

Dialogues *of Dispersal*


Gender,
Sexuality
and African
Diasporas

Edited by

SANDRA GUNNING
A W. HUNTER AND
MICHELE MITCHELL



Blackwell
Publishing



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**Sandra Gunning, Tera W. Hunter and
Michele Mitchell**

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Dialogues of Dispersal

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Fatima El-Tayeb is a historian and currently Scholar in Residence at the University of Tennessee. She has published a book, *Schwarze Deutsche. 'Rasse' und nationale Identität 1890–1933* (Frankfurt: Campus 2001), and a number of articles on blacks in German history. Her recent work is on transnational identity concepts among European ethnic minorities. She has also co-authored a movie and a novel, *Alles wird gut/Everything will be fine* (with Angelina Maccarone).

Rhonda D. Frederick, an Assistant Professor of English at Boston College, teaches Caribbean and African American literatures. She is also interested in American literatures, particularly twentieth-century women's popular fiction, and literatures of the African Diaspora. Her research interests are in Post-colonial Studies, Cultural Studies and narratives of migration. She is presently working on a manuscript that examines Caribbean literature's recurrent figure of the Panamá Canal worker.

Sandra Gunning is Associate Professor in the Program in American Culture, the Center for Afroamerican & African Studies, and the Department of English at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Her current research addresses gender and location in the early African diaspora.

Tera W. Hunter is an Associate Professor of History at Carnegie Mellon University. She is the author of *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors After the Civil War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997). She is currently working on the history of marriages among African Americans in the nineteenth century.

Anne S. Macpherson is Assistant Professor of Latin American and Caribbean History at SUNY College at Brockport. She co-edited *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America* (University of North Carolina Press, 2003) and authored 'Citizens v. Clients: Working Women and Colonial Reform in Puerto Rico and Belize, 1932–45', *Journal of Latin American Studies* 35 (2003). She is completing a book manuscript on gender and politics in twentieth-century Belize.

Patrick Manning is Professor of History and African-American Studies at Northeastern University, where he directs the World History Center. His work on the demography of slavery in Africa and the African diaspora, including *Slavery and African Life* (1990), emphasises the disproportions in sex ratios brought by the slave trade and the resulting transformations in gender relations throughout the regions affected by enslavement. He is author of *Navigating World History: Historians Create a Global Past* (2003).

J. Lorand Matory is Professor of Anthropology and of African and African-American Studies at Harvard University. He is the author of *Sex and the Empire that Is No More: Gender and the Politics of Metaphor in Òyó Yorùbá Religion* (University of Minnesota Press, 1994; Berghahn, 2003) and of the forthcoming *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé* (Princeton University Press).

His general interest is in the ongoing and mutually transformative dialogue between African and African-American cultures. His current research concerns the diversity of immigrant and indigenous ethnic groups of African descent in the United States.

Michele Mitchell is Assistant Professor in the Department of History and Center for Afroamerican & African Studies at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Her research focuses upon the production and maintenance – biological, material, discursive, cultural – of “racial” collectives. She is the author of *Righteous Propagation: African Americans and the Politics of Racial Destiny after Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

Jenny Sharpe is professor of English and Comparative Literature at the University of California at Los Angeles. Her publications include a recent book, *Ghosts of Slavery: A Literary Archeology of Black Women's Lives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003). Her current research is on nation, gender and technology in diasporic cultures.

Martin Summers is an assistant professor of history at the University of Oregon. His writing includes “‘This Immoral Practice’: The Prehistory of Homophobia in Black Nationalist Thought”, in Toni Lester, ed., *Gender Nonconformity, Race, and Sexuality and Manliness and Its Discontents: The Black Middle Class and the Transformation of Masculinity, 1900–1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

Sophie White received her PhD from the Courtauld Institute, University of London. Her research and publications investigate issues of gender, consumerism and the role of dress and appearance in managing gender, race, class and ethnic encounters in French Colonial Louisiana. She currently serves as Assistant Director of the Gender Studies Program at the University of Notre Dame.

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Gender, Sexuality, and African Diasporas

*Sandra Gunning, Tera W. Hunter and
Michele Mitchell*

The months before and after manumission must indeed have been a bittersweet time for Phillis Wheatley. In the summer of 1773 she debuted in London as the young slave poet from the American colonies, an object of both celebration and astonishment for British abolitionists. Recalled suddenly to Boston – her beloved mistress Susanna Wheatley was fatally ill – Phillis was by the end of the year emancipated by her owners. Phillis now dared to contemplate the unorthodox life as a self-supporting Negro poetess, but her white patrons had another plan, namely that she should return to Africa as the wife of a black missionary. In a letter written in October 1774, Wheatley's objections were polite but firm:

Upon my arrival [in Africa], how like a Barbarian Should I look to the Natives; I can promise that my tongue shall be quiet for a strong reason indeed being an utter stranger to the Language of Anamaboe. Now to be Serious, This undertaking appears too hazardous, and not sufficiently Eligible, to go – and leave my British & American Friends – I am also unacquainted with those Missionaries in Person.¹

As Marsha Watson has argued, though Phillis had been born in West Africa, she probably felt betrayed by such counsel, because she was by nurturance and cultural affiliation a child of the New World.² In choosing to remain in the colonies Phillis took her chances with both the possibilities of the American revolution and Boston's small black community, since by 1778 she had married John Peters, a free black much disliked by the white members of her former circle.

Taken as simply one figure connecting what Earl Lewis has defined as a series of 'overlapping diasporas', Phillis Wheatley's life simultaneously engages histories of trans-Atlantic slavery and abolition, of competing European and American imperialisms, of a particular kind of gendered mobility and stasis, of freedom and containment, of cultural reformation

and cultural frustration.³ At the same time her determination to carve out (albeit with a conflicted, Janus-faced attitude to Africa) a 'home' in the midst of New World homelessness references a vastly complex and barely containable field of human experience that is the mark and measure of the African Diaspora.

Centuries old, the dispersal of African-born peoples and their cultures has been an ongoing process. Indeed, forced, coerced or voluntary migration has produced a Phillis Wheatley in the eighteenth-century, but also countless economic and political refugees from post-colonial African nation states in the twenty-first century. Yet, as Tiffany Patterson and Robin Kelley have suggested, the concept of the African Diaspora is primarily a convenient construction for organising academic knowledge.⁴ As a field African Diaspora studies emerged 'officially' in the mid-twentieth century as scholars such as St. Clair Drake and George Shepperson theorised the formation of New World black cultures, and the potential of Pan-Africanism as a movement for social change in the post-World War II era.⁵ Earlier work on African retentions by anthropologists such as Melville Herskovits had already laid considerable groundwork.⁶ By the 1980s and early 1990s scholarly interest grew at a steady pace, so that by the end of the twentieth- and the start of the twenty-first century, the field of African Diaspora studies has virtually exploded, blurring disciplinary boundaries and challenging our understanding of everything from working-class culture, to cultural technologies of empire, to globalisation.⁷ At the same time, the transformative power of black hip hop on a world stage, as well as the creation of new sites of dispersal and contested agency made possible by the World Wide Web, are pressing the traditional limits of our scholarly analyses and research methods.⁸ At the present moment perhaps the most famous 'cross-over' hit in academic terms has been sociologist Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic* (1993), a study that has engaged a new generation of academics outside of history and anthropology; now virtually everybody has been forced to reframe contemporary black culture in Britain, the Caribbean and the United States beyond a one-way connection to Anglo-European traditions, and especially beyond the confines of the national.⁹ Contemporary scholars are also now equally concerned now with the neglected impact of non-US based African diasporas as they have been with the more traditional focus on Atlantic communities.¹⁰ And there has a growing recognition of the importance of viewing the African continent past and present as a site of multiple internal diasporas that have existed synchronically with black communities in the rest of the world.¹¹

Still, the use of gender as a category of analysis remains something of a challenge for African Diaspora studies. There has been a steady stream of anthologies, monographs and articles by feminist scholars of both sexes, such as Adelaide M. Cromwell, Barbara Bush, Barbara Bair, Verene Shepherd,

Bridget Brereton, Beryl Satter, Hilary McD. Beckles, Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, Faith Smith and Jenny Sharpe.¹² However, too many studies past and present have addressed the experience of black masculinity as a collective identity, without a self-conscious assessment of the continual transformation of gender roles and sexuality within a black diasporic framework.

As has been the case in other bodies of historically informed scholarship, many of the first attempts to gender the history of African-descended peoples focused upon the past experiences and lived realities of women. In certain regards, a critical attempt to gender scholarship on African Diasporas began with publication of Filomena Chioma Steady's anthology, *The Black Woman Cross-Culturally*, in 1981. Steady – Sierra Leone-born and an anthropologist – contended that if women of African descent had 'been a subject of study long before women's liberation came into vogue', such scholarly attention had primarily been the provenance of functionalist anthropologists.¹³ *The Black Woman Cross-Culturally* was preceded by the path-breaking *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change* (1976) and would soon be followed by *Women in Africa and the African Diaspora* (1987). Indeed, scholars who either rejected or embraced Western second-wave feminism or who were committed to materialist analyses consistently produced provocative works that paved the way for recent scholarship on gender and sexuality in African and Afro-diasporic communities.¹⁴ Since the mid-1980s, for example, Africanists and Latin Americanists have produced a number of critical monographs and articles.¹⁵ Scholars whose analytical focus and intellectual preoccupations centre on the United States have generated a wealth of scholarship as well, on topics ranging from health and medicine to cultural expression and resistance.¹⁶ If much scholarship – especially that produced within Europe and North America – has focused upon slavery and the after-shocks of abolition,¹⁷ scholars interested in the past and present dispersal of African-descended women, men, and children have also mined familiar topics in any number of creative ways, including dynamic and provocative assessments of visual and material culture.¹⁸

The essays in this special issue provide a range of historically informed scholarship on the intersections of gender, sexuality and the African Diaspora. While they speak to many of the seminal concerns and questions in the larger body of work preceding it, they are distinctive in centralising the core themes and expanding the geographical boundaries of the forced and voluntary migrations of African peoples beyond the Atlantic World and urban life that has typified many other studies. These articles cover a broad chronological sweep as well, from pre-colonial and colonial times up to the present day.

The volume opens with three essays traveling the globe, from West Africa to Brazil, Jamaica and Germany. All three address questions

of inclusion and exclusion and how gender and sexuality influence the politics of narration, performance and recognition.

The first essay, by anthropologist Lorand Matory, is a provocative critique of the symbiosis of academic scholarship and religious communities in the New World, particularly Candomblé. He argues that in the process of delimiting a historical narrative of the religion, scholars have played a role in shaping its internal hierarchies. Not only has the scholarship been read by priests and practitioners, there has been engaged dialogue between these groups in international conferences. If there is often doubt about the impact of seemingly esoteric intellectual work outside academe, Matory's article makes clear just how powerful it can be in canonising what is known or regarded as 'authentic'. New World religion (like Candomblé in Brazil) and its African predecessor (like Yorùbá òrìṣà-worship in West Africa) have been selectively constructed by some as an idyllic matriarchy or a genderless society untainted by foreign and 'Western' concepts of male dominance, female subordination and homosexuality. Matory debunks these views, exposing the secrets and the 'hidden transcripts' behind their formulation. Diasporas as 'imagined communities', he argues, can function like nation states with vested interests in concealing, denying, and explaining away ideas, individuals, and social practices that contradict the images they wish to safeguard and project.

Jenny Sharpe's essay comments on the limitations of exclusivity by challenging the conception of the Diasporan subject as male, urban and Western. She makes a case for the far-reaching implications of globalisation in rural Third World peripheries. According to Sharpe, traditional readings of diasporan musical cultures generated in major international cities such as London and New York obscure the existence of creativity and production in more localised centers. Sharpe explores post-colonialism and the gendered politics of a transnational recording industry through the music of Jamaican 'dub' poet Jean 'Binta' Breeze. Her reading of Breeze takes into account Breeze's biography as a cultural producer living back and forth between Britain and Jamaica and engages her political commitment to post-colonial critiques. Her essay examines the social consciousness within Breeze's 'dub' poetry, as it pertains to black female struggles for sexual and economic empowerment in Jamaica. Breeze and other working-class 'dancehall divas' and 'female DJs' demonstrate 'women claiming male-dominated territory through a technologically-driven female sexuality', asserting themselves in a world in which 'the agents of control increasingly exist elsewhere.' This essay is critical in that it makes visible black women (artists and consumers) in the music industry, the primary site that scholars like Paul Gilroy have theorised as constitutive of transatlantic black culture and increasingly others are using as a basis for 'a general theory of the African Diaspora'.

Fatima El-Tayeb's article shows how the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion in hip hop and popular culture have been policed along gender lines in ways that betray the feminist origins of the broader social movement from which it evolved in Germany. Given the uniqueness of Germany as a site of scholarly inquiry on African dispersal, El-Tayeb first establishes Afro-Germans' place within diasporic histories, identities and cultures. She begins by highlighting the contested nature of German identity by providing an overview of racial politics within both colony and metropole. She then suggests that if the simultaneous denial and reification of race in the Federal Republic after World War II prohibited the formation of identity-based activism among Afro-Germans, the 1980s witnessed the emergence of a movement due largely to the efforts of women, many of whom were lesbian. Feminists were the first to express a collective sense of Afro-German identity, inspired in part by black feminists in the USA. They brought to public view a narration of the long history of unacknowledged black presence within the country to strengthen their claims and organisation for justice, recognition and social change. Using the foundation and inspiration built by this movement, black youth in Germany transformed US models of political hip hop into a vehicle for multiracial, anti-racist activism in the 1990s. Though initially progressive on issues of gender and sexuality, hip hop relented to 'selling homophobia and sexism as authentic ghetto culture – not only in their songs but on their political agendas'. El-Tayeb exposes the irony of this turn in light of the feminist activism and vibrant intellectual networks within the African Diaspora from which hip hop in Germany was produced.

The next two essays interrogate issues of colour and class in the Caribbean and Central America. Rhonda Frederick's essay examines the autobiography of the Jamaican entrepreneur and 'doctress' Mary Jane Seacole, as one way into the complicated politics of class, colour, race and nationality in the Anglophone West Indies, following the end of slavery in the early nineteenth century. For Frederick, Seacole represents a particular kind of mixed-race identity that challenges the fixed binaries of 'black' and 'white', of colonial subject and Englishman, in order to reformulate an emergent 'Caribbean' subjectivity. But Seacole's goal, according to this essay, is not the total subversion of colonial categories. Rather, Seacole engages in a highly selective recuperation of 'otherness' in ways that will shore up her identity as a respectable but independent 'colored lady,' despite her penchant for travelling to the ends of the earth in the company of gold miners in New Grenada and soldiers in the Crimea. Seacole 'asserts her creoleness by highlighting those behaviours that affirm her desired social position, in spite of her ambiguously raced and stereotypically gendered physical appearance and the meanings attached to

them'. Frederick argues that through the autobiography, Seacole achieves an idealised persona by way of a rhetorical performance that forces her audience to call into question traditional assumptions about the gendered, raced bodies of empires.

Anne Macpherson's essay links gender, colour and class issues to twentieth-century Creole descendants of the Seacoles in the New World. Whereas the mother figured prominently in Seacole's effort to wrestle with the conception of her identity, motherhood was a weapon and political tool for middle-class women in Belize in quite different ways. Macpherson broadens our understanding of how social movements can have multiple – and often conflicting – constituencies by focusing upon a vital aspect of Garveyism within the English-speaking Caribbean. Macpherson contributes significantly to literature on gender, race, reform and empire. Her focus on a Caribbean-based Universal Negro Improvement Association provides a rich, compelling example of how and why women of colour adopted maternalist strategies within colonial settings. Macpherson boldly contends that whereas Belize's Black Cross Nurses had unusual access to the state in comparison to black club women in the United States, the Nurses' inability to forge alliances across class lines ultimately buttressed hierarchies that collaborated with colonial rule. Their political mobilisations were not founded upon a discourse of sisterhood and can be described as 'non-feminist women's activism'; although 'the same women could dispute male domination while placing class-race hierarchy above equal women's rights'. She builds upon important feminist scholarship on one of the most significant black mass movements, continuing to complicate our understanding of intra-racial dynamics within diasporan communities – not unlike Matory's interjections.

The last set of essays shares in common considerations of masculinity, their relationship to femininity, race, class and the Diaspora. Sophie White looks at the construction of masculinity and ethnicity through signs of dress. While this is the only article devoted to clothing, the issue is raised in several other pieces, if only tangentially. In Matory's essay, male *Ọyó-Yorùbá* possession priests in West Africa cross-dress in female clothing, but the culturally specific reading of this symbolism is that they are wives of the gods – not necessarily a sign of homosexuality, but perhaps interpreted as such when translated by Candomblé devotees in Brazil. In Sharpe's examination of dancehall music, working-class women use flashy, glittery, fringed and synthetic outfits and hairdos to articulate their sexuality. In Frederick's article, dress is one of several yardsticks by which the itinerant Seacole measures her womanhood and distinguishes herself from others of a similar anatomy. In all of these situations the meaning of dress augments Sophie White's argument that it serves more than the potential it contains as material goods or cover for the body.

Masculinity and dress intersect in Sophie White's article, especially through the criminal case of Francisque a self-styled 'Englishman from Philadelphia' by way of Havana, who created a stir in the slave and free black community of colonial New Orleans when he attended dances, paying too much for music and courting the ladies. The other men present resented the intrusion on their turf and the expressions of ostentation, as well as his theft of items from a fellow black. Yet Francisque had seemingly made overtures to conform to what he perceived to be the deployment of emblems of an African-derived identity – 'three or four handkerchiefs around his collar and elsewhere about him'. Here again, tensions within diaspora communities emerge, this time between Creoles and Africans. Clothing served as an important mediator and source of conflict, not just between blacks and whites, but also among blacks. Clothing (all be they European manufactured garments) represented signs of belonging, exclusion, ways of helping to initiate and maintain sexual and non-sexual relationships, gift-giving and debt.

Martin Summers' article looks at the appropriation of fraternal orders – other kinds of Western forms – among Africans and African descended people in the United States. Summers offers a striking analysis of how diasporic identities are gendered as well as classed through an exploration of an early twentieth-century transatlantic epistolary relationship between two fraters, D. K. Abadu Bentsi from the Gold Coast and Harry A. Williamson from the United States. This article is distinctive in studying freemasonry outside of Western contexts and across national boundaries. Summers persuasively argues that the rhetoric and rituals of freemasonry grounded in producer values and bourgeois morality enabled black men to 'lay claim to a middle-class subjectivity' that depended as much upon men's homosocial networks with one another as it did models of 'masculine provider-hood' within households. In equating masculinity with production, freemasons also connected femininity with domesticity. They were able to construct a 'specifically racialised masculinity' while also distancing themselves from white middle-class men, including many fellow masons who shunned them. Economic depression and racial proscription might have frustrated the material realisation of middle-class status for black men, yet dialogue between the two men about their respective experiences with racism and colonisation allowed both men to articulate common belonging to a community of diasporic citizens. In toto, this article potently suggests that diasporic identities not only involve gender and class as well as exchange and process, but those imaginings of belonging invoke both exclusion and inclusion.

And finally, the issue ends with an essay by Patrick Manning on how to locate electronic research materials on gender and the Diaspora. In the interest of encouraging further research, Manning's article highlights

many new and innovative resources for scholars across many disciplines interested in the topics. Manning draws our attention to the 'digital divide' as he underscores the significance of 'language of presentation' in the very dissemination of electronically stored information, research and primary documents.¹⁹ While much of the research materials are still located in archives, increasingly, the World Wide Web is opening up new possibilities that will undoubtedly contribute tremendously to the growth and development of the field. Manning's essay is therefore a fitting conclusion to this particular volume, one that highlights the vivacity, complexity, interdisciplinarity and growth of scholarship on African-descended peoples as it underscores myriad ways in which the nexus of gender and sexuality has shaped – and continues to impact on – diasporic histories and communities.

Notes

The authors extend special thanks to editorial administrator Kristin McGuire and to all of the reviewers who read essays for this volume.

1. Letter to John Thornton, 29, March 1774, reprinted in *Phillis Wheatley: Collected Writings*, ed. Vincent Carretta (Penguin, 2001), p. 156. In the same volume see also Wheatley's letter to the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, 9 February 1774, *Collected Writings*, pp. 151–2.
2. Marsha Watson, 'A Classic Case: Phillis Wheatley and her Poetry', *Early American Literature* 31 (1996), pp. 103–32.
3. Earl Lewis, 'To Turn as on a Pivot: Writing African Americans into a History of Overlapping Diasporas', *American Historical Review* 100 (1995), pp. 765–87.
4. Tiffany Ruby Patterson and Robin Kelley, 'Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World', *African Studies Review* 43 (2000), pp. 13–14. See also Deborah Gray White, '"Yes," There is a Black Atlantic', *Itinerario* 23 (1999), pp. 127–40; Karen J. Winkler, 'Historians Explore Questions of How People and Cultures Disperse Across the Globe', *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 22 January 1999, pp. A11–12; Brent Hayes Edwards, 'The Uses of *Diaspora*', *Social Text* 66 (2001), pp. 45–73; Kristin Mann, 'Shifting Paradigms in the Study of the African Diaspora and of Atlantic History and Culture', *Slavery & Abolition* 22 (2001), pp. 3–21; Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur (eds), *Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003); and Khalid Koser (ed.), *New African Diasporas* (London: Routledge, 2003). A fascinating take on migration and dispersal may be found in Donna R. Gabaccia, 'Is Everywhere Nowhere?: Nomads, Nations, and The Immigrant Paradigm of United States History', *Journal of American History* 86 (3), pp. 1115–34.
5. For example see St. Clair Drake, 'Negro American and the Africa Interest', in *The American Negro Reference Book*, ed. John P. Davis (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1966), pp. 662–705 and 'Diaspora Studies and Pan-Africanism', in *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora*, ed. Joseph E. Harris (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1982), pp. 451–514; George Shepperson, 'Notes on Negro American Influences on the Emergence of African Nationalism', *Journal of African History* 1 (1960), pp. 299–312, and 'African Diaspora: Concept and Context', in *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora*, pp. 41–9.
6. Melville Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Beacon Press, 1941).
7. While this is not the place for an exhaustive bibliography, here are a few key texts: Margaret Washington Creel, *A Peculiar People: Slave Religion and Community Culture Among the Gullahs* (New York University Press, 1988); Joseph E. Holloway (ed.), *Africanisms in American Culture* (Indiana University Press, 1990); Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Society in the Eighteenth Century* (Louisiana State University Press, 1992); Michael Mullin, *Africa in America: Slave*

- Acculturation and Resistance in the American South and the British Caribbean, 1736–1831* (University of Illinois Press, 1992); Mavis Campbell, *Back To Africa: George Ross and the Maroons: From Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone* (Africa World Press, 1992); Sidney J. Lemelle and Robin D. G. Kelley (eds), *Imagining Home: Class, Culture and Nationalism in the African Diaspora* (Verso, 1994); Mary Turner (ed.), *From Chattel Slaves to Wage Slaves: The Dynamics of Labour Bargaining in the Americas* (James Curry, 1995); Darlene Clark Hine and David Barry Gaspar (eds), *More than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas* (Indiana University Press, 1996); Darlene Clarke Hine and Jacqueline McLeod (eds), *Crossing Boundaries: Comparative History of Black People in Diaspora* (Indiana University Press, 1999); Lamin Sanneh, *Abolitionists Abroad: American Blacks and the Making of Modern West Africa* (Harvard University Press, 1999); Joanna Brooks and John Saillant (eds), *'Face Zion Forward': First Writers of the Black Atlantic, 1785–1798* (Northeastern University Press, 2002).
8. The following texts are but a few examples: Gina Dent, *Black Popular Culture*, A Project by Michele Wallace (Bay Press, 1992); Tricia Rose, *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America* (Wesleyan University Press, 1994); The Black Public Sphere Collective, *The Black Public Sphere: A Public Culture Book* (University of Chicago Press, 1995); Penny Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937–1957* (Cornell University Press, 1997); Michael Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (University of North Carolina, 1998); Shane White and Graham White, *Stylin': African American Expressive Culture from Its Beginnings to the Zoot Suit* (Cornell University Press, 1998); and Monique Guillory and Richard C. Green (eds), *Soul: Black Power, Politics, and Pleasure* (New York University Press, 1998). Note as well the number of special journal issues, for example 'Transcending Traditions', special issue of *Black Scholar* 30 (2000); 'Africa's Diaspora', special issue of *African Studies Review* 43 (2000); 'Transnational Black Studies and Beyond', special issue of *Radical History Review* 87 (2003).
 9. Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Harvard University Press, 1993). Key examples of transnational scholarship include: Michael Confino, 'Servage Russe, Esclavage Américain (Note Critique)', *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 45 (1990), pp. 1119–41; James Clifford, 'Diasporas', *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Harvard University Press, 1997), pp. 244–77; Michel S. Laguerre, *Diasporic Citizenship: Haitian Americans in Transnational America* (St. Martin's Press, 1998); Lisa Brock and Digna Castaneda Fuertes (eds), *Between Race and Empire: African-Americans and Cubans before the Cuban Revolution* (Temple University Press, 1998); Winston James, *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth-Century America* (Verso, 1998); Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Beacon Press, 2000); Douglas B. Chambers, 'Ethnicity in the Diaspora: The Slave-Trade and the Creation of African "Nations" in the Americas', *Slavery & Abolition* 22 (2001), pp. 25–39; Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Harvard University Press, 2003); Kim D. Butler, 'Africa in the Reinvention of Nineteenth-Century Afro-Bahian Identity', *Slavery & Abolition* 22 (2001), pp. 135–154.
 10. For example, see Joseph Harris, *The African Presence in Asia: Consequences of the East African Slave Trade* (Northwestern University Press, 1971); Denise Helly, *Idéologie et ethnicité: Les Chinois Macao à Cuba, 1847–1886* (Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1979) Allison Blakely, *Russia and the Negro: Blacks in Russian History and Thought* (Howard University Press, 1986), and also his *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in A Modern Society* (Indiana University Press, 1993); José Baltar Rodríguez, *Los Chinos de Cuba: Apuntes etnográficos* (Fundación Fernando Ortiz, 1997); Madhavi Kale, *Fragments of Empire: Capital, Slavery, and Indian Indentured Labor Migration in the British Caribbean* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); John O. Hunwick, 'Black Slaves in the Mediterranean World: Introduction to a Neglected Aspect of the African Diaspora', *Slavery & Abolition* 22 (2001), pp. 25–39; Eric Louw and Gary Mersham, 'Packing for Perth: The

- Growth of a Southern African Diaspora', *Asian & Pacific Migration Journal* 10 (2001), pp. 303–33; Eve Troutt Powell and John O. Hunwick (eds), *The African Diaspora in the Mediterranean Lands of Islam* (Markus Wiener Publishers, 2002); Tina Campt, 'The Crowded Space of Diaspora: Intercultural Address and the Tensions of Diasporic Relations', *Radical History Review* 83 (2002), pp. 94–113; Herman L. Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570–1640* (Indiana University Press, 2003).
11. For a useful meditation see Richard Roberts, 'The Construction of Cultures in Diaspora: African and African New World Experiences', *South Atlantic Quarterly* 98 (1999), pp. 177–90. See also Linda Heywood (ed.), *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora* (Cambridge University Press, 2001).
 12. Adelaide M. Cromwell, *An African Victorian Feminist: The Life and Times of Adelaide Smith Casely Hayford, 1868–1960* (Howard University Press, 1992); Barbara Bush, *Slave Women in Caribbean Society, 1650–1838* (Indiana University Press, 1990); Barbara Bair, 'Pan-Africanism as Process: Adelaide Casely Hayford, Garveyism, and the Cultural Roots of Nationalism' in *Imagining Home: Class, Culture and Nationalism*, ed. Lemelle and Kelley, pp. 121–44; Verene Shepherd, Bridget Brereton and Barbara Bailey (eds), *Engendering History: Caribbean Women in Historical Perspective* (St. Martin's Press, 1995); Beryl Satter, 'Marcus Garvey, Father Divine and the Gender Politics of Race Difference and Race Neutrality', *American Quarterly* 48 (1996), pp. 43–76; Hilary McD. Beckles, *Centering Woman: Gender Discourses in Caribbean Slave Society* (1999); Rosalyn Terborg Penn, 'Free Women Entrepreneurs form the 1820s to the 1850s: The Cases of Nancy Prince and Mary Seacole', *Crossing Boundaries*, ed. Cline and McLeod, pp. 159–75; Faith Smith, *Creole Recitations: John Jacob Thomas and Colonial Formation in the Late Nineteenth-Century Caribbean* (University of Virginia Press, 2002); Jenny Sharpe, *Ghosts of Slavery: A Literary Archaeology of Black Women's Lives* (University of Minnesota Press, 2003).
 13. Filomina Chioma Steady (ed.), *The Black Woman Cross-Culturally* (Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc., 1981), 1. For revealing analysis of different schools within anthropology, see Micaela di Leonardo, 'Gender, Culture, and Political Economy: Feminist Anthropology in Historical Perspective', in di Leonardo (ed.), *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era* (University of California Press, c. 1991), pp. 1–48. A classic early ethnography of an African woman is Mary F. Smith's *Baba of Karo* (Philosophical Library, 1955. Reprint. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).
 14. Again, this is but a sampling of key texts: Nancy J. Hafkin and Edna G. Bay (eds), *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change* (Stanford University Press, 1976); Margaret Strobel, *Muslim Women in Mombasa: 1890–1975* (Yale University Press, 1979); Christine Obbo, *African Women: Their Struggle for Economic Independence* (Zed Press, 1980); Christine Oppong (ed.), *Female and Male in West Africa* (Allen & Unwin, 1983); Karen Sacks, 'An Overview of Women and Power in Africa', *Perspectives on Power: Women in Africa, Asia, and Latin America*, ed. Jean O'Barr (Duke University Center for International Studies, 1982); Margaret Jean Hay and Sharon Stichter (eds), *African Women South of the Sahara* (Longman, 1984); Muthoni Likamani, *Passbook Number F.47927: Women and Mau Mau in Kenya* (Macmillan, c. 1985); Claire Robertson and Iris Berger (eds), *Women and Class in Africa* (Africana Publishing Company, 1986); Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, Sharon Harley and Andrea Benton Rushing (eds), *Women in Africa and the African Diaspora* (Howard University Press, 1987).
 15. Cheryl Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa* (Onyx Press, 1982); Tabitha Kanogo, 'Kikuyu Women and the Politics of Protest: Mau Mau', in *Images of Women in Peace and War: Cross-Cultural and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Sharon MacDonald, Pat Holden and Shirley Ardener (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1987), pp. 78–99; Patricia W. Romero (ed.), *Life Histories of African Women* (The Ashfield Press, Ltd., 1988); Nancy Rose Hunt, 'Placing African Women's History and Locating Gender', *Social History* 14 (1989), pp. 359–79; Shula Marks, 'Patriotism, Patriarchy, and Purity: Natal and the Politics of Zulu Ethnic Consciousness', in *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, ed. Leroy Vail (Berkeley: