



**Harriet Tubman**  
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on the  
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## African Diaspora Newsletter

**Renée Soulodre - La France, editor**

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Over the last several months many of the researchers associated with the Nigerian Hinterland Project have been to various parts of Africa and the African Diaspora doing fieldwork and archival research. This is a sample of some of their experiences and the types of documentation they were able to uncover, as well as the ways in which this research will be applied to their ongoing projects.



Ismael Musah Montana: Field interviews, Tunisia 2001

Department of History, York University, Toronto, Canada



## Professor Rina Cáceres

Universidad de Costa Rica

### Archival Research in Cuba

During the summer I undertook a research trip to the Cuban National Archives in Havana I found some valuable documentation about Africans brought to the Caribbean in the eighteenth century. When England lost control of the Island of Roatan all of its inhabitants were moved to Cuba. The island came under the control of the Audiencia of Guatemala and subsequently into Havana's sphere of influence. In one of the collections of documents a census of 1782 listed this population. This information lists a large number of Africans from West Africa, and mentions ethnic names such as caravallies, hibos, ibibios, canga, congo, nango, papa, mandinga and soso. There were also other enslaved individuals from Curacao and Jamaica. Interestingly, when this population was moved, it included members of the English militia and other ostensibly free members of the society, however some of these were sold as slaves. Some relevant biographies suggest that these free residents of Jamaica had been recruited by the British and turned into sailors and soldiers. Their first mission was along the San Juan River in Nicaragua and later they were sent to Roatan where they were conquered by the forces of the Audiencia of Guatemala and sent to Cuba.



## Professor Elisée Soumonni,

Université Nationale de Bénin

Professor Elisée Soumonni, Université Nationale de Bénin undertook a five-week speaking tour in Brazil and Cuba this fall. He visited several Brazilian Universities in Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo

and Bahia, and in Havana in Cuba. Professor Soumonni spoke about his research on Dahomey and the Atlantic world. The tour was organized and funded by SEPHIS.

Professor Soumonni is also organizing the conference "Aguda: Aspects of Afro-Brazilian Heritage in the Bight of Bénin" to be held in Porto Novo (Republique du Bénin) November 26-30 2001



## Mariza de Carvalho Soares

Associated professor of the Department of History  
of Universidade Federal Fluminense, Brazil

Professor Carvalho Soares works closely with the Nigerian Hinterland Project since her research touches upon many of the themes that the project addresses. She presented a Tubman Seminar at York University last year and continues to cooperate with various members of the network, including graduate students. She also continues to lecture throughout South and North America and to publish on various facets of Africans in Rio de Janeiro.

### New Publications:

*A história vai ao cinema.* Edited by Mariza de Carvalho Soares e Jorge Ferreira. August, 2001.

An article about the Brazilian movie "Xica de Silva", that shows the life of a slave in Minas Gerais in the 18th century.

In September 2001 Professor Carvalho Soares presented a paper at the LASA 2001 meeting as well as a lecture at Vanderbilt University. The paper she presented was about catholic brotherhoods organized by freed Africans in Rio de Janeiro. It was given on a panel about African festivals in the Atlantic world. Chair: Elizabeth Kiddy; discussant A J R Russel-Wood.

Currently Professor Carvalho Soares is working on the wills of freed Africans. These wills hold valuable information about the way of life and the types of financial organization of the African community in the city of Rio de Janeiro in the 18th century. The most important finding so far is that the wills demonstrate that there was a communal redistribution of wealth among the ethnic groups.

Professor Carvalho Soares is preparing an Image database on slavery. For the construction of the database she focused her first efforts on the development of a sound methodology in the capturing and classification of the images. She is now beginning to work on the collections of J. B. Debret and J. M. Rugendas, two of the most important artists that painted and drew slaves in Brazil. She is incorporating the results of new research on Africans in Rio de Janeiro, especially on mina-mahis, making use of some of the images of slaves in the city of Rio de Janeiro, 18th and 19th centuries.

Professor Carvalho Soares is also preparing an article for the book *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Americas* edited by Toyin Falola and Matt Childs. The chapter is titled "Ethnic groups and boundaries in a Brazilian catholic black brotherhood" Furthermore, she is contributing a document to SHADD. She is currently completing the transcription of the document of a mahi catholic brotherhood in Rio de Janeiro, in the 18th century.



## Mariana Pinho Candido

During the summer I had the opportunity to go to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in order to organize a preliminary survey of the documentation available on the impact of the transatlantic slave trade in Angola's central plateau. Since Rio was the capital of Brazil for almost two centuries, from 1763 to 1960, it concentrates national archives and libraries that hold important documentation. Thus I was able to survey extant documentation that relates to my research on the slave trade between Benguela and Rio. The relevant archives I was able to use were the Biblioteca Nacional, Arquivo Nacional, Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro and Arquivo da Cúria do Rio de Janeiro.

One of the institutions where I consulted materials was the Biblioteca Nacional. The documents related to slavery in the Biblioteca Nacional are organized under four catalogues: 1) Catálogo da exposição de História do Brasil, 2) Para uma história do negro no Brasil, 3) Guia brasileiro de fontes para a história da África, da escravidão negra e do negro na sociedade atual, and 4) Coleção Ásia e África. I concentrated my efforts in the last catalogue because of its importance and for the specificity of the documentation located in the Coleção Ásia e África. Most of this documentation was brought from Portugal with the removal of the Portuguese crown in 1808 to Brazil, and was not returned to Portugal in 1821 when the Royal Family sailed back to Lisbon. The characteristic of this documentation is its diversity - there are censuses of Luanda ports, personal letters between officers, and descriptions of the coast of Mozambique as well as documents in Arabic on the Portuguese contacts on North Africa. Much the material that I consulted is microfilmed or digitized and it will be available at the NHP.

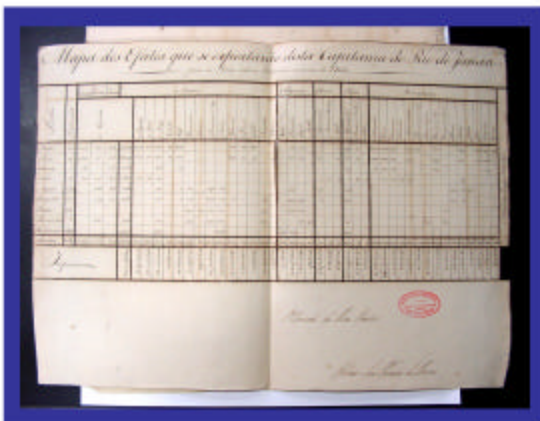
The Arquivo Nacional, also located in Rio, is a repository of documents produced by the federal administration. There is no specific fund or collection relating to slavery or slaves and so the documents are scattered in several collections. There I consulted coleção Junta do Comércio, Negócios de Portugal, fundo de Justiça, documentação colonial (códices e avulsas).

The Junta do Comercio collection includes serial documentation on custom records relating to ships sailing to Brazil, and there is a separate box concerned with the transportation of slaves. Negócios de Portugal deals with the period of the Portuguese crown in Brazil. In it there are administrative letters and official records (ofícios) of king Joao VI and administrative representatives in Luanda and Benguela; records of dispatch of Brazilian and Portuguese *degredados* to Angola, ecclesiastical documentation; and records of ships captured along the Brazilian coast because they were transporting slaves illegally. The Fundo de Justica brings together information about all foreigners entering Brazil. In this *fundo* there are records about the slaves' body marks (marcas de escravos) describing the scarification on slaves' bodies that can be related to their origins in Africa. There are also legal proceedings on the commerce of slaves in the Brazilian provinces; and lists of people involved in the illegal slave trade



(1836-1864). Documentação colonial contains documents exchanged between Brazilian and Portuguese authorities; registers of African slaves brought to Rio between 1795-1811; slaves' death certificates; and taxes collected on the commerce of slaves.

In the Instituto Histórico Geográfico Brasileiro (IHGB) there are Portuguese documents from the Conselho Ultramarino collection as well as documents related to slavery in Brazil assembled in the catalogue *Homens, Mares e Terras. Inventário analítico da documentação colonial portuguesa no IHGB*. In this archive I was allowed to consult some material but not reproduce it. Some maps of Benguela and Luanda districts are located here, as well as lists of slaves shipped from these ports. These are organized under gender, age groups (child or adult) and ethnic names. There are also official exchanges between administrative officers located in Rio and Luanda; lists of slaves brought to Brazil during the first half of the eighteenth century; tables of slave prices; and personal letters written by Jesuits priests.



The Arquivo da Cúria do Rio de Janeiro is a small archive linked to Rio de Janeiro's Cathedral. It is characterized by the richness of its serial documents: baptismal, marriage and death records. Due to the lack of census information to the city of Rio de Janeiro before 1850, I concentrated my efforts in the baptismal records of the largest Freguesia (the parish districts) of the city, Candelária, to organize a survey of the African born population in Rio during the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century. I recorded 3818 baptismal records of slaves in the Candelaria district. I also saw that there are 4597 baptismal records of another freguesia, Sao Jose, for the same period of time.

Beyond this I had the opportunity to contribute to the project *Imagens da escravidão*, a database on images of Atlantic slavery, under Mariza de Carvalho Soares's supervision. With other students, I was able to familiarize myself with the project and to work on the supplementary information to be added to the images already scanned, following the manual organized by Mariza Soares.

During my stay in Rio the XXI annual meeting of historians, organized by the Associação de Professores Universitários de História (ANPUH) was held in Niterói. In this meeting I had the opportunity to attend papers presented by professors and graduate students researching issues of slavery in Brazil so I became acquainted with the most recent work being done on slavery in Brazil.





## Mohammed Kassim

I started off the summer by presenting a paper on the Transmission of Islamic Education and Learning at the 1<sup>st</sup> International Colloquium on **Libraries and the Transmission of Islamic Thought in Africa** in May 25- 27. This colloquium was organized by the Institute for the Study of Islamic Thought in Africa (ISITA) which is part of the Program of African Studies, Northwestern University, Evanston, USA. My paper focused on how the Ulama (religious scholars) in Southern Somalia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century used Arabic Poetry and writings to spread Islamic knowledge in Somalia and the Swahili coast. After the workshop I spent 2 days working in the **Africana Library** at Northwestern University.

My field work started on June 1 with a stopover in the Netherlands. I met with several elders from the Benadir community in Amsterdam and the Hague. I interviewed one of them and found a copy of a **Qadiriya Brotherhood Ijaza** that was normally issued for those who have been initiated in the brotherhood in Brava, Southern Somalia.

From Amsterdam I went to Muscat, Oman. I was warmly welcomed by and stayed with Anne Bang (PhD Bergen). Anne's work is very much related to my thesis work. We compared notes and spent some time at the private **library of Al-Sayid Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Busaidi in Muscat**. This library has an interesting collection of letters and books from Zanzibar and the Swahili coast. I found several examples of correspondence between the Ulama in Zanzibar and Southern Somalia. There were also letters between the Ulama in Zanzibar and Mecca and Medina. Besides this it has a good collection of the writings of Shaikh Abdulaziz al-Amawi who was originally from Brava but later on became the Chief Qadi at Zanzibar.

I visited Sultan Qaboos University (SQU) and met with Dr. Ibrahim al-Soughayaroun who heads the history department at SQU. At SQU I also met Dr. Valerie Hoffman (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign). Dr. Hoffman had spent some time working at the private library of Sayid M al-Busaidi and was very helpful in giving me some guidance on the material in the library.

From Muscat I went to Dar Es Salam, Tanzania. This was the most beneficial part of my fieldwork. I met with Mrs. S. Abud who has the **Qadi Records of Brava** (1893 – 1900). I specifically went to Dar Es Salam to meet with her. The records are still in good shape. This time I spent three and half days taking digital pictures of the whole register. The importance of these records for those studying Southern Somalia and the Swahili coast cannot be overestimated. The register is like a daily journal of events in a typical Swahili town. These records have to find a temporary home. The information in these records is wonderful and covers a wide range of issues: Slavery, the role of women and how they used the court system in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the role of the Ulama, trade, inheritance, etc. The register is signed and stamped by the Italian Commander/governor in Asmara, Eritrea where it was taken and authenticated and bears the Official Stamp of the Royal Italian Government.

From Dar Es Salam I went to Zanzibar. I immediately went to look for Prof. Abdul Sheriff who helped me find a place to stay and later took me to the **Zanzibari Archives**. Here I spent some time working in the archives. I immediately realized that although the archives have a large collection of material,

finding material on Southern Somalia is not easy. I found some correspondence of the Sultan with the Somali coast but not much on the Ulama.

Anne Bang recommended that I see Muallim Idries. He turned out to be a wonderful resource with a good collection of material on the Ulama. I actually spent most of my time with Muallim Idries and made copies of the material on the Ulama. He also took me around to visit several people in the town. We also visited some of the tombs of the most prominent Ulama in Zanzibar. Interestingly some of these Ulama (and the pioneers) were originally from Brava, Southern Somalia. Here I spent some time to find the links between Zanzibar and the area that I am studying.

In Tanzania I was told of an Alim (scholar) in Mombasa, Kenya who has some material on the Ulama in Southern Somalia. I decided to go to Mombasa although this was not part of my itinerary. This was a good decision since I was pleasantly surprised to find good material on one of the Ulama from Brava.

Then I left for Istanbul, Turkey to present a paper on the local production of knowledge in the Benadir coast of Southern Somalia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This was part of the **International Summer Academy** organized by the Working Group on Modernity and Islam, Berlin, and The Institute for the Study of Islam and Modernity, Holland, and Yildiz Technical University in Istanbul. The Summer Academy was held Sept. 3 – 14, 2001 and the topics of discussion were very much related to my thesis. This was a multidisciplinary exchange between the humanities and the social sciences, supervised by a group of internationally renowned scholars from various disciplines, about 24 young scholars were given the opportunity to present their projects and to discuss new research as well as issues of theory and methodology relevant to their field of study.

The workshop was very informative and the exchange of ideas, discussion, debating certain issues, etc. was wonderful. I presented my ongoing thesis work on the Intellectual Production of Knowledge in the Benadir region of Southern Somalia with a focus on the writings of the Ulama, the role of women in the transmission of knowledge, and the networks of knowledge and trade between Southern Somalia, the Arabian Peninsula, Zanzibar, and the East African coast. I got several good suggestions that I plan to incorporate in my work.



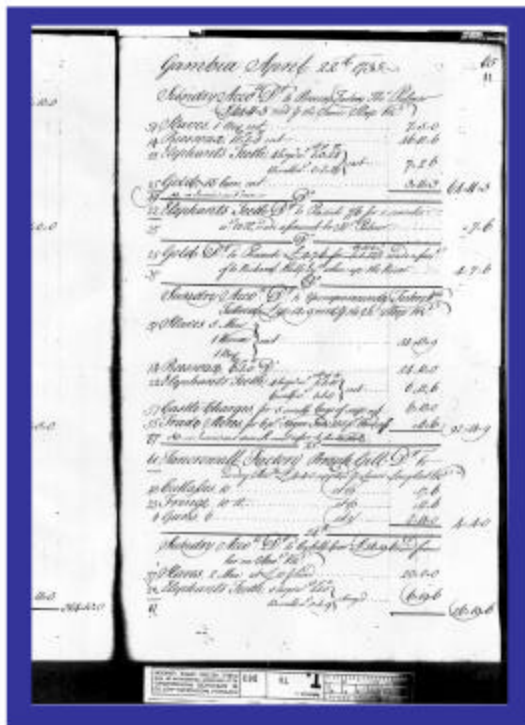
## Dawn Harris

My dissertation research took me to various archives in England this summer.. The subject I am researching is in itself, an obscure and complex one. My aim is to investigate the economic activities of female entrepreneurs in West Africa during the seventeen and eighteen hundreds. All of these factors combined to determine not only *where* I was going to conduct my research, but also the types of documents that I would have to consult, the pace of my research, and the volume of my findings. Thus, collections in the British Public Library's Rare Books and Manuscripts Collections located at King's Cross and St. Pancras in London, and the Public Record Office (P.R.O.) located in the serene ambience of Kew, were the sites where I was holed up for part of the summer.

Even though I had undertaken preliminary research before my departure from Canada, all this did was instill a false sense of confidence in the strength of my armaments. This preliminary research – mostly from secondary documents – not only confirmed the existence of successful female slave traders like Madame Tinubu, Mammy Skelton, and Mãe Aurélia Correia, but it also established a paper trail that led to official documents like Colonial Office dispatches that were housed in the P.R.O. Thus, with bibliography in hand I trooped boldly into the British Library and P.R.O. with what I thought was the answer to any daring researcher's prayers. Instead, I found that although this did give me an idea of some of the documents that I would have to consult, it did not prepare me for the hours (and sometimes days) that I would spend searching assiduously through rare and sometimes *very* fragile documents, and the frustration that came with what sometimes felt like a fruitless search.

The Rare Books and Manuscripts Collections at the British Public Library was where I found works that were printed in the seventeen and eighteen hundreds. Although books like Pierre Labarthe's *Voyage à la côte de Guinée, ou Description des Côtes Afrique*, Thomas Clarkson's *Letters on the Slave-Trade*, John Matthews' *A Voyage to the River of Sierra Leone on the Coast of Africa*, Captain J.F. Napier Hewett's *European Settlements on the West Coast of Africa*, and George Thompson's *The Palm Land*, did not contain "direct" information about women's involvement in slave trading and "legitimate" commerce, they provided vital data on topics like the mulatto populations in Sierra Leone and Goree, the nature of slave trading and "legitimate" commerce in these territories, and social relations in these territories. It may be argued, therefore, that the intrinsic value of these mostly eyewitness accounts – which cannot and should not be discounted – is that they "set the scene" for women's participation in West African economic systems in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. For example, Thompson's observation that "[t]he people of Goree are made up of French half-breeds and mulatto quadroons, with their servants" supplements and substantiates the analyses of historians like George E. Brooks and James F. Searing who have documented the importance of the mulatto populations in St. Louis and Goree. These authors found that these groups were not only a prominent fixture in 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> St. Louis and Goree, but that they also played an integral role in slave trading and other commercial activities.

From the bustling streets of Central London to the more serene calm of Kew, the P.R.O. was the next stop on my research trip. If my findings at the British Public Library were more rewarding psychologically than intellectually, it was at the P.R.O. that I “struck gold” and lessened my fears that my trip had been in vain. It was here that I was able to consult the primary – often handwritten – documents that are like the elusive El Dorado to most researchers. These collections contained official government records, including correspondence between personnel like Lieutenant Governor Alex Findlay who was stationed in Sierra Leone, and R.W. Hay, Under Secretary of State; from Admiralty records of stations in Africa – which are listed under the ADM series; and from British Trade records that are listed under the BT series. My most interesting findings at the P.R.O were a series of Ledgers from the Gambia from



1735. These accounts ledgers contained lists of female traders including Angella Beare, Tereza Giar, Cybell/Cybel Giar, Catherina Giar, Carara Marteis, Celia Beare, Jonoor Garcia, Barbara Mendosa, and Lewisa/Louissa/Louisa Garcia. These women traded in slaves and other “commodities” including rum, beads, “trading guns,” elephants’ teeth, iron bars, cutlasses, brandy, and gunpowder. Although I have yet to find more detailed information about these women, I cannot discount the possibility of someday stumbling upon “follow-up” information on them in other sources. For instance, I found information on one prominent female slaver in a Colonial Office document. In CO 267/119, Lieutenant Governor Alex Findlay made mention of a “Liberated African boy who had been kidnapped from the colony [Sierra Leone], and is now in Slavery with one Mrs. Lightburn who carries on the Slave Trade in the Rio Pongas . . .” By “reading between the lines,” I was also able to gain valuable insight into Mrs. Lightburn’s character; Mrs. Lightburn may be seen as assertive, outspoken, audacious, and as the consummate businesswoman. These characteristics may be gleaned from the fact that Findlay did not seek to redeem the kidnapped boy, but instead expressed a desire to

“receive Lord Viscount Goderiche’s instructions on this Subject, as Mrs. Lightburn has expressed her determination not to give up the Boy unless she receives a remuneration for him.” Findlay went on to reveal more about Mrs. Lightburn’s influence in his revelation that she was the “Widow of an American who formerly carried on the Slave Trade in the Rio Pongos [sic] to a very great extent.”

In the final analysis, I would sum up my research trip to Britain as having had mixed results. At times I felt frustrated and as if I would *never* find any concrete evidence of prominent female slavers – particularly for the periods between 1700 and circa 1850 – and at other times I was ecstatic. However, I have found that the *value* of starting research for a dissertation goes far beyond “getting the lucky break” at the outset. Along with doing work in the field comes a sense of *actually doing something*, gaining an awareness of the data that are available, and becoming more focused and having a *clearer* sense of the *direction* of one’s research.



## Ismael Musah Montana

### “Sudan-Tunis”, The Black Slave Community of the Regency of Tunis, 1800-1846.

From June through August 2001 I conducted fieldwork in Tunis, London, and Ghana. During this period I collected primary sources, both written and oral, from Tunisian and British archives, as well as West African sources in Ghana. Specifically, the goal was to retrieve the vast amount of data scattered across a number of archives in Tunisia, the United Kingdom and France on the Regency during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Using research equipment provided by the Nigerian Hinterland Project, I was able to digitize a few documents found in private hands and I conducted a considerable number of interviews. Ultimately, the availability of equipment proved a great asset for recordings and documentation of the fieldwork. Several pieces of visual data, mainly antiques concerning my dissertation subject, were also collected in Tunis. Besides this I was able to engage in religious ceremonies with the descendants of “Sudan-Tunis” which took place at times that coincided with this fieldwork.

#### Fieldwork’s design and results Tunisia

The first two months of fieldwork spent in Tunisia were dedicated to the collection of data pertinent to my specific period of study, the first half of the nineteenth century. In addition, time was spent on the collation of previous data already collected in the *Archives du Gouvernement Tunisien* [AGT] Tunis which houses the correspondence between the Bey’s government and the local administration in the pre-colonial period. Other files consulted included; [serie Historique] and diplomatic correspondence in the (AGT). Archives of the *Quai-D’Orsay* housed in the Institut Supérieur d’Histoire du Mouvement Nationale in the Université Tunis I were also consulted. Unfortunately, the archives of the *Consul Général de France à Tunis* which are also housed in the same archive could not be consulted because of time constraints. In the future I will also examine the Legal Court Records. The records of the *Qadi* may contain references to matters relating to slavery and manumissions etc. For example, when Ahmed Bey rendered his final blow to the institution of slavery in all his dominions in 1846, *qadis* were appointed by the Bey in *Zawiyas* and mosques to issue certificates of manumission to slaves. Unfortunately, the *Archives du Gouvernement Tunisien* [AGT] holdings do not preserve any such records and attempts made to investigate the whereabouts of these records at the Faculty of Law Library in the Université Tunis II inventories proved futile.

Other archives where research was conducted in Tunis were the following:

#### **St. George’s Church Archives, Tunis.**

St. George’s Church in Tunis, once a site of refuge for Christian slaves, renegades, and prisoners sold into slavery in the Regency of Tunis from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, has private archives, which I consulted. This Protestant church, dating back to around 1645, has a history steeped in the British role in the abolition of the African slave trade in the Regency of Tunis. As the church’s name in Arabic “*Bled Cheram*” (a place of refuge), denotes, besides the Foreign Consular, it provided sanctuary to several runaway black slaves seeking freedom in early nineteenth century Tunis. The legacy of slavery and the role of

St. George's church as a place of refuge is also reflected in the tombstone of the British abolitionist, Thomas Reade, Consul General in Tunis from 1824 to 1849. To Reade's credit, in the spirit of the abolitionist movement which was sweeping through Europe, in 1842 he persuaded Ahmed Bey "to abolish slavery throughout his dominions" as his epitaph in the church says, thereby granting freedom to every slave. Although Reade's tombstone was moved to England, a commemorative plaque in the church porch has been reproduced to acknowledge his philanthropic and noble role in persuading and encouraging the Bey of the Regency of Tunis in his efforts to extinguish slavery in his territories. Unfortunately, most of the Church's archives from the nineteenth century were moved to the Church headquarters in Britain. However, its burial ground tells much of Tunis' past and especially about slavery in the Regency. Special thanks are due to Father Gerald Brulotte, the Canadian Priest who is Chaplain of St. George's and who opened the doors of the church archives to me. Similar thanks are owed to the British Consul General in Tunis for her suggestion that I should visit the church.

I also consulted many secondary sources including recent dissertations related to the subject of slavery in the nineteenth century in the following libraries; 1) *Institut de Recherche sur le Maghreb Contemporain* (IRMC), 2) Center For Maghreb Studies in Tunis (CEMAT), 3) *Centre d' Etudes et de recherches Ottomanes, Morisques, de Documentation et d'Information* (Ceromdi) Zaghouan and the *Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes* (IBLA).

In Tunis, my fieldwork also had a second phase. This included engagement with the descendants of "Sudan-Tunis" (the former enslaved Black African community) in Tunis. This engagement was more anthropological and involved oral interviews and participant observations in a number of *Stambali*, (formerly, Bori possession cult practice) ceremonies. Of particular value to this phase of the fieldwork was the three-day annual *ziaret* to *Sidi Amr Bou khatoua*, situated on the hilltop in *Rawad* about 5-6 KM from Arianna during the first week of July. The *ziaret* provided a special opportunity for me to obtain first-hand accounts about Bori practices in Tunis. The method used in obtaining accounts from the *ziaret* was observation of many facets of the rituals of the *ziaret*. This observation was then followed by interviews at the end of each day of the *ziaret* with a wide variety of subjects, notably "Arifas" (female priestesses). The language of the interview was the Tunisian colloquial dialect, so these interviews will now be transcribed. Through the interviews I explored issues relating to 1) gender and the institution of "arifa" 2) the *Stambali* connections to Bori and to Sub-Saharan Africa 3) the articulation of resistance among its participants. Special healing ceremonies for *Stambali* clients at *Sidi Ali Lasmar*, also afforded an opportunity for me to make numerous observations of the *Stambali* clients. Apart from these special occasions, three *Stambali* brotherhoods out of the five main established *Stambali* groups in Tunis were constantly visited. As a result, further interviews were made possible and data was collected on the Bori including a newly released documentary on the Bori, "*Stambali: An African Ritual in Tunisia*" directed by Nawfel Saheb-Ettaba. This 35-mm documentary, which was shot during the summer of 2000, provides an insightful picture of the *Stambali* as "a legacy of African spirituality" and a cult originating from sub-Saharan Africa. I am grateful to Mr. Sahab-Etabba for sharing with me his insights about the documentary from numerous critiques in film festivals from France, Italy and Ouagadougou.

In addition to the data afforded by observation of the ritual ceremonies, the life histories of descendants of "Sudan-Tunis" were also the subject of several interviews that were usually conducted in their homes. The household interviews were designed to allow me to explore the significance of ethnicity, race and identity among the blacks of Tunis. In particular, diasporic issues were researched in these interviews. Many names bearing sub-Saharan African traits still exist in the black community and attempts to locate these names in their historical milieu were made. Moreover, I sought to explore displacement among the

blacks and to uncover existing ties between them and Sub-Saharan Africa. Unlike the data collected through observation in the *Stambali* ceremonies, interviewing the blacks in their households, however fruitful, was not an easy task. The reaction of a number of informants to the questions was sometimes ambivalent. Such responses, in most cases, were unsurprising, given the local cultural values. Respondents were generally unwilling to discuss issues of racial classification in the Arab-Islamic context. Even more important to note was the level of inter-marriage amongst the blacks of Tunis, local Arabs and the Berber population. In almost every household interviewed, inter-marriage was a common trend, which precluded that certain topics be broached during the interview. Therefore, the second phase of the fieldwork in Tunis at times was typified by a need to determine which of the original questions of the interview should not be asked and to shape the research strategy to specific situations..

For the household interviews, I selected blacks who were direct descendants of the former enslaved West African community brought to the Regency of Tunis, primarily, through the caravan trade. The one exception was a male Arab “*Arifa*”, who in spite of being white was, in fact, culturally black. Overall, five households were interviewed. Of all the interviewees in the five households this summer, I gained the most valuable information from Cheikh Abdelmajid Mihoub Bornaoui, the 85 year-old patron of the Bori and *Yenna* of the *Stambali* group of *Dar Borno* in *Sidi Abdelsalem*. Cheikh Bornaoui is the *maigida* (Landlord) and heir of *Dar Borno*, the sole surviving household among the 14 *Diyar*, (households) of the “Sudan-Tunis” community mentioned by al-Timbuktawi in *Hatk al-Sitr*. Interestingly, his father was the last appointed *galadima*, (an official appointed foreman over the black slaves in Tunis), before Tunis became a republic. Cheikh Bornaoui is also the custodian of *Sidi Frej*, a *zawiya* in which descendants of the former enslaved and freed blacks, especially those with Borno ties, celebrate the annual *ziaret*.

### Visual Data



In Tunis, I was able to collect a considerable amount of visual data, particularly old photographs. Most of the photographs collected date back to the early twentieth century and include:

1. 14 old photographs of *Souk El-Berka*, the ruins of the principal Slave Market in Tunis.
2. 1 Portrait of *Bash Agha*. The Beys appointed Black Judge who oversees the freed blacks in the Regency of Tunis.
3. 1 Portrait of a slave child.
4. 2 photographs of *Sidi Mahrez*, the well-known *Zawiya* where Ahmed Bey appointed notaries to issue certificates of manumission to slaves in 1846.
5. 1 Photograph of Rue Sidi Abd-Esselem leading to *Dar Borno* in Tunis.
6. 1 photograph of the property of Cardinal Lavigerie used in the late nineteenth century as the *Institut Catholique des Nègres* by the White fathers in La Marsa, Tunis.

### London.

**Public Record Office (Kew Garden), Rhodes House, (Oxford) and British Library, (London).**

In the U.K, my research was conducted mainly at the Public Record Office PRO (Kew Gardens). The English Consular Records for North Africa are particularly rich sources for the nineteenth century Regency of Tunis. Records consulted varied but the main archives researched included the following:

1. FO 84. The Slave Trade Series.
2. FO 77. The series number used for Tunisia was also consulted.
3. FO 102. Is designed as consular correspondence between Tunisia and London and was consulted.
4. FO 335. Miscellaneous material from consular archives in Tunisia is classified in a series and was also

consulted.

**Rhodes House, (Oxford), and the British Library, (London).** The records consulted in the Rhodes House, Oxford, and the British Library, (London) were the British and FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY Anti-Slavery Papers.

**Ghana, West Africa.**

Since I had already undertaken extensive fieldwork in North Africa, I did some research in Ghana for a comparative perspective to verify the information collected from North Africa and to compare its relevance in the Nigerian Hinterland's context. Thus I traveled to Larabanga, or "Home of the Arab" in order to focus on the West African hinterland's component of my dissertation. The history of this village, Larabanga, in the middle of the western Gonja District, reveals much about Islam, slavery and the trans-Saharan trade. The village is home to the oldest mosque in Ghana and one of the oldest in West Africa and is now recognized as a World Heritage Site, because of its trans-Saharan context. It is also home to one of the oldest Korans in the world. Local adherents believe that it was brought miraculously to the village through the prayers of its founder Yidan Braimah, at the site of the "Mystic Stone" that rests just outside the village on the ancient trans-Sahara trade route that runs through the village and connects it to the Sahara. Larabanga was also a site of Samore Ture's raid for slaves during the nineteenth century, highlighting how its history is intertwined with slavery and it awaits its share of historians' attention. The current Iman of the Larabanga Mosque was interviewed and photos of the mosque, the mystic stone and the ancient slave route through which Samore Ture raided the village were documented.

As I visited the University of Cape Coast and Cape Coast Castle, I was able to meet with Kwado Opoku-Agyemang, member of the York/UNESCO Nigerian Hinterland's Project's International Advisory Board and professor at the University of Cape Coast whose current research focuses on the collection of memories about resistance to the slave trade in Africa. Besides this, the library of the University of Ghana (Legon) was consulted but the library of the Institute of Arabic and Islamic studies could not be consulted due to logistics and time constraints.



## Thorald Burnham

During the month of August, 2001 I traveled to the United States to conduct research at the Schomburg Centre for Black Culture in Harlem, New York. My general assignment was to review primary documents relating to 19<sup>th</sup> century Trinidad. In addition to this, I was able to examine available documents related to my own research interests on the French Caribbean and Haiti in particular. More specifically, I am researching popular culture, gender and

sexual rhetoric in 20<sup>th</sup> century Haiti, with an additional interest in ethnicity and identity during the period of the Haitian Revolution.

The Schomburg, as part of the New York Public Library system, is an excellent source of primary and secondary documentation regarding the Caribbean, especially 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Haiti. Despite the large volume of documents available for viewing, time constraints required that I be selective in my research strategy. As a result, I undertook a preliminary survey of: (1) 19<sup>th</sup> century documents on the subject of Trinidad and Tobago; (2) Haitian documents relating to slavery and the revolution; (3) French language documents pertaining to Igbo identity in pre-revolutionary Saint-Domingue; (4) Black emigration to Haiti in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; (5) and, finally, a series of other collections dealing with Caribbean culture, most notably the Melville Herskovits collection.

### (1) 19<sup>th</sup> century Trinidad documents, both primary and secondary:

The catalogue collection of these documents at the Schomburg is substantial. However, rather than copying documents that are available elsewhere, I cross-referenced the results with York university and U of Toronto holdings. As well, a number of the documents are available on Microform, which should be available through interlibrary loan. Probably the most important of these is the West Indian Collection which contains government correspondence from Haiti and the Leeward Islands.

### (2) Haitian documents relating to slavery and the revolution:

The two most interesting of these is a set of documents concerning fugitive slaves from the Turks and Caicos islands who pursued freedom in Saint-Domingue. In a series of letters and other official correspondence, the former owners of the slaves tried to establish loss of property claims. The second surrounds incidents regarding the slave ship *Le Concorde*. The documents appear to be a report and/or summary of the dispute that arose concerning the slave ship including such as detailed information as the number of slaves etc.

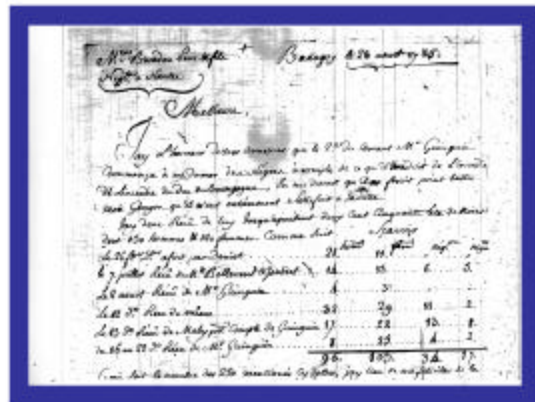


**(3) French language documents pertaining to Igbo identity:**

While there is a large number of French language monographs regarding other topics, a specific title addressing Igbo identity was not found.

**(4) Black emigration to Haiti in the 19<sup>th</sup> century:**

I paid particular attention to the James Redpath documents. These are all on microform. York and Toronto, between the two, have all but one of the reels that are located at the Schomburg. A cursory examination indicated some interesting information



on the underground railroad-Chatham-Haiti connection and the Simcoe expedition. The documents are in the form of newspaper clippings and personal correspondence.

**(5) Caribbean Culture/Melville Herskovits Collection:**

Included in the substantial Herskovits Collection are several diaries of his trips to West Africa, the Caribbean and Brazil. I photocopied his diaries of Trinidad and Haiti as well as the better part of his field notebooks from Haiti and Trinidad that are full of all manner of song lyrics: Rara and Vodou songs as well as a large collection of Calypso.

Outside of the Schomburg I pursued several areas of my own interest (this is centered on the subjects of Caribbean popular culture and national discourse, gender and sexuality). This led me to several Brooklyn Music stores that specialize in Haitian music, and allowed me to make contacts for future work. As well, I was fortunate to purchase music that I had used in my M.A. thesis, but had been unable to find. In addition, I met with Professor Gage Averill, Chair of the N.Y.U. music department, and the leading authority on Haitian music and popular culture. This meeting afforded me the opportunity to discuss my own upcoming projects and to gain access to the Haitian music community in New York and in Haiti.



## Audra Diptee

I spent several weeks in England. While there I visited the Public Record Office in Kew Gardens, the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Rhodes House, and the Bodleian Library at Oxford University. The majority of my time was spent at Rhodes House and the Bodleian. In Rhodes House I looked at the papers in the general catalogue and those of the Anti-slavery Society. The majority of the documents were produced towards the end of slavery in the British Caribbean (1820s-1830s), though there are some from before and after that date. Generally the material refers to Jamaica and Trinidad. The documents tended to focus on the process of Emancipation, the Apprenticeship period, or the plights of Liberated Africans. I copied and/or microfilmed approximately 200 pages of material. The most noteworthy documents include:

- Edwards, Bryan, Letter to H. Dundas respecting the slave trade, **7<sup>th</sup> April, 1797**. This letter makes recommendations for restricting the slave trade to young adolescents (boys under 4 feet 10 inches and females who have not borne children, with deliberate attempts being made to obtain more female slaves in order to equalize the sexes.
- Jamaica, A letter referring to the “prince of Loando and Benguela” who was residing in Jamaica. The prince [Tangoy Bongela] was entrusted (by his father) to a slave trader who would take him to Brazil to be educated. The vessel was captured at St. Helena and he was then sent to Jamaica where he was pursuing his studies. Also letter from the son to his father. **April 14, 1856, 24pp.**
- Jamaica, a letter called “The Life and History of Abou Bekir Sakiki alias Edward Doulan” – describes life in Africa (Timbuctoo) and his enslavement in Jamaica, **August 29, 1834, 4pp**
- Trinidad, “An Ordinance for the protection and the promoting of the Industry and the good conduct of [liberated] Africans transferred to this island.” **1835, 16pp.**

While at the Bodleian, I used the Barham Family Papers. The majority of the documents in this collection were those of Joseph Foster Barham (1759-1832). Joseph Barham was the owner of considerable estates in the West Indies and the UK. A lesser proportion of these are documents left by his son John Foster Barham (1799-1838). The Barham Papers are arranged in 4 general groups:

- Papers dealing primarily with the administration of the two Barham estates, the Island Estate and Mesopotamia, in the West Indies.
- Papers dealing mainly with estate matters in the UK, that is with the Barham property at Stockbridge, Trecoon, and Westmorland.
- Consists of political papers which concern the activities of Joseph Barham – shows that these were not the easiest of times to own negro slaves or to sell sugar in England.



## Oscar Grandio Moráquez

In June 2001, I went to the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, where I've searched materials in my area of interest. There I had access to documents that I photocopied, and will use for my comprehensive exams.

Here at York University in July and August 2001, I worked with the microfilm collection brought by Prof. Jane Landers (Vanderbilt University) from Cuba. This Collection includes materials from Catholic parish registers in Havana. As well, I worked on the "Actas de Cabildo de Matanzas, Tomo I, Actas Capitulares" and with the material from the Cathedral Archives, Matanzas. In this collection I was looking for information on the ethnic background of slaves in Matanzas during the nineteenth century. This information will allow me to determine patterns of ethnicity among the slave population in Matanzas during the peak of the slavery system in that Cuban province.

During my 12 days research trip to Chicago in August 2001, I had the opportunity to work on the Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of African American History and Literature at the Chicago Public Library. This collection has very extensive microform holding compiled by Edward Manney in 1984. The microform holdings of the Harsh Research Collection facilitated my access from Chicago to a diverse collections of materials all around United States. There I found a broad range of materials:

- 1- American Anti-slavery Society. Annual Reports, Nos. 1-27: New York, 1834-1860. Contains materials found in the Annual Reports that include speeches delivered at the anniversary meetings, roll of delegates, list of officers, etc.
- 2- American Colonization Society. Annual Reports, 1-91/93<sup>rd</sup>, Washington, DC, 1818-1908/10. Contains materials found in the Annual Reports relate to the establishment of the Liberian Colony in West Africa.
- 3- American Missionary Association Archives, 1839-1882. New Orleans, LA: Amistad Research Center. Contains manuscripts that include statistical reports, pictures, essays, letters, etc.
- 4- Black Abolitionist Papers, 1830-1865. Sanford, NC: Microfilming Corporation of America. Contains a collection of writings, speeches, correspondence and other printed materials of approximately three hundred blacks who were actively involved in the anti-slavery movement.
- 5- Correspondence of the Secretary of the Navy Relating to African Colonization, 1819-1844. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Service. Contains letters and reports concern such matters as the seizure of vessels in US, the arrangements for the shipment of liberated Africans to reception centers in Northwest Africa, etc.
- 6- Letter Books of Commodore Matthew C. Perry, 1843-1845. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Service. Contains copies of communications sent by Commodore Perry, commanding officer of the African Squadron. The documents concern the slave trade and the condition of colonies of free blacks from the United States.
- 7- Letters received by the Secretary of the Navy from Commanding Officers of African Squadron,

1843-1861. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Service. Contain reports on naval activities, on the economic, social, and political life of the countries adjacent to the cruising area of the African Squadron.

- 8- Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture: Selection of Titles. Millwood, NY: Kraus Microfilms. Contains a two part series of selected titles from de Schomburg Collection. One series consists of over fifty journals and 124 works or collection of work by and about relatively well-known figures in black history and culture. The second series offers selected pieces on African History, slavery, the Black experience in the US and Caribbean, etc.
- 9- Selected Records Issued by the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freed Men and Abandoned Lands. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Service. Contains the correspondence sent and received by the office of the Commissioner of the Freedmen 's Bureau from 1865-1872.
- 10- Records of the Ante-Bellum Southern Plantations. Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America. Contains records, papers, etc, of plantations owners from regions of South United States.
- 11- Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior relating to the suppression of the African Slave Trade and Negro Colonization, 1854-1872. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Service. Consists mainly of letters sent and received by the office of the Secretary of Interior relating to the slave trade, abstracts of the slave laws pertaining to slavery, etc. The collection also includes records of colonization efforts in Liberia and Haiti.
- 12- 1860. Eighth Census of the United States. Slave Schedules. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Service. Contains the data of the 1860 census. The 1860 slave schedules are arranged by State and the county. Under the owner's name slaves are listed by sex, age, occupation, and sometimes by names.
- 13- Slavery Tracts and Pamphlets from the West India Committee Collection. London: World Microfilm Publication. Contains collections of pamphlets on the sugar trade of the West Indies and its slave labor.

At the Chicago Public Library I also reviewed some of the materials at the Black Culture Collection. This collection consists of approximately 6,000 titles from the Slaughter Collection in the Trevor-Arnett Library, Atlanta University. The major categories of the collection are:

- The Black Experience in America since the 17<sup>th</sup> Century.
- Africa and African American Publications
- The Black Experience in South America and West Indies
- Slavery in History.

At one of the branches of the Chicago Public Library where the Harsh Collection is located, I had the chance to review a report on slavery in Cuba, a 42 pages document that transcribed a meeting about the situation of slavery in Cuba, held at Cooper Institute, New York City, on December 13, 1872.

Some of the materials found contain a lot of information on slavery in Cuba and slave traffic to Cuba in the nineteenth Century; which is the focal point of my research. Other materials do not have any direct relation with my research but could be used by other researchers at the Nigerian Hinterland Project.



## Olatunji Ojo

My first assignment was attendance and presentation of a paper at the conference on Religion and Slavery in the Modern Era, Essaouira, Morocco, 14-17 June 2001. My paper titled “Islam and Slavery in nineteenth century Ibadan, Southwestern Nigeria” centered on religion and how it shaped ethnicity, the kind of legal apparatus it provided and how slaves and slave owners adjusted to several unfolding religious scenarios. The conference turned out well, especially as it opened me to insights into a comparative study of slavery from 3 broad cultural perspectives—the Islamic World, the Americas and Coastal

West Africa.

After Morocco, I moved to Nigeria where I undertook the major thrust of my summer research. Here I concentrated on collecting information from the Nigerian National Archives, Ibadan. My aim was to gather materials that are of importance to my dissertation topic, ***SLAVERY, GENDER RELATIONS AND LAND USE IN YORUBALAND 1850-1930***, but also to examine sources that have bearing on the research focus of the Nigerian Hinterland Project/Harriet Tubman Center for Research on the African Diaspora.

My collections are from 3 major Archival groupings:

### **[A] Colonial Central Secretariat Office:**

They are listed as CSO 1-26 Series and contain dispatches from the colonial authorities in Nigeria to the colonial Office in London, Departmental papers, Assessment, Annual and Quarterly reports and files on specific subjects. Subjects such as **slavery, pawnship, toll collection, agriculture and land tenure, Hausa traders, Pilgrimage to Mecca, Islam, trade in kolanuts and cattle, currency and women**.

**B] Provincial and Divisional Papers:** These are papers of local peculiarities such as journals and letters of local colonial officers, letters and petitions generated within restricted areas of jurisdiction. They include papers on the enforcement of anti-slavery laws, complaints from slaves and their owners, marriages and commercial disputations. Some of these are contained in court records.

### **C] Missionary Papers :**

These are copies—original/duplicates of papers sent to the CMS Headquarters in London. In addition to these there are some private collections of mission agents. The richest of these is the collection of Bishop Charles Phillips, which covers 1877-1906. The best portions of this collection are the diaries, letters and journals for the period 1885-1898.

There is also the collection of Rev. Moses Lijadu spanning the 1890s. These are useful as missionaries doubled as historians and anthropologists of the early colonial period and their writings show the fitful, sometimes smooth, transition from the ‘traditional’ to the ‘modern’ era. Indeed, Revs. Phillips and Lijadu provided, perhaps the oldest and the most detailed contemporary recordings of the Ondo-Ikale country during this era of rapid socio-economic change.

Outside the archives, I used the library facilities of the University of Ibadan—the most important being the Kenneth Dike Memorial, Departments of History and Archaeology and the Institute of African Studies. I read through many of the theses, dissertations and long essays. These contain rich local sources, many of which could not be found in published sources. For example, essays written between 1960 and 1980 contain local traditions that perhaps might not be recollected again, either because the informants are dead or because people's attitudes to history and to particular subjects and topics have changed. Hence such information gathered from the essays form a platform on which subsequent field research shall be based. They provide leads to possible informants and traditions that have since been refashioned. Since the informants and sources cited in these essays were closer to my period of research, they may prove invaluable. From my readings of these essays, I have added considerably to a slave biographical database that I started in 1999.

Apart from mainstream archival search, I made contacts with Nigerian scholars working on topics relevant to the NHP's agenda. I talked to Dr Kyari Mohammed of Federal University of Technology, Bauchi, whose thesis on Rabeh of Borno is considered one of the best in the recent history of the University of Ibadan. In it he pulls together materials on Ali Eizarme of Bornu [See P. Curtin, *Africa Remembered*, chapter 7] and other slave families in that region. A team led by Drs. Sam Asein and Frank Egbokhare of the Faculty of Arts, University of Ibadan is also collecting life histories of slaves and their families in Northern Edo. Yoruba and Nupe warriors raided this district intensively in the nineteenth century. It is hoped that they shall exchange their materials. I donated 2 books, P. Lovejoy (ed) *Ideology of Slavery* and Miers and Kopytoff (eds), *Slavery in Africa* to Egbokhare and his team.

Outside Nigeria, I made a brief visit to the Public Records Office in London and the CMS Archives, Birmingham University to acquaint myself with their repositories. Having only two days to do this, I could only browse through the collections but I came to the conclusion that they shall go in a long way in augmenting my research in Nigeria. For example the CMS (Yoruba Mission) papers contained the journals and letters originating from mission headquarter and individual missionaries from 1841 through the 1930s. Many of these priests provided eyewitness accounts of major events of the nineteenth century. Their writings cover issues ranging from politics, economics, gender relations and other socio-cultural activities. The wealth of these papers have been demonstrated in the PhD theses of J.F.Ade Ajayi and E. A. Ayandele on Christian Missions in Nigeria, London 1958 and 1963 respectively, E. A. Oroge on Slavery in Yorubaland, Birmingham, 1971 and Francine Shields on Yoruba women, Stirling, 1997.

The Public Records Office contains consular and colonial papers dating back to the early nineteenth century but my interest shall focus on those dating from 1841 when Britain increased its activities along the Nigerian coastline. Since part of these activities involved the abolition of the slave trade and later slavery and the promotion of legitimate commerce, British Officers took an interest in recording daily occurrences in their areas of jurisdiction. On my next visit I shall be focusing on the dispatches to and from the colony of Nigeria and the FO84 series, which deals with the slave trade and related issues. I found out for example that the PRO should complement my research in Nigeria, even though some of the papers originating from the colony of Nigeria have been expunged from PRO records.\* Nevertheless copies of many letters and reports enclosed in dispatches from Nigeria are only available in London.

**\* Some colonial papers were expunged from PRO records as the authorities tried to decongest their archives.**



## Omar Eno

Most studies on enslaved Africans in the Diaspora have concentrated on the Americas, the Caribbean, the Islamic Arab world, the Indian subcontinent and elsewhere. However, little attention has been paid to the internal African Diaspora. This consisted of enslaved individuals transshipped/transported from one region to another within Africa. The purpose of my thesis aims at correcting this imbalance. It does this primarily by examining the impact of stigma, slavery, and its legacy on the social structures of the Wazigwa, a Bantu/Jareer group in southern Somalia. They (Wazigwa) were slaves imported from Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Pemba, and Mozambique into the coastal cities of southern Somalia by the Arabs (Omanis) in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The thesis will also explore; how these peoples in Somalia now are affected by the stigma and the legacy of slavery especially suffering exclusion from the land tenure systems, politics, economics, and education.

One of my objectives in the thesis is to apply some of the conceptual frameworks that have evolved in the study of the African Diaspora in the Americas. There, ethnic categories, as related through dance, dialects, and creolization, have been used to examine slave culture and forms of resistance to enslavement.

In the summer of 2001, I went to Morocco to present a paper in a conference regarding slavery and religion in the modern world. There I had the opportunity to meet and interact with several prominent scholars from all over the world. After the conference in Morocco I proceeded to Rome to conduct archival research for my dissertation. I first visited the Istituto Italo-Africano e l'Oriente; there I could not do much of my research, due to Library renovations. Then, I visited the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs where most of the colonial documents are stored. I dug and delved into relevant materials to my area of study, which is the 19<sup>th</sup> century history of the Bantu/Jareer people in southern Somalia. Although I sifted through limited files, I managed to obtain enough material but a lot of qualitative and quantitative documents are waiting to be studied in this archive. In future, I intend to visit the public record office in UK, Arabic source materials in Egypt, and materials in Tanganyika and Zanzibar. I also expect that there is additional written documentation in private holdings in Somalia, and I plan to continue to interview elders both in Somalia and elsewhere.

After returning to Toronto, I went to the Library of Congress in Washington where I compiled and photocopied several articles about the Bantu/Jareer people and also compiled a bibliography. Subsequently, since there is a large Somali community in the United States I decided to deal with oral history as well, by interviewing elders of Bantu/Jareer origin and I was able to obtain valuable information.



Liberto Mabruc.



## Ibrahim Hamza

My research interest focuses on British relations with the Emirates of Northern Nigeria from the late 19th century to the early 1920s. This period is associated with various issues concerning slavery and abolition, as well as the foundation of British imperialism in Northern Nigeria, especially through its military conquest of the Muslim emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate at the turn of the 20th century. Owing to the nature of the available literature on the British abolition of slavery and the subsequent imposition of colonial rule in Northern Nigeria, my main interest is in examining some previously untapped primary sources in order to reconstruct British policy regarding political and social relations with the Sokoto Caliphate. These documents especially address the much-debated issues of slavery and the transformation of the political economy of the Caliphate under British imperial control. My work will lead to a careful examination of the factors that fostered the development of colonial machinery like the military force, political agents, and the formation of a new aristocracy after the conquest. It will also gauge the use of propaganda by the Colonial Office in London in order to effect its policies in the remote colonial posts in Northern Nigeria.

### Research Institutions

I conducted research in the Public Record Office, Kew Gardens, and Oxford University. The Public Record Office's collections range from the simplest identification cards, to birth registers, to the voluminous collections of official correspondence between the Colonial Office, the War Office and the Foreign Office on almost every aspect of British overseas interests. I utilized the Colonial Office collections especially the CO446, Cmd and Cd series which are sources of valuable data about British relations with Northern Nigeria. At Oxford, Rhodes House has valuable collections like the Lugard Papers, Margery Perham Papers, E. J. Arnett Collections, as well as MSS. Brit. Emp. series and MSS. Africa series. It is also where the Anti-Slavery Society Papers are located.



## Yacine DADDI ADDOUN

Pour une thèse sur l'abolition de l'esclavage en Algérie, 1816-1871, les archives d'outre-mer d'Aix-en-Provence sont incontournables. Le contenu de ces archives ne reflète cependant qu'une seule vision de ce qu'étaient l'esclavage et son abolition au long de cette période : le point de vue colonial. Il est nécessaire d'aller sur le terrain pour se rendre compte de la diversité et de la richesse des sources disponibles pour les chercheurs dans ce domaine.

Un article d'une historienne algérienne nous a révélé que

les archives nationales d'Algérie à Alger pourraient contenir des documents intéressants sur le domaine. Nous nous y sommes rendus dans l'espoir de trouver des documents susceptibles de nous éclairer plus sur le phénomène esclavagiste durant l'époque ottomane.

L'accueil dans les archives était très chaleureux aussi bien par la responsable de la section des archives ottomanes que par la présidente de la salle de lecture. Une visite dans les différents services de ces archives nous a renseigné longuement sur l'effort de cette institution non seulement dans la sauvegarde des archives et leur mise à la disposition des chercheurs mais aussi son rôle dans l'acquisition et la copie de manuscrits restés de nos jours éparpillés dans les bibliothèques privées en Algérie.

La série que nous avons dépouillée était bien cataloguée dans sept volumes numérotés de un à huit auxquels manquait le numéro six. Il s'agit plutôt d'un saut de numéro que d'un manque de volume. Ce sont les archives des cours légaux *al-mahâkim al-shar'îya* et contiennent des documents officiels touchant différents aspects de la vie selon les deux rites malikites et hanafites qui existaient à Alger durant l'époque ottomane. On y trouve pêle-mêle des actes de mariages, des actes de divorces, des liquidations de successions, des actes de ventes, des actes de biens de main morte *habus*, des contrats de locations, des lettres amicales...

Les documents concernant l'esclavage n'étaient pas rares. Nous en avons recensé quelques trois cents dont la majorité sont des documents d'affranchissement. Il n'était pas possible de consulter les originaux. Ils sont dans un état de décomposition avancée, nous a-t-on informé. Durant notre tour des archives, nous n'avons pu constater cela *de visu* car la section des archives ottomanes était alors en travaux de désinfection. Seuls étaient accessibles les copies en microfiche. Comme le centre ne disposait pas de photocopie de microfiches, on nous a autorisé de photographier les documents à partir du lecteur de microfiches ; ce que nous avons fort apprécié.

Les photographies prises dans ces conditions sont lisibles et claires, si ce n'est le manque de plusieurs microfilms. Dans ce cas, une copie de troisième génération de microfilme était disponible mais d'une qualité médiocre. Il faut signaler d'autre part que certains documents étaient simplement manquants. L'intérêt de ces documents réside dans le fait qu'ils sont des documents légaux. Ils sont issus de différentes *mahkama*. Ils nous donnent des détails sur l'esclave affranchi : son sexe, une description physique sommaire et quelques fois son âge approximatif. On y trouve aussi mentionnée la raison pour laquelle cet acte fut accompli. La date de l'affranchissement y est précisée. En somme des informations qui constituent une source inestimable pour l'histoire de l'esclavage durant l'époque ottomane à Alger.

Notre séjour d'un mois au Mali était initiatique à plusieurs égards. Tout d'abord, le voyage aller-retour à travers le Sahara nous était une expérience tout à fait unique. L'idée était de voir de près le chemin parcouru jadis par les caravaniers et les négriers transsahariens. Même si les moyens de locomotion ont beaucoup changé, le désert reste le même et sa traversée reste une expérience marquante.



Act d'affranchissement de l'esclave nommée Sa'ada par le notable Algérois 'Uthman b. Hamdan Khuja à la mi-Ramadhan 1238 H. / fin mai 1823 G.

documents reste également à cataloguer mais un travail préliminaire a été déjà fait. Ce fonds est une source inestimable de l'histoire de la région de Tombouctou ainsi que du commerce transsaharien.

Une fois à Tombouctou, nous avons logé au centre Ahmed Baba où nous avons à effectuer le gros de nos recherches. Le centre était très animé du fait de la présence d'une équipe de chercheurs maliens qui travaillaient à compléter les catalogues de la bibliothèque et à mieux organiser les collections déjà existantes.

Au début de notre séjour, nous avons dépouillé les catalogues déjà publiés. Des répertoires manuscrits, nous n'avons pu consulter en fin de compte que deux volumes, limitant notre travail à la référence numéro 10000. Les documents sur l'esclavage abondent. Nous les avons répertoriés dans une liste ainsi que les documents qui nous intéressaient. Il ne nous était possible de digitaliser que quelques documents de cette inestimable collection. Nous avons également visité la bibliothèque Commémorative Mamma Haidara et avons rencontré son directeur 'Abd El-Kader Haidara. Nous avons pu nous rendre compte de la richesse de cette bibliothèque et avons reçu en présent son catalogue imprimé en trois volumes. Il reste cependant toute une partie de manuscrits de cette bibliothèque à cataloguer. Le fonds des documents

<sup>1</sup> GHETTAS Aïcha, "Sijillat al-mahâkim al-shar'îya wa 'ahammiyatuhâ fî dirâsat al-târikh al-'iqtisâdî wa 'l-'ijtimâ'î li-madînat al-Jazâ'ir – al-'ahd al-'Uthmânî", in *Insaniyat, Mémoire et histoire*, n. 3 hiver 1997, pp. 69-86.

<sup>2</sup> YELLES Chihab al-Din, (comp., prés.), SAIDOUNI Nassir Eddine (intr.), *Al-wathâ'iq al-wataniya: al-fihris al-tahlîlî li-lwathâ'iq al-târikhiya 'l-djazâ'iriya li-lrasîd al-'uthmânî*. Archives nationales: Archives historiques algériennes. Inventaire analytique du fonds ottoman, Alger, 1987, 7 volumes.

<sup>3</sup> IBN 'ALI SIDI 'Umar, JOHANSEN Julian, 'ABBAS 'Abd al-Muhsin, *Fihris makhtutât Markaz Ahmad Bâbâ lil-Tawthîq wa-al-Buhuth al-Târikhiyah bi-Tinbuktû; Handlist of manuscripts in the Centre de Documentation et de Recherches Historiques Ahmed Baba, Timbuktu*, London, England, Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 4 vols., 1995.

<sup>4</sup> HAIDARA Abdelkader Mamma, *Fihris maktutât maktabat Mamma Haidara li-lmakhtutât wa al-wathâ'iq; Catalogue of Manuscripts in Mamma Haidara Library*, ed. by SAYYID Ayman Fu'ad, London, Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 3 vols, 2000.



M. Djibril Dukoré bibliothécaise dans une partie de la section de manuscrits de la bibliothèque Ahmad Bâbâ à Tombouctou

## *Announcements*

Verene Shepherd, University of the West Indies (Mona), has been promoted to the rank of Professor.

The Université Nationale du Bénin has announced the establishment of the Institut Béninois d'Etudes et de Recherche sur la Diaspora Africaine (IBERDA), with Professor Elisée Soumonni as Président.

Dr. Joseph Adande has been appointed Vice-Président of the Comité Directeur, with Professors Sébastien Sotindjo, Yolande Behanzin, and Alexis Adande as members. In addition, Professors Paul Lovejoy, Robin Law, Olasope Oyelaran, and Alexis Adande have been appointed to the Conseil Scientifique, along with the heads of six departments at Université Nationale du Bénin.

Philip Morgan has been appointed in the Department of History, the Johns Hopkins University, leaving his position at the College of William and Mary and his editorship of the William and Mary Quarterly.

Edna Bay completed a year as Visiting Fulbright Professor at the University of the West Indies at Mona, teaching courses on gender and history.

Howard Dodson has announced that the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture (New York Public Library) has been awarded a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to develop a website on the history of the African-American Experience.

Carolyn Brown has been appointed Director, Center of African Studies, Rutgers University

Carolyn Brown has been appointed to the Editorial Advisory Board of the Journal of African History.

Rina Cáceres has received two awards for her publications, including the 1997 "Premio Ricardo Caillet-Bois", otorgado por el Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia por el libro *Negros, mulatos, esclavos y libertos en la Costa Rica del siglo XVII* (Mexico City, 1997).

Rina Cáceres has also been awarded the 2000 "Premio Nacional de Historia Aquileo Echeverría", colectivo, otorgado por el Gobierno de Costa Rica por la edición de la *Revista de Historia*, #39, Junio 1999, sobre la población afrocostarricense.

Toyin Falola was awarded the 2000 Holloway Award for Teaching Excellence at the University of Texas-Austin.

Femi James Kolapo, Post-Doctoral Fellow with the Nigerian Hinterland Project, has been appointed Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Guelph (Canada). Prof. Kolapo has been appointed to the International Advisory Board.

Jane Landers has been appointed Associate Dean, Faculty of Arts, Vanderbilt University

João José Reis has been awarded a Visiting Fellowship at Stanford University for 2001-02.