REVERSING SAIL

A History of the African Diaspora

MICHAEL A. GOMEZ



New Approaches to African History

Reversing Sail

A History of the African Diaspora

Michael A. Gomez New York University



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press 40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title:www.cambridge.org/9780521806626

© Michael A. Gomez 2005

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2005 Reprinted 2006

Printed in the United States of America

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data Gomez, Michael Angleo, 1955—

Reversing sail: a history of the African diaspora / Michael A. Gomez.

p. cm. — (New approaches to African history) Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-521-80662-3 — ISBN 0-521-00135-8 (pb.) 1. African diapsora — History. 2. Blacks — History. I. Title. II. Series.

DT16.5.G66 2004

909'.0496-dc22

2004051992

ISBN-13 978-0-521-80662-2 hardback

ISBN-10 0-521-80662-6 hardback

ISBN-13 978-0-521-00135-9 paperback

ISBN-10 0-521-00135-8 paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Reversing Sail

This book examines the global unfolding of the African Diaspora, the migrations and dispersals of people of Africa, from antiquity to the modern period. Their exploits, challenges, and struggles over a wide expanse of time are discussed in ways that link as well as differentiate past and present circumstances. The experiences of Africans in the Old World, in the Mediterranean and Islamic worlds, is followed by their movement into the New, where their plight in lands claimed by Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, and English colonial powers is analyzed from enslavement through the Cold War. While appropriate mention is made of persons of renown, particular attention is paid to the everyday lives of working class people and their cultural efflorescence. The book also attempts to explain contemporary plights and struggles through the lens of history.

Michael A. Gomez is Professor of History at New York University. He is the author of *Pragmatism in the Age of Jihad: The Precolonial State of Bundu* (Cambridge, 1992) and *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (1998). He currently serves as Director of the Association for the Study of the Worldwide African Diaspora (ASWAD).

New Approaches to African History

Series Editor Martin Klein, University of Toronto

New Approaches to African History is designed to introduce students to current findings and new ideas in African history. Although each book treats a particular case and is able to stand alone, the format allows the studies to be used as modules in general courses on African history and world history. The cases represent a wide range of topics. Each volume summarizes the state of knowledge on a particular subject for a student who is new to the field. However, the aim is not simply to present views of the literature; it is also to introduce debates on historiographical or substantive issues, and it may argue for a particular point of view. The aim of the series is to stimulate debate, to challenge students and general readers. The series is not committed to any particular school of thought.

Other books in the series:

Africa Since 1940, by Frederick Cooper

Muslim Societies in African History, by David Robinson

In memory of the love of my mother, Mary Williams Gomez, 1936–1999, the first to make me see the the beauty and suffering of the African Diaspora.

Acknowledgments

I am indebted to a number of persons who gave of their time and expertise to help shape this project. I thank Martin Klein, who approached me with the idea of writing this book, and who patiently read through several drafts. Colin Palmer also read drafts, as did Kathleen Phillips-Lewis. Their comments, suggestions, and criticisms were extremely important. There were other readers whose names were not revealed to me; I thank them as well. Of course, all errors of fact and interpretation are solely mine.

I wish to thank those NYU graduate students who have studied with me, and with whom I have studied. These include Tanya Huelett, Edwina Ashie-Nikoi, Njoroge Njoroge, Aisha Finch, Natasha Lightfoot, Hillina Seife, Seth Markle, Michaela Harrison, Amir al-Islam, Marc Goulding, Alexis Doster, Oghenetoja Okoh, Yuko Miki, and Michelle Thompson; we have enjoyed spirited discussions about the African Diaspora, both in and out of class, and I have been the major benefactor. I look forward to great tomes from each of you, and of a quality that far exceeds my own.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to my Spelman College family, who continue to model the study of the Diaspora, and with whom I share a vital bond.

I also want to acknowledge the friendship and support of Sterling Stuckey. Our continuous dialogue has contributed significantly to my thinking.

My wife Mary and our daughters, Sonya, Candace, and Jamila, remain my principal supporters and dedicated companions along this way. I owe them all my love and appreciation.

As always, I give praise to the Almighty.

Contents

LIST OF FIGURES AND MAPS	page ix
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xi
Introduction	1
PART I "Old" World Dimensions	
1 Antiquity	7
Egypt	8
Egypt and the South	10
Nubian Ascendancy	11
Africans in the Graeco-Roman World	12
Suggestions for Further Reading	16
2 Africans and the Bible	18
Egypt and Nubia in the Bible	18
Africans and Origins	20
The Queen of Sheba	23
Beta Israel	25
The "Ethiopian" Eunuch and the Call to Christianity	26
Suggestions for Further Reading	27
3 Africans and the Islamic World	29
Golden Lands	31
Pilgrims and Scholars	34
The Enslaved	35
Iberia	40
India	44

viii	CONTENTS
VIII	CONTE

	The Image of the African in the Islamic World	45
	Slavery's Aftermath	50
	Suggestions for Further Reading	52
P	PART II "New" World Realities	
4	Transatlantic Moment	59
	Reconquista	59
	Scope of the Trade	62
	African Provenance	65
	Belly of the Whale	71
	Suggestions for Further Reading	79
5	Enslavement	82
	Aspects of American Enslavement	83
	Suggestions for Further Reading	106
6	Asserting the Right to Be	109
	Armed Revolt and Autonomous Space	110
	Everyday–Every Way Resistance	120
	Facing the Enemy	131
	Slavery's End?	141
	Games People Play	149
	Freedom's Tease	152
	Another Way	156
	Suggestions for Further Reading	159
7	Reconnecting	162
	Boats and Trains	163
	Organizing Black Labor	168
	Faiths New and Renewed	170
	Conceptualizing the Solutions	175
	Efflorescence	183
	Suggestions for Further Reading	190
8	Movement People	193
	Freedom and Fire	194
	Developments in the Caribbean, Latin America, and Europe	199
	Cultural Innovations	203
	Suggestions for Further Reading	216
	Th.	
E	PILOGUE	219
I	NDEX	221

List of Figures and Maps

Figures

1.	Cape Coast Castle, Gold Coast, 1948.	page 68	
2.	Slave coffle, western Sudan, 1879–1881.	73	
3.	The Africans of the slave bark Wildfire, brought into Key		
	West on April 30, 1860.	77	
4.	Slave market, Pernambuco, Brazil, 1820s.	84	
5.	Female slaves in Brazil, 1830s.	123	
6.	Dance steps and movements, Trinidad, 1830s.	127	
7.	Loading coal on a steamer, St. Thomas, 1864.	129	
8.	Hanging a slave, South Carolina, 1865.	141	
9.	Thatched houses, Barbados, 1898.	151	
10.	Black family, Beaufort, South Carolina, 1862.	155	
11.	Nicolás Guillén, Afro-Cuban poet and editor of		
	Mediodia, Madrid, Spain, September 1937.	189	
12.	Group portrait of the Cincinnati Clowns baseball team		
	with manager and business manager, 1940s.	215	
Ma	ps		
1. 1	North Africa in antiquity.	9	
2. 1	Major African empires, 1000–1500.	30	
3. 5	Spread of Islam to 1500.	41	
4. 1	West Africa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.	66	

此为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com

5.	West Central Africa, 1600–1800.	69
6.	Latin America, 1828.	83
7.	Caribbean map.	85
8.	North America.	99

Introduction

The dawn of the twenty-first century finds persons of varying ethnic and racial and religious backgrounds living together in societies all over the globe. The United Kingdom and France in Europe, together with the United States and Brazil in the Americas, are perhaps only the better known of many such societies, a principal dynamic of which concerns how groups maintain their identities while forming new and viable communities with those who do not share their backgrounds or beliefs. To achieve the latter requires a willingness on the part of all to learn about the histories and cultures of everyone in the society.

This book is about people of African descent who found (and find) themselves living either outside of the African continent or in parts of Africa that were territorially quite distant from their lands of birth. It is a history of their experiences, contributions, victories, and struggles, and it is primarily concerned with massive movements and extensive relocations, over long periods of time, resulting in the dispersal of Africans and their descendants throughout much of the world. This phenomenon is referred to as the African Diaspora. Redistributions of European and Asian populations have also marked history, but the African Diaspora is unique in its formation. It is a story, or a collection of stories, like no other.

As an undergraduate text, this book is written at a time of considerable perplexity, ambiguity, and seeming contradiction. People of African descent, or black people, can be found in all walks of life. In ancient and medieval times their achievements were in instances unparalleled; their economic contributions to the modern world have

REVERSING SAIL

2

been extensive and foundational, introducing agricultural forms and mining techniques while providing the necessary labor. They have contributed to the sciences and the arts in spectacular ways, but it is their cultural influence, involving literature, theater, painting, sculpture, dance, music, athletics, and religion, that has received greater recognition, with individual artists or athletes achieving extraordinary heights. Jazz, blues, reggae, and hip hop, for example, are global phenomena. Even so, the contemporary contrast between the individual of distinction and the popular perception of blacks as a whole could not be more striking. Blacks as a group are disproportionately associated with crime, poverty, disease, and educational underachievement. This perception is paralleled by the view of Africa itself, a continent brimming with potential but waylaid by war, poverty, disease, and insufficient investment in human capital.

The study of the African Diaspora can be distinguished from the study of African Americans in the United States, or from other groups of African-descended persons in a particular nation-state, in that the African Diaspora is concerned with at least one of two issues (and frequently both): (1) the ways in which preceding African cultural, social, or political forms influence African-descended persons in their new environment, and how such forms change through interaction with non-African cultures (European, Native American, Asian, etc.); and (2) comparisons and relationships between communities of African-descended people who are geographically separated or culturally distinct.

The observation that the African Diaspora is a complex pattern of communities and cultures with differing local and regional histories raises an important question: Why continue to speak of the African Diaspora as a unified experience? There is no easy answer or scholarly consensus, but there are a number of factors that together suggest a related condition. These are (1) Africa as the land of origin; (2) an experience of enslavement; (3) the struggle of adapting to a new environment while preserving as much of the African cultural background as possible; (4) the reification of color and race; (5) a continuing struggle against discrimination; and (6) the ongoing significance of Africa to African-descended population. With these factors in mind, one can state that the African Diaspora consists of the connections of people of African descent around the world, who are linked as much by their common experiences as their genetic makeup, if not more so.

INTRODUCTION 3

This book is divided into two parts, "Old" World Dimensions and "New" World Realities, with chapters that proceed in more or less chronological fashion. Chapter One, Antiquity, begins with a consideration of ancient Egypt, Nubia, and Greece and Rome. Chapter Two, Africans and the Bible, recognizes the critical role Judeo-Christian traditions have played in the formation of African Diasporic identities and seeks to examine the historical bases for this process. Chapter Three, Africans and the Islamic World, centers on the roles of Africans, subsaharan and otherwise, in the formation and expansion of Islam as a global force. The fourth chapter, Transatlantic Moment, shifts the inquiry away from the Old World to the New and discusses the various dimensions of the transatlantic slave trade. Chapter Five, Enslavement, focuses on the similar and dissimilar experiences of slavery in the Americas. The response of Africans and their descendants to the disorientation of displacement and enslavement, their various strategies of resistance and reconstitution, and the ambiguities of economic, political, and juridical conditions in the postslavery period are the subjects of Asserting the Right to Be, Chapter Six. Chapter Seven, Reconnecting, concerns the first half of the twentieth century and the rise of global capitalism, and it considers migrations of those of African descent, especially involving the Caribbean and the American South. Such developments increased contact between diverse populations, contributing to the rise of Pan-Africanism, the Harlem Renaissance, and négritude. Chapter Eight, Movement People, covers the period from World War II through the 1960s, highlighting the interconnections between decolonization, civil rights, black power, music, sports, and writing.

As an interpretive history, this book is far from an exhaustive treatment of such a vast topic (or set of related topics). As part of a strategy to sufficiently treat the various components of the African Diaspora at some point in time, geographic emphases shift from chapter to chapter. Originally envisioned as part a series of short books introducing African history, the book's scope is necessarily influenced by spatial constraints, and, in keeping with the format for the series, there are no endnotes. But in addition to African history, *Reversing Sail* can also be used for courses examining the African Diaspora as well as African American history. While not intended to serve as a comprehensive reference section, suggested readings following each chapter identify materials of most immediate assistance in the undergraduate search for greater depth.

I

"Old" World Dimensions

比为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com