an engaging analysis on this, see also Fishburn, *Reading Buchi Emechta*, particularly 139–40.


28 In an interesting article published by the *Huffington Post*, July 19, 2014, Cohan put forth the rhetorical question “How Much Freedom of Speech Is Too Much?” For a serious read, see Beanson, *Too Much Free Speech?*


31 Konadu’s *Akan Diaspora in the Americas*, 200–201, educates about how the Akán enslaved in the Americas were equally stereotyped as “bad” and “rebellious” slaves.

32 This historic site has been renamed after the jazz maestro Louis Armstrong. See Widmer, “Invention of a Memory,” 69–78.


35 Widmer, “Invention of a Memory,” 70.

37 For more on this, see the Qfo stick in colonial anthropology reports, NNAE, AW383–2/1/266 AWDIST Qfo Sticks, Report on, 1927; and OP179/27–7/14/62 ONPROF Ofo in the Owerri Division, Report on, 1927.

38 See Uchendu, Igbo of Southeast Nigeria, 21.

39 Okafor, Igbo Philosophy of Law, 7.


41 Scott, Tom Cringle’s Log, 241. See also Scott and Brangwyn, Tom Cringle’s Log, 196.

42 Scott, Tom Cringle’s Log, 241; Scott and Brangwyn, Tom Cringle’s Log, 370; and Howard, Kingston, 192.

43 Tuckerman, Letter Respecting Santa Cruz, 25. See also Nicholls, Jumbies’ Playing Ground, 227.

44 Dirks, Black Saturnalia, xiii.

45 LCCN sn 83025891, Editorial, Saint Thomas Tidende, Danish West Indies, December 28, 1872.

46 Cited in Nicholls, Old-Time Masquerading, 84.

47 For an engaging discussion on this, see Clarke, “John Canoe Festival in Jamaica,” 72–75; and Bilby, “Surviving Secularization,” 179–223.


49 Chambers, Murder at Montpelier, 182, and personal communication, July 24, 2017. The subject of discussion was on his current work on the “Igbo Landing.” On the Ojono, see NNAE, MINLOC 16/1/2301, Ojono Club in (1919–1920); and File No. 54 ABADIST 13/4/54, LONG JUJU of ARO and Ojono Society Report on, 1920.

50 See Konadu, Akan Diaspora, 23; and Rodriguez, Historical Encyclopedia of World Slavery, 624.

51 See Long, History of Jamaica, 424.

52 Clarke, “John Canoe Festival in Jamaica,” 72–75; Reid, “John Canoe Festival,” 345–46, 349–70.


54 Long, History of Jamaica, 425. See also Hill, Trinidadian Carnival, 230; Bettelheim, Afro-Jamaican Jonkonnu Festival, 47. Female Konus were represented by a male dancer. See Richards, “Horned Ancestral Masks,” in African Diaspora, eds. Okpewho, Davies, and Mazrui, 257–59.

55 Lewis, Journal of the West Indian Proprietor, 51. See also Hill, Trinidadian Carnival, 270; Bettelheim, Afro-Jamaican Jonkonnu, 47; and Richards, “Horned Ancestral Masks,” 254–75.

56 Blackamoors were originally people of African descent from North Africa serving in wealthy European households as servants and slaves. See Peter Jackson, “Beneath the Headlines,” Geography 73, no. 3 (1988): 202–7, esp. 203.

58 Belisario, *Koo Koo or Actor Boy*.


63 Bilby, “Caribbean as a Musical Region,” 187. The common assumption is that those cultural traits that arrived late in the slavery era were more likely to retain observable African traits than those that came earlier. For example, late-arriving Yoruba slaves reinvented the cult of Orissas in Trinidad and Bahia in Brazil. Fon traditions of voodoo were consolidated in Haiti. The Abakuá masquerade of Cuba is akin to the Èkpe masquerade of the Èfik and Ejaghám. See Bettelheim, “Negotiations of Power in Carnival,” 66–75; and Miller, “Cuban Abakuá,” 23–58.


66 See Schmalenbach, ed., *African Art from the Barbier-Mueller Collection*, 76–77; and Newton, *Sculpture*, 72. The authors explain that the masks are named Sira kono or Mpie. When they were not worn, the masks were sometimes kept outside for public viewing.


68 Annotations of the masks at the Montclair Art Museum, New Jersey, state that Tji Wara society members use a headdress depicted in the form of an antelope, the mythical being who taught men how to farm. The word *tji* means “work” and *wara* means “animal,” thus “working animal.” See also Sims, *Anxious Objects*, 83.

69 As annotated at the Cleveland Museum of Art, 2002; and Vrije University Brussels (VUB) consolidated annotations on African masks.

70 Detailed scholarly information can be found in the chapter on the Tusya in Roy, *Art of the Upper Volta Rivers*, 363. Here one will find a sample of the mask.


72 See for instance McCall, *Dancing Histories*, 93–96, 124.


74 Igwebe, *Original History of Arondizuogu*, 63–64.

75 See Oriji, “Oracular Trade,” 45.

76 For the Ògàràchì masquerade of the Unmuezearoli of Onitsha, see Ugonna, “Ezeigboezue,” 28; Nicholls, “Igbo Influences,” 234–37.


78 Scott, *Tom Cringle’s Log*, 2.41.
Notes

79 Hinckley, To Dance the Spirit.
80 Simmons, “Depiction of Gangosa on Efik-Ibibio Masks,” 17–20. Gangosa is a dangerous ulcerative illness that attacks the soft and hard palates, spreading to the nostrils and outward to the other parts of the face. It is essentially a manifestation of yaws.
82 During my fieldwork among the Achi Mbieri community in 2007 and 2008, it was disclosed that initially Okoroshá masquerade festivals occur when the people had completed the farming season and are now resting from their labors. This was to get the people occupied to avoid being taken by social vices. Field work, “Okoroshá and Nkwá Love Dance among the Achi Mbieri Community,” December 28–30, 2007; and Ezeowu Ozzy, interview, Achi, Mbieri, December 24, 2008; and Robert Opara, interview, Achi, Mbieri, December 25, 2008.
83 Harris, Abiodun, Poyner, Cole, and Visona, History of Art in Africa, 292.
84 Imperato, “Ibo, Ibibio, and Ogoni Masks,” 76.
85 Aniakor, “Household Objects and Igbo Space,” in eds., Arnold e, Geary, and Hardin, African Material Culture, 229; and Imperato, “Ibo, Ibibio, and Ogoni Masks,” 76.
86 Boston, “Some Northern Ibo Masquerades,” 54–65; and Imperato, “Ibo, Ibibio, and Ogoni Masks,” 76.
87 Ugonna, “Ezeigboezue,” 23.
88 Nicholls, “Igbo Influences,” 234–37. The various riverine communities were the first to encounter the White man in the coastal cities. See Anderson and Peck, “Ways of the Rivers,” 12–25, 93; and Imperato, “Ibo, Ibibio, and Ogoni Masks,” 76.
91 The Ubomiri believe that if the Kéléké mask falls from the stilts, the performer will die on the spot. For more reading on the Chákábá, see Asante, ed., African Dance.
93 See Willard, Mokolution.
95 See Sandoval, Treatise on Slavery, 47; Pratten, Man-Leopold Murders, 53.
96 Oldendorp, History of the Missions; Pratten, Man-Leopold Murders, 53.
97 Udo, Who Are the Ibibios? 2. See also Northrup, “Precolonial References to the Annang Ibibio,” 1–5.
98 For the report on the Igbo, see Day, Five Years Residence in the West Indies, 53; for the Mandinka, see Young, Tour through the Several Islands, 275.
99 Young, Tour through the Several Islands, 258. See also Nicholls, “Mocko Jumbic,” 48–61.


See Young, *Tour through the Several Islands*; and Day, *Five Years’ Residence in the West Indies*. It is of interest that a 1919 photograph of a Mocko Jumbie wearing a suit with bold vertical stripes in Port of Spain, Trinidad, appears in Nunley and Bettelheim, *Caribbean Festival Arts*, 92.

See Nicholls, “Igbo Influences,” 238–39. According to Nicholls, stilts are not unique to the Caribbean or Africa. Shepherds in France and hop twiners in Britain wore them, and stilt walkers also appeared in European circuses; Nicholls, “Mocko Jumbie,” 58.

As with “De Jumbee” in the New World, see Day’s 1852 report for instance. Day, *Five Years’ Residence in the West Indies*.

For an excellent study on the Ekpo, see Offiong, “Functions of the Ekpo Society,” 77–92. See also Akpan, “Role of Secret Societies in Ibibioland.”

Personal communication and real-time observation of the Nkwá Love festivities in Achi Mbieri, December 28, 2008.

Visona et al., *History of Art in Africa*, 290.


Alford, *Hobby Horse*, 120.


There are also instances where other lower-grade masquerades try to intimidate the onlookers: “the fierce characters had ropes or chains around their waists which were held by burly attendants to prevent them from attacking the crowd”; see Jones, *Art of Eastern Nigeria*, 60.


For an erudite discussion on this, see Anthony, *Parade of the Carnivals of Trinidad*. See also Benitez-Rojo, *Repeating Island*; and Nunley and Bettelheim, *Caribbean Festival Arts*. 
122 Jackson and Mosadomi, “Cultural Continuities,” 147.
123 Flake, New Orleans, 125.

Chapter 6

1 It must be noted that Africa was one of the earliest cradles of Christianity. The early Christians lived in Alexandria, Egypt, from about 60 CE and played a central role in the early growth of Christianity. It was from Alexandria that Christianity came to the Axumite Empire. Jennifer Woodruff Tait nailed home that fact when she stated, “Africa is the home of many Christian ‘firsts.’” Tait, “Christianity in Early Africa,” 1. See also Decret, Early Christianity in North Africa.
2 Habermas, Philosophical Discourse of Modernity.
4 Fingesi, Official Document for Festac 77 No. CS/2.
5 Cohen, Masquerade Politics, 5.
6 Ibid., 6.
7 Herodotus, Histories of Herodotus.
8 Africanus, Geographical Historie of Africa.
9 Iliffe, Africans, 11.
10 However, the injunction on pilgrimage is conditional on the physical and financial ability of the believer to make the journey usually observed in the twelfth month of the lunar calendar.
13 Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, 146.
14 Ibid, 147.
15 See, for instance, Moulicras, Une tribu zénète anti-musulmane, 102.
16 For details of this account, see the account of Ibn Battuta who visited the Mali Empire in the fourteenth century. Hamdun and King, Ibn Battuta in Black Africa, 27, 35.
17 See Battuta, Travels in Asia and Africa; Khaldūn, Muqaddimah.
18 See Njoku, Culture and Customs of Morocco, 132.
19 See for instance Monts, “Islam, Music, and Religious Change in Liberia.”
20 Hacket, Art and Religion in Africa, 201.
21 Levtzion and Hopkins, eds., Corpus of Early Arabic Sources.
23 Conrad, Great Empires of the Past, 80. See also 84, 89, and 94.
25 Conrad, Great Empires of the Past, 89.
26 Achebe, Female King of Colonial Nigeria, 172–92.
27 See for instance Ekechi, Missionary Enterprise and Rivalry; and Anyandele, Missionary Impact.
28 Achebe mentioned the Otákágu/Christian encounter in his fictional novel, but the account is a true example of the fact. See Achebe’s Arrow of God. See also Obiechina, Culture, Tradition, and Society, 58.

29 Udoye, Resolving the Prevailing Conflict, 103–4; Achebe, Things Fall Apart, 132; Ogbechie, Ben Enwoonwu, 113.

30 Robert Hinton, Slave Narratives, 438.

31 Ortiz, “Afro-Cuban Festival ‘Day of the Kings,’” in Bettelheim, ed., Cuban Festivals, 1, 21.

32 Tuckerman, Letter Respecting Santa Cruz, 25; See also Nicholls, Old-Time Masquerading, 169.

33 Dirks, Black Saturnalia, ix.

34 Ibid., 189.

35 Long, History of Jamaica, 424.

36 Young, Tour through the Several Islands, 259.

37 Ibid., 22.

38 Breen, Saint Lucia.

39 Isichei, Igbo People, 95; and Dike, Trade and Politics, 29–30.

40 N. C. Ejituwu, an Andoni indigene and university history professor, provided information about the Andoni people at the conference: Nineteenth-Century Post-Abolition Commerce and the Societies of Lower Niger River Basin (Nigeria), held at Imo State University, Owerri, Nigeria, June 11–12, 2004.

41 NNAE, CALPROF. CP2061/2/2/1/1952. Efik, Egbo (Ekpe) secret society, Calabar 1918–41.

42 Ikime, Fall of Nigeria, 18. See also Boahen and Webster, Revolutionary Years, 189–92.


45 Horton, “Ordeal,” 180. Although the Kálábári highly admired wealth and power, the culture insisted that the qualities embodied in âsá—youthfulness and flamboyance—should never be lost in the hunt for wealth. The society scorned misers and individuals who eschewed the chasing and courtship of women, fine clothes, good food, dancing, conviviality, and other luxuries for the pursuit of money and power. In other words, there was a social expectation that a man should always live with a certain style of affluence, grace, and decorum (or bu nimi).

46 NAK, FO 313/1. Huntley to Craig, March 27, 1837.

47 Details of these conflicts over trade and power are documented in NNAE, Cons. 2. King Pepple’s Correspondences 1847–1848; NNAE. Cons. 14. Manumission Papers 1856–1878.

48 In my recent studies, I have reiterated that social change is a complex topic that must be approached with caution. See for instance Njoku, “Influence of the Family on the Rise of Igbo State Unionism,” in Falola and Salm, eds., Urbanization and African

49 Dike and Ekejiuba, Aro of South-Eastern, 287.


52 See Tangri, Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa, 4–9.


54 See Njoku, “Rise of Igbo State Unionism,” 389; Otuka, “Calling on All Ibos”; Obi, “Address to the Mammoth Assembly”; Ibo State Union, “Ibo Day Celebration and Civic Reception.”

55 See Afagbo, Ropes of Sand, 344–45; and Isichei, History of Ibo People, 205.


64 Palmer, Cultures of Darkness, 173, 180.

65 Habermas, Philosophical Discourse of Modernity.


67 Johnson, “How Masquerade Quoted the Bible,” “Masquerades Invade Church,” and Ojomeyda, “Pandemonium as Muslims, Masquerades Lock Horns in Ikun-Etiti.”


69 John Nweke, personal correspondence, July 2, 2013. According to Nweke, some
of the young people and women that supported the “White man and his church in the conflict were sanctioned with exile and their family lands auctioned off. They cannot come back wherever they are today.”


71 Achebe, Things Fall Apart160.

72 For a pictorial study on the alien influence on the transformation of African art, see Beier, Art in Nigeria, esp. 14–16.

73 Rachewiltz, Introduction to African Art, 137, has made a similar comment. The author stressed the increasing influence of African art forms on the European or Western counterpart since the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

74 For a detailed read, see Pur, “Canonized Hybridities” in Caribbean Romances, ed. Edmondson, 12–38. See also Stolzoff, Wake the Town and Tell the People, 240–46. For a theoretical understanding of a globalizing dimension, see Wolf, Europe and the People Without History.

75 Nunley and Bettelheim, Caribbean Festival Arts, 19.


78 Fongué, “Market for Works of Art,” 1320–43. See also Throsby, Economics and Culture, esp. 111–36; and Trowell and Nevermann, Africa and Oceanic Art, 6–19.

Chapter 7

1 Plato, Republic, 73.

2 Perhaps except for ballet, which has European origins, every other music genre can be traced back to Africa.

3 Along this line of argument, see Fanon, Wretched of the Earth.

4 Plato, Republic, 93. See Plato, Republic of Plato, trans., 225.

5 For analysis on the role of music in the civil rights movement of the 1940s to 1960s, see Cobb, Most Southern Place on Earth; Gitlin, The Sixties; DeKoven, The Sixties and the Emergence of the Postmodern; Clayson, Beat Merchants.


7 Aristotle, Poetics, 5b.

8 Aristotle, Politics, 117.

9 Equiano, Interesting Narrative, 4–5.


13 Anderson, Beyond Ontological Blackness, 37, 89.
Notes

14 For comparison, see the section on the modern episteme in Foucault’s *Order of Things*.
16 Niani, *Sundiata*.
17 The Fodéba Keita’s Ballets Africains is a national dance company or troupe based in Conakry, the capital city of Guinea. In the context of African nationalist movements, Guinea, which gained independence in 1958, mobilized the group, first as a poetry group and then gradually a drumming, storytelling, singing, and dancing theater group. See Touré, *L’Afrique et la Révolution*. For a taste of this group’s music, see their recording of 1960, “Les Ballets Africains De Keita Fodeba Vol. 2,” produced by Disques Vogue—LDM. Track 2—“Soundiata Lounge A L’Emperor Du Manding,” is a vintage example of the historical works.
26 Achi, “Masquerade and Love Dance.”
28 Bilby, *Caribbean as a Musical Region*, 201.
35 See Asigbo, “Re-Inventing the Wisdom of the Ancients,” in *Bountiful Harvest*, eds., Chiegboka, Okodo, and Umeanoluue, 690.
37 Ibid., 13.
38 Williams, *Tour Through the Island*.
40 Motta, “Bamboula to Soul.”
43 See Mbaegbu, “Effective Power of Music.”
47 See the excellent work of McCall, *Dancing Histories*, 53–54. For a graphic illustration of this in the 1930s, see MAA, N.13025.GIJ. “Boys Masquerade (Ibibio style mask), Abiriba Cross River, Southeastern Nigeria” by G. I. Jones Photographic Archive, 1932–1939.
52 NNAE, AWDIST, AW80.2/1/56, Dances Harmful or Otherwise, report on 1919–1920.
54 Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams*, 76.
56 Ashliman, *Folk and Fairy Tales*, 139. This is an excellent resource material for researching folk and fairy tales.
57 Ibid., 146.
59 Ibid., 26–27.
60 Ibid., 22.
61 See Nicholls, “Igbo Influences,” 245.
65 King George III was popularly known as “Farmer George” by satirists. Initially, this was to ridicule his interest in things considered by his critics as mundane rather than those befitting to a king, such as politics. Over time, however, more appreciative Britons contrasted his homely thrift with his son’s grandiosity to portray him as a man of the people.
Notes

71 Equiano, Interesting Narratives, 209.
72 Hall, In Miserable Slavery, 12.
73 Lomax and Lomax, “Music for Work and Play.”
74 Carriacou Calaloo, recorded by Alan Lomax. Nicholls, “Igbo Influences,” 233; and Nicholls, Old-Time Masquerading, 141.
75 Ndukaihe, Achievement as Value in Igbo, 229.
76 NNAE, No. G. 202/6, W. Buchanan Smith Secretary of Southern Provinces to the Anthropology Office, Enugu, February 5, 1926.
77 NNAE, Memorandum dated November 9, 1925 from the Senior Resident of Onitsha Province to the District Officer (DO), Awka, O.P.391/1925. See also Memorandum No. O.P.391/1925, Anti-Government Propaganda in Abakiliki, March 5, 1925.
80 Ndukaihe, Achievement as a Value in Igbo, 229.
81 Congo Square was initially a ceremonial ground of the Oumas Indians, located on the same grounds where we have Beauregard Square today.
82 LCCN, 83045372, Daily Picayune, Louisiana, October 12, 1879. Brown (1860) listed Congo Square ethnic groups as “Kraels [Creoles], Minahs, Congos and Mandringas, Gangas, Hiboas, and Fulas.” This list included savannah groups, Mandinkas and Fulani (Mandringas and Fulas) and forest groups, Kongos and Igbos (Hiboas).
84 Rouse, Rise and Decline of the People, 6.
85 Kelly, Voyage to Jamaica, 21.
86 Agordah, African Music, 58.
88 See the extensive work of Epstein, Sinful Tunes and Spirituals, 25–57; and Handler and Frisbie, “Aspects of Slave Life,” 18.
89 Crowley, “Music and Migrations,” 7–8; Thompson, “Poor Man’s Bass Fiddle,” 11–12; and Berliner, Soul of Mbira, 68–69.
91 Ukaegbu, “Composite Scene,” 160.
Chapter 8

1 Bettelheim, “Negotiations of Power in Carnival,” 66–75, 91–92. Bettelheim’s nuanced essay allows us to see that historically, the carnival has been cast in a variety of ways.

2 Obiechina, “Nchetaka,” 25.


5 Liverpool, “Origins of Rituals and Customs,” 231. For a similar comment, see Cowley, Carnival, Canboulay and Calypso, 21; Cudjoe, Beyond Boundaries, 236; Trinidad Palladium, February 4, 1880; and Fair Play and Trinidad News, March 6, 1879.


7 Example of this vicious campaign is recorded by Hill, “The Masquerade.” In this poetic treaties, Hill called masqueraders “fools” and their acts “folly.”

8 One may best understand this idea of narrative engagée as a form of “literary commitment” to a cause. In the case of the enslaved people, it was a struggle against
oppression, exploitation, and marginalization. It was a quest for freedom in the face of the worst form of indignity and exploitation.

10 Hall, Africans in Colonial Louisiana, 157, 187.
11 Courlander in Drum and the Hoe, 48, 84–87, and 328, has provided insights into how a number of chants suggesting Igbo syntax calling out Igbo deities and spirits were appropriated as specialized language skills. See Chambers, Igbo Diaspora in the Era of the Slave Trade, 11–13, and also “Igbo Diaspora,” in Igbo in the Atlantic World, eds. Falola and Njoku, 157. For a cursory preview of Yoruba gods in Cuban literature, see Lima, “Orisha Chango,” 33–42.
14 Port of Spain Gazette, September 12, 1853. See also Cowley, Carnival, Canboulay and Calypso, 49.
16 Hensbrock, Political Discourses in African Thought, 13–14.
19 LaPalombara, “Distribution,” in Crises and Sequences, eds. Binder and Palombara, 241–73. In the same light, Lipset in The First New Nation, 46, argues that “to a considerable degree the leaders seek development as part of their more general effort to overcome feelings of national inferiority, particularly vis-a-vis the former metropolitan ruler.”
20 This has been the central argument of Anderson’s Imagined Community 187–206. For pertinent discussions, see chapter 11 on “Memory and Forgetting.”
21 Schiff, “Function of Narrative,” 33–47.
22 Ibid., 33. See also Popova, Stories, Meaning, and Experience, 86–87.
23 Kirango has three ethnic-based youth associations (kamalen ton)—the Sòmonò, the Boso (Bozo), and the Bámáná—each group performing a separate puppet masquerade.
24 Soleillet’s description is found in his journal, Voyages et Découvertes, 170.
25 One legend holds that Toboji Centa, a Boso fisherman, acquired the masquerade tradition from a jinni (a supernatural creature in Islamic theology) during a journey through the forest in the remote past. From Toboji’s village, the legend claims, other fishing villages along the river adopted the masquerade, and by the late nineteenth century, local farmers identified themselves with the festival.
26 Arnoldi, Playing with Time, 34–36.
27 In and around Kirango the anglers call their masquerade do bo (gundo bo), which means “the secrets come forth.” The farmers named theirs sogo bo, or “the bush animals come forth.” Kirango Sòmonò elders recalled that as young men they usually prepared the masquerades outside the village in a solitary area on the bank of the Niger River, and then brought them into the village by boat on the day of the event.
29 Achebe, *Anthills of the Savannah*, 124. In line with Achebe’s celebrated line, the Society of Nigerian Artists recently celebrated its jubilee at the University of Nigeria Nsukka with the theme *Nkoli Ka*, which means, “recalling in greatest.”

30 *Trinidad Sentinel*, February 23, 1860.

31 Warner-Lewis, “Rebels, Tyrants and Saviours,” 88. According to Warner-Lewis, the Devil is portrayed by several masked characters. “Lucifer” wears a red costume and has huge, pointed ears, black beetling eyebrows, a hooked nose, and wings. He carries a large open book in one hand and mimes writing the names of the dead with the other hand. “Princes of Hell” wear smaller costumes of a similar pattern. “The Dragon” is a large, scaly, green beast with lolling red tongue. See also Procope, “Dragon Band or Devil Band,” 275–80; and Hill, *Trinidad Carnival*, 88–90.

32 Scher, “Devil and the Bed-Wetter,” 107–9. As Scher further observes: “Even the casual observer in a country like Trinidad and Tobago cannot help but notice the public service announcements produced each year during key tourist periods entreatig locals to treat visitors well. Each member of the nation becomes an ambassador of goodwill and as such is implicitly charged with carrying on an on-going performance of a nationally sanctioned self.”


34 Gomez, *Reversing Sail*.

35 For details, see National Institute for Cultural Orientation (NICO) Abuja, Nigeria; *Vanguard*, “2016 Calabar Carnival”; *Vanguard*, “Calabar Carnivals Is a Melting-Pot of African Hospitality”; and *Vanguard*, “Calabar Carnivals.”


41 Irobi “What They Came With,” 897; Gottchild, *Black Dancing Body*, 15.


46 Irobi, “What They Came With,” 897.

47 I have watched this masquerade since the 1970s and would not have gained this insight but for Robert Opara, Okoroshá Dancer, interview, December 25, 2008.


49 Besides Labat and Saint-Méry’s *Description Topographique*, which respectively provide accounts from Martinique and Haiti, Kalenda appeared in in 1881 newspaper
article from Port of Spain, Trinidad, on the pre-emancipation Carnival of the 1830s. See Cowley, “Sample of the Complex Development,” 8–9, 17. According to Crowley, Kalenda was mentioned in a 1933 account from Saint Croix (U.S. Virgin Islands). See also Dunham, “Dances of Haiti,” 6–7. The anthropologist observed a Kalenda in Trinidad in 1932, describing it as similar to Moreau de Saint-Méry’s graceful couple dance. Dances called Old Kalenda and Woman Kalenda are part of Carriacou’s contemporary Big Drum ceremony. See McDaniel, “Concept of Nation in the Big Drum,” in *Musical Repercussions of 1492*, ed. Robertson, 397. In the United States, Pratz in his *History of Louisiana*, mentioned Kalenda dances in Louisiana.