



The Manifestation of Slave Trauma in Lyrics: A Reading of Select Slave Songs

Mala Annamma Mathew*

Christ University, Bangalore, India

Corresponding Author: Mala Annamma Mathew, E-mail: malamathew92@gmail.com

ABSTRACT	
This research paper looks into the effect of slavery, as a traumatic communal experience, on music and lyrics. It focuses on the development of narratives out of the collective memory of trauma in the African-American community; which in turn worked first as a tool for freedom and evolved to function as cure and testimony. It addresses the issue of trauma being imbibed into a collective consciousness of a culture and its reflection in the narratives. The research paper looks at narratives used as escape slave codes and deconstructs them. While the primary text used to understand cultural trauma is the lyrics to the song "Strange Fruit" sung by Billie Holiday and written by Abel Meeropol. Trauma theories by Cathy Caruth, Jeffrey C. Alexander and Toni Morrison are used to understand how trauma is manifested in lyrics. The research paper will also look into the account of Billie Holiday to understand the development of Strange Fruit as an anthem and how she performed the song for racially integrated audiences when she felt that the song would receive its due.	

INTRODUCTION

Slavery is a system under which people are treated as possessions to be bought and sold and are forced to toil. Slaves can be restrained against their will from the time of their capture, acquisition or birth, and are deprived of the right to leave. The treatment of slaves in the United States, is one amongst the most inhumane and brutal treatment of a race in the history of the world. From the beginning, in terms of the way the tribes in Africa were attacked and captured, to how they were treated at the plantations. Slave ships were large cargo ships that were converted into slave ships for the transportation of slaves that were captured to the United States. The ships contained over 600 slaves, of which only 200 or so would survive the long journey. (Morgan 5-29) (Boston 2)

This research paper addresses the manifestation of trauma in the lyrics of slave songs during the earlier stages of slavery; and jazz and blues songs when recording of music was possible due to advance of technology. The concept of cultural trauma as a collective trauma, that is formed through narratives and memory, is explored in this research paper through the analysis of lyrics and a brief understanding of trauma theory as they are applied to lyrics. The primary text used for this will be Billie Holiday's "Strange Fruit" that was written by Abel Meeropol. It is commonly known as an anthem of slavery as it became a symbol of the suffering and discrimination that the African -American community endured for centuries on American soil.

TRAUMA IN THE COLLECTIVE

The concept of trauma was first studied by Jean Martin Charcot, a neurologist, during the late 19th century. Discourse on African American and diasporic experience never fails to reveal the significance of music in the experience, however, diaspora studies do not deal with the trauma field, directly (Singleton 36). Judith Butler, states that trauma's grief creates a collective feeling of political community in a compound order, and this takes place by firstly, through understanding the relational ties that have "implications for theorising fundamental dependency and ethical responsibility". Sociologist Jeffrey C. Alexander coins a "trauma process, "i.e., the process that gives narrative shape and meaning to "harmful or overwhelming phenomena which are believed to have deeply harmed collective identity". Collective trauma, in Alexander's definition, is not the traumatic event or its latent presence, but the result of a socio-cultural act of constructing traumatic experience through narrative. Imagination, association, and dramatization are essential to this process of constructing collective trauma.

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Using such theories we can understand how music and lyrics are constructed out of a sense of collective identity based on historical trauma. Toni Morrison addresses the issue of trauma by slavery through generations in her works Home and Songs of Solomon. The process of "talking cure" proposed by Freud is a concept that is used for therapy and black music works on this very same rule of emotional catharsis as it brings latent memories to the fore (Vivis 256) The process of remembering, according to Morrison, is given the term 'rememory' to indicate the deliberate act of revisiting a memory, in the sense that a person's personal memory is at the same time also collective, or cultural memory. Other such memory theories will be used to understand the role cultural memory plays in the cause and effect of music and lyrics made as protest. (Visser 13) Cathy Caruth states that trauma needs amalgamation both for the sake of testimony and for the sake of cure. However, on the contrary the conversion of the trauma into a narrative memory that allows the story to be accessible and communicated, to be incorporated into one's own, and others', understanding of the past, can lose both the accuracy and the energy that characterizes traumatic recall. Joyce McDougall in her book Theatres of the Body proposes that it was not the lack of affect that was the issue. She states her patients "were not suffering from an inability to experience or express emotions, but from an inability to contain and reflect over an excess of affective experiences" (94)

Cultural trauma refers to a strong loss of identity, 'a tear in the social fabric', affecting a group of people. Most nations have founding myths or stories which explain to us who we are by recollecting where we came from. Such narratives form 'master frames' and are passed on through traditions, in rituals and ceremonies, public performances which rekindle a group, and where membership is long-established. Within this process, 'we' are remembered, and 'they' are excluded. (Eyerman 162) The Chinese Cultural Revolution sparked revolutionary music that became an outlet from the trials and encouraged a cultural unification especially for the younger generations. (Bryant 155) Bryant in her paper collects data to analyses the how music evokes emotions and memories through various generations thereby understanding how collective memories are formed.

Thus, we understand cultural trauma as a phenomenon that changes the psyche of individuals on a collective scale. The research done by Bryant clearly indicates the emotions that revolutionary music kindles in victims of cultural trauma. The role of expression of the emotions through any form, here music, for healing is understood even though there is a slow loss of accuracy, which should ideally be overlooked as the purpose of expression is healing and not reliving. When Alexander speaks of the construction of the collective trauma through the narrative, he fails to understand that the collective trauma stands irrespective of the narrative formed by it. Morrison subscribes to a similar idea of rememory where one brings latent memories to fore through the narrative which in return produces catharsis for the mind. Thus, the narrative is formed through the collective trauma and not the other way around. This paper analyses music as a form of manifestation of trauma, it uses slave songs and Billie Holiday's Strange Fruit to investigate the timelessness of collective trauma.

ANALYSIS OF SLAVE SONGS: FIELD HOLLERS- MANIFESTATION OF TRAUMA

Despite all obstacles, slaves crafted a rich musical tradition that had enormous impact on the development of American music. In Northern and Southern American cities, black communities played a type of music from which ragtime later descended. On Southern plantations, the roots of gospel and blues were introduced in work songs and "field hollers" based on the musical forms and rhythms of Africa. Through singing, call and response, and hollering, slaves coordinated their labour, communicated with one another across adjacent fields, bolstered weary spirits, and commented on the oppressiveness of their masters. Meanwhile, another form of the "shout," influential in the development of jazz, was practiced within the context of praise and prayer. An African-inspired dance, the "ring shout" consisted of dancers singing, clapping, and moving in a circular fashion until reaching a state of spiritual ecstasy. Both the ring shout and spirituals expressed the joy and hope, pain and sorrow of the enslaved. Both also grew from a fusion of European and African culture. However, whereas the shout made Christianized an African mode of dance and song, spirituals were sometimes modified versions of songs circulating in the white, Christian community. (Frankin 18)

Slave songs were generally started by one person in the field and as people joined in, they built up harmonies and technique leading to the creation of music. "Field Hollers" as they are known as work as a "call and response".

For example, the following lyrics below are typical field hollers that originated in tobacco, rice and cotton plantations. *"Caller: Old Joseph was a wood workin' man.*

Chorus: Hoe Emma Hoe, you turn around dig a hole in the ground, Hoe Emma Hoe.

Caller: When he got old, he lost his way.

Chorus: Hoe Emma Hoe, you turn around dig a hole in the ground, Hoe Emma Hoe.

Caller: Makes that boss man right mad.

Chorus: Hoe Emma Hoe, you turn around dig a hole in the ground, Hoe Emma Hoe.

Caller: Needs a young man to learn his trade.

Chorus: Hoe Emma Hoe, you turn around dig a hole in the ground, Hoe Emma Hoe. (Repeat)"

The above song distinctly brings out multiple aspects of slavery and the treatment of the slaves at work. However, they are not blatant with the accusations yet, an underlying theme of hope for redemption from the atrocities is prominent. We see that at the start we are looking into the life of "Old" Joseph who got "old" and lost his way, this points out the insensitivity to age in the practice of slavery. Then, the story moves to the boss man being "mad" i.e., angry and replacing him with a young man. Slaves in plantations were passed down through generations, most slaves spent all their lives working at plantations and their children were expected to do the same. Yet, after all the years of servitude, we see it was as easy as a snap of a finger to replace a slave. Old Joseph was easily replaced, and one wonders if he dug a hole in the ground for himself. (Okur 555)

ANALYSIS OF STRANGE FRUIT WRITTEN BY ABEL MEEROPOL AND SUNG BY BILLIE HOLIDAY

The fascination with Billie Holiday's private matters and difficulties often surpass the artistic ability of one of history's greatest female jazz vocalists. There is also a strong tendency amongst historians and other artists to attribute her creative competence to the hard times she experienced from the early years in her life till the very end.

Abel Meeropol composed "Strange Fruit" after coming across a photograph of the 1930 lynching of Tom Shipp and Abe Smith in Marion, Indiana. Thomas Shipp and Abram Smith were African-American men who were arrested and charged with raping Mary Ball and murdering her boyfriend Claude Deeter both of whom were white Americans. A huge crowd of vigilantes, taking the law into their own hands, broke into the jail with sledgehammers, tortured the two prisoners and hanged them on trees. As Abram Smith was hauled up by the rope, he tried to break free from the tight noose but he was lowered down and the mob broke his arms to prevent him from doing so again. (Stone 54)

After Abel Meeropol set his poem to music, various artists performed the song "Strange Fruit" at left-wing gatherings. Gradually, the song became popular and came to the attention of the proprietors of Cafe Society. The Café Society was a cultural turn for the African American society; founded by Barney Josephson in 1938 the club was meant to showcase African American talent and was one of the first racially integrated clubs in America. When Café Society heard about "Strange Fruit" they summoned Meeropol to play the song for Billie Holiday, which he did in the beginning of 1939.

When Abel Meeropol first played Holiday his song, she listened to him with an obvious disinterest. Barney Josephson recalls that Holiday, being an apolitical subject, was ignorant to the song's depth, meaning and significance. It is improbable that the significance of the song was lost on Holiday. However, the death of her father at the hands of racism, prompted her to move forward with the song. (Dufty 56)

"Strange Fruit" not only constructed a core to a musical departure, it was European-style cabaret music and not jazz; it also would coerce Holiday to imbibe an uncomfortable new public role, that of protest singer.

Rapidly overcoming her initial reluctance, Holiday worked to make the song her own. Barney Josephson helped change the song into a kind of ritual through a sequence of intricate stage directions. He insisted that Holiday would end each set for the night with "Strange Fruit," performing the song with complete darkness filling the stage except for a small spotlight that illuminated her face as she sat in the center. As Holiday sang, the club's regular operations halted. Waiters neither catered to orders nor took them from customers. When the song was finished, Holiday exited the stage. Regardless of how ecstatic the response, she encouraged no encores and no curtain calls. (Stone 56)

While the song swiftly became a a huge sensation among the intelligentsia, Holiday's label, Columbia, refused to record "Strange Fruit" for fear that it could cause offence to the Southern whites. The label did consent to her, however, to cut the song for Commodore Records, a small left-wing company. The song saw modest success, selling around fifty thousand copies by 1945 though much of that accomplishment was due to its well-liked flipside, "Fine and Mellow". While many commended "Strange Fruit," particularly white intellectuals and the civil rights organization, the song without doubt wasn't deficient in detractors. Paul Robeson, African American singer and civil rights activist, articulated apprehension with the song's depiction of African Americans as victims. John Hammond, record producer, fully detested "Strange Fruit" and saw it as an act of creative immolation; his decision has consequently elicited much criticism due to its racially-loaded idea of "authenticity." (Margolick 107) Holiday, however, remained very proud of "Strange Fruit," even suggesting that "Bitter Crop," the song's final words, could possibly be the title of her autobiography. Long after her nine-month stretch at Cafe Society, and up to her death in 1959, Holiday performed "Strange Fruit" but only at places that she deemed worthy and only when she believed the audience would indisputably appreciate the song's significance. (Dufty 186)

"Strange Fruit" can function as more than a strong portrayal of lynching or as an articulate petition for social justice. It also creates a keyhole onto the account of lynching and racism in America. After all, while the immense majority of lynching after 1880 occurred in Southern America and northern American mobs lynched 123 African-Americans between the period 1880 to 1930.

Meeropol's creative stand sees that lynching was far more common in the South. One can also read his pronouncement, however, as an illustration of an inclination to project the nation's racial sins onto the Southern part. A point made not to pardon the South of its iniquities, but to underscore a collective responsibility in America's misadventures with race. Furthermore, the victims of Meeropol's song are undoubtedly African Americans. While this indication may seem apparent, when comparison to other anti-lynching cultural texts of the same time frame, it opens another possibility of engagement with "Strange Fruit."

Lynching was a brutal expression of white racism and this was a fact Billie Holiday readily grasped. It was a public punishment, by hanging, that served as a lesson to the other Blacks. Approximately five thousand of such murders plagued the nation from the late nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century (approximately 1880 - 1950). The majority of the victims were African American men, but there were women and children who also met the rope. The reasons for lynching varied - everything from insulting or arguing with a white person, to stealing, to appearing disobedient or "uppity," for being "available" when the lynching mob needed a scapegoat, or simply for being "black." The most common reason for exorcising the black man was because of his reputation as a beast, a brute, and a rapist who assaulted white women. (Paul 42). Such murders were witnesses by countless Blacks, who took these images to their homes and were constantly reminded of the threat to their lives. A threat they were not allowed to address but were forced suppress. In *Strange Fruit*, on can clearly see the trauma caused by these murders.

Billie Holiday came to correlate "Strange Fruit" with her father's death. A well-known jazz guitarist who suffered from a chronic respiratory illness, Clarence Holiday fell sick while he was touring in Texas during 1937. Instead of facing the humiliation of being deprived of service or being subjected to inferior facilities due to his colour and race, Holiday decided to relinquish medical treatment until he could arrive at a veteran's hospital in Dallas. Regrettably, by the time he reached Dallas, it was too late. The more Holiday reflected on the death of her father, the more Holiday believed that, like Tom Shipp and Abe Smith in Indiana, Clarence Holiday had been a casualty of a lynching. Of course, Holiday's life was replete with examples of the daily indignities faced by African Americans, even in the supposedly more enlightened North. (Dufty 145)(Gibson 46) At a 1937 performance in Detroit with Count Basie, Holiday had to blacken her face to appease a theatre manager who worried that the white audience would object to such a light skinned woman fronting an all-black band. Not surprisingly, her experience touring with Shaw's all-white outfit proved more contentious as many proprietors prohibited her from sharing the same accommodations as her band mates. The final straw came in New York when a hotel manger insisted that Holiday should enter the hotel only through the kitchen?. An incident that contributed to Shaw's and Holiday's split. (Margolick 102)

By the twentieth century, Jazz and Blues were becoming popular as various artists emerged into the music industry. Trauma has been defined as "damage to the psyche", derived from a negative impacting event or series of events. In the extensive collection of discourse in trauma studies, crucial and vicious occurrence is usually juxtaposed with symbolic and universalizing conceptions of experience. Discourse on African American and diasporic experience never fails to reveal the significance of music in the expression the experience, however, diaspora studies do not deal with the trauma field, directly (Singleton 36).

Jazz has been defined as "the art of expression set to music". The blues are an experience in which a person resonates with the singer's pain, suffering or sadness. The African American Slaves used music for the purpose of relief from the pain of living life. Field hollers, funeral dirges, moans and humming where used to help them find composure and balance themselves. Thus, making blues an instrument of healing. Finding relief from living life can be perceived as defence against the reality of the violent and brutal treatment that shaped their lives. Dr Arthur Harvey proposed a theory of response to music that explains four ways of response. Cognitively, affectively, physically and transpersonally being the four ways can be used to assess the way Jazz and Blues could have been comprehended to both the victims and the audiences (Reeves 24).

The research previously done on the lynching, torture, and the trauma undergone by slaves that causes the production of lyrics as an effect, tends to focus on it as a revolutionary process more than a process of expulsion of negative feelings associated with the memories. It is true that the music and lyrics produced were turned into Anthems and were protests against the injustice and persecution the African Americans' faced, but it should be understood that the music were also a direct effect of trauma that needed to be treated and was put into music form to help cleanse and lighten their souls. Reeves, in her paper, addresses this issue in detail, however, she focuses on the torture undergone only by women and stays blind to the effect it had on the male slaves. Stone and Gibson produce a historical overview of the life of Billie Holiday and how her song Strange Fruit was written to address Lynching, but they do not clearly analyze the manifestation of the trauma in the lyrics.

The first "political anthem" in Nina Simone's evolving career as an activist and agitator, "Mississippi Goddamn" showcases the artist's then newly articulated fearlessness as a songwriter willing to yoke combative political ideology line by line into her composition. Her song is clearly written as a protest against the murder of slaves and talks about particular incidents that took place to evoke her lyrics; however, Strange Fruit is different. It is filled with painful metaphors that allude to Lynching as a painful process. Paul, in her paper addresses anti-lynching drama as a protest to the public hangings. Again, we see works treated as a protest out of anger, but we must also focus on the fact that there was a presence of sorrow and the need to address this inner turmoil that resulted in these works as a process of sublimation. Sublimation, meaning, the process of venting emotions in a socially accepted form (Freud 156); here music is the art form that is used to vent.

The abduction of the African race into the American continent gave birth not only to history, art and literature, but it also lead to the evolution of music. The influence of slavery on music is immense, it can be said that the Blues and Jazz genre was born from years of slavery and the fight against slavery. Music for the Black race in America was never about entertainment in the days of slavery. They were cries about the pain and trauma the race underwent under the rule of the white man, who weighed their lives by the profit made off them. Living a life where they were suppressed and striped off all rights, the African Americans had no choice but to use music as their saving grace from the pain and anguish inflected on them. Thus, they created art out of all the collected trauma, torment, and agony.

Strange fruit encapsulates echoes of trauma, as every line is a symbolic or a metaphor for the lives of a suppressed race. Trauma leaves behind memories that come back as dreams, hallucinations, depression, anxiety etc. Thus, traumatic experiences are unforgettable and haunting, as they continue to influence any future activities. (Duggan 45) Trauma undergone by the African American race wasn't over a short span of time but over two centuries and the manifestation of all this trauma is seen in the text Strange Fruit by Abel Meeropol and Billie Holiday.

The song starts with the word "southern" that brings us straight to the point that all the occurrences spoken about pertain to the southern states of America that fought for slavery against the northern states. Abel then moves in to talk about the "Strange Fruit" grown on these trees and the blood that is present on the leaves and the root. The word "strange fruit" is a metaphor for the African Americans, who succumbed to lynching, and it must be noticed that "strange" is not pertaining to a fruit that could not be understood or was foreign, but it was the whole process of lynching that it alludes to. The word strange itself can mean two things; a process that is difficult to comprehend and something that has never happened before. Both meaning stand true in this context, to the world, the process of lynching originated from the southern states as they religiously practiced and believed in Slavery and hung Blacks from trees just to set an example, disregarding a fair trial.

Blood being at the root and leaves are hard hitting lyrics that introduce the listener to the metaphor of the strange fruit being a human. As Abel moves on to talk about the "Black Bodies" that swing in the "southern breeze", we are aware of the fact that the strange fruit alludes to the unfortunate souls that were hung from the poplar trees. By the time the first verse is heard, the listener is already pulled into the trauma of being subjected to hanging from a tree or watching a fellow brother being hung from a tree. The lyrics are written in plural form and is meant to signify the large numbers of African Americans that were hung. "Southern breeze" and "Southern trees" encapsulate a vast area of land and "Black Bodies" clearly explain that a single tree would hold multiple bodies.

The next verse consists of four simple lines, two praising the South and two exposing the bitter truth. The structure of the verse itself merges with the point he is trying to bring out, that being the charming South hides so much distasteful cruelty. The bulging eye and twisted mouth are effects of hanging; the Blacks were not even given the privilege of having their faces covered during the lynching. The mention of "burning flesh" is also important as we are reminded that it was around this time that the burning of the Jews by The Third Reich had become known and affected multiple Jews across the world, including Abel Meeropol a Harlem Jew.

The last verse refers to lynching but if one extracts the verse without context, it could be any fruit in the world. The last verse is the hardest hitting yet subtle, thus the song does not become overtly gruesome. It should be noticed that Meeropol creates song to make lynching sound like any common phenomenon, for example the rain. He does stand correct; because lynching was a common phenomenon that slowly crept into the daily lives of the African Americans. It became so common that they grew immune to the bodies of other African Americans that hung from trees around them and went about their work ignoring this "strange and bitter crop" (Paul 42)

For the years that Billie Holiday sang this song, she chose what audience to sing for and refused to sing it if she felt they would not truly realize and value the song. She always ended her performances with the song, and on concluding her performance of the song, Holiday never accepted the applause and curtain calls, she would promptly exit the stage. The formation of a narrative memory out of trauma is required for the sake of cure and testimony. Even if it can never fully capture the essence of the experience, it is a way to re-live the trauma till it fades away (Caruth 153). Holiday had experienced racism so frequently that she became the song. She was a survivor of the collective experience of slavery and she thus underwent the process of remembering it.

The song on the whole can be looked at as an allegory for slavery, as it uses Signs and Symbols to address the depth of slavery. The effect of the song in context was so impactful that it became a popular song in no time. However, for Billie Holiday the performer the song remained a purgatory process where she used the song to find peace within herself. It is said that a tear often rolled down her face slowly when she sang *strange fruit*. Music effects the mind in various ways and for Holiday the song was so emotionally charged that she owned the song to an extent were she would refuse to sing it if she felt justice would not be done to it by the audience. This sort of attachment rose from the trauma she attached to it as a collective African American experience; she used the song to bring justice to those who succumbed to the horrors of slavery.

Records have that when the song was performed at the Café Society the whole place went silent, waiters stopped serving and some welled up at the performance; while on stage Holiday finished her song and exited. Catharsis comes to play at this scenario, where the Holiday is captivated with the song that she starts to feel the song and her emotions, mainly pity and fear, are accentuated, as the trauma is relived. For the audience, catharsis comes into function as they experience a part of the trauma. It should be noted that the Café Society was a club that allowed both black and white customers, hence Catharsis took place in a strong form for the Black customers; while even if the white customers felt pity more than any other, they still were deeply affected by the song.

CONCLUSION

Using Alexander's theory we understand that Strange Fruit added to the construction of the collective trauma. However, predating this song were the slave songs. Slave songs were passed down from generation to generation establishing a collective identity of trauma. Understanding that the concept of collective trauma has been established within the society, we now move on to investigate Morrisson's "Rememory" which using narratives to tap into the collective memory that has been passed down through generations. Re memory for Morrison is knowingly accessing memory of trauma, this can be a personal memory or a cultural collective memory. Therefore, A performance of Strange Fruit by Billie Holiday will be "re-memory" in two folds, for the artist it will tap into memory and the African-American audience will also tap into memory through the song. The type of memory accessed is highly subjective and can vary from person to person.

From Caruth and McDougall we understand that through music and lyrics, trauma is manifested within narratives and performances for the need of cure and testimony. The need for this manifestation is not due to the lack or inability for the expression but due to the excessive emotions that are attached to collective trauma by the society at large. The outlet for these emotions is the narratives formed through the trauma that helps the society come to terms with its history. Slave songs acted as consolation during cotton picking as it provided them with hope for escape. They also acted as Cathartic elements to purge the negative emotions that the slaves underwent through the injustice committed to the race at large. As time passed and the music evolved into jazz and blues and stars rose from the African American community. Anthems and popular songs were staged to create awareness and protest against the racism and discrimination that they faced. Again, these performances were cathartic in nature for the performers and the audiences both Black and White.

This research paper has looked into the manifestation of trauma within lyrics through the analysis of slave songs and the primary text "Strange Fruit". It has used trauma theory to understand the collective cultural trauma undergone by the African American race through slavery and how the cultural identity is formed and is passed down generations through the narratives that emerge from the collective cultural trauma undergone. The research paper, however, leaves a lot of scope for further research in terms of understanding how trauma was passed down through the Black Arts movement, as a whole, among generations who did not directly experience slavery but were mere products of the slave generations. As jazz and blues slowly progressed a new art form, rap, developed from the African-American community that accelerated in terms for popularity when Black rappers sang about the racism they underwent. The NWA or Niggas With Attitude in the 90s was a rap group that openly protested against the discrimination that African Americans faced with the police and law enforcements. This research paper does not address this post-traumatic culture that developed after the complete emancipation of the African Americans. It also does not address the current scenario in the music industry like for instance, Singer/rapper Kanye West has been releasing albums with songs that refer to slavery and the suppression of the African American race in today's world. He used "Strange Fruit" in one of his songs about "New Slaves" were he speaks to the discrimination that the African Americans still undergo. There is a great scope for research when it comes to cultural trauma and music of the African-Americans, as music was a constant product of the trauma they underwent. Beginning with the 16th and 17th century slave songs and moving to the new hip-hop and rap that is still in the industry; slavery and trauma has and still resonates within the music that develops from the African-American community.

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