

# THE ROLE OF MUSIC IN THE LIFE OF THE NORTH AMERICAN SLAVE

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## Introduction

The difficult life that slaves were forced to live in the Antebellum South has been well documented. Perhaps less well known, however, is the fact that during that time music had a profound influence on the lives of those slaves. In an analysis of slave music and the intent of their songs, the importance of music in slave life becomes evident. Many of the songs that slaves sang were religious in nature. This helped the slaves to connect with God and showed their eager anticipation of the next life. Slaves also sang while they worked. There were countless work songs that could be sung to marching or rowing, that helped slaves to continue working even when they were tired. Some of the slaves' songs were about everyday issues and frustrations. The slaves discussed desires, loves, and the selfishness of their masters. Sometimes the slaves sang only for celebration and fun. Finally, both instrumental and vocal music provided many advantages for slaves. Those who could sing well or play a musical instrument received many benefits for their talents, and others benefited simply by dancing to the music. These different types of slave

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music combined played an important role in many aspects of slaves' lives, while at the same time revealing the thoughts and feelings of the slaves.

## Religion

Many of the songs sung by the slaves reflected their religious beliefs. These songs, called spirituals, showed the slaves' faith in God and their eagerness to repent. They "were a stimulus to courage and a tie to heaven."<sup>1</sup> Many spirituals embodied themes promoting faith, love, humility, and salvation.<sup>2</sup> One spiritual, "Keep Me From Sinking Down," says "I'll bless the Lord, I'm going to die...I'm going to Judgment bye and bye."<sup>3</sup> The lyrics clearly show the slaves' focus on the final judgment at death. The slaves were very open to God and willing to accept His help in this life as well. Another spiritual says, "Hist the windah let the dove come in."<sup>4</sup> This means that the slaves should open themselves to God and accept Him into their lives. The slaves' dependence on God is further explained in the words of another song, "My God is a rock in a weary land, shelter in a time of storm."<sup>5</sup> This depicts the slaves' reliance on God and the faith they had in Him. The slaves were eager for God and emphasized salvation. The lyrics "Ah'm so glad I got my ticket in my hand" show that salvation in death was important for the slaves.<sup>6</sup> They used religious songs to emphasize the importance of repentance in their lives. For those who had sinned, slaves sang, "O poo' sinner won't you git down ona y'r knees."<sup>7</sup> Clearly, the slaves emphasized repentance as an important part of their religion. They often incorporated songs about God and repentance into their everyday lives and work.

Many of the spirituals sung by the slaves were used on a daily basis. One observer noted that slaves much preferred their spirituals to hymns sung in church.<sup>8</sup> Although there were many Biblical references used in lyrics, the songs were not always sung for religious purposes.<sup>9</sup> "There were spirituals for singing in the worship service, for singing while 'jes' sittin' around, and for

singing to accompany the shout [song].”<sup>10</sup> Slaves sang spirituals while they worked so that the overseers would know the location of the slaves and to inform other slaves of their own affairs.<sup>11</sup> The spirituals sung by the slaves in the fields took many different forms. Some songs were simple short-phrase, call-and-response spirituals.<sup>12</sup> One call-and-response spiritual, “What You Going t’Do When the Lamp Burns Down,” alternates phrases sung by a leader and the chorus:

(leader) Oh, poor sinner,  
 (chorus) Now is your time,  
 (leader) Oh, poor sinner,  
 (chorus) Now is your time,  
 (leader) Oh, poor sinner,  
 (chorus) Now is your time,  
 What you going to do  
 When your lamp burns down?<sup>13</sup>

Other spirituals, for example “Lord, Until I Reach My Home,” employ a more traditional structure, placing greater emphasis on the chorus with longer phrases:

(chorus) Until I reach my home,  
 Until I reach my home,  
 I never ’spect to give the journey over,  
 Until I reach my home.  
 (Repeat)  
 (leader) Old Satan’s mighty busy,  
 He follows me night and day,  
 And ev’ry time I go to pray,  
 I find him in my way.  
 (Repeat the chorus)<sup>14</sup>

Finally, a third type of spiritual includes both short-phrase call-and-response with a traditional choral refrain.<sup>15</sup>

(leader) I am seeking for a city  
 (chorus) Hallelujah

I am seeking for a city

Hallelujah.

(leader) For a city into the heaven

(chorus) Hallelujah.

For a city into the heaven, Hallelujah.

Lord, I don't feel noways tired,

Oh, glory, Hallelujah;

I hope to shout glory when this world is on fire,

Oh, glory, Hallelujah.<sup>16</sup>

Many of the spirituals were sung repetitively for hours.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, different types of spirituals served various functions for working slaves.

Although the slaves sang religious songs frequently during the day, they had to be careful that the lyrics did not make their masters suspicious. Sometimes slaves would be put in jail if their masters thought that they were singing about escaping. For example, slaves were arrested for singing "We'll soon be free, when de Lord will call us home."<sup>18</sup> Masters thought that slaves were symbolically talking about being freed by the Yankees.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, on some plantations, slaves wanting to sing or pray had to hide in the woods.<sup>20</sup> Otherwise, "they were whipped all the way home."<sup>21</sup> To avoid punishment slaves often used symbolic lyrics. As one historian explains, frequently:

Canaan may have depicted a Heaven, a better life to the north, or freedom after Emancipation. 'Home' could have meant either Heaven or Africa. In any case, the slaves were eventually forced to resort to the use of words and actions of a significance contrary to that outwardly spoken or suggested... Some ambiguity or dual meaning could have pointed to 'Jesus' or 'Savior' as either the God of Christianity, Ntoa, the supernatural spirits or ancestors, or to a Harriet Tubman of the Underground Railroad.<sup>22</sup>

Accordingly, religious songs were sung by slaves on an everyday basis, and the slaves became experts at concealing the underlying meanings in many spirituals.

## Work Songs

In addition to religious songs, there were a great many work songs that slaves sang to accompany various types of labor. Because the work song had been a part of African culture before blacks came to America, it was the first type of music sung by the slaves in America.<sup>23</sup> Work songs that were originally African later evolved into songs with English lyrics, though the African music often remained.<sup>24</sup> The lyrics of such work songs dealt with railroad building, wood chopping, hauling bales, and pulling barges.<sup>25</sup> These work songs played a vital role in the daily lives of the slaves.

Many of the slaves' secular songs "served as rhythmic accompaniments to labor."<sup>26</sup> One type of work that lent itself to singing was corn-shucking. In many areas of the southern United States, there was a corn-shucking harvest ceremony, which was considered a holiday for the slaves.<sup>27</sup> Hundreds of slaves from many neighboring plantations came together and formed two teams, each given a pile of corn to shuck. The teams then competed to see which could shuck their pile of corn the fastest. Afterwards, the planters held a great feast for all the slaves. At these corn-shucking festivals, usually held at night, music played a very important role. "On the appointed night, voices were heard singing from afar, first from one direction and then another, heralding the arrival of groups of slaves from the various plantations."<sup>28</sup> The slaves would sing, "You gwine, ain't you gwine, / Ain't you gwine to the shuckin' of the corn?"<sup>29</sup> Other slaves would sing about the food they would eat at the feast. "I know dat supper will be big, / Shuck dat corn before you eat. / I think I smell a fine roast pig, / Shuck dat corn before you eat."<sup>30</sup> Once all the slaves had arrived and the teams had been established, each team appointed a captain who served as a song leader. The captains climbed to the top of their side of the pile and encouraged their teams to shuck quickly by calling out the first lines of songs to which their followers would respond vocally.<sup>31</sup> After the contest and feast, the fiddler was called and everyone would dance for hours. Near dawn

the slaves would begin to disband and each gang of men left, singing all the way home, "Fare you well, fare you well. / Weell ho. Weell ho. / Fare you well, young ladies all. / Weell ho. Weell ho."<sup>32</sup> The corn-shucking festival showed the slaves' ability to combine work and music to have a good time.

However, there were many other types of work songs beyond those of the corn-shucking festival. The songs of the boatmen were just as common, if not more common, than the corn songs.<sup>33</sup> The songs of the deck hands, rowers, and steamboat men were very impressive. These songs were call-and-response and sometimes included shout songs from religious meetings.<sup>34</sup> Singing was perhaps more common among boatmen than among any other slaves.<sup>35</sup> One song, "Sundown Below" was a way for boatmen to communicate with their captain. When it got too dark to row, the men sang, "Sun is down an't mus' go."<sup>36</sup> This way the captain would know that it was time to stop for the night. Another type of work song was the field holler. These were short call-and-response songs expressing the slaves' feelings about their life and work.<sup>37</sup> They were sung by the slaves working in the fields under the hot sun. Because plantation owners usually did not allow the slaves to mingle with friends on nearby plantations, the men and women would use the field hollers to stay in contact with each other by singing songs together across the fields.<sup>38</sup> Through the years many observers have noted the importance of call-and-response singing to slave life.<sup>39</sup> During the Civil War, some black slaves enlisted and formed regiments. "Black soldiers brought to army life their love of music."<sup>40</sup> Slave songs had a good beat for marching, and so they were used frequently in the army.<sup>41</sup> Whether in the plantation fields or the fields of battle, many of the secular songs of the slaves were sung because they were good accompaniments for the rhythms of labor.

In addition to serving as rhythmic accompaniments, the slaves' work songs provided encouragement. The music functioned as a method of alleviating monotony and encouraged the slaves in their work. Furthermore, it lightened the daily burdens of the slaves and gave them an outlet to express their feelings and

an opportunity to receive solace. Planters understood this and took advantage of the slaves' love of singing. They realized that the role of the song leader was an important one. He encouraged the slaves to work their hardest. A song leader was necessary to keep the men in a working spirit; and therefore, he had to understand the task at hand and the men with whom he was working. Sometimes the song leaders would be excused from labor so that they could keep the others singing. A good song leader could sense which song was appropriate for any given time. Often the leaders were given rewards and incentives for leading the slaves in song.<sup>42</sup> One song, "Call Me Hangin' Johnny," is an example of the types of songs sung to work. It says, "O we'll heave an' haul together...we heave an' haul forever."<sup>43</sup> This song demonstrates the communal feeling that the slaves created with their singing and demonstrates the encouragement that the work songs produced. However, not all work songs were sung by a large group of slaves. Lone workers also had a type of song for mending fences, building barns, and cooking meals. Because the lone workers did not have to coordinate their work with others, the songs tended to be more personal.<sup>44</sup> These individual work songs often contained more dramatic and personal lyrics. Thus, very often, slaves sang while working, to provide either a good beat for their work or encouragement during the exhausting labor.

### Everyday Issues and Frustrations

Other songs sung at work were not necessarily directly connected to work. Many of the songs that slaves sang while they were working dealt with everyday issues and frustrations in their lives. Some of these songs served as either a means of communication or a way for slaves to complain about difficulties in their lives. Slaves 'communicated' with masters to demand payment. When slaves saw their master they would sing, "Pay me or go to jail."<sup>45</sup> In this way, the slaves would demand their wages and food from masters. Slaves also sang to communicate with others. Sometimes a song would signify "a call for water, food, or help, a call to let

others know where he or she was working, or simply a cry of loneliness, sorrow, or happiness."<sup>46</sup> Often these songs were more of a cry than a song.<sup>47</sup> Slaves' songs were a means of complaining about difficulties. Slaves would sing about unrequited love or disappointments in courtship.<sup>48</sup> One song laments, "Farewell, farewell, sweet Mary; / I'm ruined forever / By lovin' of you."<sup>49</sup>

More commonly, slaves sang about being beaten and having to serve their masters constantly. Slaves' attitude toward work often reflected how they were treated by their master.<sup>50</sup> One song, "Five Fingers in the Boil," discussed the frustration of picking cotton. Masters commonly required their slaves to pick 100 pounds of cotton a day. Sometimes the cotton was rotten, and then slaves would be beaten for not picking the proper amount. The song declares "Black man beat me—white man cheat me," demonstrating the slaves' frustration at being punished.<sup>51</sup> Often songs discussed the topics slaves most hated, including everything from the mistress demanding a job be done at the end of the day to being beaten for not collecting enough cotton.<sup>52</sup> Slaves also complained about doing all the work but getting little profit. Sometimes slaves would criticize their masters for the way they kept the best food and clothing for themselves, while leaving little for the workers.<sup>53</sup> One song said "We skim de pot, Dey give us de liquor, And say dat's good enough for nigger."<sup>54</sup> This song shows the slaves' frustrations at not being paid for their work. Finally, slaves would discuss losing their parents to slavery. Songs frequently recounted tales of fathers and mothers being sold away from their children.<sup>55</sup> Thus, slaves used music to communicate and complain about their lives and work.

Another common theme in slave songs was escape. Some songs were sung to let slaves know when an escape was being planned, and they alerted them to when a conductor was coming to lead them to freedom.<sup>56</sup> For example, Harriet Tubman always sang a certain song when she was near. It says, "Dark and thorny is de pathway / Where de pilgrim makes his ways; / But beyond dis vale of sorrow / Lie de fields of endless days."<sup>57</sup> Sometimes traditional songs were adapted with parody verses to publicize the

meeting places and departure dates.<sup>58</sup> Other songs, such as “Follow the Drinkin’ Gourd” served as maps telling slaves which way to go to freedom.<sup>59</sup> Songs also served as a means to encourage slaves to escape. One such song was “Many Thousand Go” in which slaves declare, “No more peck o’ corn for me.”<sup>60</sup> This refers to the slaves’ rations and shows that they were eager for a better life. Songs such as these were often sung in secret so that the plans of escape would not be detected.<sup>61</sup> “Because of their sense of oppression, the blacks occasionally made folk heroes of the rebellious slaves.”<sup>62</sup> Some songs recounted the escapes of courageous slaves. These gave other slaves encouragement. Thus, slaves often sang about the idea of escape, especially when hopes of escape were near.

Although many slaves dreamed of escape, it was not a reality for all. Therefore, many songs focused on everyday struggles and events. Many slaves were very interested in reading and writing and longed to be educated. The many songs about reading and writing in the slave communities are proof that they longed for these skills. The slaves’ attitude about education was reflected in their spirituals. Slaves longed for a chance for personal expansion and a new way in which to thrive. Other songs recounted the slaves’ loves, work, and floggings, as well as their moods. Slaves used music as others used diaries, and recorded circumstances of their daily life in song. With music, slaves were able to enjoy their few pleasures, express their despair, and remain hopeful for the future. Slaves also employed metaphors and irony when discussing work, love, war, and celebration. When whites were not around the slaves would often drop these metaphors and speak more directly. In addition to recording daily events, slaves used songs to mock themselves and their masters. Often the boat songs used satire to discuss sweethearts, masters, and dreams. Slaves would discuss their hypocritical masters and the treatment they received sarcastically and with much satire.<sup>63</sup> For example, one song said “My old missus promise me/...When she die she set me free/...She live so long her head git bald/...She give up de idea of dyin’ a-tall.”<sup>64</sup> Daily life provided a lot of material for slave songs.

## Celebration and Fun

Although many of the slaves' songs were serious, some were just for fun. Play songs were inspired by comedy and recreation, instead of hard work and toil.<sup>65</sup> Slaves would get together and dance and sing for entertainment in their limited free time. A lot of this time came around holidays, when the slaves celebrated as their masters did. During holidays, playing music and dancing were very common.<sup>66</sup> The music for dancing was usually provided by a fiddler, and often everyone would join in by singing.<sup>67</sup> At dances the slaves would sing happy songs about less serious matters. For example, slaves sang "Go Roun' the Border Susie" which contains such lyrics as, "That turtle dove started, shoo down my little one / Shoo down my little one the long summer day."<sup>68</sup> Another play song commonly sung by slaves was "Little Sallie Walker." The song says, "Little Sallie Walker, / Sittin' in the saucer. / Rise, Sallie, rise, and / Wipe ya' weeping eyes..."<sup>69</sup> The dance that accompanied this song involved "a ring of players encircling a single person who acted out the words of the song, and who finally chose his successor by a properly directed 'shake'."<sup>70</sup> Music was clearly an important part of holiday celebrations.

Slaves also sang for simple entertainment. According to one slave, "slaves used dancing as a means of amusement, and many were very musical."<sup>71</sup> The songs sung for entertainment employed strong rhythmic patterns. Sometimes the rhythm was achieved by the clapping of hands.<sup>72</sup> This was often called patting, and the slaves would do it while singing and keeping time with their feet.<sup>73</sup> On most farms there was a juba, a person who carried out the beat and improvised words.<sup>74</sup> The juba usually sang while the majority of the slaves danced. A South Carolina poet, Sidney Lanier, noticed that the juba "often used 'quite complex successions of rhythm not hesitating to syncopate to change the rhythmic accent for a moment, or to indulge in other highly-specialized variations of the current rhythms'."<sup>75</sup> The adult slaves were not the only ones to sing for fun. The slave children would sing nonsensi-

cal songs for entertainment. The lyrics of the play songs reflected the carefree attitude of children at play.<sup>76</sup> One such song, "Ham Bone Ham Bone" declares, "Ham bone ham bone wha's you bin? / All roun' the worl' an' back agin."<sup>77</sup> Music indeed served as a way for slaves and their children to celebrate and to entertain themselves.

### The Slave Musician

It was very often beneficial for a slave to have musical talents. Those slaves who could sing received many benefits as a result of their talent. Often, slaves were comforted by their singing. The rhythm of the marching songs helped many exhausted slaves across the fields when they were too tired to do anything but sing.<sup>78</sup> Also, the music of religious ceremonies drove young and old into a religious fervor.<sup>79</sup> Music clearly served as a comfort for many slaves and inspired them to keep trying in the harshest of situations. This was evident to many slave masters and so it was quite common for slaves to be forced to sing and dance in many tragic situations.<sup>80</sup> Not only did singing serve as a solace for the slaves but sometimes they would also be given something for their talent. Frederick Douglass remembered that when he was a slave, he used to go to his mistress's window and sing. In return he would often be paid with food or clothes that slaves did not come across often.<sup>81</sup> So singing provided solace as well as occasional food and clothing for the slaves.

In addition to singing, a small number of slaves were able to play musical instruments. Slaves most commonly played the violin, and their skill gave them an advantage over other slaves. Solomon Northup, a former slave, was kidnapped into slavery as a young man. He had learned to play the violin, and it served him well in his time of bondage. He said, "Alas! Had it not been for my beloved violin, I scarcely can conceive how I could have endured the long years of bondage."<sup>82</sup> His violin became his companion, his source of profit, and his solace. He became very popular because

he was able to entertain people and to make some unlikely friends.<sup>83</sup> “A good violinist found that his fiddle gained him entry into places otherwise closed to slaves and exempted him of many a day of hard work in the fields.”<sup>84</sup> In addition to the violin, slaves have also been documented playing tambourine, chalumeau (an early clarinet), triangle, fife, and bass drum. Slave musicians played an important role in the social life of the white community. They frequently played in bands at the white folks’ balls and parties.<sup>85</sup> In return for entertaining their masters, slaves received not only days off from labor, but sometimes food and an extra pair of shoes.<sup>86</sup> Music was obviously a source of solace and profit for those who could sing or play an instrument.

## Conclusion

Music was very important to slaves. Their songs often reflected the slaves’ thoughts and feelings. Many of the slave songs dealt with religion and the slaves’ relationship with God. Other songs were sung while the slaves were working and had strong rhythms for marching and rowing. Slaves often sang about their desires or loves and about their cruel masters and escaping. For those slaves who could sing well or play an instrument, music served as a solace and a way to get extra food and clothes. Slaves also sang merely for fun and celebration; dancing to a song also provided entertainment. The music of the slaves was important to the evolution of American music. Two distinct and influential types of twentieth century popular music have their roots in the songs of the slaves. Blues was one of the major influences of rock and roll. Jazz continues to be popular in America today. Thus, the music of the slaves fostered the birth of new genres of music that function today in the same role as slave songs long ago: entertainment and solace.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Higginson, "Negro Spirituals," Atlantic Monthly (June 1867) [on-line magazine] <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~hyper/TWH/Higg.html> (1 December 2000) p. 25

<sup>2</sup> Tilford Brooks, America's Black Musical Heritage (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1984) p. 34

<sup>3</sup> "Keep Me From Sinking Down," In American Negro Songs ed. John W. Work (New York: Howell, Soskin and Co., 1940) p. 54

<sup>4</sup> "Narah, Hist the Windah," In Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands ed. Lydia Parrish (Hatboro: Folklore Associates, Inc., 1942) p. 134

<sup>5</sup> "My God is a Rock in a Weary Land," In Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Island p. 161

<sup>6</sup> "When I Rise Cryin' Holy," In Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands p. 148

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148

<sup>8</sup> Higginson, p. 25

<sup>9</sup> Hildred Roach, Black American Music, Past and Present (Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 1994) p. 23

<sup>10</sup> Eileen Southern, The Music of Black Americans, A History 3rd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1997) p. 181

<sup>11</sup> Roach, p. 23

<sup>12</sup> Brooks, p. 35

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36

<sup>17</sup> Higginson, p. 2

<sup>18</sup> Quoted in Higginson, p. 21

<sup>19</sup> Higginson, p. 21

<sup>20</sup> John J. Lovell, Jr., Black Song: The Forge and the Flame (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972) p. 183

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 183

<sup>22</sup> Roach, p. 25

<sup>23</sup> Brooks, p. 43

<sup>24</sup> Roach, p. 21

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20

<sup>26</sup> W. Blassingame, The Slave Community: Plantation We in the Antebellum South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979) p. 117

<sup>27</sup> Roger D. Abrahams, Singing the Master: The Emergence of African-American Culture in the Plantation South (New York: Penguin Books, 1992) p. 3

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 6

<sup>29</sup> Quoted in Abrahams, p. 7

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 7

<sup>31</sup> Abrahams, p. 11

<sup>32</sup> Quoted in Abrahams, p. 19

<sup>33</sup> Southern, p. 164

<sup>34</sup> Blassingame, p. 118

<sup>35</sup> Lovell, p. 161

<sup>36</sup> "Sundown Below," In Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Island, p. 221

<sup>37</sup> Blassingame, p. 122

<sup>38</sup> Brooks, p. 49

<sup>39</sup> Abrahams, p. 91

<sup>40</sup> Southern, p. 208

<sup>41</sup> Blassingame, pp. 7 and 15

<sup>42</sup> Blassingame, p. 126; Southern, p. 161; Brooks, p. 44

<sup>43</sup> "Call Me Hangin' Johnny," In Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Island p. 203

<sup>44</sup> Southern, p. 161

<sup>45</sup> "Pay Me My Money Down," In Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Island p. 208

<sup>46</sup> Southern, p. 157

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 157

<sup>48</sup> Blassingame, p. 125

<sup>49</sup> Quoted in Blassingame, p. 125

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 123

<sup>51</sup> "Five Fingers in the Boil," In Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Island p. 247

<sup>52</sup> Southern, p. 160

<sup>53</sup> Blassingame, p. 122

<sup>54</sup> Frederick Douglass, Life and Times of Frederick Douglass: his Early Life as a Slave, his Escape from Bondage, and his Complete History to the Present Time (Hartford, 1881) [on-line book] <http://docsouth.unc.edu/douglasslife/douglass.html>, p. 144

<sup>55</sup> Southern, p. 157

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 143

<sup>57</sup> Quoted in Southern, p. 144

<sup>58</sup> Southern, p. 144

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 144

<sup>60</sup> “Many Thousands Go,” In Slave Songs of the United States ed. William Francis Allen, et al., (1867, reprint New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1995) p. 48

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 48

<sup>62</sup> Blassingame, p. 116

<sup>63</sup> Blassingame, pp. 115-116, 119, 121; Lovell, pp. 167-168; Southern, pp. 156, 166

<sup>64</sup> Quoted in Blassingame, p. 121

<sup>65</sup> Roach, p. 20

<sup>66</sup> Douglass, p. 143

<sup>67</sup> Northup, p. 285

<sup>68</sup> “Go Roun’ the Border Susie,” In Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Island, p. 97

<sup>69</sup> Quoted in Roach, p. 20

<sup>70</sup> Roach, p. 20

<sup>71</sup> Northup, p. 216

<sup>72</sup> Blassingame, p. 125

<sup>73</sup> Northup, p. 219

<sup>74</sup> Douglass, p. 143

<sup>75</sup> Quoted in Blassingame, p. 125

<sup>76</sup> Roach, p. 21

<sup>77</sup> “Ham Bone Ham Bone,” In Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Island, p. 115

<sup>78</sup> Blassingame, pp. 126 and 127

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., pp. 126, 127

<sup>80</sup> Southern, p. 159

<sup>81</sup> Douglass, p. 61

<sup>82</sup> Solomon Northup, Twelve Years a Slave: Narrative of Solomon Northup, a Citizen of New-York, Kidnapped in Washington City in 1841, and Rescued in 1853 (Auburn, 1853) [on-line book] <http://docsouth.unc.edu/northup/northup.html> (1 December 2000) p. 196

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 217

<sup>84</sup> Southern, p. 176

<sup>85</sup> Brooks, p. 167

<sup>86</sup> Northup, p. 217

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