-A Multidisciplinary Symposium-

Saturday, April 22, 2006 * 9:00 AM – 5:00 PM
The State University of New York at Buffalo
120 Clemens Hall

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9:50 AM – Introductory Remarks, Claude E. Welch Jr.


10:00 AM – Joshua B. Forrest

Bio: Joshua B. Forrest (Ph.D. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1987), taught at the University of Vermont (1989-2002) before becoming Associate Professor of History and Political Science at La Roche College in Pittsburgh (2003-present). He is recipient of two Fulbright research fellowships and has served as research fellow at the University of Pittsburgh’s Graduate School for Public and International Affairs, and at Harvard University’s Academy for International and Area Studies. His books include *Lineages of State Fragility: Rural Civil Society in Guinea-Bissau* (2003), *Subnationalism in Africa. Ethnicity, Alliances and Politics* (2004), and *Namibia’s Post-Apartheid Regional Institutions* (1998).

Abstract: *Between Resistance and Collaboration in Guiné Portuguesa: Grumetes, Mestiços, and other Luso-Africans*

This study focuses on political gray zone between resistance and collaboration in the 19th-20th centuries, as luso-Africans sought a distinctively Guinean form of proto-nationalism on their own terms. In doing so, they alternated between collaborating actively and aggressively with the Portuguese, on the one hand, and siding with villagers in the interior, on the other, often trying to help them to resist predation by the would-be colonial state.
This dialectical struggle between resistance and collaboration was directly related to questions of race, culture, and political autonomy. Luso-Africans danced in between white colonial and black African political worlds; their mulatto skin color was central to their ability to play this inbetween role. At the same time, that skin color afforded them a sense of righteous indignation with regard to Portugal's policies in Guinea-Bissau regarding national trade, international affairs, and, especially, relations with black African communities. Part of the Luso-African mixed-race community appealed to the Portuguese to actually augment the level of repression against the peoples of the interior; however, other members of the luso-African community sought various ways to protect black villagers, with whom they had developed extensive family ties. This protectionist role of luso-Africans - against outright repression and in favor of more humane policies consistent with principles of Portuguese liberalism - has been inadequately appreciated in the study of Guinea-Bissauan (and, more broadly, luso-African) history.

The balancing act between resistance and collaboration exposed a predilection for political liminality that contributed simultaneously to both internal political disarray in colonial Guiné and to the formation of a proto-nationalist independence movement in Bissau. Both the internal state disarray and the luso-African proto-nationalism were evident leading up to and during Portugal's military 'pacification' campaigns of 1913-1915, as well as afterward, including during the pro-Republican revolt in Bissau in 1931.

While Guinea-Bissauan Luso-Africans were divided between those favoring repression and those wanting to protect people in the interior, both communities shared a desire for greater political autonomy from Portugal itself. The way in which this proto-nationalism was articulated by Luso-Africans - and the way Africans in the interior reacted to this early proto-nationalism - helps to define the distinctiveness of Portugal's encounter with West Africa.
Americans—vied for control over Bolama throughout the 17th–19th centuries. Bolama was the first colonial capital of Portuguese Guinea, as well as a hub for mid-20th century transatlantic commercial flights across the Atlantic.

It is difficult to reconcile Bolama’s historical renown with its contemporary state of abandonment and oblivion. Its dwindled population, crumbling infrastructure, and relative isolation vis-à-vis the postcolonial nation state—not to mention international interests—contrast sharply with its once vibrant status as the center, or as George Brooks has aptly put it, the “cynosure”—of competing imperial designs.

Guineans and Portuguese periodically debate “what to do” about Bolama. Should it be left in the past, a worn-out relic of Portuguese colonialism, a reminder of European dominance best left to deteriorate? Or is Bolama an important part of Guinea-Bissau’s future, worthy of restoration as a cultural capital? This paper briefly recounts Bolama’s history as a lens into shifting geopolitical interests in the region, examines contemporary conditions on the island, and raises questions about what future there is for a place defined by its past.

11:00 AM – Brandon Lundy
Bio: Brandon Lundy is a Ph.D. graduate student in the Department of Anthropology at the State University of New York at Buffalo where he holds the Marian E. White Fellowship. His current research focuses on understanding how senses of belonging come about and change because of the processual interplay between socialization, education, power, and individual agency. He is finishing his advanced examinations and preparing for dissertation research among the Bijagos of Guinea-Bissau. From 1999-2001, Brandon worked as a US Peace Corps Volunteer in the island Republic of Cape Verde as a Community Development Volunteer. In the summer of 2003, Samuel P. Capen Chair of Anthropology, Charles O. Frake, accepted him into the East Anglia Research Station (EARS) ethnographic field-training program in Norfolk County, England where he completed his MA research on local political dynamics at work on the primary education system of rural communities. He is also currently working on submissions to the Encyclopedia of Africa and the Americas for both Guinea-Bissau and the Peace Corps between bouts of sycophantic pleas to ethnographic funding agencies.

Abstract: Bijagos of Guinea-Bissau: Resistance is Fruitful
Drawing on both ethnographic and historical accounts, this paper attempts to make inferences about the process of ethnic identification patterns, how this process is influenced by local, national, regional, and global political dynamics. This paper utilizes a specific population, the Bijagos of Guinea-Bissau, who have maintained a sense of group cohesion even during periods of contact, conflict, and resistance. Currently, the Bijagos seem to be experiencing yet another moment of rupture in time and space where the local/global interplay is fostering the re-development of a critical-consciousness, especially among the urban youth of Praça di Bubaque. Therefore, it seems as though the Bijagos, globally marginalized and footnoted in the accounts of Guinea-Bissauan culture and history, now may be poised to contribute to the social dialogue of resistance aimed at critiquing the homogenizing and exclusionary affects of global culture. How are the Bijagos experiencing these newfound political and economic changes, positively as innovations leading to advances in interests, or negatively as disorienting and alienating?
11:30 AM – Guinea-Bissau Discussant, Gérard Gaillard-Starzmann -
Reading the Texts: The Use of Ancien Texts for the Ethnographe; The
Biafada Case
Bio: Gérard Gaillard-Starzmann is a Professor of anthropology in the
Department of Economic and Social Sciences at the University of Science
and Technology of Lille. His publications include Répertoire de
l'Ethnologie Française, 1950-1970 (Edition du Centre national de la
Recherche scientifique, 1990) and Routledge Dictionary of
Anthropologists and Ethnologists (London: Routledge, 2004). He is the
editor of Migrations anciennes et peuplement actuel des
works on the history of anthropology, psychanalysis, questions of
development, and the general ethnography of the Biafada population living on the border of
Guinea Conakry. His recent articles include: “La guerre en son contexte. Histoire d'une erreur
politique”. Soronda: Revista de Estudos Guineenses, Bissau. Instituto Nacional de Estudos e
and Teaching Anthropology in France" In Learning Fields: Teaching Social Anthropology across
"Regarding the National Front". In Neo-Nationalism in the EU and Beyond: Perspectives from

12:30 PM – Isabel P. B. Fêo Rodrigues
Bio: Isabel P. B. Fêo Rodrigues received a Ph.D. in
Anthropology from Brown University where her doctoral
research focused on identity formation and creolization in Cape
Verde. She is currently an Assistant Professor in the
Department of Sociology/Anthropology and Women
Studies Program at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth
where, with the support of her colleagues, she introduced
Capeverdean Creole Language in the official curriculum of the
College of Arts and Sciences and is now developing an
Anthropological field-school to be carried out in the Azores
Islands. Her teaching and research foci continue to engage the web of culture interchange in the
Luso-African Atlantic, through the lens of gender, language, and health. She has published
several journal articles and book chapters on Portuguese colonialism and creolization in Cape
Verde. Her present research continues to focus on creolization through the prism of sexuality,
gender, language, and poverty. Recently, she is developing a longitudinal research project on
Abstract: Accounting for Tensions Within Creolization: The Relevance of Cape Verde in the
History & Culture of the Afro-Atlantic
In anthropology, the study of creolization has been linked to classical theory building on culture
change, cultural contact, cultural plurality, and more recently global processes of
transnationalism. Theoretically, creolization has led to the necessity to bring history into
anthropology and account for culture change as a politically embedded process that is internally
dynamic, encompassing symbolic cohesion as well as internal tensions. Analytically, despite the
variety of approaches and increasingly more complex theoretical models, the search for-roots or
origins, African continuities or syncretism, New World creativity and African discontinuity -
continue to underline most theoretical models on Afro-Atlantic cultural interchange.
This paper highlights the Capeverdean case of creolization bringing to the forefront its
theoretical potential to challenge previous models based on cultural syncretism, innovation,
and/or discontinuity.

1:00 PM – Gina Sánchez Gibau
Bio: Dr. Gina Sánchez Gibau, an Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis, earned her Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of Texas at Austin. Her research interests include race and ethnicity, identity, and the African Diaspora. She has published in Cimboa (Journal of Cape Verdenian Letters, Arts, and Studies), Transforming Anthropology, and Identities.
Abstract: Cyber CVs: Conversations on Cape Verdenian Diasporic Identities
Much contention exists in diaspora among people who define themselves as Cape Verdeans. Although much of these debates have occurred largely in the context of the United States, the arguments raised concerning the criteria upon which one’s Cape Verdeanness is based are international in scope. Most recently, the politics of Cape Verdean identity have proliferated into cyberspace, where discussion forums provide the landscape through which identity wars are waged. This presentation will focus on how colonial, postcolonial, and (trans)nationalist discourses are used by diasporic Cape Verdeans in online discussion forums to leverage their positions on the never-ending conundrum that is Cape Verdean identity formation. Specifically, the presentation will illustrate how Cape Verdeans, in the islands and in diaspora, express a variety of ideas about the significance of race, nationality, language and culture in the construction of Cape Verdeanness. Most importantly, the presentation highlights the complexity of defining Cape Verdeanness across diasporic experiences, particularly those representative of differences in migration history, political affiliation, and social class. Of particular interest are the ways in which these conversations indicate a new direction in the examination of the (re)making of contemporary African diasporic communities.

1:45 PM – Edda L. Fields
Bio: Edda L. Fields is an Assistant Professor at Carnegie Mellon University, Department of History. Her research interests are pre-colonial and West African history, as well as the historical connections between West Africa and the African Diaspora. Fields’ manuscript entitled “When the Swamp Is Sweet”: The Roots of Gullah and Geechee Rice Farming in West Africa’s Rice Coast Region, c. 1000 to 1808 focuses on the skills African farmers developed in the early pre-colonial period, her book will require historians to rethink the current literature on West African rice farmers, the transformations their societies underwent as a result of the trans-Atlantic trade, and their connections to the New World. To dig deep
into the indigenous history of the region for a time period pre-dating written sources, the manuscript employs historical linguistics, paleo-environmental studies, oral traditions, and travelers’ accounts. It is the first study to utilize the innovative methodology of historical linguistics to reconstruct the early history of West Africa’s coastal region. Fields has received grants from the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Berkman Faculty Development Fund, and Fulbright-Hays to support her research and writing.

**Abstract: Provisioning the Slave Trade: The Trade in Rice and Captives from West Africa’s Rice Coast**

In 1722, veteran slaver William Snelgrave met neophyte slave trader Frances Messervy at Anamboe, off of West Africa’s Gold Coast. Messervy asked Snelgrave to sell him some rice to feed his captives, a large percentage of whom he had purchased on the Windward Coast (the southern portion of the West African Rice Coast region). Though Snelgrave would not part with his provisions, he did attempt to impart some sage advice on Messervy. Snelgrave observed that captives from the Rice Coast region usually preferred to eat rice and that they might rebel if the supply of their familiar foodstuffs became depleted. Lastly, he advised Messervy to keep his distance from the male captives, to allow his crew to distribute their provisions, and to only go among them under armed guard. Had the younger man had followed Snelgrave’s sage advice, it may have saved both his life and his first slaving voyage from insurrection.

This chapter discusses the importance of the West Africa Rice Coast to the trans-Atlantic trade in provisions. By the eighteenth century, the Rice Coast had become a popular destination for slaving vessels, even those which had embarked in other regions in West Africa, to purchase provisions prior to leaving the West African coast for the Middle Passage. Slave captains and crew members often preferred to provision slaving vessels with rice, because its storage properties made it storable in damp and humid conditions, such as in the hulls of slaving vessels. And, many slave ship captains assumed that captives from the Rice Coast preferred the staple crop. This chapter’s evidentiary base comes primarily from the testimony of slave ship captains, surgeons, and crew members who testified before a Parliamentary committee on the slave trade. Similar to Captain Snelgrave’s advice to Captain Messervy, their testimony reveals that slave ship captains saw feeding their captives familiar provisions to be in their vested interest to minimize melancholy, gastro-intestinal illness, resistance, specifically captives refusing provisions and starving themselves to death, and outright rebellion in the hulls of slave ships.

Slave ship captains’ observations of large quantities of rice for sale in coastal West African ports planted seeds for Lowcountry planters’ perceptions about rice-eaters and rice-farmers from West Africa’s Rice Coast region and their rice-growing technology. These seeds blossomed in the New World in the Charleston and Savannah harbors.
Togo. His current archaeological research focuses on the African settlement at Elmina, Ghana, the site of the first and largest European trade post established in sub-Saharan Africa and Bunce Island, Sierra Leone, a major English trade entrepot on the upper Guinea coast. His recent publications include: *An Archaeology of Elmina: Africans and Europeans on the Gold Coast* (Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001); *West Africa during the Atlantic Slave Trade: Archaeological Perspectives*, edited (Leicester University Press, 2001); *Record of the Past: An Introduction to Physical Anthropology and Archaeology* (Prentice Hall, 2000); *Anthropology: A Global Perspective*, co-authored with Raymond Scupin (5th edition, Prentice Hall, 2004).

**Abstract: Initial Encounters: Portugal on the Mina Coast**

This paper briefly surveys the early Portuguese presence in West Africa, focusing on change and transformation in the political economies of the African societies of coastal Ghana between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. This period was critical in terms the initial intersection between Africa and Europe, and the trade that drew Africa into an increasingly Eurocentric global economy. Portugal’s primary position in West Africa during the opening phases of the Atlantic trade can be contrasted with that of later time periods. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw the construction of substantial fortresses, such as Sao Jorge da Mina, while the following centuries were characterized by the use of small trading lodges and ship trade. Whereas initial Portuguese trade concentrated on the exchange of European trade items for gold in the areas of the Senegambia and the Gold Coast, tobacco and slaves became increasingly important during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Change in the political economies of the African societies of the coast and hinterland, and Portugal’s role in these transformations, are examined in light of archaeological and historical data for coastal Ghana.

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**2:45 PM – Horace G. Campbell**

**Bio:** Horace G. Campbell is Professor of African American Studies and Political Science at Syracuse University in Syracuse New York. He is a member of the International Relations Faculty in the Maxwell School and a Faculty affiliate with the Program on the Analysis and Resolution of Conflict (PARC). He served as the first Chair of the Africa Initiative in the University. Horace Campbell has published widely. His most important book *Rasta and Resistance From Marcus Garvey to Walter Rodney* is going through its fifth edition. He has recently completed a manuscript on *Reclaiming Zimbabwe: The Exhaustion of the Patriarchal Model of Liberation* (NJ: David Phillip South Africa and Africa World Press). He has contributed over twenty chapters to other edited books and has published numerous articles and reviews in scholarly journals, and is currently completing a book on the *Wars against the Angolan peoples*. He has also produced a number of monographs.

**Abstract: Forced labor, Militarism, Fascism and Crimes against Humanity in Africa: Lessons from Portuguese colonial crimes in Angola**

Prior to the death of Jonas Savimbi in February 2002, Angola had been in a war situation almost perpetually since 1483. The past history and culture had made Angola the most efficient embarkation point for the Atlantic Slave Trade. Driven by the geo political, economic, racial and strategic considerations at the time of the imperialist expansion in Africa, Portugal carried out mass killings and forced labor in Africa to the point where fascism and militarism surged and in the process blocked democratic participation and expression in Portugal itself.
Portuguese fascism was the longest surviving form of military repression in Western Europe. The repercussions of the fascist violence in Africa and the cover up for genocide meant that for five decades of the twentieth century, the Portuguese society had great difficulty finding democratic principles of political legitimization. Forced labor and the rape of African women created a specific form of society with a matured gender violence which was concealed behind the discourse on civilising Africans. Militarism, deformed masculinity and violence of the Portuguese form created its own mythology which carried the nomenclature of Lusotropicalism. It was the struggles of the African people for liberation that lit the spark to overthrow fascism in Portugal. Lusotropicalism had been developed as a myth to both cope with the general insecurity of Portugal in its aspiration to compete with other imperialists and hegemonic masculinists such as Germany and Britain and to cover up the mass murders of the Portuguese.

In the period of the United Nations, Third World Conference against Racism, 2001-2011, there is now a growing recognition that the Atlantic Slave Trade constituted a Crime against Humanity. The discourse on Crimes against humanity has inspired a scholarly trajectory which includes new texts to focus on the crimes of genocide carried out by the Belgians in Africa. The book by Adam Hochschild, King Leopold’s Ghost documented the mass murder of more than ten million. One Angolan Scholar, Antonio Boavida has attempted to document the crimes carried out by Portugal but this scholarship is not widely known.

3:15 PM – Walter Hawthorne

Bio: Walter Hawthorne is an associate professor of history at Michigan State University. He is the author of Planting Rice and Harvesting Slaves: Transformations along the Guinea-Bissau Coast, 1450-1850 (Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Heinemann, 2003) and a number of articles on slavery in and the slave trade from Africa’s Upper Guinea Coast. In 2004-2005, he was the recipient of a Fulbright-Hays Fellowship, which funded research for a project on the slave trade from the Upper Guinea Coast to Northeast Brazil, 1750-1830.

Abstract: “Being now, as it were, one family”: African shipmate bonding on the slave vessel Emilia and in Rio de Janeiro, 1821-1836

Historians seeking a better understanding of Africans’ lives in the Americas have long speculated that shipmate bonds may have been the foundations upon which new communities were constructed and/or may have reinforced preexisting identities. However, until the present, no study has examined any one group of shipmates over many years to determine how and why they conceived and sustained such bonds. Given that Atlantic history is a growing and fashionable field, it is surprising that more interest is not being given to communities that were truly formed in the ocean. Mine is a micro-study of one group of shipmates brought from Lagos to Rio in the 1820s. The narrative follows them from before their capture in Oyo, through their trek to the coast, through their “Middle Passage” and during a period of time in which they were held in bondage in Brazil. Evidence indicates that throughout this time a portion of these Africans maintained very close contact, considering themselves a community that they conceptualized in a very African way. It is my hope that my study will inform future work on shipmate bonding and African communities in the Americas. The paper informs but is not a part of a larger project about African communities in Northeastern Brazil, 1750-1830.
4:00 PM – Paper by Philip Havik, read by Brandon Lundy

Bio: Philip J. Havik (1954) obtained his MA in Political Science, a number of post-doctoral diplomas (e.g. in Development Economics and Gender Studies) as well as his PhD in the Social Sciences at Leiden University in the Netherlands. He received several research grants, from the Portuguese government, the Gulbenkian Foundation and the Fundação para Ciência e Tecnologia (FCT). From the second half of the 1980s he worked in research and consultancy projects in Guinea Bissau, publishing a series of essays, articles, reviews and books on the country’s economy, politics, history and anthropology. He is currently working as a researcher at the Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical (IICT) in Lisbon, Portugal, as well as lecturing at universities in Portugal and Brazil.

Abstract: The Kriston: a neglected trading community in West Africa
The presence of ‘intermediate’ strata brokering exchange networks that developed along the West African coast and its many rivers has over the last five decades attracted the attention of an increasing number of scholars. The almost complete dependency of incoming Atlantic traders, settlers and their descendants upon the hospitality of their African hosts, above all in terms of accommodation, subsistence and care, created spaces in which new forms of cross-cultural exchange flourished. Despite the fact that they formed the adventurous vanguard of the overseas ‘empire’, the privileged relations that private traders and officials established with their clients and hosts were seen as undermining the hold of the metropole over its overseas possessions. Fed by an increasing demand for slaves, gold, beeswax, and ivory, Afro-Atlantic trade transformed settlement and trade into highly sensitive areas of bargaining. Thus, the complex relations between guests and hosts gave rise to a ‘thirdspace’ inhabited by a ‘miscellaneous’ population that brokered Afro-Atlantic interaction and acted as hosts in their own right. The present essay deals with such an intermediate stratum, the Kriston, in the area commonly designated as the ‘Guinea Bissau region’, which includes the present Guinea Bissau and the Casamance region in Senegal, and traces the evolution of the Kriston from the sixteenth to the early twentieth century. With the aid of mostly Portuguese archival sources, as well as missionary and travel accounts, the paper intends to reposition the Kriston in the Afro-Atlantic connection and thereby fill a gap in the region’s history and anthropology.

4:30 PM – Jason Young

Bio: Jason Young from UB’s History Department is scheduled to serve as the keynote speaker and moderator for this symposium. Dr. Young received his Ph.D. from the University of California, Riverside in 2002 and was just named 2005-06 Ford Foundation Fellow. His current research includes the Black Atlantic, U.S. Slave culture and religion, and pre-colonial Kongo. Dr. Young is currently finishing a book titled Rituals of Resistance: The Making of an African-Atlantic Religious Complex in Kongo and the Lowcountry in the Era of Slavery.

Abstract: Portugal on the Plantations of the American South
That the Portuguese empire played a crucial role in the development of the political, linguistic and religious traditions of various peoples around the Atlantic rim is well known. As evidenced in the papers prepared for this conference, South America as well as West and West-Central
Africa bear the stamp of this colonial imprint. “Portugal on the Plantations of the American South” suggests some of the ways in which the cultures of the American South felt the effects of Portuguese colonial efforts in Africa and South America. This is particularly pronounced as regards the cultural and identity formation of enslaved Africans laboring in the American South. In effect, this essay argues for the importance of extending the latitude and lens of our study of slavery beyond discrete national, cultural and linguistic borders and envisages the need for a truly American historiography of slavery.

Alternate:

**Thomas J. Desch-Obi** (Baruch College), *Cimbebasian resistance to Portuguese domination in Southern Angola*