



## *African Diaspora Newsletter No. 13*

**Nadine Hunt and Alia Paroo, editors**

**May 2005**

In the thirteenth edition of the African Diaspora Newsletter, we feature six conferences and workshops attended by faculty and graduate students associated with the Harriet Tubman Resource Centre on the African Diaspora, York University. Also featured are several new publications, research reports and announcements on the activities of associates who are conducting research on the African diaspora.

Interested in attending upcoming conferences and workshops? For complete details look at our website [www.yorku.ca/nhp](http://www.yorku.ca/nhp)

### **Conferences and Workshops**

- Saharan Crossroads Initiative Workshop, African Studies Center and the Center for Near Eastern Studies, UCLA, USA, 14 October 2004
- African Studies Association/Canadian Association of African Studies, New Orleans, USA, 11-14 November 2004
- Celebrating the Black Experience in Ontario and Beyond, York University, Canada, 11 February 2005
- Activating the Past: Latin America in the Black Atlantic, Latin American Center, UCLA, USA, 23-24 April 2005
- Negros, mulatos y morenos de Guerrero y sus costas: afrodescendientes y diversidad cultural, Jornadas Culturales en Acapulco, Guerrero, Mexico, 27-29 April 2005
- Mémoire croisées: esclavage et diaspora africaine/Crossing Memories: Slavery and African Diaspora, Université Laval, Québec City, 2-3 May 2005

### **Forthcoming Conferences and Workshops**

- Memory and Methodology: Workshop on the African Diaspora, York University, Canada, 3-24 July 2005
- 'Monsoons & Migrations; Unleashing dhow synergies,' Zanzibar, Tanzania, 5-7 July 2005
- Caribbean Migrations: Negotiating Borders, Ryerson University, Canada, 18-22 July 2005

**Research Report: Ecclesiastical Sources and Historical Research on the African Diaspora in Brazil and Cuba**

- Jane Landers

**Featured Paper: A Stranger at Home: A Ghanaian-Canadian's Experience**

- Rachel Asare

**Publications**

**Announcements**

**Saharan Crossroads Initiative  
University of California-Los Angeles, USA  
14 October 2004**

**Ismael Musah Montana**

During the fall of 2004, I participated in a workshop entitled: "Saharan Crossroads Initiatives," (SCI). This one-day workshop was organized by Prof. Ghislaine Lydon and hosted jointly by the African Studies Center and the Center for Near Eastern Studies, UCLA.

The workshop that was intended to advance "trans-Saharan scholarship," brought together a group of scholars who specialized in the study of Saharan history, societies and cultures from both sides of the "African divide." Invited scholars who participated in the workshop came from Africa, and North America brought with them a wide range of historical, physical (geographical), social and intercultural perspectives. This multitude of perspectives made the SCI workshop one of the most innovative and critical forums held recently on the Greater Sahara. Among the scholars that participated in the SCI workshop were John Hunwick (Northwestern University), Ann McDougall (University of Alberta), Allan Christlow (Idaho State University), David Gutelius (Stanford University), Ismael Maulaye (Université Cheikh Anta Diop), Ismael M. Montana (York University), Cynthia Becker, (University of St. Thomas), Wendy Fall (Kent State University), Jennifer De Maio (UCLA) as well as the organizers of the workshop, Ghislaine Lydon (UCLA) and Allen Roberts (Director, James Coleman African Studies Center). Several UCLA students, mainly those interested in African history, attended the workshop.

The Greater Sahara had been a crossroads for its neighbouring societies. Situated mainly between North and West Africa, the Greater Sahara had been a centre of ecological changes, human migrations and societal struggles throughout its history. Archaeological and documented evidence points to the Sahara as a meeting point or a site of continuous population movements,

trade exchange, and cross-cultural infusions since the Antiquity and during the Middle Ages. Later, in the Islamic period, it increasingly became interconnected not only with the newfound lands of Islam in the Maghreb, but its sporadic interactions with the Eastern Mediterranean basin also flourished as an outlet. During this period, one may define these interactions both with the Maghreb and the Mediterranean basin as a major momentous stage that saw a “take-off” in trade, Islamization, cultural and demographic developments. In fact, many of the basic religious and cultural features of the societies or polities that live around the Sahara as we know today stemmed largely from the continuing legacies of the early Islamic period. However, the trans-Atlantic slave trade and the later advent of European colonization of the African continent, but particularly the increased trans-Atlantic trade activities that followed the Islamic period on the western coasts of Africa arguably disturbed the dynamism of the Greater Sahara. But did the developments arising from the trans-Atlantic trade increased activities or colonialism lead to any dramatic changes or altered dynamism of the Greater Sahara in any profound manner?

In this workshop, the participants explored the idea of the “Saharan frontier” and examined it from multiple viewpoints, including the social, historical, and physical (geographic). While the Greater Sahara has long been considered by some to be a dividing factor on the African continent, the workshop critiqued this misunderstanding. This critique was a path-breaking attempt to place the Sahara in its proper geo-political, historical, social, economic and cultural position in world history. As Ghislaine Lydon pointed out, “. . . there is overwhelming historical evidence pointing to the common history of neighboring countries [of the Greater Sahara] such as Algeria, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Tchad and Tunisia.” Lydon’s view of the Greater Sahara is based on the Braudelian model, which enables us to see the Sahara as a physical, cultural, and economic unitary whole. To Lydon, “by transcending the artificial ‘Saharan Frontier,’ it is easy to see that the history of the Sahara, just like that of the Atlantic, is marked by continuous flows of peoples, ideas and goods.”

Ann McDougall, in her presentation, “The Place of the Sahara in African History” and Allan Christlow, in “Frontier Themes in the History of the Greater Sahara”, also supported the idea of the Greater Sahara as a complex geographical zone with multifaceted commonalities. These scholars view the Greater Sahara not as static but a region with growing awareness of the outside world, despite its unique universe and human experiences. Both presentations highlighted the significant factors of interconnectedness of the Sahara in the wider Mediterranean and the Atlantic worlds in different historical contexts. John Hunwick’s visual presentation also brought many Arabic manuscripts recently discovered in Timbuktu (Mali) to the fore of the workshop. Hunwick presented a power point presentation that highlighted Timbuktu, with its learning tradition based on Arabic, to further illustrate the cross-cultural and scientific exchanges between the Timbuktu, (located at the heart of the Sahara), and the Islamic world. He argues that Timbuktu was a vivid example of the Greater Saharan zone’s vitality, a good opportunity for scholarly exchange for students from such places as the Hausaland, Tunis, Wallata, Fez and even from Andalusia (Muslim Spain). Using samples of manuscripts collected from private libraries now under various preservation projects, Hunwick also showed some samples of manuscripts on Islamic legal texts dealing with slavery and economic transactions. In addition, he illustrated the pure scientific contents of several manuscripts containing mathematics, algebra and so forth.

Overall, I was highly impressed by the cutting edge nature of the SCI workshop and its approach to the complex world of the greater Sahara as a unitary whole, yet dynamic, with complicated sets of historical, cultural and physical geographical specificities.

The workshop considered, among other themes, a range of topics that included:

- The Sahara in World History; The Place of the Sahara in Africa; Saharan Arts and Architecture; Arts Connections across the Sahara and North Africa
- Saharan Oases through Arabic Sources; Demographic Implications of the Slave Trade; Slavery and Racism in Contemporary Societies
- Pastoralism, Drought and Culture; Political Reform and Legal Pluralism on the Frontier; The Western Sahara: Africa's Last Colony; The Sahara and the US war on Terror

During the workshop, I presented a paper on "'Sudan-Tunis': Slave Trade and Demographics in Tunisia," which focused on using "Sudan-Tunis," as an analytical concept for historical analysis to examine demographic characteristics of enslaved Black African populations in nineteenth century-Tunisia. The term "Sudan-Tunis," stemmed from my research based on "*Hatk al-Sitr*," a manuscript detailing accounts of bori practice in Tunisia during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Around 1809, the Timbuktu Muslim cleric and a *qadi* (judge), Ahmad b. Yusuf al-Timkutawi who authored "*Hatk al-Sitr*" first used the term "Sudan-Tunis," to describe the bori practitioners in Tunisia in order to underline their heightened sense of identity and self-consciousness signifying their immediate ties with *bilad al-Sudan* (lands of the blacks). Undoubtedly, al-Timbuktawi strived to distinguish the "Sudan-Tunis" from *Shawashin* (singular of *Shushan*). Unlike "Sudan-Tunis", *Shawashin* comprised mainly of: (1) *ahrar* (local free blacks, (2) ancient freed blacks and (3) foreign free blacks made of up Saharan groups such the *Wargliyya* (from Wargla) or Fezzazina (from Fezzan). The *Shawashin* did not form part of the "Sudan-Tunis" community. My presentation was based on my research done on the "Sudan-Tunis," bori practitioners and the black communities in Tunisia, at large. The workshop offered a special niche to examine the concept of "Sudan-Tunis" as an analytical concept, not only for the purpose of placing the bori practitioners in the nineteenth-century Tunisian context, but also to place all of the black groups of Tunisia within the complex world of the Greater Sahara. This was an invaluable experience for my research, which was an important contribution to the SCI's workshop, since it fostered the understanding of the slave trade and its demographic implications across the Sahara and the Maghreb region.

**African Studies Association / Canadian Association of African Studies  
11-14 November 2004**

**Mariana P. Candido and Mohammed Bashir Salau**

From November 11-14, a jointly organized conference by the African Studies Association and the Canadian Association of African Studies was held in New Orleans, Louisiana. The theme of the event was “The Power of Expression: Identity, Language, and Memory in Africa and the Diaspora”. In attendance were numerous faculty members from York University. York’s Department of History was represented by Professors Paul E. Lovejoy, A. S. Kanya-Forstner, and José C. Curto, as well as a number of York’s History graduate students including Jennifer Lofkrantz, Ismael Montana, Mohammed Bashir Salau, Thorald Burnham, Omar Eno, and Mariana Candido. Also in attendance were former York graduate students Olatunji Ojo, Femi Kolapo, Colleen Kriger, and Edmund Abaka.

The themes of the initial panels included agriculture, urbanization, and identity. Mohammed Bashir Salau, one of York’s graduate students, presented a paper on plantation slavery in Fanisau, a unit of the Sokoto caliphate. Following these preliminary presentations, a welcome reception for the participants was held at Loyola University.

During the second day of the conference, the round table discussion, “Rethinking Abolition in Africa” drew in a strong York presence as former graduate students Kolapo and Abaka participated as panellists. This panel attracted the attention of renowned scholars such as Suzanne Miers, Joseph Inikori, Philip Zachernuk and José C. Curto. The afternoon presentations were dominated by discussions on African identities in the Americas and included a panel entitled, “African Diaspora and Identity in South America and the Caribbean”. The first panel, sponsored by CAAS/ACEA, included panelists Claire Robertson and Thorald Burnham, who discussed part of his research on marriage patterns in Haiti. In a later panel called, “Slavery, Slave Trade and Memory”, both Professor José C. Curto and Mariana Candido presented their paper entitled, “The demography of Caconda under the context of the late (legal) trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Benguela”. Other panelists included Raymond Copson who focused on the case studies of two slave ships, Clotilde and Wandered; along with Bayo Holsey, who discussed the memory of slavery in Ghana; and Roquinaldo Ferreira, who analyzed enslavement and African resistance in Angola.

On the third day of conference, Ismael M. Montana presented his paper “Black Slavery and the Caravan Trade in Husaynid Tunisia: Trends, Pattern and Transformations, 1738-1837,” in which he discussed the changing patterns of the scale of the trans-Saharan slave trade. On the last day of the conference, Jennifer Lofkrantz presented her paper on "Changing Norms of Enslavement in the Western Sudan 1890-1910," which focused on how the introduction of the French as a new power dynamic in the region led to a shift in patterns of enslavement.

The book display by Brill Academic Publishers, in particular, featured José C. Curto’s study on alcohol in Angola, *Enslaving Spirits. The Portuguese-Brazilian Alcohol Trade at Luanda and its Hinterland, c. 1550-1830* (2004), and the proofs of the forthcoming volume by Jamie Bruce

Lockhart and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *Hugh Clapperton into the Interior of Africa: Records of the Second Expedition 1825 – 1827* (see the publications section at the end of this newsletter).

**Celebrating the Black Experience in Ontario and Beyond<sup>1</sup>**  
**York University, Canada**  
**11 February 2005**

**Nadine Hunt**

The Harriet Tubman Resource Centre on the African Diaspora held the 4th annual Black History Month Workshop on February 11, 2005. This year's theme was appropriately entitled "Celebrating the Black Experience in Ontario and Beyond." In organizing this workshop, Marsha Barrow and I aimed to bring scholars, politicians, and community leaders together to share their knowledge of the black experience in past, present and future Ontario and beyond. Thereby to appropriately inform and repatriate the black experience in Ontario. We thought that the workshop should recognize and celebrate the contributions made by past and present black Canadians as well as being aware of a future generation.

The morning session included Dr. Karolyn Smardz Frost, Bryan and Shannon Prince, and Dr. Brooksie Harrington. Professor Michele Johnson, who currently teaches History 3535 African-Canadian History at the Department of History, York University, chaired the session. Dr. Smardz Frost, a post-doctoral fellow at the Department of History, Atkinson College, York University, discussed the historical impact of the glorious Underground Railroad and its relationship to changes in public memory.<sup>2</sup> Bryan<sup>3</sup> and Shannon Prince, who operate the Buxton National Museum and Historic Site,<sup>4</sup> examined the important role of women in the history of the Underground Railroad. Dr. Harrington informed and performed for the audience, illustrating how slave spirituals influenced current gospel aesthetics.

The afternoon panel included the Honourable Stanley G. Grizzle, Zanana Akande and Rachel Asare. The session was chaired by Professor Pablo Idahosa from the Division of Social Sciences and Coordinator of the African Studies Program at York University. We were privileged and delighted to have this group share their personal and trying experiences with workshop attendees. We were pleased to have had the Honourable Stanely G. Grizzle share his experiences as a

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Marsha Barrow for her efforts in organizing this successful workshop. Marsha and I would like to thank Henry Lovejoy for his keen assistance. We would also like to thank Professor José C. Curto and Professor Paul E. Lovejoy for their guidance and assistance on this project. This workshop would not have been possible without the financial support of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, the Master of Founders College, the Chair of the Department of History and the Director of the Graduate Programme in History. The York University Bookstore provided gifts for our speakers and an electronic keyboard was provided by the Department of Music.

<sup>2</sup> Karolyn Smardz Frost, *Goin' to Freedom Land* (Toronto: Thomas Allen Books, 2005)

<sup>3</sup> Bryan Prince, *I Came as a Stranger: The Underground Railroad* (Toronto: Tundra Books, 2004)

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.buxtonmuseum.com>

former black porter of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company during his service in the 1950s.<sup>5</sup> We also heard from politician Zanana Akande who related her experiences of being a black woman in Canadian politics. Ms. Akande is a former Member of Provincial Parliament and currently the President of the Urban Alliance on Race Relations for the city of Toronto. York's own Rachel Asare recounted her experiences while working and living in Ghana.<sup>6</sup> These two women have and will continue to have a profound effect on the nature of politics in Toronto, Ontario, Canada and beyond.

The program included the following papers:

*The Historical Past: The Underground Railroad*

Chair: Michele Johnson, Department of History, York University

Karolyn Smardz Frost, Department of History, Atkinson College, York University. "The Underground Railroad and the Creation of Public Memory."

Bryan Prince, Buxton National Historic Site and Museum, "Ontario and the Underground Railroad: Through the Eyes of Women."

Brooksie Harrington, Department of English and Foreign Languages, Fayetteville State University, USA. "Going Up Yonder: Gospel Aesthetics and the Slave Experience."

*Black Ontario Past, Present and Beyond: Live Histories*

Chair: Pablo Idahosa, Division of Social Sciences, York University

Zanana Akande, Former Member of Provincial Parliament and President of the Urban Alliance on Race Relations. "The Politics of Difference."

the Honourable Stanley G. Grizzle, Retired Judge of the Canadian Court of Citizenship. "My Name is not George: The Story of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in Canada."

Rachel Asare, Undergraduate Student, York University. "A Stranger at Home: A Canadian-Ghanaian's Experience."

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<sup>5</sup> Stanley G. Grizzle, *My Name's Not George: The Story of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in Canada* (Toronto: Umbrella Press, 1998)

<sup>6</sup> Please see below for Rachel Asare's paper.

**Activating the Past: Latin America in the Black Atlantic**<sup>7</sup>  
**23-24 April 2005**  
**UCLA, USA**

The conference, “Activating the Past: Latin America in the Black Atlantic,” explored trans-Atlantic modes of memorialization through ritual, iconography, popular narratives and spatial practices. These modes were considered as dynamic archives of the past, representing critical historical events and transformations associated with the rise of slavery in the black Atlantic world. The conference examined the opaque as well as transparent dimensions of embedded and embodied memories in order to gain access to forbidden pasts. The aim was to explore memories that have been repressed or occluded because of their violent or controversial implications. Case studies focused on West Africa, Brazil and the Creole Caribbean. The conference acknowledged the “hidden” historical references to local and regional encounters with the trans-Atlantic slave trade, focusing on religious practices and artifacts that shaped changing political and economic relationships in “fetishized” forms of power and value. Also highlighted were significant variations within regional worlds on both sides of the Atlantic.

In his keynote address, Professor Paul E. Lovejoy spoke on “African, Amerindian, European -- Interface, Interaction, Intercourse.” Professor Lovejoy discussed the intention of the conference to “activate the past” by exploring trans-Atlantic modes of memorializing. By focusing on Amerindian, African, European – interface, interaction and intercourse, he examined the interface among different spheres – trans-colonial networks, racial categories, economic modes of production, spiritual realms. In focusing on interactions, or categories of interactions, he drew on a series of biographies, the life histories of individuals of the Black Atlantic.<sup>8</sup> His intention was to highlight intercourse – the procreation of the “creole” population and the shaping of the demography of the Black Atlantic. Moreover, he examined what was lost, as well as what was transformed and mediated. The use of biographies was presented as a way of emphasizing agency and issues of identity that cross the Atlantic in perspective. The life stories of the individuals who were considered reveal layers of trans-Atlantic vibrations. The case studies drew on the life histories of Sabastian Bran, Juana Pereira, Gustavus Vassa, alias Oluadah Equiano, Muhammad Kābā Saganughu, Catherine Mulgrave-Zimmermann, Samuel Ayaji Crowther, and Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua.

Professors Andrew Apter and Robin Derby, Department of History, UCLA, organized the conference, and are preparing an edited version of the proceedings to be published in *Diaspora*.

The program included the following papers:

*Keynote Speaker*

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<sup>7</sup> The conference was funded by the Latin American Center, UCLA through a National Resource Center (Title VI) grant from the U.S. Department of Education, with additional assistance from the UCLA International Institute.

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of the use of biography in the reconstruction of the history of trans-Atlantic slavery, see my “Biography as Source Material: Towards a Biographical Archive of Enslaved Africans,” in Robin Law (ed.), *Source Material for Studying the Slave Trade and the African Diaspora* (Centre of Commonwealth Studies, University of Stirling, 1997).

Paul Lovejoy, Canada Research Chair in African Diaspora History, York University. "African, Amerindian, European -- Interface, Interaction, Intercourse."

### *Activating the Past*

Robert Baum, Department of History, Iowa State University. "Memories of the Dream World: Historical Perspectives on Witchcraft among the Diola of Southern Senegal."

Judy Rosenthal, Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan-Flint. "Vodu Angels of History."

John Nunley, Saint Louis Art Museum. "The Middle Passage and West Indian Creolization."

Keith McNeal, Department of Anthropology, UCSD. "Recasting Creolization and Syncretism from the Perspective of Caribbean Hinduism: the Case of Ecstatic Shakti Puja in Trinidad."

### *Altered States/Altar-ed Saints*

Stephan Palmié, Anthropology, University of Chicago. "Ekpe/Abakua in Middle Passage"

Jerome Handler, Virginia Foundation for the Humanities. "From Arago to Anastacia: the Transformation of a 19th Century French Engraving into an Afro-Brazilian Cult Figure."

Judith Bettelheim, Art History, San Francisco State. "Espiritismo Altars in Puerto Rico and Cuba: The Indian and the Congo."

Don Cosentino, World Arts and Culture, UCLA. "Conversation with Congo Manuel: Kings and Slaves in the Eschatology of Espiritismo."

### *Historical Geographies*

Luis Nicolau Parés, Anthropology, Federal University of Bahia. "Images of Slavery in the Vodun Religious Practice of Benin and Brazil."

Brian Brazeal, Anthropology, University of Chicago. "A Goat's Tale: Diabolical Economies of the Bahian Interior."

Thomas J. Desch-Obi, History, Baruch College. "Koup Tet: Haitian Stick Fighting and the Haitian Revolution."

## **Negros, mulatos y morenos de Guerrero y sus costas: afrodescendientes y diversidad cultural<sup>9</sup>**

**Jornadas Culturales en Acapulco, Guerrero, Mexico  
27-29 April 2005**



Photo Courtesy of : INAH

En el centro de Acapulco existe un pequeño barrio, posiblemente de los más antiguos del puerto, llamado Guinea, nombre de un país de África occidental y también de la isla Nueva Guinea en Oceanía. Los rasgos, el pelo y el color de la piel de muchos de los habitantes de Guerrero y sus costas, así como huellas documentales y varias tradiciones o costumbres revelan la presencia de culturas africanas y orientales. Sin embargo, gran parte de los guerrerenses desconocen la historia de sus puertos, la procedencia del color de su piel y el origen de muchas de sus prácticas culturales.

Guerrero y sus costas, conocidos internacionalmente por sus atractivos turísticos, tienen una historia cultural rica y vasta. Como bien se sabe, Acapulco fue entre los puertos del Pacífico seleccionado para mantener relaciones mercantiles con Filipinas y Oriente a través del famoso Galeón de Manila también conocido como la Nao de China. Desde entonces este puerto se convirtió además en un espacio privilegiado para la convivencia cultural entre habitantes de distintos continentes, quienes durante más de 250 años intercambiaron formas de pensar, costumbres, vestidos y hábitos alimenticios.

Mucho se conoce y se ha estudiado sobre la relación comercial entre la Nueva España y Filipinas; también es famosa la feria de Acapulco y la influencia de Oriente en la cultura novohispana, así como de la hispánica y novohispana en Filipinas. Sin embargo poco se sabe y se ha divulgado sobre los procesos culturales que se llevaron a cabo en este puerto y otros de Guerrero, las relaciones con otras ciudades de centro y sur América y, sobre la importancia de la presencia de “negros y mulatos” que, según lo han revelado varios estudios, constituyeron la

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<sup>9</sup> Seminario Poblaciones y culturas de origen africano en México, Dirección de Etnología y Antropología Social, INAH; Coordinación Nacional de Antropología, INAH; Centro INAH, Guerrero; Museo Histórico de Acapulco Fuerte de San Diego; and Fonoteca, INAH

mayoría de los habitantes de Acapulco y de algunas regiones de sus costas. A pesar de la conformación de grupos y organizaciones interesadas en revalorar la presencia de negros y mulatos en la historia de Guerrero, sobre todo en la Costa Chica, con la creación por ejemplo del Museo de las Culturas Afromestizas en Cuajinicuilapa, son necesarias actividades que divulguen, a través de reflexiones académicas con enfoques históricos y antropológicos, el origen y la importancia de este grupo.

**Mémoire croisées: esclavage et diaspora africaine/  
Crossing Memories: Slavery and African Diaspora  
Université Laval, Québec City  
2-3 May 2005**

**Ana Lucia Araujo**

Following the debates begun in 2004 (International Year for the Commemoration of the Struggle Against Slavery and its Abolition and the Bi-Centenary of the Independence of Haiti), the international conference *Crossing Memories: Slavery and African diaspora* took place 2-3 May 2005 at Université Laval in Québec City. Our goal was to establish a series of exchanges between senior and advanced graduate students to comparatively discuss the historical role of memory with respect to slavery and the African diaspora. The conference is part of an ongoing collaboration between Université Laval and York University, facilitated by the Canada Research Chair in Comparative History of Memory, Bogumil Jewsiewicki and Canada Research Chair in African Diaspora History, Paul E. Lovejoy.

The conference dealt with the history and memory of slavery in Africa and in the Americas. Conference presenters revealed multiple approaches in studying Africans and the diaspora, including the use of archival documents, life-stories in the form of written biographies or personal communications, commemorative monuments such as the “gate of no return” in Ouidah, Bénin and other cultural and artistic manifestations. Papers presented showed diversity and richness of emerging research on slavery and memory. The keynote address was given by Paul E. Lovejoy, entitled “Autobiography and Memory: Gustavus Vassa, alias Olaudah Equiano, and the Abolition of the Slave Trade.”

The program included the following papers:

*Mémoire et lieux/Memory and places:*

Chair: Ana Lucia Araujo, Université Laval.

Sandra Carmignani, Université de Lausanne, Suisse. “Une montagne en jeu: lecture anthropologique d’un « lieu de mémoire » à l’île Maurice.”

Alain Godonou, École du Patrimoine Africain, Bénin. “Autour de la reconnaissance de la Route de l'esclave au Bénin comme patrimoine mondial de l'Humanité.”

*Mémoire de le traite : Afrique de l'Ouest et Brésil / Memories of slave trade : West Africa and Brazil*

Chair: Mariana Candido, York University.

Lorelle Semley, Wesleyan University, US. “Becoming Brésilien: Meanings and Memories of the Slave Trade in Kétu, Bénin.”

Ana Lucia Araujo, Université Laval. “Mémoire de l'esclavage et les enjeux des réparations au Brésil et au Bénin.”

### **Esclavage et résistance / Slavery and Resistance**

Chair: Paul Lovejoy, York University.

Yacine Daddi Addoun, York University. “Pour que Dieu sauve les "patrons": affranchissement des esclaves et salut des maîtres en Algérie, 1750-1850.”

Mohammed Bashir Salau, York University. “Social Control and Slave Resistance on Sokoto Caliphate Plantations: The Example of Fanisau, 1819-1903.”

*Esclavage et discours / Discourses and Slavery*

Chair: Brigitte Des Rosiers, Université de Montréal.

Katell Thebaudeau, Université Laval. “Écrire l'esclavage: de la béance de l'histoire au plein de la mémoire.”

Laurence Boudreault, Université Laval. “La rhétorique de l'esclavage.”

*Mémoires métissées, identités hybrides/Mixing Memories, Hybrid Identities*

Chair: Sandra Carmignani, Université de Lausanne, Suisse.

Brigitte Des Rosiers, Université de Montréal. “La présence de l'Afrique dans la musique de l'île Rodrigues (Rép. De Maurice): Les limites des approches identitaires et rétrospectives de la culture créole.”

Nadine Hunt, York University. “Memories of the inter-colonial slave trade in the circum-Caribbean.”

Pierre Lanthier, Université Laval. “Rectifier la mémoire historique de la communauté noire au sein de la conscience sociale québécoise: compte rendu d'une démarche.”

*Esclavage et marché d'esclaves/ Slavery and Slave Markets*

Chair: José C. Curto, York University.

Oscar Grandío Moráquez, York University. "Enslaved Africans and the Cuban Slave Market: Tracing their Regional Origins, 1789-1867."

Désiré Vencatachellum, École des hautes études commerciales. "The Secondary Market for Slaves in Mauritius."

*Esclavage et identités africaines/Slavery and African Identities*

Chair: Mohammed Bashir Salau, York University.

Mariana Pinho Candido, York University. "Living under enslavement: Slaves' origins, occupations and life conditions in Benguela's hinterland, 1780-1850."

José C. Curto, York University. "Struggling Against Enslavement: The Case of José Manuel in Benguela, 1816-1820."

It was a pleasure to host junior and senior researchers at Université Laval. The conference was filmed and will be available shortly on CD. A publication of selected papers will be published as well.

# **Memory and Methodology: Workshop on the African Diaspora**

*Harriet Tubman Resource Centre on the African Diaspora  
Department of History, York University*

Saturday July 2 to Saturday July 23, 2005

The Workshop will address various themes relating to Memory and the African Diaspora, and the methodologies currently being developed to collect and analyze data. The Workshop brings together senior scholars and advanced Ph.D. students in a forum for open discussion and interaction. There will be no formal papers, although participants will be encouraged to circulate drafts of works in progress, and informal workshop sessions moderated by senior scholars will address specific issues of methodology and conceptualization. The Workshop will continue for three weeks, although it is not expected that all participants will be in residence for the whole period, depending upon personal schedules and other commitments.

Workshop sessions will focus on:

1. *recording/recorded traditions*
2. *archival resources – the revolution in accessibility*
3. *database – design and analysis*
4. *database construction*
5. *digitalization and decoding*
6. *questioning memory and history*

The areas of study will include all parts of the African diaspora in the historical period of slavery and emancipation. Specific areas of concentration, based on the expertise of the scholars who will lead workshops, include

1. *Underground Railroad to Canada*
2. *West Indian – Canadian linkages*
3. *Ethnicity in Africa and the Diaspora*
4. *Circum-Caribbean, Mainland and Islands*
5. *Amerindian/Atlantic divide and intersection*
6. *Western Africa in the Atlantic World*
7. *Brazil and Africa*
8. *the Maghreb and Islamic heartlands*
9. *the Indian Ocean*

The Workshop is directed at interested scholars currently involved in writing a book, a thesis, a series of articles, or otherwise assembling data for such projects. Participants will include advanced Ph.D. students writing their theses who want to undertake part of this exercise in a collegial and professional environment. Graduate students preparing to do fieldwork or designing theses topics are also encouraged to participate.

## **Workshops on Memory and Methodology**

### **WEEK ONE**

#### **Monday, July 4**

9:30 A.M. Welcome

Master of Ceremony – Nadine Hunt

10:00 A.M. Keynote Address

Bogumil Jewsiewicki, Titulaire de la Chaire de recherche du Canada en histoire comparée de la Mémoire, Université Laval

“Memory in the Study of Slavery and the African Diaspora”

12:30 – Luncheon

#### **Tuesday, July 5**

10:00 A.M. Workshop session – Ethnicity Database – Gwendolyn Hall

12:30 – luncheon

#### **Thursday, July 7**

10:00 A.M. Workshop session – UGRR – Bryan Prince and Donald Simpson

12:30 – luncheon

#### **Friday, July 8**

10:00 A.M. Workshop session – Arabic materials on slavery – Bruce Hall and Yacine Daddi Addoun

### **WEEK TWO**

#### **Monday, July 11**

10:A.M. Workshop session – Vernacular texts – Toyin Falola, Bashir Salau, Olatunji Ojo

12:30 – luncheon

**Tuesday, July 12**

10:00 A.M. Workshop session – Sacramental records in Cuba and Brazil – Jane Landers and Mariza Soares

12:30 – luncheon

**Thursday, July 14**

10:00 A.M. Workshop session – Demographic databases – David Richardson, Mariana Candido

**Friday, July 15**

10:00 A.M. Workshop session – Biographical database – Paul Lovejoy, José Curto

**WEEK THREE**

**Monday, July 18**

10:00 A.M. Workshop session – Circum-Caribbean issues – David Trotman, Rina Cáceres, Thor Burnham, Bernard Moitt

12:30 – Luncheon

**Tuesday, July 19**

10:00 A.M. Workshop session – Cultural issues – Brooksie Harrington, T.J. Desch-Obi

12:30 – luncheon

**Thursday, July 21**

2:00 P.M. Workshop session – Indian Ocean – Gwyn Campbell

**Friday, July 22**

10:00 A.M. Plenary session – Martin Klein

Smaller group sessions, bilateral discussion and collaboration, and special tutoring on specific topics will be arranged, depending upon the needs and wishes of participants.

## Participating scholars, with affiliation and research focus

<b>Professors</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>	<b>Interest</b>
Cynthia Becker	Boston University	North Africa
Rina Cáceres	Universidad de Costa Rica	Caribbean
Gwyn Campbell	McGill University	Indian Ocean
José C. Curto	York University	Angola
Juanita De Barros	McMaster University	Caribbean
Toyin Falola	University of Texas	Yoruba
Gwendolyn Hall	Southern University System	Louisiana
Brooksie Harrington	North Carolina State	Gospel
Michele Johnson	York University	Caribbean
Bogumil Koss	Université Laval	Memory
Martin Klein	University of Toronto	World systems
Jane Landers	Vanderbilt University	Cuba
Paul Lokken	Bryant College	Guatemala
Paul E. Lovejoy	York University	Biography
Bernard Moitt	Virginia Commonwealth	Caribbean
Olatunji Ojo	Syracuse University	Yoruba
Bryan Prince	Buxton Museum	UGRR
David Richardson	University of Hull	Demography
Donald Simpson	Innovation Expedition	UGRR
Mariza C. Soares	Universidade Federal Fluminense	Brazil
David V. Trotman	York University	Caribbean
<b>Graduate Students (Ph.D. candidates)</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>	<b>Interest</b>
Thorald Burnham	York University	Haiti
Mariana Candido	York University	Angola
Celso Castilho	U of C, Berkeley	Brazil
Yacine Daddi-Addoun	York University	Algeria
Audra Diptee	University of Toronto	Jamaica
Nadine Hunt	York University	Caribbean
Sonya Maria Johnson	Michigan State University	Cuba
Carlos Liberato	York University	Brazil
Jennifer Lofkrantz	York University	western Sudan
Patricia Lott	U of C, Berkeley	Diaspora
Ismael Musah Montana	York University	Tunisia
Oscar Grandio Moráquez	York University	Cuba
Mohammed Bashir Salau	York University	West Africa
David Wheat	Vanderbilt University	Cuba

## Organizing Committee

Paul E. Lovejoy  
José C. Curto  
David Trotman  
Nadine Hunt  
Carlos Liberato  
Marsha Barrow

Technical Advisor: Eugene Onutan

The facilities of the Harriet Tubman Resource Centre on the African Diaspora will be made available to registered participants. The Centre will provide technical advice, access to digitalizing equipment, and assistance in website development. Further details are available at [www.yorku.ca/nhp](http://www.yorku.ca/nhp)

Correspondence: [Nigerian@yorku.ca](mailto:Nigerian@yorku.ca)

Address:

Harriet Tubman Resource Centre on the African Diaspora  
202-B Founders College  
York University  
4700 Keele Street  
Toronto, Ontario M3J 1P3  
Canada

**The Zanzibar International Film Festival (ZIFF) Conference 2005:  
'Monsoons & Migrations: Unleashing dhow Synergies.'  
Zanzibar, Tanzania  
5-7 July 2005**

The Zanzibar International Film Festival is pleased to announce a conference, which a number of Tubman Associates will be attending. The conference is intended to facilitate dialogue not only among scholars, but especially between them and the artists, the poets, the musicians, the story tellers, the film and documentary makers.

ZIFF will explore the theme of its Festival 2005 "Monsoons and Migration, unleashing dhow synergies", including cultural diversity, migration, cultures of tolerance and peace, Indian ocean cultures, maritime routes, trade and relationships, and the diaspora, among other issues which will stimulate exciting debate and discourse.

Since its inception in 1998 ZIFF has been exploring the concept of the dhow culture and what could be its unique contribution to world civilisation. Is it multi-cultural emphasising diversity of cultures; or is it at the cross-currents of cultures, a fine product of a dialogue between civilisations around the rim of the Indian Ocean, African, Arab, Indian and South East Asian? What are the geographical dimensions of the dhow culture? Was it confined to the coast or did it extend deep into the hinterlands? Should the dhow culture be identified primarily with the western half of the Indian Ocean, as has hitherto been the tendency, or is the ocean indivisible, as the tsunami has so tragically demonstrated recently?

The dhow culture was fundamentally based on exchange not only of goods but also of peoples, creating a dense web of communications along which flowed ideas, ideologies, and aesthetic forms which have shaped the region's collective memory and unfolded its identity. It was cosmopolitan based on mutual respect, understanding, tolerance and sharing. Islam has been very much part of that culture, but in the trading world of the Indian Ocean before the intrusion of the crusading Portuguese, religious difference was the norm where Christians and Jews, Hindus and Muslims, Zoroastrians and Buddhists have coexisted with mutual respect. As such the culture followed the logic of trade, which thrives on difference, otherwise there would be nothing to exchange, and on peace, since violence and monopolies kill trade.

Differences are not the problem; they are resources for all of us everywhere. We have to live with differences, in some sense even thrive on it. So, when does difference become a problem? The Indian Ocean was by no means a paradise on earth. There were tensions and injustices in such mercantile societies, between the continental and maritime dimensions of these societies; between different classes within these societies; and there is the reality of the slave trade and slavery that have bedevilled social relations in such societies with long-term consequences. The involuntary migration of people across the ocean affected not only the biological and social configuration of the populations around the rim, but also the cultural and artistic expressions of the diasporic communities, such as the Sidi of western India and the mixed communities around the Persian Gulf.

In this culture, Zanzibar occupies a strategic position. Its geographical position, aided by the Monsoons, has exposed it to different migrants making it their settlement. These groups over time have generated three forms of relationships: intra-community, such that each group evolved its own ways of dealing with its new environment; inter-community, the relationship between diverse communities on the islands, both migrant and ‘indigenous’; and, intra-ocean, i.e. links with the larger communities from where they had originated. The three have given rise to a dynamic cosmopolitan society in Zanzibar (especially in the urban regions).

The conference will seek to explore many of these themes. Some of the broad sub-themes so far formulated are as follows:

1. What is the Dhow Culture?
2. Migrations and the diasporas: African, Indian, Hadhrami, Indonesian.
3. Cultural Diversity and Change in Zanzibar.

**Presenters:**

<b>Authors</b>	<b>Titles</b>
Laura Fair University of Oregon	Making Love in the Indian Ocean: Hindi Films, Zanzibari Audiences and the Construction of Romance 1950s-1980s
Patrick Krajewski ZMO	Economy of East Africa revisited: The regional Dhow trade 1885-1914
Gwyn Campbell McGill University, Canada	Malagasy origins revisited
Alia Paroo York University, Canada	Migration and Diaspora: The Case of the Ismailis in East Africa and Beyond
Margret Frenz Oxford University, UK	Goan migration across the Indian Ocean (1890-1980)
Behnaz Mirzai Asl York University, Canada	The Slave Trade & the African diaspora in Iran
Ned Alpers UCLA, USA	Indian Ocean Middle Passages: The Slave Trade from Eastern Africa and Madagascar
Helen Basu Free University, Germany	Reflections on 'African diasporas' in the Indian Ocean World through the prism of a Gujarati Sidi travel account
Beheroze Shroff	Spiritual journeys: Parsis and Sidi saints
Shihan De Silva Jayasuriya	Indian Ocean cultures: African migration & identity
Heloise Finch University of Michigan, USA	Narratives of a contested slave trade in the Mascarenes, 1810-1815.
Janet Ewald Duke University, USA	Sidi sailors in the Indian Ocean
Abdul Sheriff Zanzibar Museums, Tanzania	The twilight of slavery in the Persian Gulf.
Jan-Georg Deutsch Oxford University, UK	Culture, Locality & Change
Louise Rolingher University of Alberta, Canada	Edible Identities: Food, Culture and History in Zanzibar
Martin P. Botha Cape Town, South Africa	South African Cinema 1994 – 2005: Prospects For National Reconciliation
David Slocum New York University, USA	Diversity as a complex discourse in such different societies and cultures as the United States and South Africa.

**Caribbean Migrations: Negotiating Borders**  
**Ryerson University, Canada**  
**18-22 July 2005**



Migrations, forced and voluntary, have been shaping Caribbean lives for centuries. These migrations have taken many forms—from the voyages of the Middle Passage to journeys across the Kali Pani; from inter-Caribbean labour migrations to the “reverse colonisation” of Britain; and from Haitian boat people to ongoing emigration out of the multi-lingual Caribbean into metropolitan centres in Canada, the United States, Britain and other parts of the world. Wherever their point of departure and whatever their destination, at various historical junctures, Caribbean peoples have had to negotiate borders of all sorts. Such negotiations have had significant impact on Caribbean identities and (self) representation, on Caribbean peoples’ sense of home and belonging, and on the terms by which they imagine themselves in community.

Papers at the conference will explore the changing face of the Caribbean in the wake of migrations and the formation of diasporas. Special attention will be given to the construction of hybrid identities in host centres; the impact of race, class, language and sexuality on the formation of new identities; the consequences of negotiating between “here” (new home spaces) and “there” (places of origin); the various understandings of borders—geographic, linguistic, cultural, racial; and the implications of living between borders. “Caribbean Migrations: Negotiating Borders” is planned as a significant event that will bring together scholars and creative writers to promote discussion of literary imaginations of Caribbean migrations, migrant communities and diasporas. The organizers envision that presentations and papers published in the conference proceedings will provide not only a comprehensive assessment of Caribbean migratory poetics and fresh readings of Caribbean border crossings, displacement, and exile, but will also allow for comparative readings across different Caribbean diasporic literary traditions and reorient literary theorizing around diasporas to the specifics of Caribbean experience.

[www.ryerson.ca/CaribbeanMigrations](http://www.ryerson.ca/CaribbeanMigrations)

# ECCLESIASTICAL SOURCES IN SLAVE SOCIETIES



a project of  
Vanderbilt University,  
the Universidade  
Federal Fluminense  
and York University

Design: Jim Landers  
Photo: Martin Dybdal

Funded by THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT for the HUMANITIES

**Jane Landers, Project Director**  
**Vanderbilt University**  
**Ecclesiastical Sources and Historical Research on the**  
**African Diaspora in Brazil and Cuba**

**Project Description**

In 2003 the National Endowment for the Humanities awarded a two-year Collaborative Research Grant of \$150,000 to fund the project entitled “*Ecclesiastical Sources and Historical Research on the African Diaspora in Brazil and Cuba.*” The project director is Jane Landers of Vanderbilt University and her primary collaborators are Professor Mariza Carvalho de Soares, of the Universidade Federal Fluminense (Rio), and Professor Paul E. Lovejoy, of the Harriet Tubman Resource Centre on the African Diaspora, York University (Canada). All have long worked collaboratively in research, teaching and graduate training on Diasporic themes. This project is advancing the study of slavery and the African diaspora by creating a digitized database of rich, underutilized, and at-risk ecclesiastical sources for Africans and persons of African descent in Brazil, Cuba, and the Spanish circum-Caribbean. These sources are the longest serial data available for the history of Africans in the Americas, beginning in the sixteenth century and continuing through almost the end of the nineteenth century, and many are in perilous condition.

Each of the countries whose African history we are tracking still struggles with the legacy of slavery and its political, economic, and social consequences. There is great scholarly and popular interest in African history and heritage in these countries and each modern nation must respond to this interest in defining national identities in multi-cultural societies. The modern nations of the sending areas of West and West Central Africa are equally interested in the discoveries this project will generate.

The project builds on the specialized research experience of the collaborators, Jane Landers (Vanderbilt University), Mariza Carvalho de Soares and Hebe Maria Mattos (Universidade Federal Fluminense), and Paul E. Lovejoy (York University), each of whom has already developed databases from these sources. Jane Landers administers the project at Vanderbilt University, home of one of the nation’s earliest centers of Brazilian Studies, now the Center for Latin American & Iberian Studies, and the host of the Brazilian Studies Association [www.vanderbilt.edu/AnS/LAS](http://www.vanderbilt.edu/AnS/LAS) . Mariza Soares maintains satellite offices at the Universidade Federal Fluminense <http://www.historia.uff.br/labhoi/projehme.htm> and at the Archives of the Diocese of Nova Iguaçu. Paul E. Lovejoy supports the technical needs of both components through the Harriet Tubman Resource Centre for the African Diaspora at York University <http://www.yorku.ca/nhp/> .

The field expertise and research connections of the project team members, as well as their previous collaborations, prepare them for their important task. Among them they combine paleographic and language skills, and long experience in the historical sources for Africa and the Americas. Through the auspices of the Tubman Resource Centre they also have the support of an impressive and innovative technical infrastructure prepared to support this research and make it widely available to international scholars. The project will produce and disseminate important

new research in the humanities while establishing international facilities and collaborations designed to continue the research beyond the life of the project.

### **Project Activities**

Although we had not yet been funded by NEH, the collaborators launched this project and gave our first public reports on it at an international conference held at UFF in June 2003 <http://www.yorku.ca/nhp/conferences/rio2003/>.

In August, 2003 (the first month of the project) team members researched equipment needs and subsequently Landers purchased Nikon 8MP Coolpix digital cameras and professional tripods for the Vanderbilt-based project and for the UFF-based project. Lovejoy's Tubman Resource Centre donated an IBM Thinkpad laptop, a Sony 5 MP digital camera, and a scanner to the UFF project for use in the archive of the Diocese of Nova Iguaçu. The Vanderbilt and UFF teams also set up their offices this month.

By September, 2003 Soares's Brazilian team began digitizing the colonial parish registers for Africans and African descended people in the churches of Nova Iguaçu and after initiating that work, Soares traveled to Vanderbilt to work with Landers and Landers' graduate student and project assistant, David Wheat, on preparing a detailed inventory of the work in progress and plan future work. Soares spent the term in residence and gave a presentation to the Vanderbilt academic community on the project, focusing on the Brazilian work.

During Soares's term at Vanderbilt, Landers and Soares transmitted data to Lovejoy's Tubman Center and his technician began converting previously microfilmed records from Cuba and Spanish Florida into digital form

In January, 2004, Lovejoy traveled to Vanderbilt to meet with Landers and Soares to coordinate the ongoing work and to meet with the general counsel and financial officers at Vanderbilt. The purpose of that meeting was to discuss issues of intellectual property, access and dissemination agreements, and best payment and accounting methods.

In May, 2004 Landers traveled to Brazil to meet with the UFF team and review a prototype of their CDROM in construction. Landers made site visits to the archive of the Diocese of Nova Iguaçu and to churches whose documents were being digitalized.

Also in May, 2004 Landers and Wheat traveled to Cuba to begin digitizing records in targeted colonial churches of Matanzas, Havana, and its suburbs of Regla and Guanabacoa. They were fortunate to receive there the uncompensated assistance of Vanderbilt's Latin American bibliographer, Paula Covington, and of Andrew McMichael, Assistant Professor of History at Western Kentucky University. The additional photographers allowed us to capture more images than we would have with fewer hands. Filming in Cuban churches presents unique challenges as the materials themselves are in very poor condition (significantly worse than in Brazil), some churches have inadequate facilities as basic as electrical outlets, and team members had to create working spaces out of chairs, benches, or floors. McMichael was in Cuba conducting research for a book in progress and his technical and computer skills were particularly helpful. He

formerly worked as a computer technician for the American Historical Association and is the author of History on the Web. I have since added him to the project as a consultant.

### **Project Audiences**

In Year I the collaborators made presentations on this project at several international conferences. As noted above, the project was launched at a conference in Rio in June, 2003. The audience of approximately 200 consisted of university faculty, students, and administrators. Also in attendance was Brazil's former ambassador to Portugal and Angola, and an eminent historian of slavery, Alberto Costa e Silva. Costa e Silva collaborates with this project's collaborators and is a representative to the UNESCO Tracking the Slave Route Project, as is Lovejoy.

Lovejoy, Soares, Landers and Wheat each presented papers at the UNESCO Slave Route Conference held at the University of Cape Coast, Ghana in November, 2003 to an international audience of approximately 60 university faculty, students, and administrators from diverse African countries, including Elise Soumonni, Benin's representative to the UNESCO Tracking the Slave Route project.

In January, 2004 Soares and Landers presented related research papers at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, with Lovejoy joining the panel as chair.

Soares also presented related research at a UNESCO conference in Lagos, Nigeria and gave a power point presentation on this project to an audience of approximately 100 at the international Brazilian Studies Association meeting in Rio de Janeiro in June, 2004.

Each of the partner institutions has mounted information about this project on their webpages as at <http://sitemason.vanderbilt.edu/janelanders/NEHgrant> and promoted it as they spoke at various academic and public venues. An invited article is also in preparation for publication in the Hispanic American Historical Review, the leading journal in the field of Latin American history and one will also be submitted to Slavery and Abolition, for which Landers and Lovejoy serve on the editorial board.

### **Project Accomplishments**

At the conclusion of Year I (July 31, 2004), the collaborators had captured over 3,000 images from Brazilian churches and over 7,000 images from Cuban churches. (See inventory attached). The Brazilian team had also produced their first CDROM featuring inventories and histories of the churches in which they worked as well as samples of processed and transcribed images. A copy of that CDROM was submitted with our application for renewal of this grant in October, 2004. The Cuban team had also produced a detailed inventory of the more than 7,000 images from Cuba that was also submitted with the renewal application.

## **A Stranger at Home: A Ghanaian-Canadian's Experience<sup>10</sup>**

**Rachel Asare**

They were trying to be me, and I was trying to be them. A life long quest that I'm not sure where or when it began.

- Rachel Asare

Last summer, I interned as a program coordinator of a Women's Development Centre (WDC). The Centre is a project of All Nations International Development Agency (ANIDA), which is a non-governmental organization aimed at alleviating poverty in Africa, particularly in Ghana. Dr. Samuel Donkor is the president of the organization and also founded All Nations University<sup>3</sup> in Koforidua, Ghana. Dr. Donkor envisioned a Women's Development Centre at the university that would encourage the independence of women. When I arrived, the infrastructure of the WDC was completed and ready to use. However, there were no strategies set up in order to recruit women, nor was there a course curriculum established. Therefore, it was the responsibility of the Program Coordinators to establish a framework and get the centre off the ground and running.

I was thrilled to receive my acceptance letter from ANIDA, informing me that I was chosen among other great candidates to work in Ghana. However, it wasn't until reality sunk in that I realized that I was scared to go back. I thought to myself, where would I sleep? What would I eat? Would I get Malaria? Would it be too hot? Could I survive or would I die? All these questions raced through my head. But when I arrived in Ghana, I fell in love with the people, music, language, and culture. I met my family including my grandmother who had not seen me in twenty years. I wept so many tears of joy.

My work at the WDC would prove to be a great challenge, as I tried to adjust to the community and the local way of life. I was disappointed to find a high illiteracy rate among the women in Koforidua. Why couldn't they read? I began to understand the "norms" of the society. It became clear that my life in Canada allowed me to live a different life in comparison to many of the women that I came into contact with. Many of the women were poor and single mothers. Several of the women wanted to learn how to write so that they would be able to sign their name and no longer use a thumb print as a means of officiating legal documents. Other women desired to learn how to read street signs. Coming into contact with these women created a deep passion within me. I was determined to exploit all of the resources that I could in order to help them.

As Program Coordinator, I was responsible for the administration of the centre, recruiting staff and volunteers. I identified and developed local resources to support the work of the centre. I located English interpreters, English literacy teachers, Twi literacy teachers, business students to teach the business component of the course, and Computer Science students to teach computer

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<sup>10</sup> This paper was presented at the 4<sup>th</sup> Annual Harriet Tubman Resource Centre on the African Diaspora Black History Workshop, "Celebrating the Black Experience in Ontario and Beyond" 11 February 2004.

<sup>3</sup> For more information on All Nations University, please visit <http://www.anida.org/>

skills, along with a host of guest speakers to conduct the weekly seminars. I even used my grandmother as a resource to meet with the Market Queens, which is an organized group of women who oversee the market. They set the market prices and contain all the power. As a result, they were very useful in helping me to advertise the centre to the women.

Robin Heppner and I developed the Centre's resources. Together, we designed a holistic course curriculum that addressed the needs and concerns of the women. The program consisted of 4 levels and included topics in English literacy, business and accounting, computers, and weekly seminars on various topics relevant to women such as health, nutrition, AIDS, and hygiene. Moreover, we also included a micro-financing program as an opportunity for women to expand their existing business or to launch a new one. Ms. Heppner and I also created relationships with potential donors, partners and other international development agencies, such as the Women's World Banking Ghana, Savings and Loan Company Ltd. (WWBG).<sup>4</sup> We also monitored the centre's infrastructure and ensured that the necessary equipment was available to offer the various programs.

The women expressed such gratitude to me for developing programs for and with them. They expressed gratitude for being accepted into the program being offered an opportunity to have access to education. They were often told that there was no money for them to go to school, or that they had to stay home and care for ailing family members' or take care of younger siblings. Their gratitude made me work so much harder to get funding for them, so that they could have more options available to them in their areas of economic trade.

As the months went on, I really bonded with these women. I learned so much from them, and I was quite humbled to be in their presence. I learned of their hard work and love for their families. I learned that the common thread of the young woman's perspective and the young students' perspective was survival, struggling not to give up. This experience allowed me to gain profound respect for my mother and the hardships that she endured, as well as her will to survive.



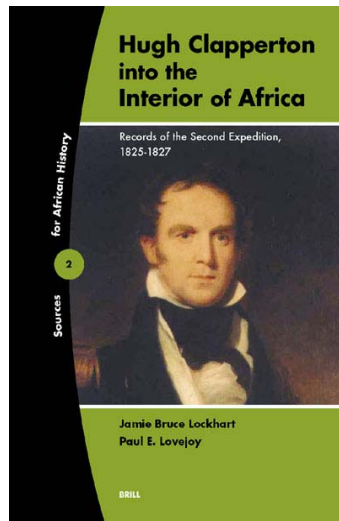
Photos Courtesy of Rachel Asare

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<sup>4</sup> For information on WWBG please visit [http://www.swwb.org/English/1000/address/affiliates/add\\_aff\\_GHANA.HTM](http://www.swwb.org/English/1000/address/affiliates/add_aff_GHANA.HTM)

## PUBLICATIONS

Jamie Bruce Lockhart and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *Hugh Clapperton into the Interior of Africa: Records of the Second Expedition 1825 – 1827* (Leiden: Brill, 2005)



*Hugh Clapperton into the Interior of Africa: Records of the Second Expedition 1825 – 1827*, the definitive edition of Clapperton’s second journey, is a compilation of the various diaries, remark books, letters, maps, and other documents that survived Clapperton’s death in 1827. Hitherto, it has been necessary to rely on the original published version (*Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa*), edited by John Barrow of the Admiralty and published by John Murray in 1829. The present volume differs from the 1829 edition by including material that was previously omitted and offering detailed annotation and commentary. The account reproduced in the new edition adheres as closely as possible to the original sources.

A comprehensive introduction provides information on Clapperton’s life, an account of previous European missions into the interior of West Africa, an assessment of Clapperton’s contribution to geographical “discovery,” details on Clapperton’s methods of journal-keeping, and a discussion of the publication history of the 1829 edition. The introduction offers a commentary on the principal themes on which Clapperton’s records shed original light – the coastal slave trade, abolitionist issues in the Sokoto Caliphate, the history of the states of Oyo, Nupe and Sokoto, and information on travel and trade in the interior of West Africa. The text itself is annotated, with observations on differences between the original sources and the published version of 1829.

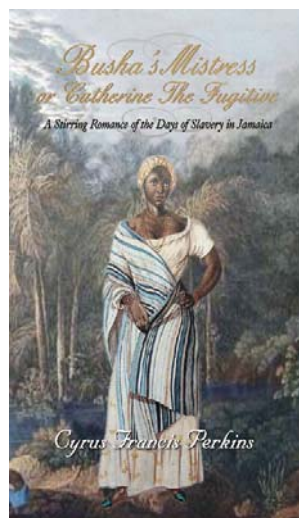
The volume includes six appendices of official documents relating to the expedition, its preparation and progress. These include the correspondence of various members of the expedition, letters in Arabic with a commentary, annotated itineraries of travel, and a note on contemporary medicines. Also included is a collection of maps from Clapperton’s earlier mission in 1824-26 – the first known route-maps of the central Sudan, now in the collection of the Royal

Geographical Society, London. The book is illustrated with previously unpublished sketches and maps from Clapperton's remark books and a dozen sketches drawn by one of the co-editors when tracing Clapperton's footsteps across Nigeria from Badagry to Sokoto in the early 1990s. There is an extensive bibliography.

This comprehensive edition of Clapperton's last journey will appeal equally to scholars of pre-colonial Africa, specialists in Yoruba studies, and students of European travel and exploration.

<http://www.brill.nl>

Cyrus Francis Perkins, *Busha's Mistress, or Catherine the Fugitive: A Stirring Romance of the Days of Slavery in Jamaica*. Paul E. Lovejoy, Verene Shepherd and David V. Trotman, eds. (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publisher, [1856] 2005)



This is one of the earliest Caribbean novels written in English. The novel tells the story of Catherine, the slave concubine of a cruel white overseer on Greenside Estate, near Falmouth, whose ruins today attest to the tensions of a colonial society that are described so memorably in the novel. Catherine flees the overseer, finding refuge with sympathetic friends who take her to England.

The descriptions of myal, obeah, and Maroon resistance are poignant revelations of the reality of slave life in Jamaica in the years before emancipation in 1834. Although published in an obscure Jamaican newspaper in 1911, this hitherto forgotten novel has been reconstructed from manuscript sources and the newspaper version housed in the Spanish Town Archives and the National Library in Kingston.

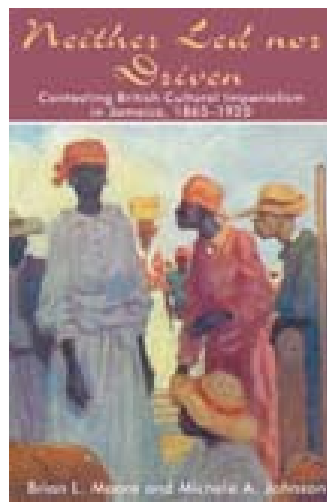
The author, born in Falmouth, Jamaica, in 1813, was the son of a military doctor who had

previously served on the Gold Coast in West Africa. This book is important not only as an early Jamaican novel, but also because it provides an eyewitness perspective on Jamaica's slave system, in particular on the roles of color, gender, and racism in the exploitation of enslaved women.

<http://www.ianrandlepublishers.com/>

<http://www.markuswiener.com/>

Brian L. Moore and Michele A. Johnson, *Neither Led nor Driven: Contesting British Cultural Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865-1920* (Kingston, Jamaica: UWI Press, 2005)



***NEITHER LED nor Driven*** is beautifully and simply written and richly illustrated with contemporary photographs and sketches. It is very thought provoking and examines in much detail the cultural evolution of the Jamaican people in the period after "the cataclysmic outbreak at Morant Bay in 1865." The first part of the book is followed by a list of governors of Jamaica, 1864-1920, and statistics relating to population, legal marriages, illegitimate births, education, and the conversion of Indian immigrants.

### **JAMAICAN SOCIAL ELITES**

"It offers a highly focused examination of the efforts of the Jamaican social elites and their British imperial masters to impose a new sociocultural religious and moral order, based on British imperial ideologies and middle-class Victorian ideas, ideals, values and precepts, on the Jamaican people, particularly on the subordinate black population who already possessed a stable, functioning cultural matrix, born in Africa and refashioned on the Jamaican plantation, that had survived the rupture of the Middle Passage and the rigours and brutality of slavery."

In *Neither Led nor Driven* the authors treat the black population in Jamaica as the mainstream culture that the British reformers sought to change through their alternative cultural system that they (the British) considered superior.

The cultural focus is on the belief systems, sexuality, marriage and family, morality and social behaviour of the people. The work analyses the struggle of the people for cultural self-determination; examines the cultural agenda of those who targeted key aspects of the culture of the Jamaicans for oblivion, analyses the complex process of negotiation and contestation that followed and looks at the efforts to 'civilise' the new Indian and Chinese minorities whose cultures were also considered inferior.

## **RELIGION**

So it was that in the area of religion, for example, the authors say that the people developed their own Afro-Christianity, "a positive, creative expression of Afro-creole cultural self-determination that sought to establish, and in large measure, succeeded in establishing its independence of the colonial religio-cultural power structure." Herbal folk medicine was widely practised by herbalists, 'balmists' and 'doctors' and with marked success. In this scenario the best known of the Revivalist preachers Alexander Bedward, born in 1848, rose to prominence and was believed by some to be a prophet.

In yet another sphere of life in Jamaica of that time sex, marriage and family the authors note that in spite of great pressure from the ruling class, the Afro-Jamaicans had "no shame or opprobrium (was) attached to living together or forming and raising families without the sanction of church or state." As in other areas of life the Afro-Jamaicans expressed powerful cultural self-determination.

Moore and Johnson state that after 1865 a systematic programme was embarked upon to change the religious beliefs, ideas, manners, behaviour and customs of the black lower classes, the new Asian immigrants and the "coarse" rural plantocracy. The assault, they say, was on Myal/Revival, Kumina, Hinduism, Islam, Obeah, duppies, sexual promiscuity, concubinage, noise, ribaldry, drinking and gambling and activities where 'coarse' manners were attached. The Church and chapel, schoolroom and the press played major roles in the effort.

But even when faced with flogging or going to jail for some activities practicing Obeah, for example, the Afro-Jamaicans had their own resilient power to do what they felt was right for them in the face of serious pressures.

In some cases, schooling for instance, the authors note that because less than a quarter of the children of school age did not attend school in that period the "civilizing ideology" did not reach the majority of the young people.

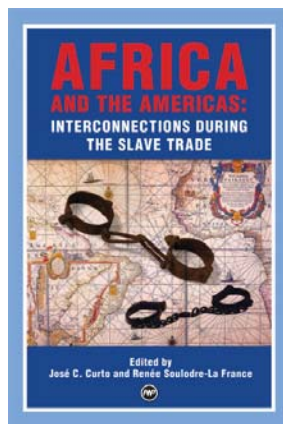
The civilizing mission was intended to transform the culture and character of all persons and groups with whom it came into contact. Thus the arrival of Indian and Chinese imported labourers in Jamaica with their idol worship, ganja and opium smoking and gambling raised sufficient concern for the churches to set up missions to convert the Asians. By 1920 the "agents

of civilisation in Jamaica could be pleased with the progress being made among the Asian immigrants."

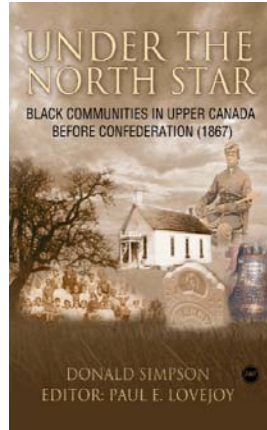
The authors say they plan to produce a second volume that will examine other aspects of Jamaican culture including food and dress, music and dance, festivals and holidays, alcohol and narcotic consumption for pleasure and the rites of passage. We can, therefore, look forward to another great study

<http://www.uwipress.com>

José C. Curto and Renée Soulodre-La France, eds. *Africa and the Americas: Interconnections through the Slave Trade* (New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2005)



Donald G. Simpson, *Under the North Star: Black Communities in Upper Canada before Confederation (1867)* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, Paul E. Lovejoy, ed., 2005)



Donald Simpson's study of the black communities in Upper Canada before 1867 contributes to our understanding of how the Underground Railroad (UGRR) undermined slavery in the United States. Based on detailed research, *Under the North Star – Black Communities in Upper Canada* examines what happened to black refugees once they arrived in Canada. Fugitive slaves and free blacks alike fled to Canada, especially after the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, and in making this move, they revealed the intense resistance to slavery and racism in North America. Like the maroons, *cimarones*, *palenque*, and *kilombo* in the Caribbean, Hispanic America and Brazil, the black communities of Upper Canada asserted their dignity through their independence, hard work, and persistence in maintaining sanctuaries from slavery. As Simpson demonstrates, many Canadian blacks returned to the US to fight in the Civil War, demonstrating clearly a strong commitment to freedom and justice for all people.

The publication of *Under the North Star* is possible because of the support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Canada Research Chair in African Diaspora History, and is a publication of the Harriet Tubman Resource Centre on the African Diaspora.

<http://www.africanworld.com>

## **Announcements:**

Behnaz Mirzai Asl, who successfully defended her Ph.D. thesis in October 2004, has been appointed visiting Assistant Professor, Southern Methodist University

Dawn Harris Blissett has been appointed administrative assistant, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Rutgers University

Elizabeth Polak has been awarded the Foreign Government Award from Mexico

Mohammed Bashir Salau, who will defend his thesis in July, has been appointed Assistant Professor, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington

Carlos Liberato has been awarded a grant from the British Library, Endangered Archives Program, to identify and preserve documents in archives in Maranhão and Pará in the Amazon region of Brazil

Olatunji Ojo, who has been Visiting Assistant Professor, Ohio University, has accepted a position as Assistant Professor at Syracuse University