



YORK/UNESCO/SSHRCC NIGERIAN HINTERLAND PROJECT NEWSLETTER



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CANADA RESEARCH CHAIR AWARDED TO PROFESSOR PAUL E. LOVEJOY

On December 14, 2000, Prime Minister Jean Chretien announced the appointment of Professor Paul E. Lovejoy to a Canada Research Chair in African Diaspora History. Professor Lovejoy is Distinguished Research Professor at York University and Director of the York/UNESCO/SSHRCC Nigerian Hinterland Project. The Canada Research Chair will coordinate an international research agenda on the history of the African diaspora under Professor Lovejoy's direction. This initiative is also supported by a grant from the Canada Foundation for Innovation to establish a Canada centre for research on the African diaspora, to be named after Harriet Tubman. Professor Lovejoy's commitment to the study of

the African Diaspora in all its manifestations includes an interest in the Underground Railroad that brought thousands of Blacks to Canada to escape slavery and racism in the USA before the American Civil War and more generally in the role of Canada in the abolition movement. The Canada Research Chair will facilitate collaboration with community-based initiatives in Canada and the international UNESCO Slave Route Project in developing research and outreach on the African diaspora. Besides his position at York University, Professor Lovejoy is Research Professor at the University of Hull (UK) and member of the International Scientific Committee of the UNESCO Slave Route Project (Paris).

SPECIAL ISSUE: GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH



Some of the York/UNESCO/SSHRCC Nigerian Hinterland Project Graduate Students

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

Professor David Richardson was awarded a Wellcome Trust three-year grant for his project entitled "Medicine, the Atlantic Slave Trade and the History of Black Diaspora."

Professors David Richardson and David Eltis were awarded an Arts and Humanities Research Board three-year grant for "The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database" a revised and enlarged edition.

Professor David Eltis was awarded a Killam Senior Research Fellowship by the Social Sciences and Humanities Council of Canada.

Professor Elisée Soumonni was awarded a Leverhulme Trust Visiting Fellowship at Hull University.

Professor Elisée Soumonni has been appointed as director of **IBERDA. (Institut Béninois d'Etudes et de Recherche sur la Diaspora Africaine).**

Professor Alberto da Costa e Silva was elected to the Brazilian Academy/Academia do Brasil

Professor Paul E. Lovejoy was named to the editorial board of *Slavery and Abolition*.

Dr. Jane Landers was named Director of the Center for Latin American and Iberian Studies at Vanderbilt University.

Dr. Jane Landers was elected President of the Forum on European Expansion and Global Interaction.

Professor Robin Law was elected a Fellow of the British Academy.

Professor Robin Law was named Lady Davis Visiting Professor in the Dept. of History at Hebrew University and Visiting Fellow at the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace.

Professor José C. Curto has been recently named to the editorial advisory boards of **Portuguese Studies Review** (Durham, NH, USA) and **África Debate** (Lisbon, Portugal).

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Dr. Rina Cáceres

Dr. Rina Cáceres, director of the Diaspora Studies Program at the Centro de Investigaciones Historicas de America Central at the University of Costa Rica and a Network Professor for the York/ UNESCO/SSHRCC Nigerian Hinterland Project, was awarded the National Prize Aquileo Echeverria

(History) for the special issue of *Revista de Historia* (Universidad de Costa Rica), Enero, Junio 1999, No. 39. Dr. Cáceres was also named director of the Central American Graduate Program in History at the University of Costa Rica, and to the executive of the Center for Regional Research in Mesoamerica, (CIRMA) in Guatemala.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Kolapo, Femi James, "Trading Ports of the Niger-Benue Confluence Area, c.1830-1873", Law, R. C and Silke Strickrodt, (eds.) *Ports of the Slave Trade* (Bights of Benin and Biafra)/ Papers from a Conference of the Centre of Commonwealth Studies, University of Stirling, June 1998, Centre of Commonwealth Studies, University of Stirling, 1999, pp. 96-121.

FJK, "CMS Missionaries of African Origin and Extra-religious Encounters at the Niger- Benue Confluence, 1858-1880", *African Studies Review* 43, 2 (2000), pp.87-115.

FJK , "The 1858-59 Gbebe Journal OF CMS Missionary James Thomas", *History in Africa* 27 (2000), 159-192.

FJK, "Post-abolition Niger River Commerce and the 19th Century Igala Political Crisis", *African Economic History* 27 (1999), 45-67.

Ph.D. Dissertations 1999

Femi James Kolapo, "Military Turbulence, Population Displacement and Commerce on a Slaving Frontier of the Sokoto Caliphate: Nupe c. 1810-1857." (1999)

Kwabena Opere Adurang-Parry, "Missy Queen in Her Palaver Says de Gole Cosse Slaves is Free": the British Abolition of Slavery/Pawnship and Colonial Labour Recruitment in the Gold Coast (Southern Ghana), 1874-ca.1940." (1999)

SLAVERY, GENDER RELATIONS AND LAND TENURE IN EASTERN YORUBALAND, 1850-1930

by Olatunji Ojo

In the nineteenth century, Eastern Yoruba constituted a reservoir of slave supplies for Nupe, Benin, Ilorin, such central and Southern Yoruba states as Ibadan, Egba and Ijebu. A substantial number were sent to the Americas while others were liberated and settled in Sierra Leone. Some evidence dating as far back as the mid-sixteenth century refers to slave raiding from Benin and Oyo. These invasions resulted in fundamental changes in political, economic, demographic and residential patterns. Slavery became an integral part of the society. For example, in the nineteenth century, eastern Yoruba monarchs and chiefs surrounded themselves with slaves through whom they were able to assert their authority over their subjects. In Ondo, an attempt to check the influence of Oba Arilekolasi sometime around 1845 resulted in a slave uprising, which led to the sacking of the town and its desertion for over twenty years. Some five years later, a similar uprising took place at Ile Ife, Ondo's northwest neighbor setting the stage for the yet to be resolved Ife-Modakeke crisis.

In discussing the slave trade of Yorubaland, it is often assumed that only men were involved either as slaves or slave owners. On the contrary, Yoruba indigenous slavery and the slave trade was gender neutral. Women were both slaves and owners. Preliminary oral research that I have conducted for a project on remembered history among the descendants of Ekiti slaves suggests that slavery occurred on a smaller scale in Ekiti and Ondo than it did in western and southern Yoruba. Nevertheless, many Ondo women established estates based on slave labor. Prominent women used slaves in short and long distance trade and titled women deployed them to collect market dues. For instance, the Lobun of Ondo, the principal female chief, was confined to her palace

but she employed slaves to oversee her economic activities. Ondo women were so prominent in this section that some contemporaries observed that in no other part of Yorubaland was the use of slave labor as democratized as in Ondo. Francine Shields has demonstrated the importance of female labor, especially slaves in the production of palm oil. In Eastern Yorubaland, it should be added, that female slaves were also central to the production of textiles described in the literature as 'Jaboo cloths' or 'cloths from the Yoruba interior'. From the second half of the nineteenth century, there was an apparent boom in this trade, and this had been partly traced to the involvement of Lagos Ondo and the Ijesha Association in coastal trade especially on the Lagos lagoon. These traders were some of the Lagos Brazilians and Saros whose major markets were Lagos, Brazil and Sierra Leone.

The evidence also suggests that slavery played an important role in the evolution of marriage practices in Ekiti and Ondo. Scholars and many commentators on Yoruba marriage practices have typically asserted that polygyny evolved in a social context in which women outnumbered men. Marriage was regarded as a social necessity, so polygyny became an acceptable practice to ensure social reproduction. But it also became an easy means of labor recruitment. Slave raiding resulted in the capture of growing numbers of female captives, who were assimilated into the society as slave wives. More research is necessary to understand the full ramifications of this aspect of slavery, but I am suggesting some issues for consideration. Marrying a slave wife entailed less expense and labor than a free woman since no bridal wealth was paid. Similarly, a slave wife could be more easily controlled culturally and economically

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because the husband would command a larger percentage of a slave wife's production. The husband also had a property right over a slave wife and her children so children of such a marriage belonged not to the couple but to the man. Therefore the man had productive and reproductive rights over a slave wife.

The enslaved status of many wives partly explained why cases of divorce were not very common in the pre-colonial period. Although political and religious elites claim that the 'traditional' Yoruba family was harmonious, the silence of the women might have stemmed from the fact that they were unfree. After the imposition of British rule, slavery was abolished and the system of legal divorce was instituted. Many women seized the opportunity to dissolve their marriages, suggesting a high degree of hostility to existing marriage systems. This debunks the thesis that "any slave woman taken as a wife becomes ipso facto a free woman". Annual district and provincial reports and judicial files contain frequent references to complaints by chiefs and elders about the high incidence of divorce and the resulting decline of social morality. I have consulted reports from the 1890s through the 1950s and I found out that between 60 and 70 percent of cases reported as civil were matrimonial cases, many of which ended in divorce. Glimpses of the pre-1890 era especially after 1875 can be gleaned from missionary reports and journals. With rising matrimonial disputes divorce courts were established in 1920.

A strong link between slavery and gender relations during this period can be seen in the transition from the Atlantic slave trade to the so called 'legitimate trade' in agricultural and manufactured products. Slaves of both sexes were necessary for the production of palm oil and kernel; two of the major items in the new trade. This issue has been addressed by Francine Shields who demonstrates the centrality of women to oil production. The situation in eastern Yoruba was more complex. It was a farming district and slave women were used in food and textile production as well as in oil production. Therefore the integration of Ondo women into food production partly redressed the problem brought about by the withdrawal of their men into trade and the provisioning of slave societies such as Lagos and Ijebu. Thus, far from being an agency for the abolition of slavery, legitimate trade served to intensify the de-

mand for and use of slaves in the domestic market.

Slavery also gave rise to demographic restructuring by depleting some areas of population while simultaneously intensifying population pressure in slaving societies. Many scholars have argued that the urban phenomenon in Yorubaland is largely a recent event, linked to the nineteenth century wars. Many Ekiti and Ondo towns and villages were evacuated more than once and some others abandoned and relocated in more fortified places. Population movements had an impact on the system of land use and land tenureship. It is often taken for granted that the so-called 'customary' Yoruba land law system was static until the coming of British rule. This research suggests that issues related to land conflicts formed part of the unfolding crises of the nineteenth century. For example, conflicts over territoriality [land/boundary] formed part of the crises between Ile Ife and Modakeke, Ondo and Okeigbo and Ibadan and Egba. Indeed the Ibadan council in 1859 agreed to amend certain parts of the town's property laws, which gave more power to the children of the deceased. Agricultural activities, needed to help finance slave raids, or defensive wars against enslavement expanded women's right in property and land inheritance. Large slaveholders seized farming plots that hitherto belonged to other families, despite their freeborn status. This resulted in incessant land disputes, either between the original slave owners and their descendants and the slaves and their offspring. The return of liberated slaves from the late 19th century to the second decade of the 20th century further exacerbated tensions. Some of these returnees found their land had been seized or their hometowns relocated, leaving them 'landless'. Returnees from the Americas, Sierra Leone and Lagos also came back with a notion of property rights different from those who never left Yoruba land, and wherever they settled they tried to impose their version of land tenure on the society. Little attention has been focused on the Yoruba system that prevailed in areas like the Ikale/Mahin region where many Ondo, Lagos, Ekiti and Ijesa returnees settled. In the 1880s, Ijesa and Ondo returnees founded Ayesan and Ajebamidele initially as temporary sites pending the cessation of the

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Yoruba wars. Gradually, the increasing attraction of the coastal trade and British occupation of coastal villages attracted more returnees and refugee slaves who sought British protection. In such communities, liberated slaves, sometimes backed by Britain asserted their independence of indigenous authorities. For example, returnee villages became a recreation of 'maroon' or 'quilombo' communities of the Americas. With contacts that traversed the Yoruba interior, Lagos, Brazil, Cuba and Sierra Leone, returnees diverted trade away from older communities

thereby raising questions from their hosts who saw such settlements as enemy territories.

This study will identify the major connections between slavery, gender and land tenure as they developed during a period characterized first by persistent warfare and then by the imposition of British rule. It will also analyze how these interrelationships changed within the context of societies undergoing rapid political and economic change.

The Arara in Cuba

by Oscar Grandío Moráquez

One of the major issues preoccupying historians of Africa and the African Diaspora is the question of cultural transfers and transformations in the Americas. In my doctoral research I will examine this issue through a study of Arara culture in nineteenth century Cuba. Stimulated by courses in African history during my Masters degree at the Colegio de Mexico I became interested in questions of cultural formation and identity in the Diaspora. Further investigation into Cuban archives has revealed that there is much documentation that will lend itself to an analysis of these questions for this particular group within Cuba.

The social context of enslaved Africans in Cuba facilitated the creation of institutions (*Cabildos de Nación*) that highlighted ethnic identification. Within these *cabildos* Africans of ostensibly the same ethnic groups met and were able to offset some of the worst aspects of their enslavement through cooperation and mutual support. However, were the members of particular *cabildos* necessarily all from the same ethnic group in Africa? Recent research in the *cabildos de nación* for other groups such as Yoruba speakers has demonstrated that members of these institutions were of various cultural and

ethnic origins. The Arara in Cuba have been strongly associated with Ewé-Fon or Adja-Fon speakers from Bénin (Dahomey), however, it is also true that this ethnic identifier was most often ascribed to enslaved individuals by slave traders who derived it either from the port of departure of the individual, or arbitrarily because of the vagaries of the slave trade as an institution.

I hypothesize that the *cabildos* were of critical importance to the *formation* of ethnic identity rather than as the social space where Africans of the supposed same ethnic group were able to meet. To test this thesis I will do archival research in Cuba, especially in the province of Matanzas, Bénin, and Spain in the Archivo General de Indias. As I trace membership lists (available in the *libros de cabildos*) that provide valuable linguistic evidence, religious rituals, and cultural characteristics of the *cabildos* from the eighteenth century, I will link these to trends in the slave trade provided by ship records and traders' correspondence to further contextualize my analysis of particular Arara *cabildos*. This research will contribute to our knowledge about the social organization and mentalities as well as the cultural characteristics of enslaved Africans in the Cuban case.

Slavery and the Abolition of the Slave trade in Iran during the Nineteenth Century

by Behnaz Mirzai Als

I am currently a second-year student in the doctoral program in the Department of History at York University.

The Major Research Paper I submitted for my Master's degree at York University was titled "Slavery and the Abolition of the Slave trade in Iran during the Nineteenth Century." In this work I argued that the abolition of the slave trade in 1848 was a product of both external pressures and internal changes. In writing the Major Research Paper I used primary sources such as archival materials from the National Library and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Iran.

My major field of interest is the history of enslaved Africans and how they affected developments in Iran. In my doctoral thesis I will deepen my analysis of the process of the abolition of slavery in Iran during the nineteenth century. I will focus on a study of the legal shifts that led to the prohibition of slavery in Iran. The first part of this study will focus on the external pressures, especially from the British government, to abolish the slave trade. The second part of the thesis will examine the internal

reformist movement that facilitated the abolition of slavery. The changing situation of enslaved peoples in Iran during this period will be examined through the study of specific black communities in southern Iran.

In order to address these issues I will do further research at the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tehran where governmental correspondence and decrees are housed. I will also examine the correspondence between the Foreign Office and the British minister in Tehran which can be encountered in the Public Record Office. The India Office Library in London also contains reports on navigation on the Euphrates, while there are compilations of the British consular correspondence dealing with the Persian Gulf in the Maharashtra State Archives in Bombay. There are also many documents dealing with consular correspondence and commercial affairs in the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères in Paris. My research in these diverse archives will be facilitated by knowledge of Turkish, Arabic, Persian and French.

ARABS AND NORTH AFRICAN PEOPLE IN NORTHERN NIGERIA DURING THE ERA OF THE SLAVE TRADE

by MOHAMMED BASHIR SALAU

Arabs And North Africans were among the earliest foreigners who interacted with the people of Northern Nigeria. Indeed, in the course of the Trans-Saharan trade, these groups traversed the whole of Western Sudan as traders, soldiers of fortune, clerics etc. They linked the Western Sudan to North Africa, Southern Europe and the Middle East. Consequently important communities associated with Arabs and North Africans

evolved in Northern Nigeria. It is my intension to trace the origin of the alien groups, investigate their differences, explore the extent to which they acted together and appreciate the impact they had on their host societies and vice versa. Thus I will seek to understand the internal dynamics of these immigrant societies in the context of Northern Nigeria.

L'abolition de l'esclavage en Algérie 1815–1871

by Yacine Daddi-Addoun

Le processus d'abolition de l'esclavage en Algérie fut enclenché en 1916, date à laquelle Lord Exmouth eut libéré les captifs blancs après avoir bombardé Alger, et ne prit fin qu'au lendemain de l'indépendance algérienne en 1962. Cette thèse se propose d'examiner la première période de cette abolition qui se situe entre 1815 et 1871, autrement dit, entre la fin des guerres napoléoniennes et la faiblesse de la Régence d'Alger d'un côté, et la date de la fondation de la 3^{ème} république en France et l'effondrement des structures des sociétés musulmanes en Algérie de l'autre.

Intéressé par les problèmes des minorités en général et celles de l'Algérie en particulier, nous avons trouvé pertinent d'examiner de plus près les communautés noires notamment parce qu'il n'existe quasiment pas d'études sur le sujet. Un séjour sur le terrain nous a révélé l'importance de la dimension historique de ces communautés, d'autant plus que cette histoire est refoulée par les uns et ignorée, dénigrée par les autres. La lecture de la littérature touchant aux questions des Noirs nous a fait découvrir des horizons nouveaux sur des sujets aussi divers que le jeu des identités dans la diaspora, les formes de domination les plus subtiles, l'articulation du discours esclavagiste et abolitionniste, dont l'exploration en Algérie est des plus motivantes.

Une vue d'ensemble de ces phénomènes dans une Algérie à cheval, géographiquement, entre l'Afrique subsaharienne et le monde méditerranéen, et historiquement entre une période ottomane et une période de colonisation française, va jeter un nouvel éclairage sur l'esclavage et son abolition en Afrique du Nord. Tout en abolissant les frontières spatio-temporelles pré-établies, cette perspective considère le phénomène dans sa complexité: esclavage noir et chré-

tien « blanc ». Elle met l'accent aussi sur la complexité des rapports enchevêtrés de domination, et les diverses formes de violence qui en furent le résultat.

Cette étude s'insère dans un corpus qui va s'élargissant dans l'étude de l'esclavage et son abolition aussi bien dans le monde en général qu'en Afrique en particulier. Elle va contribuer plus spécifiquement à l'examen de cette question dans le contexte musulman, domaine où ce genre d'études fait le plus défaut.

Considérant aussi bien l'esclavage des chrétiens que l'esclavage des Noirs, l'étude, à travers l'exemple algérien, va découvrir sous un nouveau jour les questions de race et esclavage en pays d'islam. Elle va également insister sur la déconstruction de notions tenues pour certitudes et devrait amener le chercheur à reconsidérer les ruptures et les continuités historiques qui semblent être hors de toute contestation.

La documentation bien que rare, notamment pour la première partie de l'étude, est diversifiée car l'esclavage n'était pas la préoccupation des producteurs de savoir sur l'Algérie. C'est alors qu'il faut, en sus de ces écrits, considérer la production dans le champ artistique dans le sens le plus large. Aussi allons-nous nous intéresser aux domaines aussi variés que le roman, la poésie, la peinture, l'opéra. L'étude de certaines œuvres va nous renseigner longuement sur la représentation de l'esclavage dans la période en étude et, de là, la manière avec laquelle son abolition fut adoptée sur le terrain.

Les sources archivistiques dont le chercheur dispose actuellement sont essentiellement produites par des militaires et administrateurs coloniaux. C'est en les plaçant dans le contexte dans

lequel elles furent produites qu'on peut les apprécier à leur juste valeur. Il faut aussi avoir à l'esprit que l'administration coloniale -qui instaura l'abolition- a été, et quoi qu'on puisse en dire, partie prenante dans les affaires de traite et de l'esclavage, ne serait-ce que par le diktat de certaines conjonctures.

C'est en utilisant à mon avis les méthodes d'analyse de discours aussi bien que les concepts bourdieusiens comme pouvoir, capital et violence qu'on peut analyser finement la complexité des rapports entre esclaves et maîtres dans le contexte de domination coloniale.

The Ovimbundu in Angola during the Nineteenth Century

by Mariana Candido

The Ovimbundu were a major ethnic group in Angola and the last of the Angolans to come into contact with the Portuguese. The object of this research is to understand the political, social and economic relations that developed between the various populations in the territory during the nineteenth century. The Ovimbundu became closely involved in the slave trade and we need to examine how this participation influenced their political institutions and their place-

ment within the larger Angolan society. The traffic in slaves was largely controlled by Brazilians, and their influence was felt at various levels of Ovimbundu society, especially since they acted as intermediaries in this trade. Our knowledge of this area and the impact of the slave trade upon it will be enhanced by a clearer understanding of the social and political dynamics between ethnic groups in this region and the Brazilians who sought to insert themselves into its economy.

Enugu Archival Project

by Neil Marshall

In the summer of 2000 I travelled to Enugu, Nigeria, to attend the conference Repercussions of the African Slave Trade: Interior of the Bight of Biafra and the African Diaspora held at Nike Lake, Enugu from July 10-14. Following the conference I visited the Enugu Archives under the supervision of Professor Johnston Njoku of the University of Kentucky. At the Enugu Archives I copied documents relating to pawnship and slavery, including transcripts of court cases relating to slavery. My research forms part of the Enugu Archival Project under the directorship of Professor Paul E. Lovejoy and Professor Carolyn Brown (Rutgers University). The fragility of the documents in the archives, and the importance of their preservation

for research and for posterity has prompted the Enugu Archival Project to compile and digitize documents from the archives for future scholars. The project coordinator is Anayo Enechukwu the Director of the Enugu Historical Documentation Bureau, with the assistance of U.O.A. Esse, Director of the National Archives of Nigeria, Enugu, and Sydney Emezue, Senior Lecturer in History at Abia State University, Uturu. While visiting Nigeria I also had the opportunity to travel to Northern Nigeria with Dr. Femi Kolapo of York University to Kaduna, Zaria, Sokoto, Kano and Katsina. In Kaduna I stayed at Arewa House and investigated both in the archives and the library, as well as the municipal archives in Kaduna.

Lewd Songs and Popular Festivals: Sexual Rhetoric, Popular Culture, Gender, Power, and Politics in Haiti

by Thor Burnham

I propose to examine how gender and sexuality were manifest in various forms of popular culture in 20th century Haiti. I intend to study specific cultural texts, such as the lyrics of popular rara and carnival songs, to show how sexual rhetoric and performance revealed the shifting definitions of gender and the dynamics of power in the larger society: how power was expressed, understood and contested. In particular, I want to examine how and why competing definitions of masculinity were invoked or emphasized in popular culture and to what extent they reflected power struggles at the state level. (Harney, 1996. Spackman 1998) This topic speaks to the importance of contested masculinities in the Caribbean and elsewhere, but, beyond this, it also addresses larger debates on nationalism, the nation, and how gendered narratives were deployed in imperial rhetoric and practice. This is particularly relevant as scholars struggle to understand not only how national narratives were activated to mobilize specific groups to become “imagined communities” (Anderson, 1990), but also how they were utilized to define the literal and figurative borders of exclusion from those nations. (McClintock, 1995) In addition, these understandings of gendered national rhetoric can provide the means to predict how radical nationalities will be manipulated and mobilized in future Caribbean or global conflicts. (Duara, 1998) Most importantly, by revealing the historical dimensions of power, an understanding of how gender and sexuality play out in popular culture will lend insight into some of the most vexing problems Haiti faces at present: under-development, pervasive poverty and the struggle to achieve a functioning democracy. (Dupuy, 1998).

One of the most interesting aspects of popular music that is manifest in Haitian celebrations of carnival and rara are the “lewd and vulgar” songs, called “betiz”. I propose to examine

the official carnival and rara songs of the Francois Duvalier regime, 1957-1971, and analyze those that were popularly re-formed into betiz. I contend that the lyrics of these songs will reveal historical definitions of gender, sexuality, femininity, class and colour normally submerged or hidden at other times, but which were on display during these popular celebrations. While the issue of “betiz” has received some contemporary attention by other disciplines (Yonker, 1988; McAlister, 1995; Averill, 1998), there is a noticeable absence of historical analysis on the topic, especially with respect to gender and sexuality. Even though the betiz versions were not officially recorded, public knowledge of them was, and is, ubiquitous. Using the “official songs”, about 150 of which I already have in my possession from previous trips to Haiti, I will consult musicians and ordinary Haitians to search their “memory archives”, comparing the official to the changed versions. This will be possible in such areas as Port-au-Prince, Miami, Boston, New York and Montreal. Private musical libraries, radio station archives (Such as Radio National) in and outside of Haiti, and well known radio personalities who have maintained their own archives of popular songs will be examined. Centres of archival research include the Schomburg Centre for Research on Black Culture (NY Public Library) and the Mathers Collection at the U of Florida, the premier research collection on the French Caribbean. Established musical archives such as the Archives of Traditional Music at the University of Indiana or the Smithsonian Folkways Collections will also be explored to gather as many variants as possible for comparative purposes as well as to add depth and breadth to the study.

After an initial year of study at the University of Toronto I transferred to York University to work with Dr. David Trotman and Dr. Paul E. Lovejoy, and more specifically to work in the York/

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UNESCO Nigerian Hinterland Project and the proposed Canadian Centre for Research on the African Diaspora, a recent funding recipient of a Canadian Foundation for Innovation grant. Under the mandate of the NHP at York I believe my interests and training as a graduate student are best served. Many of the methodological and historical questions concerning the linkages between African culture and the "Afro-Creole" cultures of the Americas are being debated and re-assessed within the project, a focus that is crucial for the advancement of my own topic. Furthermore, Vodou plays such an important part in the songs that I am analyzing, that the NHP is indispensable; since much of the present religion in Haiti originated in the Bight of Benin with the Gbe culture in the Nigerian Hinterland. Thus, with the help of the NHP at York, I will strive to maintain a historical perspective both in my methodology and my conclusions with respect to African ethnicity in the Americas.

My work with Dr. Paul Lovejoy focuses on the issues of ethnicity and the methodologies of studying "New World" identities in light of African history and historiography, while with Dr. David Trotman I focus on culture and gender in the Caribbean.

Being part of the York/UNESCO NHP will allow me to work closely with Dr. Verene Shepherd, Network Professor, who is visiting from UWI, Mona and is a specialist on the English Caribbean and gender relations; and also Dr. Elisee Soumonni, Universite Nationale du Benin, a specialist on the Bight of Benin and the religious and cultural background associated with Vodou.

Given my fluency in Haitian Creole, my experience in Haiti and its diaspora communities in the Bahamas and Miami, and my research trips to Haiti in 1999 and 2000, I am well situated to bring this project to completion in a timely fashion. This research will contribute to the fields of gender studies, cultural studies, Caribbean history, and studies of nationalism and the nation, as well as providing a solid foundation for future scholarship in comparative and Diaspora studies. Most importantly, however, it will result in a clearer historical understanding of how power is perceived, managed, resisted, imagined and deployed in the Haitian experience, and how these cultural understandings of power deter efforts to develop and democratize.



From left, back row: Melissa Grainger, Ibrahim Hamza, Kevin Williams
Front Row: Verene Shepherd, Thor Burnham, David Trotman, and Omar Eno

"Cargill's Mistakes": A Study of British Colonial Policies in Madaki District Kano Emirate, Northern Nigeria 1903 - 1919

by Ibrahim Hamza

Early British colonial policies in the Madaki district of the Kano Emirate in Northern Nigeria, between 1903 and 1919 are the focus of this research. The district under study was the scene of one of the strongest anti-colonial resistance movements during the first decade of British rule in the Kano Emirate. A deeper understanding of colonial policies and their implications for this region will enhance our knowledge of the dynamics in the relationship between British Resident Colonial Officers, members of the Kano aristocracy, and the peasantry. Various sources will be examined to reconstruct these relationships and their shifting articulation.

The British conquest and administration of Kano has been one of the most widely studied subjects of European expansion in Africa. Historians of Africa history have demonstrated that the case of Kano stands out as an example of "classic" British Indirect rule in Northern Nigeria, and that had great bearing on the relationship between the colonial resident officers in Kano and the ruling aristocracy. Kano therefore provides a perfect case study of the triple themes of colonialism – imperial zeal, resistance and collaboration, as well as an example of a colonial economy in relation with theories of the established fiscal and political institutions in Kano Emirate and the contradictions between these and colonial economic development. The research will focus on the influence of the first British Resident Officer, Dr. Featherstone Cargill in shaping the early colonial administration of the Kano Emirate. Not only were Cargill's "experiments" a failure, but his adventure as a colonial administrator remains one of the least studied aspects of colonial history of Northern Nigeria.

The research aims at contributing to our knowledge of British overseas expansion and the role it played in shaping the politics of the Northern Nigeria in the 20th century. The focus of the research is therefore to identify significant processes through which colonial administrators achieved colonial designs within the context of local political and social interests. The majority of early colonial plans were strongly resented by both the Colonial Office in London and the local aristocracy in Northern Nigeria. There is therefore a need for a critical reexamination of the various processes through which British colonialism was implanted in the early decades of the 20th century.

Sources for the study of British colonialism in Northern Nigeria are classified into two groups. The first group contains the colonial officers' writings describing their activities, policies, relationship with the aristocracy, and the various degrees of consistency and inconsistency of their commitment to the realization of empire building. Some of the more known writings by colonial officers in Northern Nigeria consist of those by Temple (1918); Perham (1937); Lugard and Perham (1959); Lugard (1970) The second group involves the interpretations of patterns of the principles of British colonialism through various themes such as military matters and administration, fiscal planning, economic and social policies.

The foundations for British colonialism in Kano according to some historians such as A.M. Fika (1978) can be traced to the legacies of the Kano Civil War 1882-1894 which was said to have seriously weakened the political structure and economy of the Emirate. This view reinforces what was then known as the Luguadian interpre-

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tation of the British presence in Northern Nigeria. According to Lugard, the British occupation and colonization of the territories of the Sokoto Caliphate were a rescue mission aimed at both securing access to the markets for the British merchants and the Crown, and putting an end to the various interstate wars and internal crises of succession among the members of the different ruling aristocracies in the Caliphate. C.N. Ubah (1985) considers the relationship between colonial officers and the ruling aristocracy in Kano as significant in the study of colonial rule in the Emirate and other provinces of Northern Nigeria. Owing to the conflicting policies on the institutionalization of colonialism in Northern Nigeria, Ubah analyses the various processes through which the colonial officers interacted with the ruling aristocracy during the first thirty years of British rule in Kano.

In his seminal work on British rule in Northern Nigeria, M.M. Tukur (1979) explores the very intricate processes through which British colonialism was imposed in Northern Nigeria. Tukur disagrees with the "structural functionality" that was said to have characterized British colonialism in Northern Nigeria. Issues such as slavery, taxation, economic "development", education and treatment of local authorities were said to have never been presented in colonial realms as they had been envi-

sioned by the colonial proconsuls. T. Garba (1986) is of the view that British rule not only utilized pre-colonial taxation and other fiscal policies in the Emirates of Northern Nigeria, but that "The differences between pre-colonial and colonial taxation systems resulted mainly from the varying aims of the two state systems". According to Garba's analysis, colonial rule transform the ruling aristocracies in Northern Nigeria along the world's capitalist economy, and the result of such interaction was a complex system of political economy in which the peasantry was caught in the middle of every change or friction between the colonial officers and the ruling aristocracies. The peasantry played a significant role in the fashioning of colonial economic and social relations, though almost all policies were designed with minimal consideration of the impact they might have on their status. Notwithstanding this official dismissal of the peasants' importance, their role within the dynamics of the struggle between the local aristocracy and the colonial rulers had a profound effect. The study of Dr. Featherstone Cargill's initial colonial political and economic policies in Kano Province, during the early years of British colonial rule, will help to highlight the articulation of these different social and economic groups and will be significant for modern studies in the transformation of Northern Nigeria.

ENSLAVING CONNECTIONS PANEL



From left: José Curto, Rosanna Barbosa Nunes, Stefania Capone, Susan Herlin, Jose Capela

Formation of Diaspora Identities and Imagination of Homeland: The Case of Somalis in Toronto

by Gamal Adam

The social and political upheavals that have occurred in Somalia since the 1980s have resulted in an influx of Diaspora to Canada and to Toronto in particular. I use 'Diaspora' in the sense that it is used by Safran (1991: 83) as people who believe that they are not full members of their host society and retain feelings for their homeland. In the summer of 2000 I conducted pilot interviews with Somalis in Toronto about identity formations in the Diaspora. During discussions I recognized that for Somalis, the study of identity must include narratives of an 'imagined' Somalia. My doctoral research is therefore on diasporic networks and 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1991). This involves three issues: 1) the relations between Somalis in Toronto; 2) the networks which the Somali Diaspora establish with non-Somalis and; 3) the connections between the Somali Diaspora and the homeland. The three types of networks are inter-related in their impacts on the formation of Somali identities in Toronto. Somalis also use the networks as means of power (Foucault 1990). These lines of inquiry will be investigated through the 'network(s)' analytical perspective by considering Somali diasporic communities as "a context of actions and results of actions but not as a thing" (Barth 1992: 31). Network analysis was first utilized by Manchester School anthropologists (including Peter Harris-Jones, my supervisor) in their research on urban Africa. Barth's new analysis adds the dimension of communication technology to a transactionalism paradigm which focuses on face to face interaction.

As Diaspora ethnic identities are in continuous processes of negotiation to cope with different circumstances (Clifford 1994; Hall 1995 and 1996), Somali ethnic identities in Toronto have undergone changes to cope with their diasporic settings. These identity formations are shaped and reshaped by the encounter of Somali Islamic and African values and traditions with Christian and Western values and traditions (Akyeampong 2000; McGown 1999).

Furthermore, the contribution of diasporas to the political, social, and economic spheres of their respective homelands is increasing, particularly in this postmodern era, because of the tremendous progress in communication technology and the continuous movements of people and the circulation of ideas between host countries and homelands (Ahmed and Hastings 1994; ;Laguerre 1998; Mishra 1996; Safran 1991; Tololyan 1996). Taking the Somalis in Toronto as the case study, I will examine diaspora's contributions to informal political relations and civil society within and between the host country and the homeland (Basch et al 1994). Besides this, my work will investigate the imagination of the homeland from the narratives of the Somali Diaspora (Anderson 1991; Malkki 1994 and 1995).

My MA thesis, at the American University in Cairo in 1997, was on uneven development in the Sudan. Specifically, I studied development from the perspective of Western Sudanese exiles and refugees in Cairo. Furthermore, I conducted research between 1995 and 1997 with eight Sudanese colleagues on Sudanese refugees in Egypt and East Africa on the causes of ethnic conflicts in the Sudan. The Ford Foundation, under the auspices of the American University in Cairo funded this project.

The main research tactic involves interviewing (200 people) and participant observation. These interviews will focus on ethnic, gender, age, and class differences. Some of the questions asked will be: "Who are the individuals and groups Somalis interact with and why do they interact with them? Why is it important to establish networks with non-Somalis? What are the relations they maintain with Somalis in Toronto and Somalia? What do they suggest for the creation of a peaceful democratic, Somalia?"

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I am focusing particularly on how diaspora identities are constructed, and how these identities are open-ended processes that involve networks with the host countries, homelands, and elsewhere. I am fortunate to be at York where I am working with Professors Malcolm Blicow, Peter Harries-Jones, and Paul Lovejoy who are specialists on African communities, and Professor Judith Nagata whose particular interests are transnational Islam and Muslim diaspora. I am affiliated with the York Centre for Refugee Studies, and I am a current re-

search assistant at the York/UNESCO/SSHRC Nigerian Hinterland Project.

This research is a scholarly contribution about different levels of relations which diaspora establish in the host country, the homeland and elsewhere by considering diaspora communities as processes of continuous network formation and articulation. It also replaces the passive image of diaspora populations as being powerless and dependent people with an image of diaspora as people who can accept challenges.

Slavery and Race in Central Sudan and Morocco

by Jennifer Lofkrantz

My project will address slavery and race in the Islamic World, and specifically, the nineteenth century trade in enslaved people between the Central Sudan and Morocco. Jean-Louis Miegé argues that in the mid-nineteenth century approximately 7000-8000 slaves were imported into Morocco each year. It is known that slaves came from the Senegambia, and the Middle Niger, due south of Morocco, but in fact a substantial proportion of slaves came from the Central Sudan. This study will focus on slaves coming from Hausaland and Borno. In particular, I will be looking at issues of identity, gender relations, and social interactions among enslaved people and tying these back to this specific sub-Saharan origin. Current research being done by Chouki El Hamel and Madia Thomson, focuses on ethnicity amongst slaves and memories of origin amongst their descendants yet this is primarily concerned with identity within Morocco. Mohammed Ennaji emphasises gender but he has little to say about ethnicity, while Ann McDougall concentrates on direct north-south trade routes. Ethnic identity played an important role in who was subject to enslavement, by whom, and the social interactions among enslaved people and with their masters. In this regard it is also

known that some were 'Hausa' and 'Borno' and that Hausa bori was common. Furthermore there were important east-west trading networks which must be taken into account. While the generally accepted idea is that the pattern of trade across the Sahara favoured women since they were wanted as concubines, males were used in the military, the bureaucracy, and as eunuchs and may have made up a greater percentage of enslaved people transferred across the Sahara than is realised.

My research will be based on trade and legal documents and oral data. Archives to which I will return during the course of my research include the Bibliotheque Hassananiya, La Source, the Archives Royales du Maroc, the private family holdings of the large southern Moroccan trading families, in particular, the House of Iligh, the Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer in Aix-en-Provence, the Centre des Archives Diplomatique in Nantes, and the Marseilles Chamber of Commerce. Furthermore, the Nigerian Hinterland Project has a collection of material on the trans-Saharan slave trade. These materials include much of the pub-

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lished writings, mostly in French, on Morocco and the Sahara during the nineteenth century. It also includes collections of Arabic materials from Timbuktu, Algeria, Tunisia, and Nigeria, some of which relates specifically to Trans-Saharan slavery. The initial stage of research will concentrate on these holdings.

Currently, I am in my second year of Ph.D. studies under the supervision of Dr. Paul Lovejoy. I have completed my coursework on the African Diaspora, European Expansion in Africa and Post-Emancipation Caribbean History and will write the Comprehensive exams in April 2001.

“We Too are Traders’: Gender in the Political Economies of West Africa, Angola, and the Atlantic World, 1600s-1800s”

By Dawn Harris

This study will examine the phenomena of female entrepreneurs in West and West-Central Africa. The “women of wealth” who will be the major protagonists in my dissertation have been delineated in the works of scholars like George E. Brooks Jr., Bruce L. Mouser, James F. Searing, Walter Rodney, Joseph C. Miller, and Lucille Mathurin-Mair. The major theme that binds these works together is that they have challenged the notion that African women were passive victims of slavery and economics. By focusing on the activities of women like Bibiana Vaz of Senegambia and Madame Tinubu of Nigeria, these authors have shown that women’s roles were more complex; they show that women were more than just slaves or producers in the peasant economy or marketers of the surplus. The major failing of these works, however, is that these “women of wealth” were either a chapter in a book, or, in other cases, mere inclusions in an edited work. Admittedly, the difficulty that these scholars would have encountered in trying to find sufficient data to either test or support their hypotheses would have certainly had an impact on their ability to produce a comprehensive study of these “women of wealth.” As the number of women who actually participated in commerce was significantly smaller than the number of men who did, it is only natural that there will be less information about them on which to draw. A thorough search in national archives, the Public Record Office in London, and the Church Missionary

Society Archives, also in London, will perhaps produce the necessary data that will supplement the information found in published works. With a rich tradition in oral history, it is also hoped that interviews in various parts of West Africa will produce information that substantiates the theory that women played a vital role in West Africa’s and Angola’s economy, thereby linking them to the economies in the Atlantic world.

By investigating the phenomenon of African entrepreneurs this study aims to answer a number of key questions: Can Western paradigms be applied to the study of African institutions? Is the private/public dichotomy that is visible in Western societies as discernible in West and West Central Africa? What were African gender prescriptions? How did these prescriptions vary among different ethnic groups, specifically among Wolof, Lebou, and Eurafrican women? Was slave trading an extension of women’s involvement in local trading? Also, how were class issues negotiated within West African commerce, particularly where women were concerned? “How ‘African’ or ‘European’ did female traders need to be in order to be successful traders” - both during and after the slave trade? In addition, “how directly were these women actually involved in the trade, or were they merely figureheads who were able to ‘pull strings’ attached to their children, especially eldest sons, or to competent *laptots* or *gru-*

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mettes?” The answers to these questions will supplement and complement works like Anthony G. Hopkins’ treatise on the evolution of West African economies, Philip D. Curtin’s more parochial examination of Senegambia “in the era of the slave trade,” and Nancy J. Hafkin and Edna G. Bay’s edited work on the varied roles that African women played in shaping that continent’s diverse economies and societies.

The period after the abolition of slavery which was characterised by an emphasis on “legitimate” trade also invites interesting comparisons with its antecedent and raises some new, intriguing questions. For instance, was the demarcation that separated the period of the slave trade from that era of “legitimate” as rigid as has been contended, or did similar - or if possible, identical - economic, social, and political forces that propelled the former era also sustain the latter period? How were female slavers like Madame Tinubu - a woman whom Robin Law described as “clearly exceptional” - and Bibiana Vaz affected by the abolition of slavery? How were female entrepreneurs re-

garded in the market place, both by African *and* European men? How did female palm oil traders deal with competition from African and European men, monopolies, and “foreign” competition? For instance, E. Frances White has shown that in Sierra Leone in the 1800s Lebanese traders were a real and serious threat to the “less foreign” Sierra Leonean trader. In fact, she identified a situation where these “new strangers” were able to make significant inroads into the economic territory of the “more-established strangers”. By answering these questions, this study hopes to enrich the scholarship on West Africa during the era of “legitimate” commerce.

In the final analysis, this study aims to add to the extant historiography of West Africa, Angola, and the Atlantic world - particularly that relating to the economy, and how the question of gender was negotiated within this economy. It therefore argues for a more complex historiography as hitherto slighted groups are given prominence in the shaping of history.

ENSLAVING CONNECTIONS: GRADUATE STUDENT WORKSHOP



From left: Verene Shepherd, David Richardson, Dawn Harris, Ismael Musah Montana

“Sudan-Tunis”: The Black Slave Community of the Regency of Tunis, 1800-1890’s

By Ismael Musah Montana

Generally “Sudan-Tunis” or the Black Slave community of the Regency of Tunis also known as *Wusfan* (sing., *wasif*) were enslaved Africans brought to Tunisia during the early nineteenth century from the *Bilad al-Sudan* literally, (The Land of the Blacks) and comprise the region stretching from Dar-Fur in the republic of Sudan to the Lake Chad Region, the great bend of River Niger and the western coast of the Atlantic Ocean. These communities created religious techniques and social systems to confront the most prevalent symptoms of the Diaspora; alienation and estrangement in the North African Islamic milieu. The history of these communities is locked in an immense number of manuscripts still in archives. The communities of Sudan-Tunis were first noted by the Timbuktu Fulani Muslim traveler Ahmad b. al-Qadi b. Yusuf b. Ibrahim al-Timbuktawi, who observed certain characteristics of their religious ceremonies during the early nineteenth century.

In my dissertation, I intend to study the composition, identity, and the religious practices of this social group mainly during the Husaynid Tunisia, 1800-1890. I have chosen this period for several reasons. First, the period around 1800 marks the height of the black slaves’ importation to the Mediterranean Islamic world and thus the height of their religious manifestations. In fact, while trade in blacks to Tunisia was formally abolished in 1846, trafficking in black slaves continued covertly until at least the mid-1890’s.

The first part of my dissertation will establish the criteria for identifying the specific origin of this social and religious group, and thus to facilitate an analysis of the various socio-religious and historical backgrounds that shaped these communities.

In the second part of my dissertation I will examine the history of the black slave community of Tunis in the context of the trans-Saharan

slave trade to this area. The focus of this research will be to reveal the extent to which the jihad movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in central and western Sudan affected the development of black slave communities in Tunis. To this end, I will reassess the impact of the jihad movements on the trans-Saharan slave trade. Furthermore, I will also consider the Bey of Tunis’ decree of 1846 on the abolition of the African slave trade to the Regency of Tunis and discuss the effect this decree had on the African Slave trade to the regency.

The Black slave community of the Regency of Tunis represents one of the most important points of departure for studying a neglected aspect of the African Diaspora in the Mediterranean Islamic world during the nineteenth century. The first black slaves imported to Tunisia, formerly known as *Ifirqqiya*, were usually intended for military purposes, like in most other parts of the Islamic world. In *Ifirqqiya*, black slaves were first used by the *Aghlabids* in the ninth century. The Fatimides slaughtered the blacks who had served the *Aghlabids*, when they succeeded them, and then, their own successors, the Zirids, also used black soldiers from Sudan (Black Africa) to serve their military and political needs. Although slaves brought from the western and central Sudan in the eleventh century were part of a regular trade from that area to the Maghrib, slaves brought to the Regency of Tunis by the nineteenth century were naturally very different, as a result of the developments that had occurred in western Sudan and in the Mediterranean Islamic Rim.

The undeniable decline in the trade between western and central Sudan and the Maghrib in the nineteenth century has led many scholars to underestimate the larger Mediterranean Islamic Rim’s role in the African Diaspora. The documented decline of the trans-Saharan trade has been attributed to various other factors, notably the West African coastal sea routes and European attempts to abolish the slave trade. However, the impact of the nineteenth

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century jihad movements on slavery in the Saharan context has yet to be assessed. My dissertation will measure the influence of late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century developments on forced migration to the Maghrib from the western and central Sudan.

Between 1787 and the 1790's, the British Consul in Tunisia, Richard Trail documented the trans-Saharan slave trade and Tunisia's portion of that trade, highlighting its importance. In his report, Trail mentioned that five or six caravans per year set out from Tunisia to bring back Negro slaves from various African territories. Usually caravans would come back with over one thousand enslaved individuals. They also used to bring back gold dust and luxury items, such as ostrich feathers, which resulted in great profits to Tunisian traders since much of the merchandise was destined for export. So too were many of the Blacks who were re-exported to the Muslim Levant. Between 1774 and 1814, the Ottomans lost the north coast of the Black sea and surrendered Crimea and Bessarabia to Russia. Following the Russian conquest of Georgia and the Caucasus, which closed a well-established source, demands for African slaves in the Middle East increased. As a result, Tunis, like Tripoli, became a major transit center for trafficking slaves from western and central Africa to the Ottoman "Porte".

By the early nineteenth century, these slaves from West Africa had clustered into social and communal households. Gradually, they came to differentiate themselves from the rest of the Tunisian society because of their traditional African beliefs and their household structures. At the head of each household of these communities, was an *ajuz*, usually an ex-female slave who represented a specific area of Western Sudan. Al-Timbuktawi and a hundred years later A.J.N Tremearne, a British Anthropologist who followed the Hausas from northern Nigeria to Tunis, noted that in Tunis there were Hausa colonies. There were for instance up to fourteen different households including, *Dar kano*, *Dar Katsina*, *Dar Nufe*, *Dar al-Bey*, *Dar Songhay*, *Dar Shira*, and *Dar Kofa* in Tunis alone. The southern oasis regions of Tunisia, heavily populated with blacks, had similar organizations.

I argue that this demographic increase of the Blacks of Tunis did not occur in a historical vacuum. It was related to specific events, notably the trans-Saharan trade that gradually increased be-

tween Tunis and western Sudan. Throughout the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, as Trail's report already shows, a convoy of slaves arrived from the south every year. Most of these slaves were sold to buyers in Constantinople while the rest were kept in Tunis. Still, trade alone did not account for the increase of the blacks of Tunis nor the development of the religious practices, which they gradually reinvented in several Tunisian towns. As they were brought into Tunisia, instead of being assimilated they sought to seclude themselves from Tunisian society. They formed communal and religious fraternities and introduced traditional African beliefs to the Regency of Tunis. However, they also did selectively adopt local religious values.

Little has been written about the black community of Tunisia, especially in comparison to the Turkish, Italian, Maltese and the Jewish communities. To understand the nature of this community we must examine the extent to which the Black African community in Tunisia could be (just as the millions of their counterparts who crossed the Atlantic to the New World have been) considered as the product of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries forced migration from West and central Africa to the Arab and Islamic world.

The religious dimension to this research was sparked by my study of an important document written on the black slave community of Tunis. In my Masters of Arts (MA) studies at York University, I translated this document entitled: "*Hatk al-sitr `amma `alayhi Sudan Tunis min al-Kufr*" (Piercing the Veil: Being an account of the Infidel Religion of the Blacks of Tunis), written by already mentioned Ahmad ibn al-Qadi b. Yusuf b. Ibrahim al-Timbuktawi. The treatise, probably the first to mention the Hausa Bori in North Africa, was addressed to the Bey of Tunis, Hammuda Pasha (d.1813) urging him to suppress the Hausa Bori cult.

Thus, despite the recent flourishing of studies on the African Diaspora elsewhere in the world, slavery in the Islamic world remains underestimated. Bernard Lewis pointed out the remarkable lack of scholarly work on the subject. His remarks were echoed by Ehud Toledo in his *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East*, (1998). Moreover, in his in-

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Introduction to "Discourses on Ottoman and Ottoman-Arab slavery", Toledano discussed the "silent" nature of Muslim slavery. As he sought to compare the literature on slavery in the Ottoman and the Arab world, he, like Lewis, noted the lack of scholarly discourse on the subject. Although scattered works by individual scholars have been published in recent years, a sustained program of research and a concomitant discourse has yet to emerge in the field. This lack of academic consideration lies in sharp contrast with the well-developed discourse on slavery and the slave trade in North and South America, Africa, Europe, the Mediterranean during antiquity, the Far East and Russia. The lack of literature on slavery, in particular black slavery in Tunisia, reflects the negligence noted both by Lewis and Toledano. In spite of the powerful legacy of the slave trade between the Maghrib and West and central Africa, the incorporation of these black communities into recent historiographies has been largely ignored.

The problem with writing a history of the blacks of Tunis in the nineteenth century is that few scholars have researched North-west Africa. Virtually, no one has documented the important role of the blacks slave community in pre-colonial Tunisia.

The history of these communities can be traced through their oral traditions both in west-central Africa and in North Africa. Thus oral history will be an integral part of my methodology. As well, archival materials scattered in archives from Tunisia, France, Great Britain and Turkey will be researched. In my preliminary research, through Prof. Lovejoy, I found that European consular reports from the French, the British, and other European consulars were an important source of information. Also a number of European travellers' accounts and secondary sources contemporaneous to the period of study and extending to the second decade of the French protectorate are available but have not been examined systematically. I intend, in particular, to use legal documents such as inheritance, marriage, *waqf* (endowment), and tax records to investigate the local aspects of the history of the black slaves of Tunis. To this end, secondary sources from the Maghrib will be considered critically so

as to heed the cautionary words of the Maghribi historian Abdallah Laroui who warned future historians of the Maghrib to avoid falling into a colonialist's perspective and present superficial analyses like those which have plagued several previous studies of the Maghrib. Thus I anticipate developing an "intimate knowledge of the country and sources". This should give Maghrib historiography as well a new direction. I believe that by studying the history of the black slave community of Tunis during the nineteenth century, I will be able to consider an unknown social group who have been largely ignored both in the Maghrib and in West African and North African historiography, but which nonetheless had an impact on Maghrib society.

My dissertation project will contribute to the history of the African Diaspora in Islamic civilizations. Compared to the growth of Diaspora studies in the America's, studies on the African Diaspora in the Muslim world are scarce. Therefore my research on Black slavery and the Blacks of Tunisia not only aims to contribute to the historiography of the African Diaspora in the Islamic World, but it will also advance our knowledge about the extent to which Black Africans' under diasporic conditions had an impact on their host societies. This study will also contribute to the study of "outsiders" who were excluded from the mainstream of society through Islamic notions of slavery. This study of a particular case of Black slavery in an Islamic context will thus measure the multivalent dimensions of another part of the diaspora and will add to our knowledge of the conditions in which cultures were maintained especially through religious beliefs.

Slavery, Stigma, and Legacy: the case of the Wazigwa Diaspora in Southern Somalia. (1830-1960)

by OMAR A. ENO

The Wazigwa consist of runaway and manumitted slaves. Guilain, Luling, Grotanelli and other scholars assert that the Arabs originally brought them from Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Mozambique, and Pemba, into the coastal cities of Merca, Brava, Kisimayu, and Mogadishu early in the 19th century. It seems that most of the Wazigwa left Tanganyika, their country of origin (modern Tanzania), because of several consecutive and severe famines in the 19th century. According to Grotanelli, Arab traders duped the Wazigwa by promising to take them to work in a fertile land where famine and drought had never been experienced. Instead, in reality, they were being brought as slaves and they were sold to Somalia's coastal people of Arab and Persian origin in Benadir. They (the coastal people) operated as the middlemen by buying slaves and selling them to Somali nomads-Hawiya from the interior in Southern Somalia.

According to Wazigwa traditions as well as written records, many of these people forced into agricultural and domestic slavery escaped from their Somali masters after they realized that they had been entrapped and sold as slaves. They escaped with the intention of returning to their homeland by road, but failed in this attempt and subsequently decided to reside in the Gosha 'Forest' region along the Juba River in Southern Somalia. Gosha, later became a safe haven for all runaway slaves after forming an independent polity.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the impact of stigma, slavery, and its legacy on the social structure of southern Somalia ethnic groups, particularly the Wazigwa of Bantu origin from modern Tanzania and Mozambique,

who are locally known as Jareer or Gosha people. While the origins of the Wazigwa people as slaves imported from East Africa have been studied, very little is known about how slavery, stigma, and social norms such as land tenure systems affected their presence in Southern Somalia. A spate of studies has focussed on enslaved Africans in the Diaspora, notably the Caribbean, elsewhere in the Americas, the Islamic Arab world and the Indian sub-continent. On the other hand, the internal African Diaspora, that is slaves transported from one region to another within Africa remains to be studied. A perfect example of this phenomena is the Wazigwa from modern Tanzania and Mozambique. Indeed, the Wazigwa, have not been considered as a part of the larger African Diaspora, but new developments in contemporary historiography on the Diaspora have begun to raise questions about the Diaspora within Africa itself.

Interestingly, the Wazigwa still maintain their genealogical lineages from Tanzanian and Mozambican ethnic groups such as the Yao, Makua, Nyassa, Mushongoli, Makale, Ngindo, Nyika, Nyamwezi, and Molema. Even today, the Wazigwa still use dialects that reflect their respective origins. In addition, they maintain their traditional dances and rituals. In fact, the Wazigwa continue to travel back and forth between Somalia and their countries of origin. I intend to apply some of the conceptual framework that has evolved in the study of the African Diaspora in the Americas, in which ethnic categories, as related through dance, dialects, and creolization, have been used to examine

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slave culture and forms of resistance in the Americas. Moreover, I intend to document ways in which ethnic categories continued under slavery in this Islamic context, an approach to the study of slavery in Islamic Africa that has been little studied.

In pursuing the history of the Wazigwa people, I will continue to undertake archival and field research. I have already conducted extensive research in the Italian archives on Somalia and have considerable material on the Wazigwa

during the colonial period.. I also intend to study the colonial archival materials in Florence and Rome as well as in the public record office in the UK, Arabic source materials in Egypt and Yemen, and materials in Tanganyika and Zanzibar. I also expect that there is additional written documentation in private hands in Somalia, and I plan to continue to interview elders both in Somalia and elsewhere.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

CONFERENCE PAPERS PRESENTED BY

Dawn Harris "The etymology of the term 'Guinea' and its derivatives." Enslaving Connections Conference (York University October 2000)

Oscar Grandío Moráquez, "The Formation of Arara Ethnicity in Cuba." Enslaving Connections Conference (York University October 2000)

Olatunji Ojo "Slavery, Gender Relations and Land Tenure in Eastern Yorubaland, 1850-1930," Enslaving Connections Conference (York University October 2000)

Ismael Musah Montana "Bori Cult Practices in Tunisia: Syncretism or another dimension of the African Diaspora?" Enslaving Connections Conference (York University October 2000)

Yacine Daddi Addoun, "L'esclavage musulman dans le miroir de la France : Le cas de l'Algérie. » « Liberté, identité, intégration et servitude dans le monde musulman. » Conference at Ifrane (Morocco, June 2000)

Ibrahim Hamza, "Spirits, slaves and the Jihad in the context of the Nineteenth-Century Sokoto Caliphate." « Liberté, identité, intégration et servitude dans le monde musulman. » Conference at Ifrane (Morocco, June 2000)

Ismael Musah Montana, "The "Hatkal-Sitr" of Al-Timbuktawi: An Early Nineteenth-Century Account of Bori Practice in Tunis." « Liberté, identité, intégration et servitude dans le monde musulman. » Conference at Ifrane (Morocco, June 2000)

Behnaz Mirzai Als "The Shari'a and the Anti-Slave trade Farman of 1848 in Iran." Workshop on Slave Systems in Asia and the Indian Ocean: Their Structures and Change in the 19th and 20th Centuries. (Avignon May 18-20 2000)

Omar Eno "The Abolition of Slavery and the aftermath stigma: the case of the Bantu/Jareer people in the Benadir Coasts of Southern Somalia and its environs." Workshop on Slave Systems in Asia and the Indian Ocean: Their Structures and Change in the 19th and 20th Centuries. (Avignon May 18-20 2000)

Omar Eno, "Sifting through a sieve-solutions for Somalia." Paper presented on the 6th international congress for Somali studies in (Berlin-Germany July 2000)

Conference Organized by Ismael Musah Montana: 12th Annual All African Student Conference May 2000 York University. "The role of the African youth on the continent and the Diaspora in the 21st century."

DISSERTATION WORKSHOPS

Working Group Modernity and Islam (Berlin) Summer Academy 2000

Ismael Musah Montana "Black Slavery in the Regency of Tunis, 1800-1890."

York University and the University of California Dissertation Workshop (Sonoma, December 2000)

Ismael Musah Montana, "Sudan-Tunis: Black Slave Community of the Regency of Tunis."

Looking Back: York-UC Berkeley Dissertation Workshop in Perspective.

by Ismael Musah Montana

Discussing one's own research along with conceptual and methodological issues before a group of gurus and future scholars from diverse backgrounds and regions can be a nerve-racking exercise. Most graduate students, therefore, carefully calculate their audience rather than gamble. After all, not only do research paradigms or frameworks differ from one academic setting to another, academic training may also be quite distinct, and in most cases, a matter to be boasted about. An awareness of the reality of divergence among different academic institutions may prevent an encounter with peers and colleagues from other universities from being a potential threat. This same view though can be generalized about the reputation of an academy whose reputation rests upon its graduated students' current image and future success.

When I was first contacted by Pablo Idahosa, the coordinator of this workshop from York University who confirmed that my proposal was accepted for participation in the York University and University of California, Berkeley's young scholars dissertation workshop, I had every reason to celebrate. It meant a lot to me that my research project was being honored in such a way. To say the least, however, I could not escape being a little nervous. Crossing the Canadian academic border to put my research to the test before a group of intellectuals from UC Berkeley seemed at first to be a daunting engagement. Yet, soon after arriving in Westerbecke Sonoma, where we met for three full days, my wariness swiftly disappeared, as I was now preoccupied with the intelligence of the participants and by the tremendous experience this workshop offered us. We were given an opportunity to reflect upon and share research projects with others from both similar and unrelated disciplines.

One of my cherished moments in the workshop was to see my audience of non-historians become interested and involved in my discipline. Moreover, the experience gained by my participation in the workshop was timely; in fact, I found that to an extent it reoriented my approach to my studies. Indeed, the significance of this exercise also lay in how it exposed my strengths and weakness alike. Besides giving students the opportunity to discuss their research undertakings, the networking aspect of the workshop is another feature I appreciated. However, what most excited me about the workshop was the extreme competence of my colleagues from York University.

Oaxaca Seminar

by Thor Burnham

During the summer of 2000, July-August, I attended The Oaxaca (III) Seminar in Oaxaca, Mexico as a visiting Hewlett Fellow. The annual seminar is organized by Professor William H. Beezley, University of Arizona, to bring together a

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group of 12 graduate students from North America for an intense five week period of methodological, historiographical and theoretical training. In particular, the seminar addressed issues of the new cultural history coming out of Mexico, and the resulting rifts in the contemporary scholarship.

Each week of the seminar highlighted 2 or 3 different visiting scholars who came to Oaxaca, presented new or recent work, and then allowed the Fellows to interrogate them on it. Given the varied nature of interests, styles, approaches, ideologies and methodologies employed by the various scholars, the seminar was incredibly instructive. Furthermore, the debate among the faculty and the visiting Fellows was intense, lively and well informed. Of particular interest was that we were afforded the opportunity to watch a plethora of seminar styles in practice, and note which were more effective pedagogically.

Another beneficial aspect of the seminar was the requirement that the visiting scholars meet individually with the students. This gave me the opportunity to present my research topics to a significant number of accomplished scholars, and then receive feedback from them. William E. French, Gil Joseph, John Mason Hart, Paul Vanderwood, Chris Archer, Peter Guardino, Anne Blum and Allan Knight were able to provide insight and direction with respect to my research, possible areas of further scholarship and most importantly, criticism.

In addition to being exposed to some accomplished scholars, the seminar was given hands on experience in a number of different archives in Oaxaca proper. We managed to visit the National Archives in Mexico City as well as five different archives in Oaxaca: the state archives, the judicial archives, etc. It was very informative using real primary documents to dis-

cuss research strategies and to think of questions that would be useful.

The conference gave me a chance to evaluate myself against other graduate students, and note areas of needed improvement. As well, it provided the opportunity to network with a varied group of scholars from numerous institutions, something that will be all the more important as I get closer to looking at the job market.

Another important experience in Oaxaca were daily Spanish lessons which brought me one step close to becoming fluent in one more Caribbean language.

Two opportunities were presented to me as a result of the conference: an invitation to a conference at Yale and an invitation to write an article on political protest songs in Haiti. In the first instance, the conference at Yale is in June, 2000. In the case of the later, I am still in discussion with William Beezley.

RESEARCH REPORT: by BEHNAZ MIRZAI ASL

In November 2000, I traveled to Iran for archival and oral research. With the cooperation of The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Iran, I was given access to their archives and looked through their rich collection of manuscripts relating to slavery in nineteenth-century Iran. The permission I had obtained to examine materials in the archives was for only two weeks, and there was a limit to the number of photocopies of materials I could make. The documents I was able to procure are all crucial to issues I intend to examine in my research.

Other places housing documents that will prove useful for my research include The Iranian National Archive, and the university of Tehran's library. I paid very brief visits to both of these and in the first was able to get a few materials. The rich

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book collection of the National library includes some rare books necessary for my research, copies of which, fortunately, I was allowed to make. I had a trip to Qum (the religious city), and did some research at the Ayyattollah Mar'ashi's library. I also traveled to Bandar Abbas, Qeshm Island, and Minab, the cities in Southern Iran, and interviewed the Blacks and visited their communities.

Summer Report: Jennifer Lofkrantz

From June 26 – August 31, 2000 I was in Morocco on a pre-dissertation research trip. During these weeks, I attended a conference, networked, completed an intensive Arabic language course, and familiarised myself with Moroccan archives and society.

I attended the June 29-30 2000 “Liberté, identité, intégration et servitude” conference at Al Akhawayn University in Ifrane as a graduate student observer and was thus able to familiarize myself with current research related to slavery in North Africa in general and Morocco in particular. Perhaps more importantly, I was able to meet and speak with others who are doing research, related to slavery in Morocco such as Mohammed Ennaji, Chouki El Hamel and Madia Thomson.

After the conference, I spent two weeks in Rabat and met with members of l'Institut des Etudes Africaines, the Bibliotheque Hassananiya, and the Archives Royales du Maroc. In the following week I had further discussions with Fatima Harak and Mohammed Ennaji, both of l'Université Mohammed V, and with Ghislaine Lydon who recently completed her Ph.

D. at Michigan State University. Also, through Madia Thomson, I was able to meet with other graduate students, from American and Israeli universities who were doing research in Morocco. During this week, I also made my first forays into ‘La Source’, a French-language archive organised by the Catholic Church in Morocco that contains various nineteenth and twentieth century primary and secondary materials.

Between July 19, 2000 and August 9, 2000, I attended a three-week intensive Modern Standard Arabic course at ‘The Arabic Language Institute in Fez’. After completing my language course, I went south to explore the various cities and villages of that area since my thesis will be focused on the slave trade into southern Morocco.

**York/UNESCO/SSHRCC
Nigerian Hinterland Project
Presents**

Dr. Verene Shepherd

University of the West Indies, Mona
Network Professor, Nigerian Hinterland Project

“The Legacy of Slavery Debate in the African Diaspora: Examples from Post-Slavery and Post-Independence Jamaica.”



MARCH 28TH, 2001
FOUNDERS COLLEGE, YORK UNIVERSITY
SENIOR COMMON ROOM
4:30 pm
Reception to Follow

**HARRIET TUBMAN SEMINAR
SCHEDULE
2001**

- 20 November** **Elisée Soumonni** “Afro-Brazilian Returnees to the Bight of Benin.”
- 18 December** **Yacine Daddi Addoun** “Fieldwork: Algerian Sahara Summer 2000.”
- 29 January** **Paul E. Lovejoy** “The Biography of Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua: His Passage from Slavery to Freedom in Africa and America.” With Robin Law.
- 5 February** **Renée Soulodre-La France** “I Francisco Castañeda, Negro Esclavo Caravali: Caravali Ethnicity in Colonial New Granada.”
- 5 March** **Bryan and Shannon Prince** “The Underground Railroad and Buxton Ontario.”
- 12 March** **Mariza de Carvalho Soares** “Mina Ethnicity in Brazil.”
- 27 March** **Verene Shepherd and Paul E. Lovejoy**, “Historical Perspectives on a 19th Century Jamaican Novel: Cyrus Francis Perkins' "Busha's Mistress, or Catherine the Fugitive"”.

**FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES
2001—2002**

- FEBRUARY** “Fighting Back: African Strategies Against the Slave Trade.” Rutgers University, February 16-17, 2001.
- MAY** “Atlantic Crossings: Women’s Voices, Women’s Stories from the Caribbean and the Nigerian Hinterland.” Dartmouth College, May 18-20, 2001.
- JUNE** “Slavery and Religion in the Modern World.” Essaouira (Morocco), June 18-20, 2001.

- NOVEMBER** “Aguda: Aspects of Afro-Brazilian Heritage in the Bight of Benin.” Porto-Novo (Republic of Benin) November 26-30, 2001.
- JANUARY 2002** “Conference on Caribbean Culture 2” University of the West Indies, Mona Campus (Jamaica), January 9-12, 2002.