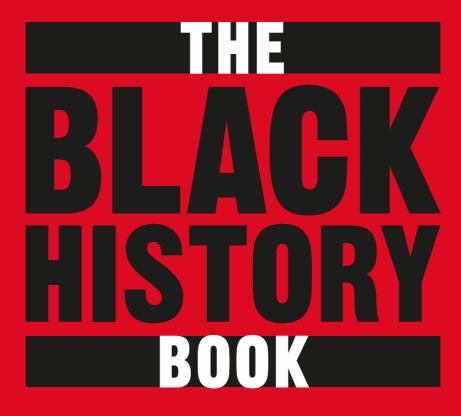


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original styling by **STUDIO 8**

First American Edition, 2021 Published in the United States by DK Publishing 1450 Broadway, Suite 801, New York, NY 10018

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Published in Great Britain by Dorling Kindersley Limited

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress. ISBN: 978-0-7440-4214-6

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Printed and bound in Dubai

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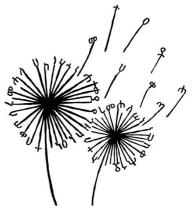
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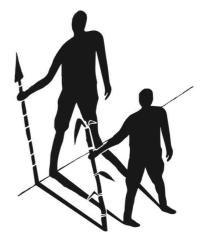
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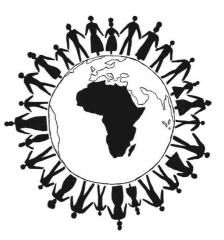
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FOREWORD

Black history is global—it takes place in Africa, Europe, the Americas, Asia, and the Middle East. Black history is ancient, which is hardly surprising as it was from the African continent that the very first humans emerged hundreds of thousands of years ago. Yet at various times and places, the history of Black people and the history of the African continent have been marginalized or left unwritten.

Black civilizations that ruled over huge swathes of the world and created great art and architecture have often been left out of the history books written in Western nations. Some European philosophers went as far as to suggest that Africa had no real history. Likewise, the centuries in which Black people fought and campaigned against enslavement, colonialism, and racism were often brushed under the carpet.

In the face of this, the preservation and the celebration of Black history has become almost sacred to many Black people, particularly those whose ancestors were enslaved. Yet while Black history has a very specific significance in the lives and identities of millions of Black people across the world, Black history itself is everyone's history. Just as you do not need to be European to be fascinated by the history of Ancient Rome, you do not have to be Black to be astonished by the great empire of Mali or the kingdom of Benin. Just as non-Jewish people learn about the horrors of the Holocaust, all of us should learn of the horrors of slavery, and of the Black people who fought against it. I became interested in Black history when I was a teenager. It was the place I looked to find answers. It explained the history of the British Empire, of which my interracial family was a product. It explained where the racist ideas that I saw all around me had come from, and it explained how and why those ideas had been invented. Black history also revealed to me the long history in which Black people have struggled against racism and colonialism—struggles that continue to this day, led in the 21st century by young people.

This book presents Black history in all its complexity; from ancient times to the debates and activism of right now. Through its pages we learn of Africa's true place in world history, and can trace the origins of the inequalities that still shape modern societies.

During the centuries in which the history of Africa was pushed to the margins, and the contributions of Black people to global civilization went unrecognized, the whole world was denied access to these remarkable and inspiring stories. The histories contained within these pages place the long history of Africa and her people back into the mainstream of world history, to the benefit of us all.

David Olusoga

12 INTRODUCTION



lack history tells the story of Black people's lives over thousands of years-from the earliest human history to now. Black people are often defined in blanket terms to mean those of recent sub-Saharan African descent. This includes people living on the African continent, descendants of enslaved Africans trafficked in the transatlantic slave trade, and those who have migrated from Africa to other parts of the world. It is, however, a generalization of quite recent origin that ignores the varied nationalities, cultures, and life experiences of Black people.

Diverse peoples

The earliest known humans came out of Africa more than 200,000 years ago. For generations, those who stayed on the African continent and did not migrate and form the populations of Asia, Australasia, America, and Europe, viewed themselves not as Black but as ethnic groups, such as the Nubians, the Yoruba, and the Swahili. These diverse peoples had, and still have, unique languages, traditions, and cultures, and remarkable and complex systems of governance.

From the 16th century onward, however, all sub-Saharan Africans began to be categorized as part of a There's just the human race, scientifically. Racism is a construct, a social construct.

Toni Morrison Black American writer (1931–2019)

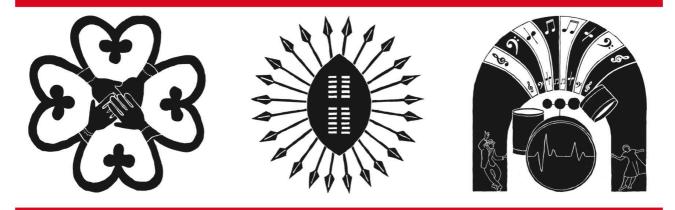
homogeneous group. Those involved in the transatlantic slave trade and European colonialism rationalized the subordination and treatment of these varied peoples of ancient origin by claiming that they were all part of a "lesser" race.

Centuries of oppression

European traders bought enslaved Africans from other Africans and trafficked them as "cargo" to the New World. There, they were sold like cattle in markets to labor in different parts of the Americas and the Caribbean, with the largest number of enslaved people arriving in Brazil. During this period, many enslaved people rebelled—on the coast of West Africa; during the brutal transatlantic voyage; and in the Americas, where many worked in appalling conditions. In one of their most successful revolts, the entire enslaved population of Saint-Domingue, in the western part of Hispaniola, rose up and dominated their enslavers, forming the new nation of Haiti in 1804.

After centuries of enslavement and rebellions, white people in the New World and Europe at last began to view enslavement as wrong, and joined Black enslaved people in the fight for abolition. In 1861, civil war broke out between the slaveholding states in America's South and the non-slaveholding states of the North. The North won in 1865 and, in the same year, the US abolished slavery.

Abolition, however, was not a panacea for Black people, and many of the formerly enslaved continued to face inequality in the New World. Black people in the US suffered under Jim Crow laws, which gave racial segregation legal force. To escape this new oppression, some of the formerly enslaved elected to move to Liberia in West Africa. This was a country newly created by white American abolitionists and others intent on resettling Black people in Africa—with little or no consideration for African peoples already living there.



Indeed, soon after abolition, many European powers began to colonize sub-Saharan Africa. Continuing the fiction that Black people were a "lesser" race, they claimed to be "civilizing" Africans. At the 1884-1885 Berlin Conference, several European powers carved up Africa among themselves; Britain gained power over broad swathes of West Africa and King Leopold of Belgium secured the Congo as his private colony. No Africans were invited to the conference. By 1900. European countries controlled 90 percent of African land.

Colonial Africa was oppressive for many Black people. They rebelled against European managers, who often conscripted them into forced labor systems, punishing or killing those who failed to produce enough profits. In British Nigeria, from 1929 to 1930, thousands of women revolted in a bid to redress their many grievances—looting factories, burning down court buildings, blocking train tracks, and cutting telegraph wires.

Civil rights and beyond

In the 20th century, as many Black people across the world remained subordinate to people of European descent, they found power in their Black identity. They expressed it in vibrant music, art, and literature, and united under the banner of Blackness to form international movements. They also reclaimed earlier denigrating terms, such as "Negro" and "colored," to denote their solidarity; the term "Black" became more popular only in the later 20th century.

Pan-Africanism, a movement that called for all Black people of African origin to unite in pursuit of common political and social goals, gradually gained traction. In 1900, Trinidadian Henry Sylvester Williams led the first Pan-African Conference in London, UK, and eight further meetings were later hosted in European and African cities, and in New York. However, Black people fought for their local rights, too. In Africa, countries struggled for independence and an end to colonial oppression. In the US, Black Americans fought for an end to segregation, while Black people from French and British colonies who had migrated to France and Britain demanded the right to be treated as equal citizens. These fights all had varying amounts of success.

Ghana gained independence in 1957, and other Black African states followed suit. In the US, the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954 helped desegregate schools, while Britain's passing of the Race. Relations Act in 1965 was a crucial first step in curbing racial discrimination.

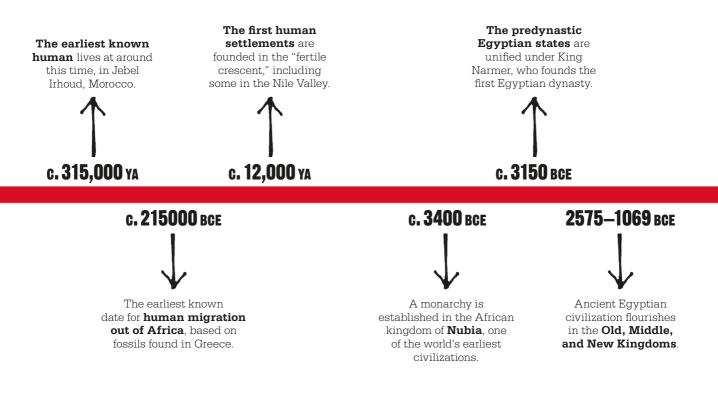
The fight goes on

The legacy of enslavement and colonization still casts a shadow over Black lives, and the struggle for liberation continues. It is why Black Lives Matter, launched in 2013 after the acquittal of a white man who killed a Black teenager. has become a worldwide movement, highlighting the many injustices Black people face. The aim of this book, too, is to shine a spotlight on these injustices, but also to celebrate Black history and achievements, and to illustrate how Black people have influenced and transformed our modern world.

From now on we are no longer a colonial, but a free and independent people. **Kwame Nkrumah** First president of Ghana (1909–1972)

BEFORE 1 GE

ORY AND HISTORY



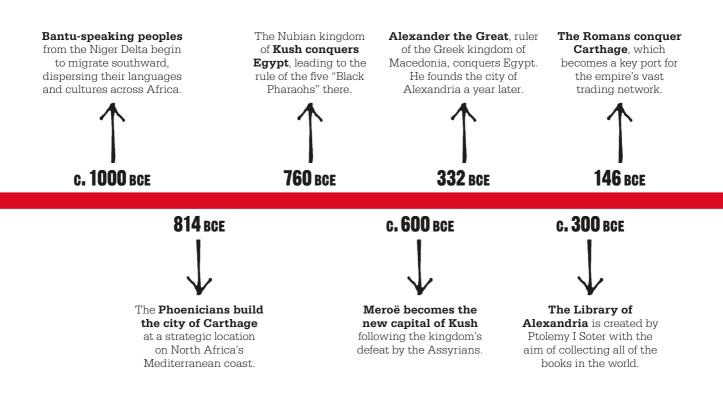
frica is not only the birthplace of Black history, but of all human history. The first Homo sapiens-humansoriginated in Africa; the earliest specimen that has been found to date came from Jebel Irhoud. in Morocco, and other early specimens have been found in Kenya. Human ancestors such as Homo habilis and Homo heidelbergensis left their mark across Africa in the form of fossils and primitive tools. Scholars now believe that our species evolved from these ancestors in multiple places in Africa, at least 315,000 years ago (ya).

Humans began to migrate out of Africa around 215,000 BCE, first into the Middle East and then on to other parts of the world. Gradually, some hunter-gatherers abandoned their nomadic lifestyle and founded the first human settlements. in the "fertile crescent"—a collective name for the Nile Valley, the Middle East, and Mesopotamia (Iraq)-about 12,000 years ago. These early communities were sustained by three great rivers—the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Tigris-whose fertile floodplains provided the ideal conditions for farming to evolve. Key civilizations in Africa emerged around the 4th millennium BCE: from the appearance of Bantu-speaking peoples in the Niger Delta in 3500 BCE to the monarchy established in Nubia in 3400 BCE and the unification of predynastic Egypt in 3150 BCE.

Egyptian expansion

The Nile River nurtured one of the first and greatest civilizations in world history. The communities that grew up around the Nile developed rich cultures, with art, languages, and religious and political systems becoming increasingly complex. By the time of the last culture of predynastic Egypt, the Naqada III (c. 3200– 3000 BCE), localized elites had become large, powerful states who fought for dominance. Their unification under King Narmer in 3150 BCE marks the beginning of Egypt's dynastic age.

After Narmer, ancient Egypt's history tends to be divided into three golden ages. The Old Kingdom (2575–2130 BCE) was a prosperous period in which the Egyptians built not only cities and ports, but monumental pyramids that housed royal tombs. The Great Pyramid of Giza is one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. By the time of the New



Kingdom (1570–1069 BCE), Egypt was home to a civilization with a complex infrastructure, ruled by powerful pharaohs who expanded their kingdom into the Middle East and Sudan.

Power struggles

Sudan was home to another mighty African civilization: Nubia, in what is now Sudan and southern Egypt. First settled around 5000 BCE, Nubia was home to the kingdom of Kush, which had grown up around the Lower Nile Valley. Kush, with its capital of Kerma, was a natural ally and trading partner to its northern neighbors, but Egypt soon came to see its strength as a threat.

Kerma's armies made a failed attempt to invade Egypt around 1550 _{BCE}, triggering 50 years of warfare that eventually ended in Egypt's victory. The subsequent Nubian kingdoms established at Napata and Meroë proved shortlived, falling to the Ethiopian powers of Abyssinia and Aksum in 600 BCE and 350 CE respectively. Egypt, similarly, fell to the Assyrians (from Mesopotamia) in 666 BCE, before it was conquered by the ancient Greeks in 332 BCE.

Fighting for North Africa

In the 8th century BCE, a seafaring people known as the Phoenicians founded the port city of Carthage (in modern-day Tunisia). The city became a commercial hub for trade between Africa and Europe, and grew into a wealthy power, with a multi-ethnic population of around 500,000 people by the 3rd century BCE. Its residents originated mostly from the Phoenician lands of the east Mediterranean coast and from nearby North African kingdoms, namely Egypt and Kush, resulting in a "Punic" culture that incorporated both African and Mediterranean elements.

Like Egypt, Carthage was challenged by the growing European powers—first by Greece and then by Rome. The Punic navy fought Greece at sea between the 6th and 3rd centuries BCE, and Carthage's armies fought Rome in the Punic Wars from 264 BCE. Rome sacked Carthage in 146 BCE, and annexed Egypt a century later. in 30 BCE, having damaged part of Alexandria's famed library. The Roman Empire's hold over North Africa would be just the beginning of European encroachment on the African continent.



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Africa

BEFORE

6–7 mya Sahelanthropus tchadensis—the first known hominin—emerges in Africa.

4.4 mya *Ardipithecus ramidus* appears, an early hominin revealed by fossil evidence from Ethiopia in the 1990s.

1.4mya Baked clay found in Kenya suggests *H. erectus* first used fire—possibly by chance.

AFTER

1921 The Broken Hill skull from Zambia, later identified as *H. heidelbergensis*, is the first major hominin find in Africa.

1929–1935 Fossils from Mount Carmel, Israel, are later identified as *H. sapiens* and dated to 80,000–120,000 ya.

2019 An *H. sapiens* skull from Greece is dated to more than 210,000 years ago—making it the oldest found outside Africa.

AFRICA, THE MOTHER OF HUMANITY THE FIRST HUMANS (G. 300,000 YA)

n 1987, a groundbreaking study supported British naturalist Charles Darwin's 1871 theory that all humans (Homo sapiens) originated in Africa. American geneticists Rebecca Cann and Mark Stoneking, and New Zealand biochemist Allan Wilson, compared mitochondrial DNA-the unique genetic code passed down from female to female-in different populations around the world. They discovered an unbroken line that led to one female living in Africa around 200,000 years ago (200,000 ya). She was named a mitochondrial "Eve."

a term that is often misunderstood. Rather than being the first of a species, she was the most recent maternal ancestor common to all living humans.

Africa is the oldest and richest source of fossils of Hominini—the tribe which includes modern humans and their ancestors, who began to diverge from other apes some seven million years ago (7 mya). More than 20 hominin species emerged, overlapping at different periods before *Homo sapiens* arrived around 300,000 ya. Among the first, from around 4 mya,

Evolutionary theory before Darwin

Centuries before Charles Darwin published On the Origin of Species (1859) and The Descent of Man (1871), a medieval Black writer hinted at an early theory of evolution by natural selection.

Although he wrote in Arabic and was based in Baghdad, Iraq, Abu Uthman al-Jahiz (781–869) was of East African descent and thought to have been the grandson of an enslaved Bantu speaker. His works include *Kitab al-Hayawan* (*Book of Animals*), much of which repeats folklore, but one passage is key. Al-Jahiz explains how all creatures engage in a struggle to exist, feed, breed, and avoid being eaten, and develop new traits to ensure survival. They pass on these characteristics to their offspring, transforming a species over time. Although Al-Jahiz did not formulate his ideas into a theory, they were highly advanced for his time. Whether or not Darwin knew of his book, it was a significant contribution to early evolutionary thought. See also: Humans migrate out of Africa 20–21 = Predynastic Egypt 22–23 = The Bantu migrations 32–33

Human evolution



Australopithecus afarensis had large molars and jaws and a small brain.



Homo erectus had a smaller jaw and molars but a larger brain.

Homo neanderthalensis had a prominent brow ridge and a large, wide nose.



Homo sapiens has a large brain, a small face, and small brow-ridges.

were apelike australopithecines, while the earliest known of the *Homo* genus was *H. habilis* ("handy man"), who lived around 2.4–1.6 mya. The first species with physical proportions like ours was *H. erectus* ("upright man"), who emerged about 2 mya and survived to around 100,000 ya in Asia. Our immediate ancestor—*H. heidelbergensis*—lived from 700,000–300,000 ya, and was a skillful hunter and adept at using fire.

Advances in human culture

Early hominins developed skills to aid survival. Stone tools, found near Lake Turkana in Kenya and dated to 3.3 mya, were probably created by *Kenyanthropus platyops*. By 2.4 mya, *H. habilis* used such tools to take marrow and meat from carcasses, while *H. heidelbergensis* sharpened stones to points and attached them to wooden shafts to create spears.

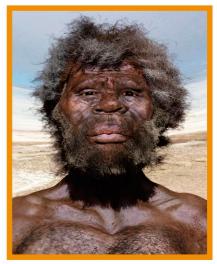
The evolution of *Homo sapiens* around 300,000 ya from African populations of *H. heidelbergensis* is associated with increasing evidence of complex behaviors, such as the use of natural pigments, dated to this time, at the Twin Rivers cave in Zambia. Early humans crafted stones into hand axes, enabling them to cut meat, work skins, and carve wood. Fire gave them light, warmth, and a means to cook food. As their diet changed, so did their teeth and appearance, and their brain size and abilities steadily increased.

Carved bone harpoon heads from the Democratic Republic of the Congo may be 90,000 years old. Bone tools; an ocher-processing workshop; and perhaps the earliest drawing, dated to around 70,000 ya, were all found at Blombos Cave in South Africa. Engraved ostrich eggshells, used as water containers, from Diepkloof Rock Shelter in South Africa date to 60,000 ya. The earliest known mines, in the mountains of Eswatini (formerly Swaziland), were dug out 43,200 ya by local people who crushed the rock hematite to use as a dye.

Homo sapiens fossils

In 2005, two partial skulls, which Kenyan anthropologist Richard Leakey had discovered near the Omo River in Ethiopia in 1967, were dated to 195,000 ya—the earliest evidence of *H. sapiens*, whom scientists then believed had evolved in East Africa around 200,000 ya. However, in 2017, fossils from Jebel Irhoud, Morocco, that included a skull, face, and jaw bones, were firmly identified as *H. sapiens* and dated to 315,000 ya.

Scientists now propose that Homo sapiens evolved not in one area but throughout the continent. As French paleoanthropologist Jean-Jacques Hublin declared, "The Garden of Eden in Africa is probably Africa—and it's a big, big garden."



The first humans may have looked like this reconstruction of 315,000-year-old *H. sapiens* fossils from Morocco, initially dated to only 40,000 ya and thought to be from a Neanderthal-human hybrid.



IN CONTEXT

LOCATIONS Africa, Asia, Europe

BEFORE

1.8–1.7 mya *Homo erectus* ("upright man," also known as *H. georgicus*) appears in Dmanisi, Georgia, and arrives in Java, Indonesia, 1.6 mya.

c.780,000 ya Evidence from Gesher Benot Ya'aqov, Israel, suggests that *H. erectus* can control fire.

c. 430,000 ya DNA from fossils in Spain suggests hominins who spread from Africa evolved into Neanderthals.

AFTER

1930s Remains of *Homo sapiens* are found in the Oafzeh and Skhul caves in Israel, and are later dated to 80,000–120,000 ya.

1949 American chemist Willard Libby develops radiocarbon dating. From the 1960s, uranium-thorium dating is also used to date fossils.

WE WERE ALL AFRICANS HUMANS MIGRATE OUT OF AFRICA (c. 215000–60000 BCE)

n 2019, the British scientific journal *Nature* reported that a partial skull, discovered in the Apidima Cave in southern Greece in the 1970s, was *Homo sapiens* and more than 210,000 years old. This made it the earliest evidence of human migration out of Africa at least 15,000 years older than a jaw and teeth found at Misliya Cave on Mount Carmel in Israel in 2002 and 164,000 years older than any other *H. sapiens* remains found in Europe.

More than one migration

Anthropological and genetic data indicate that all humans originated in Africa. Scientists once thought that one major migration occurred between 70,000 and 50,000 years ago. The Greek and Israeli fossils suggest that early humans left Africa in a number of migrations, starting at least 140,000 years earlier.



This great migration brought our species to a position of world dominance that it has never relinquished ...

Guy Gugliotta "The Great Human Migration," *Smithsonian Magazine*



To date, however, these few finds are the only evidence of such early migrations, which implies that *H. sapiens* failed to settle outside Africa at this time. It seems likely that far more humans left Africa from around 125,000 ya. This may have been partly driven by droughts in Africa around 135,000 ya, which forced people out of the increasingly

A stone etched with ocher from Blombos Cave, South Africa, and dated to around 70,000 ya is the oldest known drawing and testimony to the early sophistication of *Homo sapiens*. **See also:** The first humans 18–19 • Predynastic Egypt 22–23 • The Bantu migrations 32–33 • The migration of the Maasai 98–99 • The creation of "race" 154–157

Homo sapiens first left Africa more than 200,000 years ago. The arrows on this map show some possible 6 migration routes based on archaeological and genetic evidence. Kev: 1.300,000 ya 2. From 100,000 ya **3.** From 60,000 ya 4.45,000-35,000 ya 5.45,000-35,000 ya 6.20,000-15,000 ya 7.15,000-12,000 ya 8.3,500 ya 300,000 .60,000 .20,000 2,500 .800 ya 9.2,500 ya **10.** 800 ya

arid central regions toward coastal areas and northeast into Eurasia. Around 75,000 ya, a huge volcano eruption at Lake Toba in Indonesia may have caused a reduction in global temperatures. Some argue that this forced humans to establish much wider social networks for sharing resources, accelerating their dispersal around the world.

Routes out across the world

The pattern of dispersal is still hotly debated. With the exception of the 210,000-year-old skull from Greece, the oldest H. sapiens fossils, dating from 80,000 va to 180,000 va, have been found in Israel. Some intrepid early humans, however, ventured much further east. Teeth from a cave in southern China, identified as H. sapiens in 2015, have been dated to 100,000 ya. Stone tools from the Arabian Peninsula have been dated to 125,000 ya, and others from India to more than 74,000 va. suggesting that some humans took a route across the Bab el Mandeb Strait from the Horn of Africa into Arabia.

then across the Strait of Hormuz into Eurasia, and east from there, possibly spreading rapidly around the coastline of Southeast Asia.

The main expansion of humans out of Africa was probably around 70,000 ya, and *H. sapiens* reached Australia as early as 60,000 ya. The fossils from Europe are more recent. They include 46,000-year-old teeth and bone fragments from Bacho Kiro, Bulgaria, and a jawbone possibly 43,000-34,000 years old from Kents Cavern in Devon, UK. As humans spread in Eurasia, they encountered closely related species, including Neanderthals and the Denisovans. Genetic studies of humans today show that these species interbred. By 40,000 va. H. sapiens had spread widely from Africa and other Homo species had disappeared.

H. sapiens reached the Americas at least 15,000 ya and possibly even earlier. In 2020, stone tools found in Chiquihuite Cave in Mexico, were dated to 26,000 ya and some sites, such as Pedra Furada in Brazil, may be much older, although the early dates are highly controversial. Early settlers are thought to have reached the Americas from Northeast Asia via an enormous land mass known as Beringia. This region connected Siberia and Alaska when ice ages locked up water as ice in vast ice sheets, lowering sea levels.

Evolving humans

H. sapiens originally evolved with dark skin. As humans moved away from the Equator to where sunlight was weaker, evolutionary pressure for dark skin to protect them from intense UV rays reduced. Skin color became guite variable as humans dispersed around the world. The very light form of pigmentation known today developed in the low light of Scandinavia around 5700 BCE, but only spread widely across Europe with the arrival of early farmers from the Near East after 6000 BCE. In varying environments, body shapes and facial features also became more diverse. Genetically, however, all H. sapiens populations across the world remain very closely related.



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Egypt

BEFORE

c. 10,000 BCE Crops of barley and wheat are grown at the site of Wadi Kubbaniya, near present-day Aswan.

c.7500 BCE The world's oldest stone circle, with stones aligned to the stars and the sun, is erected at Nabta Playa in southern Egypt.

AFTER

3100 BCE The first dynasty of Egypt is established at the city of Memphis.

2575 BCE The accession of King Sneferu marks the start of Egypt's Old Kingdom.

c.2560–2500 BCE The largest pyramids in ancient Egypt are built on the Giza Plateau.

671 BCE Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, conquers Egypt.

THE CRUCIBLE OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION PREDYNASTIC EGYPT (c. 6300–3150 bce)

he earliest Egyptians were Indigenous Africans. They were drawn to the Sahara when it was a humid region rich in grasslands and with plentiful water. A widespread Saharan Neolithic culture existed from at least 8000 BCE, living a mostly pastoral existence, rearing cattle, fishing, and growing crops.

At the same time, the Saharan climate was slowly turning from humid to arid—caused by a slight precession, or "wobble," of Earth's axis. As the land transformed into



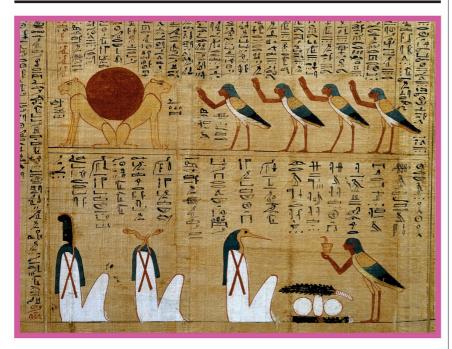
desert, Saharan Africans migrated to the Nile Valley, taking advantage of its fertile floodplains and laying the foundations for the succession of dynasties that cemented ancient Egyptian civilization.

Before the dynasties

Archaeologists divide Egyptian prehistory into cultures named after the sites where the first remains were discovered. Stone tools found at a Nile Valley site called Faiyum B indicated a northern Egyptian culture dating from around 6300 BCE. Another early site, at Merimde, in the west Nile Delta, dates from 4800 BCE. The people there grew cereal crops, kept livestock, and made simple pottery.

Further south, the Badarian culture was contemporary with Merimde but more sophisticated. Its dead were buried in the fetal position—symbolizing rebirth in the next life—and their graves, excavated across 40 settlements, contained copper beads, pins,

The gray siltstone Narmer Palette, dating from around 3100 BCE, shows King Narmer, or Menes, the founder of ancient Egypt's first dynasty, killing one of his enemies in battle. **See also:** Egypt's Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms 24–29 • The Nubian kingdom of Kerma 30–31 • The Muslim conquest of Egypt 58–59



A hymn to the sun shows rows of black hieroglyphs, each representing an object or sound, in a pictographic script. This early writing system emerged during the Gerzean culture.

and bracelets, and pottery of a finish and delicacy unsurpassed in the history of ancient Egypt.

The Amratian culture, also called Naqada I (c. 4000–3500 BCE), succeeded the Badarian. Its people used adobe—bricks of mud and straw—to construct buildings and made boats of bundled papyrus. They traded along the Nile and imported goods such as gold and obsidian (a dark volcanic glass) from Nubia and cedar from the Phoenician city of Byblos.

The Amratians were followed by the Gerzean culture—also called Naqada II (c. 3500–3200 BCE). Its redpainted pottery was decorated with a vivid array of motifs, including flamingos, human figures, and multioared boats. Gerzean trade brought silver—probably from the Middle East—and ivory, which was made into utensils, including Afro combs. The Gerzean culture grew into a number of city-states in Upper Egypt. Under King Narmer, or Menes ("He who endures"), they conquered Lower Egypt around 3150 BCE to unify Egypt, leading to the founding of the first dynasty.

Communication advances

Some of the symbols on Gerzean pottery were the prototypes of the hieroglyphic script, a fully alphabetic and partly pictorial form of writing. Beginning around 3000 BCE, Egyptians of the first dynasty developed the hieratic cursive script, used for trade, mathematical, and religious documents. Hieratic and hieroglyphic scripts were both written on rolls of papyrus—a type of paper and further by-product of the papyrus plant.

Were the ancient Egyptians Black?

Long-standing debate over the ethnicity of ancient Egyptians came to a head in the early 1970s, when the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) commissioned an eight-volume history of Africa. The role of ancient Egypt in this history became a sticking point, and in January 1974, UNESCO hosted a symposium in Cairo to consider "The Peopling of Ancient Egypt."

Eighteen European and Arab scholars claimed that the ancient Equptians were Caucasians. Two African professors. Cheikh Anta Diop and Theophile Obenga, argued that: "Ancient Egypt was peopled, 'from its Neolithic infancy to the end of the native dynasties,' by Black Africans." The final report noted a "lack of balance in the discussions" and, in support of the African historians, stated: "Not all participants ... prepared communications comparable with the painstakingly researched contributions of Professors Cheikh Anta Diop and Obenga."

At what village along the Nile Valley today would one describe the "racial" transition between "Black" and "white"?

Shomarka Keita Black American anthropologist

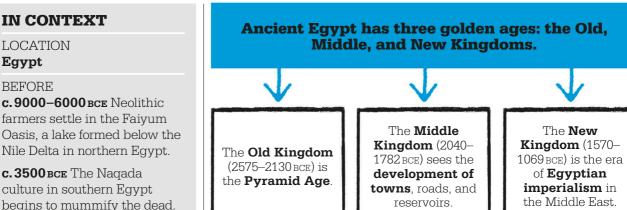
99



EGYPT'S OLD, MIDDLE, AND NEW KINGDOMS (2575-1069 bce)







begins to mummify the dead. AFTER

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION

Egypt BEFORE

671–666 BCE The Assyrians invade and eventually conquer Eqypt under Ashurbanipal.

332 BCE Alexander the Great seizes Egypt; Ptolemy, one of his generals, establishes a new dynasty in 305.

30 BCE Cleopatra VII dies; Egypt becomes a Roman province.

639–642 ce The Rashidun caliphate invades Egypt, establishing Muslim rule.

1517 ce Egypt is absorbed into the Ottoman Empire.

The history of Black Africa will remain suspended in air and cannot be written correctly until African historians dare to connect it with the history of Egypt. **Cheikh Anta Diop**

Senegalese historian (1923–1986)



he story of ancient Egypt is built around the Nile and its bounty. The river supported every aspect of life in a civilization that was without equal in the Mediterranean world for almost 3,000 years. Fish were plentiful, and farming in the rich, black soil of the floodplains revolved around the river's seasons. Mining, trade, and the transport of materials to build vast roval monuments in the desert relied on the Nile's flow from Upper Eqypt in the south to Lower Egypt in the north.

Ruling dynasties

Egypt's rise began after Narmer (or Menes) united Upper and Lower Egypt around 3150 BCE. He founded the city of Memphis on the Nile Delta, and by the third dynasty it had replaced Thinis as Egypt's capital. His was the first of a string of ruling families that were outlined in the third century BCE by the Egyptian historian Manetho. After the second dynasty, successive dynasties sit within three golden ages known as kingdoms: the Old Kingdom (dynasties 3 to 6), the Middle Kingdom (dynasties 11 and 12), and the New Kingdom (dynasties 18 to 20). Between them

were three Intermediate Periods tainted by political crises, internal struggles, and foreign invasions. However, ancient Egypt continued to progress in every field of human endeavor, from hieroglyphic writing, art, and mathematics to the building of cities and feats of monumental funerary construction.

Divine rulers

Rulers of Egypt, the pharaohs were revered as divine intermediaries between the people and a panoply of gods, many of which took hybrid human and animal forms. The gods held sway over all activity on Earthfrom fertility and birth, through Nile floods and harvests, to life after death. Major deities included the sun god Ra or Re, with the head of a hawk, and Osiris, the symbol of death and resurrection and the final judge of souls. Vast pyramids encased royal tombs furnished with paintings and treasures, and the rituals of mummification and funerary spells were essential rites of passage to an afterlife that was an idvll of life on Earth.

The pharaoh's duty was to maintain order, truth, and justiceas ordained by the goddess Maatand ensure the people's economic

Ancient Egypt has three golden ages: the Old,

See also: Predynastic Egypt 22–23 • The Nubian kingdom of Kerma 30–31 • The lost library of Alexandria 36–37 • The Muslim conquest of Egypt 58–59 • The construction of the Suez Canal 215



The Rhind papyrus was produced by a scribe named Ahmose in the 16th century BCE. It was found near a memorial temple to Ramses II.

and spiritual welfare. His will was administered through a chief minister, the vizier, and enforced throughout the *nomes* (provinces) into which Upper and Lower Egypt were divided.

The Old Kingdom

During the Old Kingdom (2575– 2130 BCE), up to 13 pyramids were built. The first, the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, close to the delta, was part of the funerary complex for Pharaoh Djoser, the second ruler in the third dynasty. The six-step edifice was the earliest colossal stone structure in Egypt and is accredited to Djoser's vizier Imhotep, a fabled priest and polymath who was later worshipped as the god of medicine.

Sneferu, the first ruler in the fourth dynasty, commissioned a straight-sided pyramid at Meidum, and further north in Dashur, the Bent Pyramid and the Red Pyramid. The tomb of his Queen Hetepheres, discovered in Giza in 1925, held an alabaster sarcophagus, gold inlaid furniture, and silver bracelets encrusted with semiprecious gems.

Mathematical papyri

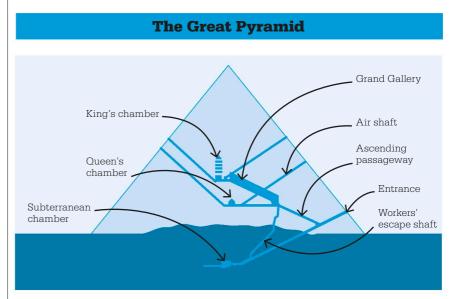
Ancient Egyptians were one of the earliest civilizations to develop key mathematical concepts for civil engineering, managing food supplies, and calculating the flood levels of the Nile. Surviving documents include the Berlin mathematical papyrus (1990– 1800_{BCE}), which includes formulae for solving unknowns *x* and *y* from simultaneous equations. In the Moscow mathematical papyrus (1700_{BCE}), problem 10 in a set of 25 problems requires the challenging calculation of the surface area of a

The Great Pyramid at Giza was built for Sneferu's successor, Khufu, and the two smaller pyramids for Khafre and Menkaure.

During this era of prosperity, Egypt became an urban civilization with cities, towns, and ports dotted hemisphere, while problem 14 asks for the volume of a truncated pyramid.

The 87 problems in the Rhind mathematical papyrus (1550 BCE) range from number theory and arithmetic to algebra, geometry, and trigonometry. Problem 24 asks "A quantity plus its seventh becomes 19 (or x + x/7 = 19). What is the quantity?" Problems 41, 50, 51, and 52 ask for the volume of a cylinder and the areas of a circle, a triangle, and a trapezium.

along the Nile, and a population of some 8,000,000 people living in the 11,500 sq miles (29,785 sq km) of habitable land fringing the river. Sun-dried brick houses of up to two stories with courtyards, pools, and gardens were lit by oil lamps. »



One of the seven wonders of the ancient world, Khufu's pyramid stood 481 ft (146.5 m) high. Built from around 2,300,000 blocks, it was faced originally with smooth, white limestone.

28 EGYPT'S OLD, MIDDLE, AND NEW KINGDOMS

Four huge statues of Ramses II,

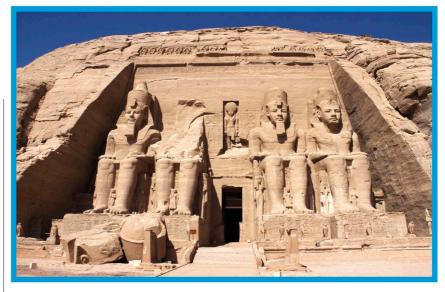
66ft (20m) high and carved out of the sandstone cliffs, front temples dedicated to the sun gods Re and Re-Horakhte at Abu Simbel, near Aswan.

Over time, power shifted as the capital's wealth and resources were drained by the construction of temples and massive funerary monuments. Provinces. under the control of the nomarchs (district priests), began to vie for power, and rule was fractured through the First Intermediate Period (2130–2040 BCE). A Middle Kingdom papyrus, the Admonitions of Ipuwer, described this era of strife, as the poor seized power from the rich and invaders poured in from the Middle East: "the tribes of the desert have become Egyptians everywhere."

Golden eras and strife

The era known as the Middle Kingdom (2040–1782 BCE) emerged after Mentuhotep II defeated the provincial city of Herakleopolis in Lower Egypt and made Thebes, the city dedicated to the god Amun in Upper Egypt, capital of a reunited country. Under





Senusret II in the 12th dynasty, the provinces flourished through investment in excavated wells and reservoirs. A new city of Kahun had roads crossing at right angles, and stone gutters. Small homes had four to six rooms, and mansions up to 70.

In the Second Intermediate Period (1782–1570 BCE), nomadic Semite people entered the north and built their capital, Avaris. From the 13th to the 17th dynasty, Egypt was ruled by conquerors, before the last of them—the Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings from West Asia—were overthrown by Ahmose I. So began the New Kingdom (1570–1069 BCE), ruled by a succession of 31 pharaohs who oversaw Egypt's expansion into the Middle East and the Sudan.

Amenhotep I, the second ruler in the 18th dynasty, established the cult of Amun and commissioned shrines and a towering limestone gate at Karnak. During his 25-year reign he assembled artists, poets,

Amenhotep III (the Magnificent)

brought Egypt to a peak of splendor, power, and wealth in the New Kingdom era. This granodiorite statue (c. 1350 BCE) is from his mortuary temple in Thebes. scientists, and theologians in a cultural flowering that included production of a medical work, the Ebers papyrus, which had chapters on dentistry, intestinal disease, gynecology, and ophthalmology.

Up to 13 women may have ruled Egypt at intervals, but Hatshepsut (18th dynasty) was one of the few given the title and powers of a pharaoh. During her 21-year rule, she commissioned a rock-cut temple at Deir-el-Bahri. On the walls are

You roll up into the horizon, you set light over the darkness ... and you flood the Two Lands like the Sun Disk at daybreak. "Hymn to Osiris" The Book of the Dead of Ani, c. 1275 все

PREHISTORY AND ANCIENT HISTORY 29

records of voyages to the land of Punt, at the southern end of the Red Sea, to bring back incense, wild animals, skins, gum, gold, ivory, and ebony. This flow of wealth continued during the reign of Amenhotep III. Egyptian exports of grain, papyrus, linen, and leather were matched by imports of wood, olive oil, iron for weapons, wine from Asia Minor and Syria, and copper and silver from Aegean and Mediterranean islands.

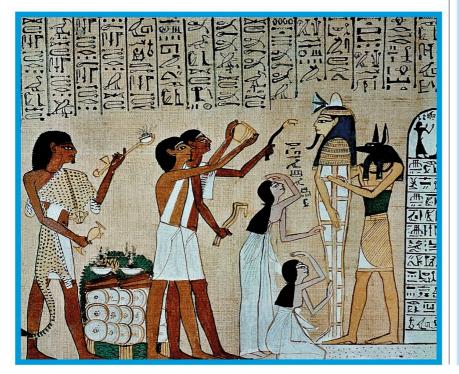
Rise and fall

At its peak in the 14th century BCE, the city of Thebes (present-day Luxor) straddled the Nile and supported up to a million people. On the city's edge, well-furnished houses with up to 60 rooms lined the tree-shaded avenues. Near the center stood the royal palace, the House of Rejoicing; the title *pharaoh*, from the Egyptian word for "great house," dates from this period. The great temples on the east bank bustled with priests and scholars. In the 18th dynasty, Amenhotep IV renamed himself Akhenaten to found a monotheistic religion based on the sun god Aten at Amarna. His son Tutankhamen restored the old religion. In the 19th dynasty, pharaohs such as Ramses II brought Egypt to the height of its imperial power, but the 20th dynasty was marked by a shift in power to the priests of Amun in Thebes. Civil unrest, disputes between heirs, and drought plunged Egypt into decline.

The Third Intermediate Period (1069–525 BCE) saw invasions by the Assyrians, the Persians, and the Greeks. After the death of the last pharaoh, Cleopatra VII, in 30 BCE, the Romans ruled Egypt intermittently for 600 years until the first Muslim invasion in the 7th century CE.

The Book of the Dead of Hunefer

(c. 1275 BCE) was a New Kingdom papyrus of illustrated spells to assist the soul's journey from the tomb to paradise in Aaru, the Field of Reeds.





Ramses the Great

Coming to power in 1279 BCE when the New Kingdom was at a peak, Ramses II, the second king of the 19th dynasty, earned the title Ramses the Great in recognition of his extensive military campaigns and the architectural legacy of his long rule. During his 66-year reign, he amassed a standing army of 100,000 soldiers to regain territory lost in previous reigns and to fend off invasions from Libvan. Turkish Hittite. and Nubian forces.

The famous victory that Ramses claimed over the Hittites at the Battle of Qadesh is disputed, but after gaining a string of territories that became difficult to control, he made a peace treaty with the Hittites in 1258 BCE, awarding reciprocal powers. His marriage to at least one Hittite princess secured the pact. Ramses' architectural legacy included a new capital city called Pi-Ramesses, a memorial complex of temples called the Ramesseum close to Luxor. and two rock-cut temples at Abu Simbel. He died in 1213 BCE at the age of 96.



THE LAND OF THE BOOM THE NUBIAN KINGDOM OF KERMA (c. 2400–1500 bce)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Sudan

BEFORE

c.5000 BCE Africans from the Sahara and further south settle along the Nile Valley.

c.3400 BCE A monarchy is established in Ta-Seti—known later as Nubia.

c.3200 BCE Settlement begins at the site of Kerma.

AFTER

c.860 BCE A powerful line of Kushite kings is founded, based at the city of Napata.

c.727 BCE Kushite king Piye invades Egypt, seizes Thebes, and founds the 25th dynasty.

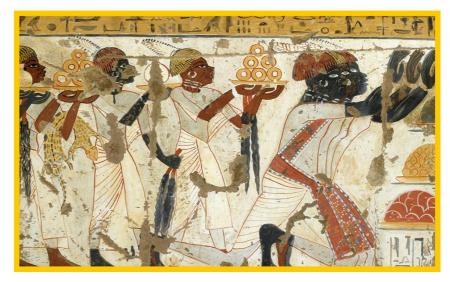
350 ce The Aksum Empire captures Meroë, the final capital of Kush, ending the Nubian kingdom. ncient Egypt was not the only great Nile Valley civilization. To its south, Kush—in the region of Nubia in what is now southern Egypt and Sudan—was an equally ancient and sophisticated kingdom. Its people built complex cities, a formidable military, and a trade network that stretched south and east, as well as north into Egypt.

Nubians pay tribute to Egypt in a wall painting from the tomb of Huy, a viceroy of Kush. They present Nubian goods, including gold and incense.

For many years, white historians and archaeologists assumed that Kush was merely an outpost of Egypt. Only in the late 20th century did it become clear that Kush was a separate Indigenous kingdom that matched and sometimes even surpassed its Egyptian neighbor.

Kerma rises

The city of Kerma was at the heart of Kush, and by around 2400 BCE it had become the capital of a unified state. By 2000 BCE, Kush was Egypt's closest trading partner and a military power, its soldiers



See also: Predynastic Egypt 22–23 = Egypt's Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms 24–29 = The trading empire of Aksum 44–47

renowned for their battle skills, particularly archery. Egypt could not ignore the growing influence of Kushite Kerma and conflict between the two kingdoms became a feature of the next 500 years.

In 1750 BCE, Kerma seized control of Sai—a kingdom based on an island in the Nile, between Egypt and Kush. This gave Kerma command of the Nile and its trade between the river's First and Fourth Cataracts (see right), and also marked the start of its golden age.

Kerma grew into a densely populated city of possibly as many as 10,000 people. Its central zone was surrounded by a massive mud-brick defensive wall more than 30ft (9m) high, with projecting rectangular towers. Inside the wall, beyond four fortified gates, lay gardens, the king's palace, houses of the nobility, and *deffufas*—large white temples (see below). Beyond another wall, a second, religious complex consisted of bronzecasting workshops, chapels, storerooms, and housing for the priests. An extensive cemetery

contained royal tombs, some more than 200ft (60m) wide and filled with hundreds of human and animal sacrifices.

The discovery of scarab seals and amulets at the site indicates extensive trade with Egypt. The city controlled gold mines and major trade routes between Egypt and elsewhere in Africa, exporting enslaved people and goods such as incense, ebony, ivory, ostrich eggs, and animal skins. Kerma also produced fine blue glazing (known as faïence), delicate eggshell-thin pottery, and bronze implements of exceptional quality.

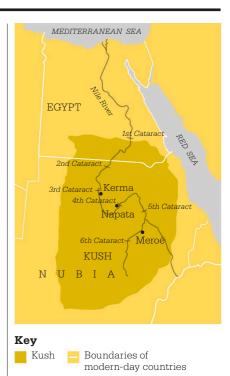
A kingdom falls

Around 1550 BCE, Kerma tried but failed to invade Egypt. Over the next 50 years, the Egyptians fought back until, in 1500 BCE, Pharaoh Thutmose I conquered Kerma. Egypt occupied Kush for the next 500 years, leading to the gradual decay of Kerma. Its final decline and abandonment was hastened by the Nile channels that provided the city's water supply drying up.

Temples of mud

Two monumental temples in Kerma stand testimony to the city's 1,000-year reign as the greatest Nubian power. They are named *deffufas*, from a Nubian word meaning "mud-brick building." The best-preserved temple, the Western Deffufa, is 59 ft (18 m) high, has three stories, and covers an area of about 15,070 sqft (1,400 m²), enclosed by a boundary wall. Inside the temple, a network of passageways connected chambers lined with columns. The chamber walls were brightly painted and decorated with glazed tiles and gold leaf. Stairs led to the roof, where public ceremonies, possibly sacrifices, were carried out on an altar.

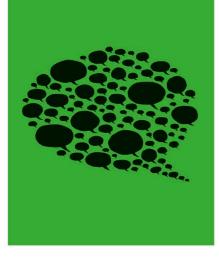
The Eastern Deffufa, a more squat, two-story structure, with walls about 33ft (10 m) deep, is sited near a cemetery of 30,000 mound-like graves. The temple, which may have been the royal funerary chapel, had two halls, each with a central line of columns and decorated with portraits of animals painted in red, blue, yellow, and black.



The kingdom of Kerma expanded Kushite territory into an empire that controlled much of the Nile Valley. The length of the Nile was measured in six shallow, rocky stretches of water known as "cataracts", from the Greek word meaning "to dash down".



The thick mud-brick walls of the Western Deffufa kept the interior ceremonial spaces cool in the fierce Nubian desert heat.



A DISPERSAL OF LANGUAGE THE BANTU MIGRATIONS (G. 1000 BCE)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATIONS Central and Southern Africa

BEFORE

c.3500 BCE Proto-Bantu people live in the Niger Delta between southeastern Nigeria and western Cameroon.

c.3500–2500 BCE Small numbers of Bantu begin to move beyond their homeland.

AFTER

c. 1000–500 BCE The Bantu settle in Central Africa.

c.600 BCE Iron production begins in Meroë on the Nile.

c.200 BCE The Bantu expand into Southeast Africa.

c.300–500 ce Bantu live in KwaZulu-Natal and the Limpopo River area in South Africa.

c. 1200–1400 ce Bantu emerge in the Great Lakes region in Eastern Central Africa. he migrations of the Bantu peoples from the Niger Delta in around 1000 BCE were some of the most important movements of people in Africa's history. They transformed Central and Southern Africa, introducing iron-smelting and improved forms of agriculture, and facilitating an exchange of knowledge that led to common art and craft traditions.

Common language

As an identity marker, the term "Bantu" does not denote a distinct ethnic group. Instead, it applies to a particular set of linguistic groups

[The Bantu migrations were] a matter neither of purposeless nomadic wandering, nor of organized military conquest. Gamal Mokhtar

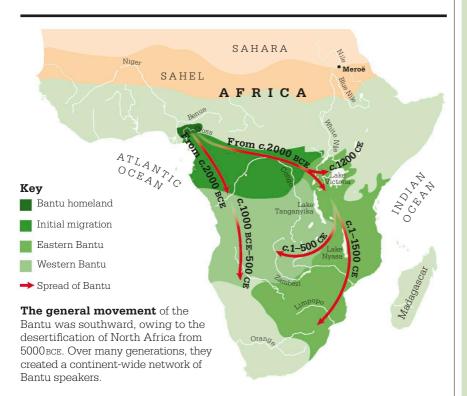
General History of Africa, 1981

spread across West, Central, East, and Southern Africa. The majority of Bantu speakers, about 100–150 million people, now live in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the Republic of the Congo (mainly in Brazzaville, the capital), Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, Zimbabwe, and Swaziland.

Starting point

Oral, linguistic, and archaeological sources show that the proto- (first) Bantu group lived in the Benue-Cross River basin of eastern Nigeria and western Cameroon in Central Africa. Research suggests that its transformation from a precarious hunting and food-gathering economy to a more settled life enabled by growing crops and raising livestock led to a significant increase in the population. This forced some Bantu people to move away from their homeland in search of new land to settle. There is no evidence that mass hordes left the area simultaneously, and there was no predetermined route other than a general move southward.

Migration from the Niger Delta began to build in around 2000 BCE. Most historians believe that the climate-induced destruction of the **See also:** Humans migrate out of Africa 20–21 $\,$ The migration of the Maasai 98–99 $\,$ The birth of the Atlantic slave trade 116–121



rainforest in Western Central Africa around 2,500 years ago gave new impetus to the Bantu migration. Some theories maintain that the agricultural activities of the Bantu groups themselves drove the forest loss and the need to move on.

Cultural spread

The Bantu migrations demonstrate how human interaction facilitates the rise of cultures. Expansions were not accomplished through wars and conquests. Bantu groups were capable of adapting to their new environments and successful in introducing innovations, such as iron-smelting and decorated baked-clay pottery. Connections between African communities led to the spread of artistic ideas, religious practices, dietary habits, kinship customs, and the development of vocabularies and syntax. In East Africa, Bantu groups affected social and political systems, introducing the concept of age sets, in which people of similar age pass through a series of distinct life stages at the same time. Each stage is usually marked by an initiation ceremony.

Secondary languages—protowestern and proto-eastern Bantu gradually emerged from their parent stock. The proto-west Bantu settled between the Sangha, Ubangi, and Congo-Lualaba rivers, and later occupied Angola and Namibia's grasslands in the southwest. The proto-east Bantu moved through the Mount Kilimanjaro area of Tanzania and into Mozambique, and later reached Southeast Africa. Around 1200 cE, Bantu speakers moved into the Great Lakes regions of modern Rwanda, Burundi, and Uganda.

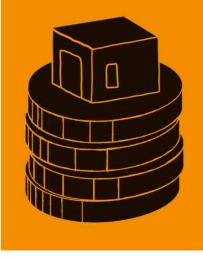
Ironwork, agriculture, and crafts

The Bantu were innovators in iron-smelting and established Iron Age settlements across sub-Saharan Africa. This enabled them and the people they encountered to make better tools. While some scholars think Bantu groups acquired iron-working skills in their homeland, others believe they acquired them around 600 BCE after interactions with the kingdom of Meroë (modern Sudan) in the upper Nile.

Iron tools and weapons were far superior to those made of copper and bronze. Farmers could use iron tools to cultivate even quite stony land and craftworkers used them to decorate pottery and softer metals with intricate patterns and grooves. Groups who shared similar cultures used identical patterns and methods of decorating objects. This has helped anthropologists differentiate Bantu-speaking potsherds from those of other groups.



The grooves on the stylized face of a copper guardian figure of the Bakota (Kota) people, in Gabon, are a common feature of Bantu artwork.



THE RICHEST CITY OF ANTIQUITY ANGIENT SEAFARERS SETTLE CARTHAGE (814 BGE)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Carthage (Tunisia)

BEFORE

1550–1350 BCE The Phoenician cities of Tyre,

Sidon, Beirut, and Byblos prosper under Egyptian administration.

1200–800 BCE Free of foreign control, Phoenician city-states establish trading posts across the Mediterranean and on the North African coast.

AFTER

580–265 BCE Disputes over territory on the strategic island of Sicily escalate into repeated Sicilian wars between Carthage and the Greeks.

264–146 BCE Carthage and the Romans battle for supremacy in the Mediterranean in three major conflicts that become known as the Punic Wars.

146 BCE The Romans conquer Carthage and destroy the city and its inhabitants.

etween the 8th and 2nd centuries BCE, the city-state of Carthage, near modernday Tunis, dominated the western Mediterranean, and at its peak was the richest city in antiquity. Carthage was a multiethnic African culture founded by the Phoenicians—master shipbuilders and seafarers from a collection of coastal city-states that included Tyre and Sidon in modern-day Lebanon on the Mediterranean east coast. From around 1200 BCE, these mariners plied the Mediterranean for silver, copper, and tin, trading

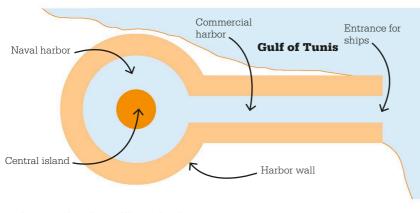
fine Phoenician glass, textiles, pottery, wine, and metalware. The name Phoenician, coined from the Greek *phoinikes* ("purple people"), referred to their production of a lucrative purple dye extracted from the Murex sea snail and used for robes by Rome's ruling elite.

Foundation story

A version of the founding legend of Carthage was included in *The Aeneid* by the Roman poet Virgil. In 814_{BCE}, the Phoenician princess Elissa, renamed Dido by Virgil, was forced to flee Tyre after her

Evolution of the alphabet

The Phoenicians are credited with the invention of a 22-letter alphabet around 1050 BCE that spread through trade around the Mediterranean and along Aegean routes to Crete and Greece. Their writing system, composed of simplified linear characters, is believed to have been derived from an early pictorial alphabet based on Egyptian hieroglyphics. It may have been developed by Semitic speakers in central Egypt around 1400 BCE. The Phoenician alphabet, which begins with the letters Aleph, Beth, Gimel, and Daleth, was the basis for the ancient Greek alphabet. Greek letters were precursors of the Latin (Roman) script, used widely today. For example, the Roman letter "A" is derived from the Greek letter Alpha, which is derived from the Phoenician letter Aleph. Aleph evolved from the Egyptian hieroglyph for an ox head and was used for a glottal sound produced in the throat. **See also:** Egypt's Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms 24–29 = The Nubian kingdom of Kerma 30–31 = The Romans reach Africa 38–39 = Christianity reaches Africa 48–51



Carthage's circular military harbor, known as a *cothon*, had berths for 220 warships and was overseen by the admiralty, housed on its central island. An adjoining commercial harbor opened onto the sea.

husband was murdered by her brother, Pygmalion, King of Tyre. After a long sea journey, Dido's fleet landed on the North African coast, where she negotiated with a Berber ruler, Iarbas, to build Oart Hadasht (Carthage), meaning New Town.

Maritime empire

Strategically situated on the North African coast and sheltered by the Gulf of Tunis, Carthage became the hub of trade between Africa and Europe. Carthaginian seafarers sourced tin, copper, and silver along their established trade routes and sank the ships of competitors to maintain their domination of the western Mediterranean. By the 3rd century BCE, the Carthaginian Empire stretched as far as the Moroccan Atlantic coast and had settlements in Sardinia. Corsica. Sicily, Malta, Spain, and the Balearics. Historians describe the Phoenicians as brokers between multiple cultures in the ancient world. Their language and script, known as Punic, was used widely for trade around the Mediterranean. By the 3rd century BCE, Carthage is thought to have had a population of 500,000 people. Most were of African heritage. Some had heritage connected to the Nile Valley's Kush and Ancient Egypt. Many had Phoenician ancestry, the numbers swelled by refugees from conquered Phoenician homelands.

A 23-mile (37-km) circuit of towering walls surrounded the city, enclosing streets of houses six stories high, and lavish temples decorated with metals, wood, and marble, their pillars faced with gold and lapis lazuli. A high citadel, the *Byrsa*, towered above residential quarters with theaters, libraries, and baths. There were barracks for 20,000 soldiers, stables for 4,000 horses, and stalls for 300 elephants.

The city increased its wealth through agriculture, exporting grapes, olives, and vegetables cultivated in city plots irrigated by canals, and grain crops from the fertile fields outside the city. Glassmaking and metalwork incorporated Libyan, Berber, Greek, Nubian, and Egyptian influences, evidenced by archaeological discoveries of golden jewelry of Egyptian origin dated between 800 and 700 BCE. Thousands of scarabs and amulets from the same period show images of deities such as Anubis, Ma'at, Bastet, and Amen. Pillars and statues in the city ruins honor the goddess Tanit and her partner Baal Hammon, imported Phoenician deities that were the bedrock of Carthage's religion.

Conflict and downfall

From the 6th to 3rd centuries BCE, naval conflicts between Carthage and their seafaring Greek rivals were played out over the island of Sicily, between the North African coast and southern Italy. From 264 BCE, Carthage gathered armies of Libyans, Numidians, Phoenicians, and people of mixed Punic-North African descent to challenge the power of Rome in three Punic Wars that led to its downfall in 146 BCE.



Glass paste pendants featuring human heads were a trademark of Carthage's glass workers. This one is from the 3rd or 4th century BCE.



ONE BRIGHT BLAZE TURNS LEARNING INTO AIR THE LOST LIBRARY OF ALEXANDRIA (c. 300 bce)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Egypt

BEFORE

c.331 BCE Alexander the Great founds Alexandria in Egypt.

c.307 BCE Former governor of Athens Demetrius of Phalerum takes refuge in Alexandria after being overthrown.

305 BCE Ptolemy I Soter, a general, succeeds Alexander the Great as Egypt's ruler, founding Egypt's final dynasty.

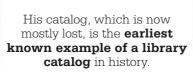
AFTER

c.240 BCE Callimachus compiles a catalog of the contents of the Great Library.

639 ce The Rashidun caliphate invades Egypt, paving the way for the Islamic unification of North Africa.

1517 The Ottoman sultan Selim I defeats the Mamluks, rulers of Egypt since 1250, making his empire one of the most powerful in the world. Callimachus, a Greek scholar at the Alexandrian court, surveys the **entire contents of the Library** in his *Pinakes* ("Tables").

He lists every scroll, **classifying it by a subject category** such as medicine, history, law, or mathematics.



The *Pinakes* forms the basis of library classification systems around the Mediterranean world for centuries after. n c. 300 BCE, the ruler of Egypt, Ptolemy I Soter, set out to create a library that would house a copy of every book in the world. The resulting Great Library of Alexandria is said to have held up to half a million papyrus scrolls.

Inspired by one of his advisers, Demetrius of Phalerum. Soter built a cultural center to contain scrolls. called the Mouseion (Museum). The center and its collections were expanded by Soter's son, Ptolemy II Philadelphus, who also created the Royal Library on the same campus. All scrolls brought to and written in Alexandria were housed here, and the collections soon grew so large that a satellite library, the Serapeum, was built on the site of the Temple of Serapis. Together, the Mouseion, Royal Library, and Serapeum made up the Great Library of Alexandria.

The Library burns

Nothing of the Library remains, and the lack of archaeological evidence has led to various myths about its demise. In truth, there was no "one bright blaze," but Roman general Julius Caesar is thought to have been the first to cause damage. In c. 48 BCE, while visiting Alexandria, he backed Egypt's queen in the civil **See also:** Egypt's Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms 24–29 • The Romans reach Africa 38–39 • The Muslim conquest of Egypt 58–59



war between Cleopatra and her brother and coruler, Ptolemy XIII. Ptolemy, whose ships were moored in the harbor, besieged him in the Royal Palace. Outnumbered, Caesar ordered his soldiers to set the ships on fire. The fire spread to the docks, then to other parts of the city. Even so, sources speak of the destruction of scrolls, not of a library, suggesting that Caesar's fire destroyed only part of the Library's collections.

The Library burned again around 391 cE, at the hands of the Bishop of Alexandria, Theophilus. After Roman emperor Theodosius I sanctioned the destruction of pagan temples in the city, Theophilus led a mob of Christians to demolish the Serapeum. He then ordered a church to be built on its ruins.

It is unclear whether the Royal Library and Mouseion survived beyond the 4th century ce. After capturing Alexandria in 640 ce, The Great Library of Alexandria was not destroyed in a cataclysmic blaze, as depicted in this painting from 1876, but rather by decades of conflict and neglect.

Muslim general Amrou ibn el-Ass allegedly asked Caliph Omar what should be done with the Library's vast collections. According to a report by 13th-century Christian writer Gregory Bar Hebraeus, Omar replied, "They will either contradict the Quran, in which case they are heresy, or they will agree with it, so they are superfluous." Amrou then used the scrolls as fuel for the stoves in the city's bathhouses.

In reality, the Library suffered a gradual decline. As fragile scrolls disintegrated and were not replaced, nor new ones acquired, scholars lost interest. But its reputation endured, and the idea of collating knowledge lives on in modern libraries.

The murder of Hypatia

In 415 CE, the philosopher Hypatia was ambushed and murdered in Alexandria by a mob of Christians. Her death marked the end of a so-called pagan tradition in the city, which embraced intellectual pursuits, including astronomy, science, and philosophy. The Library itself was dedicated to pagan deities.

Little is known about Hypatia's early life. Her father Theon, a mathematician, astronomer, and philosopher, was the Mouseion's director. She received a solid education in the arts and sciences, and went on to serve as head of a philosophy school some time between 395 and 408 ce.

A talented and charismatic teacher, Hypatia was also very close to Orestes, Alexandria's Roman governor. But Orestes was engaged in a bitter feud with Cyril, the city's bishop, who consistently subverted his authority. Rumors spread among Alexandria's Christian community that Hypatia, a pagan, was preventing Orestes and Cyril from reconciling. Most scholars blame Cyril for her death, as he could have called off the mob.



Hypatia was dragged from her carriage to a church, where she was stripped and beaten to death by Christian zealots.



CARTHAGE MUST BE DESTROYED THE ROMANS REACH AFRICA (146 BCE)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Carthage (Tunisia)

BEFORE

814 BCE According to legend, Carthage is founded by the Phoenician princess Elissa, in exile from the city of Tyre in the Levant.

580–265 BCE Carthage vies with the Greek Empire for control of the island of Sicily.

241 BCE Rome establishes Sicily as its first province after driving out the Carthaginians.

AFTER

30 BCE After the death of the last pharaoh, Cleopatra VII, Egypt falls to the Romans.

203 CE Septimius Severus, the first African-born Roman emperor, expands and fortifies the southern reaches of Rome's North African territory.

698 A Muslim invasion of Carthage ends Roman and Christian control of the city.

uring the third century BCE, ancient Rome began its exponential growth from city to empire, first flexing its might with the conquest of the Italian peninsula. Sights were then set on Carthage on the North African coast. Founded by Phoenicians from the East Mediterranean seaboard. Carthage was now the wealthiest port city in the ancient world Its hinterland included the cities of Utica and Hippo and the plain of Zama, and was peopled by Indigenous Berbers from the Mauri, Masaesyli, and Massylii tribes.

Expert craftworkers, traders, and seafarers, the Punics, as they were known, had established a



thalassocracy, a seaborne empire with outposts scattered across the western Mediterranean. Their command of trade in goods that ranged from grain to gold aroused enmity. In 264 BCE, Rome launched a campaign to topple Carthage that lasted for more than 100 years with intermittent gains and devastating losses on each side.

The Punic Wars

Three conflicts known as the Punic Wars are remembered principally for the land-based campaigns of the formidable Carthaginian general, Hannibal. His armies, supported by war elephants and a Berber cavalry, marched from Spain to Italy, crossing the Pyrenees and the Alps and defeating Roman legions at will. After switching their allegiance to Rome, the Berber cavalry had a role in Hannibal's defeat at the Battle of Zama in 202 BCE.

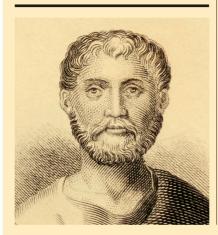
In the 50 years that followed, a diminished Carthage ceded its territories in Corsica, Sardinia, and

The first African-born Roman

emperor, Septimius Severus, from the Roman-Libyan city of Leptis Magna, is shown with his wife and two sons in a painted panel dated around 200 ce.

See also: Egypt's Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms 24–29 = Ancient seafarers settle Carthage 34–35
The lost library of Alexandria 36–37 = Christianity reaches Africa 48–51 = Europeans arrive in Africa 94–95

Terence



Spain to Rome and was forced into a pact of nonaggression. Yet when Roman statesman Cato the Elder visited the city in 157 BCE, he noted a continued threat from its wealth and power. "Carthage must be destroyed" became his mantra, repeated at the end of every speech to the senate. In 146 BCE, after the final Punic War, Rome destroyed the city and slaughtered its inhabitants.

A Roman province

Carthage and its territories were converted into a productive Roman province that, over time, became known as the "granary of the empire." Utica became its capital, the Mauri Berbers were established in the kingdom of Mauretania, and the Masaesyli and Massylii in the kingdom of Numidia. Carthage was rebuilt as a Roman city in 44 BCE. While there was enslavement, a

A productive Roman colony in

a 2nd-century mosaic from Uthina, Tunisia, features oxen plowing, sheep, goats, a well, olive groves, partridges, and wild boar hunting. In his brief life, African Roman playwright Terence wrote only six comedies between 166 and 160 BCE but left a literary legacy that endures to the present day.

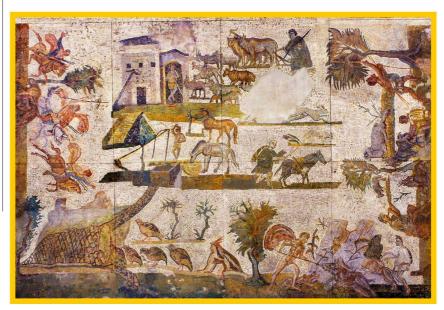
Publius Terentius Afer, to use his full Roman name, was born in either 195 or 185 BCE into a North African Berber family in Carthage. After Terence was enslaved and taken to Rome, a Roman senator identified his literary talent and educated and freed him. The young writer produced Latin text that was admired for its elegance, clarity, and morality and was used as a teaching aid in Roman

racial inclusivity allowed Berbers to make contributions to the broader culture. Roman Berber literature, for example, includes *The Golden Ass*—the only complete Latin novel in existence—written by Numidiaborn Apuleius (c. 124–c. 170 ce).

After Christianity spread into the province in the 2nd century CE, other Berbers rose to prominence. schools. In monasteries and convents in the Middle Ages, priests, nuns, and scribes are said to have learned their Latin by copying out and reenacting Terence's plays. As a dramatist, he was an originator of the "comedy of manners," which satirizes family relations, or the lack of them, and spotlights human foibles. His plays influenced Shakespeare and the French dramatist Molière.

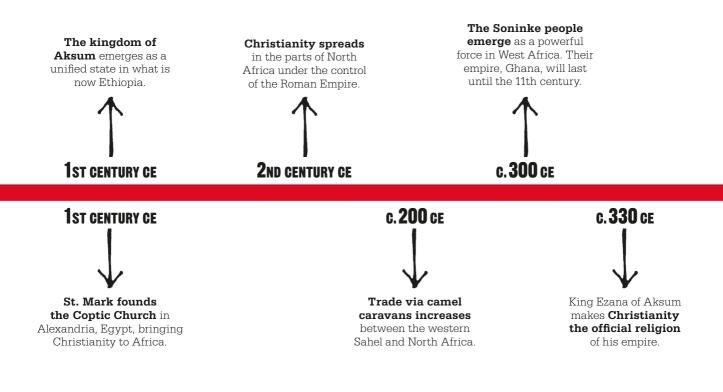
After 159 BCE, no more is known of Terence's life. In his mid-20s or 30s, he disappeared following a visit to Greece.

They include three popes, Victor I, Miltiades, and Gelasius I, who led the church in the 2nd, 4th, and 5th centuries. Two Berbers—Tertullian, born in Carthage around 155, and Augustine, born in Hippo in 354—were among the great early Church Fathers, the theologians who laid the intellectual foundation of Western Christianity.



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thiopia and ancient Ghana were home to two of Africa's most powerful early empires in the common era, both of which owed their wealth to robust trade. Aksum developed from a kingdom in the East African highlands of what are now Ethiopia and Eritrea into a prosperous trading power. The Aksumites established commercial relations with the Nilotic kingdoms of Egypt and Kush, and conquered the latter in 350 BCE. Like these trading partners. Aksum was a fertile kingdom, with much of its wealth generated by agriculture, but it also derived wealth from its natural iron deposits, which were mined for their bounty. From the 3rd to the 6th centuries CE, Aksum flourished, even controlling trade between the Mediterranean, Arabia, and the Indian Ocean.

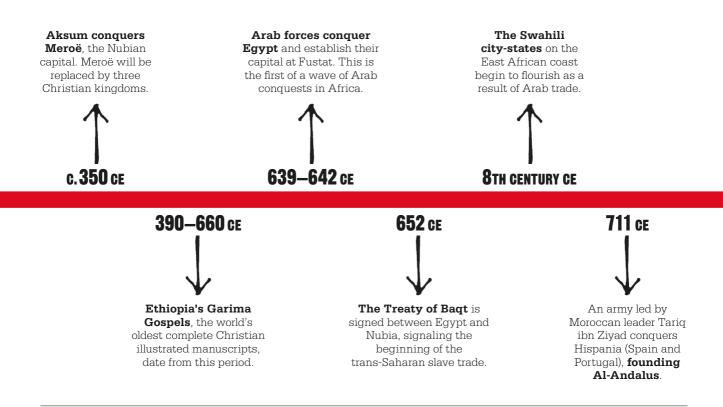
The Ghana Empire, which emerged around 300 cE in West Africa, was also able to capitalize on both its agriculture and iron deposits to generate wealth. The Soninke people of Ghana, who founded the empire, had always been traders, but from the 7th century cE their empire flourished as a result of trade with Arab-controlled North Africa. The Ghana rulers amassed huge amounts of wealth, especially from trading in salt and gold.

Trans-Saharan trade

Ghana benefitted from the growing trans-Saharan trade, which linked West Africa to North Africa (and, by extension, to Arabia). Traders crossed the desert on camel trains, laden with goods, traveling for more than two months to reach North African trading hubs. But this trade was not simply for commodities from salt and gold to textiles, glass, shells, ivory, and kola nuts. The trans-Saharan trade also included enslaved Africans, who were sold by African kingdoms to Arab traders and, most often, were transported back to Arabia.

Islamic influences

The development of trans-Saharan trade routes was linked to the spread of Islam into the continent. The first Muslims arrived in Africa in 615 cE, when a small group fleeing persecution in Mecca (in presentday Saudi Arabia) sought refuge in Christian Ethiopia. Nearly 30 years later, in 642 cE, an Arab army under Amr ibn Al-As conquered Egypt, and subsequent campaigns continued the spread of Islam through Africa. Arab conquests



enabled them to expand trading routes across the Sahara, and these routes, in turn, helped spread the Islamic faith. The new Swahili "stone towns" of the East African coast—city-states such as Kilwa and Mogadishu—were built by and for Arab trade. New mosques were built in these cities for Arab traders and local converts to worship in.

The spread of Islam by conquest extended from Africa into Europe, when Muslim North Africans known as "Moors"—conquered Hispania (Spain and Portugal) in 711 cE. Al-Andalus, as it became known, thrived under their control until its conquest in 1492.

Christianity spreads

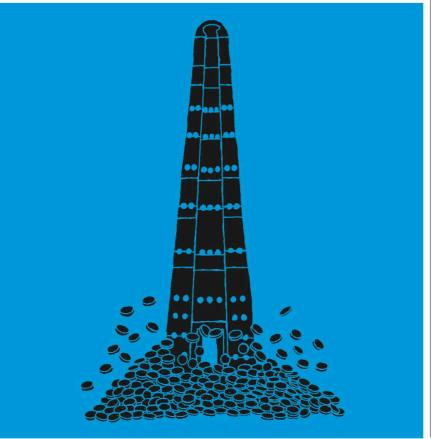
Islam was not the only Abrahamic faith to reach Africa in the early common era. The earliest African centers of Christianity were in Egypt, Carthage, Nubia, and Ethiopia. An early Christian, St. Mark the Evangelist, is believed to have founded the Coptic Church in Alexandria, Egypt, during the 1st century cE. At this time, Egypt, Carthage, and much of the North African coast were part of the Roman Empire, which periodically persecuted Christians. One of North Africa's early Christian martyrs was Perpetua, a Carthaginian woman executed in 203 cE for refusing to worship a pagan god.

Africa was important to the development of early Christianity. It was the birthplace of the first Christian monastery, built on an island of the Nile River, and the home of the Garima Gospels, the world's oldest complete Christian illustrated manuscripts, which were created by Christians in Ethiopia. The first African pope, Victor I, held that position from around 189 to 199 ce.

Christianity spread to Aksum in the 4th century cE and was adopted as its official religion by King Ezana in c. 330 cE. By the 6th century cE, the faith had also reached Nubia, spread by Christian traders in the region and by the persuasive influence of missionaries, who were sent into Nubia by the Byzantine Empire.

The faith would hold strong in Ethiopia, where Christianity would outlive the Aksumite Empire itself and continue under Ethiopia's two great dynasties into the modern age. Nubia, too, would remain Christian for another 700 years, surviving the wave of Islamic conquests in North Africa.

THE THIRD GREAT KINGDOM ON EARTH THE TRADING EMPIRE OF AKSUM (c. 100–800 ge)



IN CONTEXT

LOCATIONS **Ethiopia, Eritrea**

BEFORE

c.8th century BCE The kingdom of D'mt emerges in the highlands area of Eritrea and northern Ethiopia.

AFTER

c. 1137 The Zagwe dynasty rises to power in Ethiopia, restores Christianity, and builds rock churches.

1270 Yekuno Amlak founds the Solomonid dynasty, which rules Ethiopia until 1974.

1530 Led by Ahmad Gran, Muslims attack Ethiopia and conquer much of the country.

1855 Emperor Tewodros II reunites Ethiopia and begins to modernize the country.

1974 Haile Selassie I, the final emperor, is ousted in a military coup and dies a year later.

he Aksum (Axum) kingdom, centered in the northern Ethiopian highlands, emerged as a unified state around the 1st century cE and reached a peak of trading power between the 3rd and 6th centuries. The 3rd-century Persian prophet Mani named it the third of four great kingdoms, after Persia and Rome, and ahead of China.

Some of the detail about Aksum's origin derived from the 6th-century Greek merchant and traveler Cosmas Indicopleustes ("Cosmas who sailed to India"). On a visit to Adulis, Aksum's key seaport, Cosmas was asked by its governor to translate ancient Greek texts inscribed on a See also: Christianity reaches Africa 48–51 • The Muslim conquest of Egypt 58–59 • The Ethiopian Jews 74 • Ethiopia's rock churches 84-85 • The sultanate of Ifat 93 • Ethiopia defies colonialism 226-227 • The Rastafari movement 253

Mecca

dulis

AKSUM

Aksum

ARABIAN

SABA

HORN OF

AFRICA

HIMYAR Aden

Malao

To other East

African ports

PENINSULA

To India

Jerusalem

Petra

Nile

To African interior

Meroë





Aksum kingdom → Trade routes

throne. Cosmas later included part of the translation in his book The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes (547). The text stated that Aksum came to prominence as a large and powerful kingdom under a "pagan Aksumite king," who controlled territories extending from modern Ethiopia to Yemen in southern Arabia. This king is believed by scholars to be Zoskales, mentioned in Periplus Maris Erythraei ("Voyage around the Erythraean [Red] Sea"), a ship's log written by a Greek-speaking Egyptian merchant of the 1st century, who also spoke of Adulis as an ivory-trading center.

Trade, grain, and iron

Aksum was perfectly placed to take advantage of lucrative trade routes. Inland it could build commercial relationships with neighboring

trading powers Nubia and Egypt (a Roman province from 30 BCE). Through the port of Adulis it was able to dominate the southern Red Sea and control trade between the Mediterranean, Arabia, and the Indian Ocean, as far as Sri Lanka. This allowed Aksum to export goods that had originated in Africa and southern Arabia, such as ivory, copper, brass, gold, frankincense, and myrrh, and import olive oil and wine from Rome, and spices, jewels, and fabrics from India.

Although Aksum grew rich from the Red Sea trade, it remained primarily an agricultural land. Prosperity rested partly on the rulers' ability to exploit the cattle-rearing expertise of nomads who lived in desert areas between the sea and the Nile Valley. Also, much of the kingdom consisted of fertile lands that produced plentiful grain

harvests, including wheat and barley. The crop and livestock surpluses created were easily exported and formed the backbone of Aksum's economic life

Aksum was also rich in iron deposits, and its iron smelting techniques—dating from around 200 BCE—produced metal of a high quality. This expertise provided farmers with tools that enhanced agricultural productivity, and Aksumite armies with weapons that boosted their military power.

Money and expansion

Aksum began to expand its influence across the Red Sea from the late 2nd century, vying with the kingdoms of Saba and Himyar (in modern Yemen). As trading links developed. Aksum became the first African kingdom to mint coins—in 270, under the rule of King Endubis. The coins, issued in gold, silver, and bronze metals. and weighted according to Roman standards, bore the head of the king and inscriptions in Greek-the »

Then come the natives* bringing gold in nuggets like peas ... and lay one or two more of these on what pleases them ... **Cosmas Indicopleustes**

describing East Africans trading gold with Aksum merchants

*Language used in the 6th century (see p.4)

language of trade. The new currency allowed greater efficiency in the exchange of goods and payment collection and increased standardization of taxation. It also put Aksum in a stronger position to share in the Greco-Roman– dominated Red Sea trade.

Away from the sea, Aksum competed with another trading power, the kingdom of Kush, which was based at the city of Meroë in present-day Sudan. Kush's trade was focused on the Nile Valley, so did not threaten Aksum's Red Sea operations. However, rivalry over inland trade routes grew into warfare, and under King Ezana (r. 320–350) Aksum conquered Meroë in 350, replacing Kush as the main trading power south of Egypt.

A Christian kingdom

Ezana recorded his campaign against Meroë, and other military achievements, on a stone slab (or

One of the "Nine Saints," Abuna Yemata, is depicted on horseback in the 5th-century Abuna Yemata Guh church. Hewn out of rock, it can be reached only via a climb of almost 656 ft (200 m). stele) known as the Ezana Stone. The engravings, written in Ge'ez (an ancient Ethiopian language), Greek, and Sabean and Himyaritic (two southern Arabian languages), also documented his conversion to Christianity. Although the faith was present in North Africa from the 1st century, in 330 Aksum became the first African state to adopt it as the state religion.

Alongside goods, trade brought people and new ideas, including Christianity, to Aksum from the Roman Empire. According to two historians of the 4th-5th centuries, Tvrannius Rufinus (a Roman) and Socrates Scholasticus (a Byzantine), Ezana was converted by a young Christian called Frumentius from Tyre (in present-day Lebanon). He had joined the Aksum court after surviving an attack on his ship close to the Ethiopian shore. Frumentius was appointed the kingdom's first bishop, and under his influence Christianity spread through Aksum. Ezana's reasons for officially adopting the religion were driven at least partly by the potential trading benefits from aligning more closely with the





A stele at Aksum, dating from the 4th century, bears an inscription in Greek describing the military and religious achievements of King Ezana, the first Christian ruler of Ethiopia.

Roman Empire and its decision to legalize Christianity in 313. Around 330, Aksum coinage became the first to display the Christian cross, predating its use in the Roman Empire and creating a propaganda tool for the new religion.

Churches were built in Aksum from the 4th century, but at first the practice of Christianity was limited largely to the royal court. In the late 5th century, the religion was spread more widely across the kingdom by evangelists, in particular a group known as the "Nine Saints." They were followers of Monophysitism, a belief that Christ is a god only, rather than having both divine and human natures. This view was denounced in 451 at the Council of Chalcedon (in modern Turkey) and its adherents were forced to flee the Eastern Roman Empire.

The evangelists were accepted by the Aksum Christian Church, which was also Monophysitic. They moved through Aksum, building churches—many carved into rock faces, with elaborately painted interiors—and establishing

The city of Aksum

Aksum was founded around 400_{BCE} on a high plateau in the Tigray region of northern Ethiopia. From around 100_{CE} it was the capital of the kingdom of Aksum and the hub—together with the Red Sea port of Adulis, 93 miles (150 km) away—of a trading empire that lasted 700 years.

The kings of Aksum built palaces and erected tall granite stelae over their tombs. These monumental pieces of stone

monasteries, often on the tops of hills and mountains. The Nine Saints are also credited with translating the Bible from Greek into the Ge'ez language.

From power to isolation

By the 6th century, Aksum had reached the height of its wealth and influence. In 525, King Kaleb invaded Saba and Himyar on the pretext of protecting the Christian population from persecution. The two states became vassals of Aksum, bringing southern Arabia and both shores of the Red Sea under Aksumite rule.

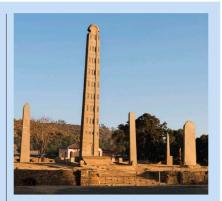
Aksum's complete control over the Red Sea was short-lived. Around 570, Persians of the Sassanid Empire invaded and conquered southern Arabia. This ended Aksum rule, disrupted its trading activities, and pushed the kingdom into greater reliance on the Christian Byzantine Empire, which dominated the Nile Valley trade. Aksum may also have been weakened by the Plague of Justinian—a bubonic plague that swept through North Africa, the Middle East, and much of Europe from 541, killing possibly up to 50 million people. In the early 7th

were brought from quarries at least 2½ miles (4 km) away. Most were erected in the 2nd-4th centuries, including the nowtoppled 108-ft (33-m) Great Stele, believed to be the world's largest single piece of monumental stone. King Ezana's Stele stands 76 ft (23m) and was probably the final stele before burial practices began to follow a more Christian form.

When Adulis was destroyed by Islamic attack in 710, Aksum became isolated and began to decline. The city, now a town, remains the sacred center of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

century, a new Arab force, led by the prophet Muhammad, emerged in the Arabian peninsula, which by 630 was under Muslim control. Aksum then lost its influence over the Nile Valley trade when Egypt was conquered by Muslim forces in 642. During the rule of al-Walid, the sixth caliph of the Umayvad Muslim dynasty (r. 705-715), Aksum's strength shrunk further due to constant attack, leading to the destruction of Adulis in 710. With its key port lost, Aksum no longer commanded the Red Sea trade and became cut off from its Byzantine Christian allies.

I set up a throne here in Shado [Aksum] by the might of the Lord of Heaven who has ... given me supremacy. **King Ezana**



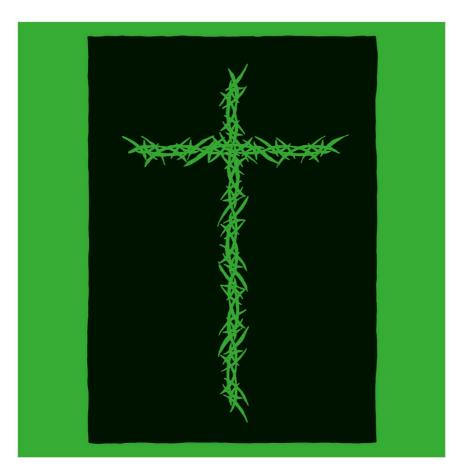
Stelae Park in Aksum contains nearly 120 stone obelisk-like stelae from the 3rd–4th centuries. At its center is King Ezana's Stele.

Aksum had relied heavily on the farming of its fertile lands to feed its growing population and produce crop and livestock exports. By the 8th century, excessive cropping, deforestation, and resulting soil erosion—as well as a drier climate and more erratic rainfall—may have left the kingdom vulnerable to drought and famine.

As Aksum's power and wealth faded in the 7th–8th centuries, the kingdom was exposed to rebellion by subject peoples who already enjoyed a degree of autonomy. Most notably, the Nubian Beja tribes attacked Aksum camel caravans and seized land for cattle grazing, potentially denying the kingdom access to trade routes and farming resources.

By the early 8th century, Aksum had lost its position as a significant regional force. The capital of what remained of Aksum was moved, possibly in the 9th century, from the city of Aksum south into the central highlands of the Ethiopian interior. There, the once-dominant trading kingdom continued as a largely agricultural society, isolated from the rest of the Christian world but still independent.

DEVOTION DEVOTION UNDERSECTION DERSECTION CHRISTIANITY REACHES AFRICA (2ND CENTURY CE)



IN CONTEXT

LOCATIONS North Africa, Ethiopia, Nubia

BEFORE

146 BCE Rome defeats Carthage in the Third Punic War, establishing Roman rule in North Africa.

46–57 ce St. Paul undertakes missionary journeys around the northern and eastern Mediterranean.

AFTER

380 CE Emperor Theodosius makes Christianity the official religion of the Roman Empire.

428 The Vandals invade North Africa from Hispania (Spain), destroying Catholic churches.

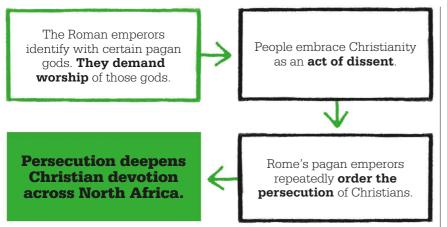
642 Islamic forces begin to spread through North Africa.

1491 The Portuguese begin to Christianize West and Central Africa as part of the slave trade.

y the early 2nd century CE, Christianity had spread from Palestine into Egypt and along the North African coast. The area belonged to the Roman Empire, where Hellenistic and Roman deities were worshipped alongside local deities. Oppressive Roman rule led many North Africans to embrace Christianity as an act of dissent. As the religion expanded, churches sprang up, affiliated to larger bodies overseen by bishops.

From Egypt to Carthage

Early centers of Christianity in Africa included Egypt, Carthage, Numidia (eastern Algeria and western Tunisia), Ethiopia, and **See also:** The Romans reach Africa 38–39 • The trading empire of Aksum 44–47 • The Ethiopian Jews 74 • Ethiopia's rock churches 84–85 • Europeans arrive in Africa 94–95 • Ethiopia defies colonialism 226–227



Nubia. Several important strands and principles of Christianity were developed in these places. In Egypt, the Coptic Church, one of the first Christian bodies, is believed to have been founded by St. Mark in Alexandria in the 1st century cE; St. Antony founded eremitism (the life of religious solitude) in the 3rd century; and St. Pachomius set up the first Christian monastery on an island in the Nile in the 4th century, initiating communal monasticism. Carthage (near modern-day Tunis),

66

They say that this Mark was the first to have set out to Egypt to proclaim the Gospel, which he had written. Eusebius of Caesarea Bishop and historian (4th century CE)



which became the preeminent center of Christian North Africa, was the birthplace in 155 cE of the theologian Tertullian, who was influential in making Latin the language of the liturgy. At the time of Tertullian's death in 222 cE, the African Church had between 70 and 90 bishops.

The use of Latin rather than Greek was ratified by Victor I, the first African pope (from around 189 to 199 ce). Victor also standardized the celebration of the resurrection of Christ on Easter Sunday and threatened to excommunicate bishops of Asia Minor (western Turkey) who continued to hold it in line with the Jewish Passover.

African martyrs

Until Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire under Emperor Theodosius in 380 cE, Roman toleration of Christians was interrupted by periods of hostility, when they were routinely persecuted, especially in the wake of natural disasters and other misfortunes. Their arrest could lead to execution if they refused to renounce their faith, but the executed were revered as martyrs and Christianity continued to win new converts.

North African Christians faced violence at the hands of Roman oppressors. One of the first African martyrs was Perpetua, a 22-yearold woman executed in Carthage in 203 CE for refusing to make a sacrifice to a pagan god. She was killed in the city's amphitheater, set upon by wild beasts and then struck through with a sword. Five other Christians were killed with her, including Perpetua's enslaved servant Felicitas.

St. Cyprian, a bishop of North African descent, led Carthage's Christian community during the particularly bloody reign of Emperor Decius (249–251 cE). When Decius issued an edict requiring everyone in the empire to make sacrifices to the gods, many Christians obtained *libelli* (certificates) asserting that they had carried out the order, »



A portrait of St. Mark in the 4th to 7th-century Garima Gospels of Ethiopia shows the saint on the episcopal throne of Alexandria, his gospel held in the tail of a dolphin, a symbol of the Church.



while others apostatized (publicly renounced their faith) in order to escape execution. When the persecution subsided, St. Cyprian held a meeting of bishops to decide whether apostates could be readmitted to the faith. It was agreed that those who had publicly renounced their faith could be forgiven only on their death beds, while those who had acquired *libelli* could be pardoned after serving penance. This established the important principle that the Church had the power to forgive serious sins such as apostasy and that this power was invested in its bishops by God.

Carthage continued to produce notable early Christians. One of the greatest, St. Augustine, born in 354cE in Tagaste, Numidia, studied and taught in Carthage. After converting to Christianity in Rome, he returned to Numidia to set up a monastery. Appointed Bishop of Hippo (near modern-day Annaba, in Algeria) in 395cE, he went on to develop the concepts of original sin and predestination, and the theory of a just war.

Christian Ethiopia

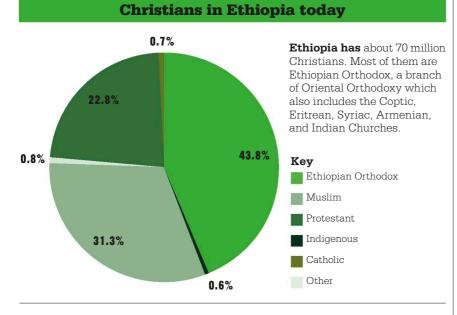
The kingdom of Aksum (ancient Ethiopia) was outside the Roman Empire, but became Christian in **A fresco from the cathedral** in Faras, a city in ancient Nubia, shows the Virgin Mary carrying Jesus while enfolding a Nubian queen.

the 4th century CE. It is said that Christianity took root there as a result of an accident. when Meropus, a Phoenician philosopher, sailed to India accompanied by two young Christians from Syria. Frumentius and Aedesius. On their return journey, their Roman vessel was attacked as they tried to moor at an Ethiopian port. All on board the vessel were killed, except the two youths, who were spared on account of their age. When the two Syrians were taken to the royal court. Ella Amida. the ruler. saw potential in the young men and made Frumentius his treasurer and Aedesius his cupbearer. After Ella Amida's death, the gueen regent invited Frumentius to help govern the country until her young son Ezana came of age in around 325 ce.

Frumentius nurtured the spread of Christianity in Ethiopia, building churches and encouraging trade. Ezana became the first Aksum monarch to embrace Christianity. He declared it the state religion in around 330cE and made Frumentius

Cut Africa out of the Bible and Christian memory, and you have misplaced many pivotal scenes of salvation history.

Thomas C. Oden American theologian (1931–2016)



the country's first bishop. The early coins of Ezana's reign bear the disk and crescent emblem of the old Aksum deity Mahrem, but currency issued after 330 cE has the Christian cross and the motto "May the country be satisfied." They are the first coins in the world to have a cross. Similarly, two Ethiopian books, the Garima Gospels, which have been carbon-dated to between 390 and 660 cE, are among the world's oldest known complete illuminated Christian manuscripts.

Nubian brilliance

In the 6th century CE, missionaries from Constantinople, sent by the Byzantine Empress Theodora, entered Nubia (southern Egypt and northern Sudan), introducing misleading images of a white Christ and saints. Christian traders from Egypt and Ethiopia had already introduced Christianity to the region, and Nubian rulers welcomed the Byzantine visitors.

Three Christian kingdoms emerged in Nubia: Nobatia, Alwa, and Makuria, which became centers for a brilliant Christian culture. The Cathedral of Faras and the Cathedral of Qasr Ibrim, both in Nobatia, and the Cathedral of the Granite Columns in Old Dongola, Makuria, all built in the 7th and 8th centuries, contained fine frescoes, mosaics, and carvings.

At Oasr Ibrim, archaeologists have found thousands of legal texts and documents showing high levels of literacy in Meroitic (the language of ancient Meroë), Latin, Greek, Creolized Greek, Coptic, Old Nubian, Arabic, and Turkish. They have also found towns across Nubia with two-story houses equipped with hot and cold plumbing, and communal oil presses.

Christian Nubia survived for 700 years, withstanding the Islamic conquest that swept through North Africa from the 7th century. It secured trade treaties with Arab forces and later achieved friendly relations with the Fatimid caliphs in Egypt (973–1171). Only in the 14th century did Nubia finally convert to Islam, far later than the rest of North Africa.

Indigenous religion

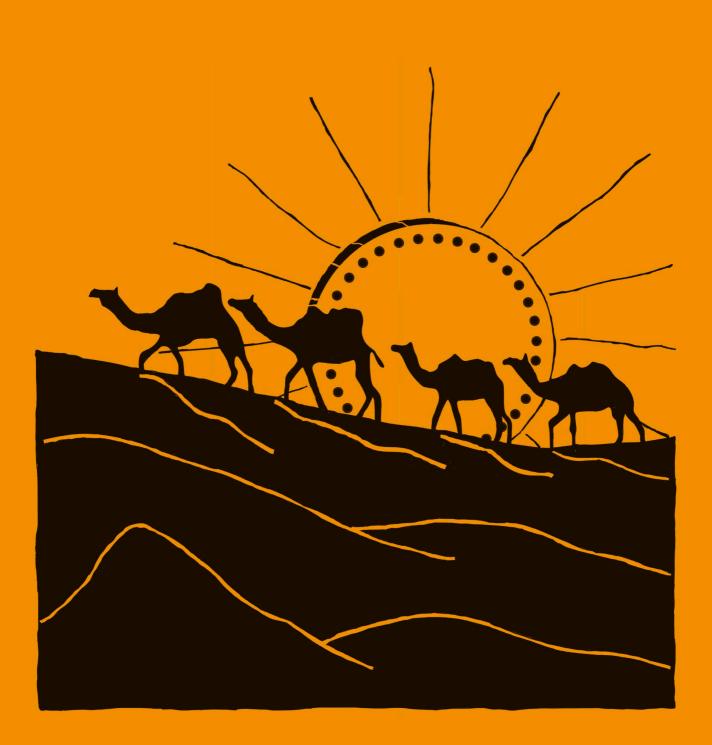
African Indigenous religion is a spiritual tradition that predates or is separate from the Abrahamic religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. It accounts for 15 percent of religious affiliation in Africa.

It is expressed in numerous ways, and reflects various cultural expressions across Africa, but four strands are particularly widespread: the Nile Vallev tradition of Sudan and Egypt, the Dogon tradition of Mali and Burkina Faso, the Yoruba tradition of Nigeria. and the Bantu religion that covers most of Central and Southern Africa. The Nile Valley tradition is the earliest recorded religious heritage, detailed on the sarcophagi and walls of the pyramids of the Old Kingdom (2575–2130 BCE). The Yoruba heritage is the only strand to be practiced on four continents: Africa, South America. North America. and Europe.



Masked Dogon dancers in Mali perform the *dama*, a funeral ritual to escort the souls of the dead to the spirit world.

GHANA EMPIRE (C. 300-11 TH CENTURY CE)



Ghana Empire becomes part of

Empire expands, conquers the

Mali Empire, and flourishes in

turn as a great trading power.

1591 Invaders led by Ahmad

dvnastv of Morocco sack the

Songhai Empire using guns

1957 The Gold Coast colony

gains its independence from

Kwame Nkrumah, adopts the

name Ghana from the former

Britain. Its first president,

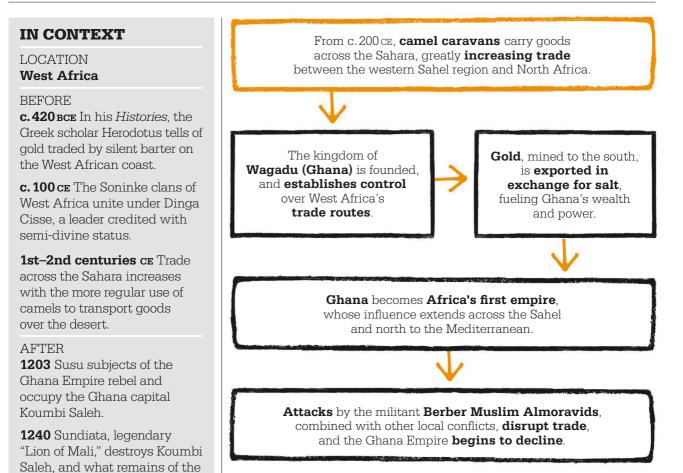
great empire to its north.

imported from Europe.

Al-Mansur of the Saadian

his new Mali Empire.

1460–1591 The Songhai



round 300 CE, according to oral history, the Soninke people of West Africa. living between what are now Mauritania and Mali, emerged as a dominant force in the area. A subgroup of the Mande-speaking people who had farmed the land from as early as 4000 BCE, the Soninke became proficient in iron technology, producing agricultural tools and sophisticated weapons that helped them subdue their foes. They named their nation Wagadu, but Arab traders called it Ghana, the Soninke title for their warrior king.

The Ghana Empire flourished as a result of trans-Saharan trade and was at its peak from the 9th to the 11th centuries cE. It was the first of three great West African empires, succeeded by the Mali Empire and the Songhai Empire. In the 10th century CE, Arab Muslim traveler Ibn Hawqal described Ghana's ruler as "the wealthiest king on the face of the Earth." Ghana's strategic location along the trans-Saharan trading routes from north to south enabled it to control commercial exchanges—principally involving gold from West Africa and salt from North Africa.

Trading practices

Trans-Saharan commerce had existed since prehistory, pioneered by the local West African people— Fulani, Bambara, Soninke, Tuareg, Berber, and other Indigenous **See also:** The trading empire of Aksum 44–47 = The Muslim conquest of Egypt 58–59 = The origins of the Songhai Empire 75 = Ghana converts to Islam 78–79 = The Kanem Empire 80–81 = The Mali Empire 86–91

groups in the Sahel (the semi-arid area between the Sahara to the north and tropical forest to the south), who played a key role in both early trade and the exchange of ideas and knowledge. From the 7th century CE, when the Arabs invaded North Africa, the demand for gold and other goods increased trade across the Sahara.

To overcome language barriers, merchants used "dumb" or "silent" barter. At a designated point, they deposited salt bags and other goods, then withdrew and, with a beat of the drum (*deba*), invited the gold dealers of Ghana to negotiate an exchange. The Ghana traders then inspected the goods, left gold as payment, and withdrew. If judged sufficient, the merchants from the north would take it and leave. If not, the two parties continued to negotiate, neither taking the gold or goods until a price was agreed.

Prized commodities

Gold fueled Ghana's power from the latter half of the 8th century. Although the empire's Soninke



Gold dinars—such as this coin from 970 cE, the time of the Almoravid Berber Muslim dynasty—were minted in the Maghreb and Iberia.

rulers did not gain direct control over all the gold mines to the south, their control of major trans-Saharan trade routes ensured a steady revenue. The routes were now well established, and traders considered Ghana safe for business.

Gold from the south passed through trading centers in Ghana up to the North African coast to ports such as Algiers and Tunis. From there, it was sent across the Mediterranean to Europe, the Middle East, and India, where gold was in high demand. Gold that remained in the Maghreb (the Arab area of North Africa) was smelted to make coins and jewelry.

Slabs of salt, extracted largely by enslaved labor from mines around Taghaza in the Sahara, were taken south by camel caravans to Walata, then on by donkey to towns in the Ghana Empire. Salt was highly prized in West Africa as little was naturally available, and quantities were required to flavor and preserve food in the heat. By the Middle Ages, West African traders exchanged their gold for equal weights of salt.

Secret goldfields

To maintain their monopoly, the Soninke hid the location of their goldfields from Muslim traders. The savanna and forest peoples to the west and south collected the gold; the largest goldfields were at Bambuk in the Senegal River valley, at Bure on the Upper Niger River, in the Lobi region on the Mouhoun River, and in Akan lands on the Gold Coast.

Thousands of laborers either dug out gold from shallow mines or panned small gold nuggets and tiny grains of gold from river Also traded via the trans-Saharan routes were textiles, glass, shells, skins, ivory, copper, caffeine-rich cola nuts from the West African rainforests, and enslaved people, who might be criminals, debtors, or others kidnapped or seized as war captives. The route north to Benghazi in Libya became notorious for slave trading.

Controlling the trade

All traders passing through the Ghana Empire were compelled to pay tariffs. In the 11th century, Muslim geographer Abu Ubayd »



Desert-hardy dromedaries were widely used to cross the Sahara. The journey took around 70 days, but merchants could make vast profits from gold, ivory, salt, and slavery.

gravels that floodwaters washed to the surface. Early Arab visitors to these areas commented that gold could be scooped up like sand.

Much of the empire's gold was exported to satisfy the demand in the Middle East, Europe, and India for coins; jewelry; and items such as dishes, goblets, and illuminated manuscripts. No trace has been found of the gold adornments of Ghana's rulers. Whether melted down or looted, the work of West African goldsmiths of this period has disappeared.

56 THE GHANA EMPIRE

al-Bakri wrote that the government levied one golden dinar (about two weeks' pay) on every donkey-load of salt entering the empire, and two dinars on loads as they left. Levies were used to pay officials, keep the trade routes secure, and maintain a vast army of some 50.000 soldiers.

Ghana's kings restricted the gold trade by making it illegal for anyone to keep or own gold nuggets, permitting their subjects to trade only in gold dust. They also imposed customs and tolls on dependent states, taxed crops and livestock, and added to their wealth with war spoils as the empire expanded. Its rulers grew immensely rich, and the empire's reputation as a fabulous land of gold spread to North Africa. Europe, and the entire Islamic world.

Ghana's trading wealth increased its prestige and gave its rulers access to luxury goods, such as copper, horses, beads, and fine textiles, brought by Arab traders from the north. It also encouraged the development of great cities, accessible via the Niger River, such as Koumbi Saleh, Gao, and Djenné. While the empire's capital appears

At the door of the pavilion are dogs of excellent pedigree... Round their necks they wear collars of gold and silver, studded with a number of balls of the same metals. Abu Ubavd al-Bakri The Book of Roads and Kingdoms, 1067-1068



Koumbi Saleh was the focal point of trade routes that ran from gold mines in the south to trading centers in the north. One route to Fez ran northwest and up through the Atlas Mountains, and Taghaza. another north across the Akjoujť Sahara via Taghaza and Walata Audaghost Sijilmasa. From Fez, Koumbi Saleh the route continued to northern ports. East of Koumbi Saleh, other Bamako Niani routes extended as far as Cairo in Equpt.

to have moved several times in its earlier years, from at least the 11th century, it is thought to have been at Koumbi Saleh

Royal opulence

Al-Bakri, who lived in Al-Andalus (in present-day Spain), never visited Ghana but gathered information from merchants, and wrote at length about the empire's wealth in The Book of Roads and Kingdoms (1067-1068). He noted that the king, Tunka Manin, who acceded to the throne in 1063, wore collars of gold and silver, adorned with precious stones, together with a high cap decorated with gold and wrapped in a turban of fine cotton.

Al-Bakri described the king holding audience in a domed pavilion, encircled by 10 horses draped in gold-embroidered materials. Behind him stood 10 pages, bearing shields and swords decorated with gold, and the princes to his right wore splendid garments, their hair plaited with gold. No one knows for certain who the goldsmiths of Ghana were, but it is now thought they were skilled local craftsmen producing artifacts

in a characteristic West African style, influenced by the geometric patterns of Islamic art.

Algiers

Sijilmasa

A

S

Gao S

Settlements

----- Trade routes

Djenné

Key

ATLAS

MOUNTAINS

Ghadames

Η

Es-Souk

Ghat

A

Ή Á

R

Takedda^{Bilma}

Ε L

Tunis

Zawilah

/A

Kano Daima

Diado

LAKE CHAD

Ghana Empire

Goldfields

Tripoli

to Cairo

According to al-Bakri, the king's residence consisted of multiple domed dwellings enclosed by a wall, with nearby domed houses for the nobility (including "sorcerers"religious leaders), while surrounding groves housed the royal tombs. Al-Bakri called the capital city "Ghana," rather than Koumbi Saleh, and described it as encircled by sweet water wells and irrigated fields growing assorted vegetables. He also wrote that the capital was made up of two distinct townsone for the king and his entourage and another Muslim settlement with its own mosques and special food shops-although no ruins have been found to corroborate this

Islam in West Africa

North African Muslims had first come to trade but then began to settle as merchants in Koumbi Saleh and other towns and cities in the empire, accelerating the process of Islamization. Although Ghana's kings maintained their own religion, other members of

Miners hack out gold from a shaft near Kouremale on the border of Guinea and Mali. At the time of the Ghana Empire, the shafts were not deep and yielded only a few grams of gold each, so thousands were dug in the goldfields.

the ruling elite in cities and trading posts along the trans-Saharan trade routes were among the first to convert. They included War Jabi, king of Tekrur, a nation on the Senegal River, west of Ghana, who accepted the new faith in 850 cE. Arabs later dubbed Tekrur the "land of the Black Muslims."

Converting to Islam, whether for spiritual or economic reasons, no doubt improved relationships with traders in the Muslim centers of Fez, Tripoli, Cairo, and elsewhere. While Ghana's rulers practiced their traditional African religion, they also recognized the importance of maintaining close links with the Islamic world. They accepted Muslim merchants, and enlisted the assistance of Muslim interpreters, scribes (who wrote in Arabic script), and administrators to help manage the empire.



Akan gold, mined during the Ghana Empire and still mined today, has produced exquisite pieces such as this 19th-century Asante pendant, but no goldwork from the empire has survived.



Educated Muslims were appointed to top government positions, serving as officials to supervise trade and taxation. As these men gained and exerted ever more influence, Islam's presence in the region grew. By the mid-11th century, according to al-Bakri, at least 12 mosques had been built in the northern Muslim section of Koumbi Saleh, which now had a significant Muslim population.

Tensions between the two cultures were increasing, however, due to commercial rivalries and religious differences. The Muslims disapproved of the freedoms Ghana's women enjoyed. Women controlled the markets, influencing the economy through the pricing and distribution of products, and generally enjoyed a higher social, economic, and political status than women elsewhere Muslim scholar Ibn Battuta later observed critically that West African women dressed freely and spoke to unrelated males without covering their faces, as was required of Muslim women.

Decline of the empire

In 1054, the Almoravids, a devout Muslim alliance of Berber tribes, seized Sijilmasa, a northern center on the trans-Saharan trade route, and then Audaghost in the north of the Ghana Empire. Over the next few decades, prolonged drought affected the land's fertility, and conflicts in and around the empire began to disrupt its trade as merchants feared for their safety when traveling. Some sources claim that Almoravid leader Abu Bakr ibn Umar sacked Koumbi Saleh in 1076. Whether this occurred is unclear, but the empire's power was steadily weakening.

Over the next 150 years, Ghana's subject states broke away and the trans-Saharan trade routes moved eastward to avoid the political chaos. Both events fueled the rise of the Mali Empire, which would be Ghana's successor.

Four times Wagadu rose. A great city, gleaming in the light of day. Four times Wagadu fell. And disappeared from human sight. from the Soninke epic The Dausi



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION
Egypt

BEFORE

1st century ce Christianity reaches Egypt. Alexandria becomes a leading center of the new religion, together with Antioch in Syria.

619 The Sassanian Empire occupies Egypt. Ten years later, an alliance with Emperor Heraclius returns Egypt to the Byzantine Empire.

AFTER

655 Muslim forces win the Battle of the Masts against the Byzantine navy to gain control of the Mediterranean Sea.

970 The Fatimid caliphate founds al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo, which becomes a major center of Islamic learning.

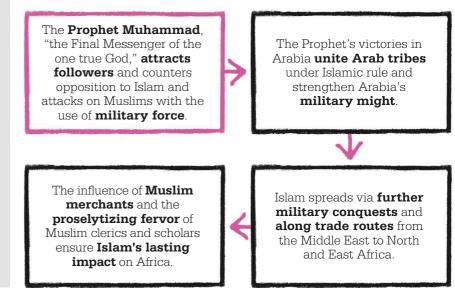
1154 Christian crusaders capture the Egyptian fortress of Ascalon on Palestine's coast. Its fall is the first serious threat to Muslim Egypt.

WE HAVE CONQUERED ALEXANDRIA THE MUSLIM CONQUEST OF EGYPT (639–642 CE)

round 610 cE, the Prophet Muhammad began to receive divine revelations, inspiring him to proclaim and preach Islam, a new monotheistic religion centered on one true God. He called on the people of Mecca (in present-day Saudi Arabia) to give up polytheistic worship, warning of divine retribution for those who refused. This angered members of the ruling Quraysh tribe, whose religious and political power revolved around their control of polytheistic shrines. They tortured and even martyred some of his followers, especially those of low social rank. Others fled. In the first migration of 615, some 80 Muslims crossed the Red Sea to East Africa to seek asylum in the Christian kingdom of Aksum in northern Ethiopia.

On the frontiers of Islam

When Muslims next arrived in Africa in 639, they came as an army to challenge the Byzantine Empire's control of Egypt, a wealthy



See also: The trading empire of Aksum 44–47 = Ghana converts to Islam 78–79 = The Kanem Empire 80–81 = The Mali Empire 86–91 = The Great Mosque is founded at Djenné 92 = The sultanate of Ifat 93



trading nation, rich in natural resources. The strategic objective of the invasion was to shore up earlier victories against Byzantine forces in Syria by curtailing any Byzantine retaliation from Egypt.

Muhammad was a gifted soldier and strategist, who combined warfare with proselytizing to win converts to Islam. By his death in 632, he and his followers had conquered Mecca, and Islam had spread throughout the tribes of the Arabian peninsula. In 634, when Umar ibn al-Khattab succeeded Abu Bakr as caliph (Islam's supreme political and religious leader), the Arab tribes were united under Islamic leadership.

A Muslim base in Africa

Amr ibn al-As, a successful general, led the invasion of Egypt. His small 4,000-strong army first occupied Farama (Pelusium), the first port on the Nile Delta, and moved inland as reinforcements of some 12,000 men arrived. In 641, the Muslims defeated Byzantine forces at Heliopolis (north of modern Cairo), then overwhelmed the great fortress known as Babylon, just south of modern Cairo. The Arab army then marched on Alexandria on the Mediterranean coast. The Byzantine surrender in 642 left the entire country of Egypt in Muslim hands.

Amr retained control of the lands he had conquered, becoming emir (governor) of Egypt. He adopted much of the structure of Byzantine

Amr ibn al-As surrounded them in the fortress, which is called Babylon, for some time and he fought them intensely day and night.

> Ibn Abd al-Hakam Arab historian (803–891)

The first-ever mosque in Africa was the Mosque of Amr ibn al-As, named for Egypt's Muslim conqueror. Built in 642 in the center of Fustat, it has since been extensively reconstructed.

administration, streamlining some parts and leaving others intact. He established a new city—Fustat (now part of Old Cairo)—which became the first capital of Egypt under Muslim control, and several garrison towns, but there was no large-scale Arab settlement outside Fustat.

Muslim victories in North Africa from 647 to 709 and the expansion of trade across the Sahara fueled the spread of Islam. The Saharan Berbers and Sudanese merchants were early converts who, together with Muslim clerics and scholars, promoted the faith. In West Africa, the first ruler to convert was the king of Tekrur in 850, and others followed. In later centuries, empires rose and fell, and European powers colonized the continent, but Islam persisted and is still the dominant religion of the northern half of Africa.



THE ENDLESS JOURNEY THE TRANS-SAHARAN SLAVE TRADE (652 CE)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATIONS Africa, Middle East

BEFORE

c.430 BCE The Garamantes, a nomadic North African people, capture and enslave Ethiopian people to sell to the Romans.

639 CE Arab armies enter Egypt and seize control from the Byzantines by 642 CE.

AFTER

1250 Enslaved soldiers overthrow the last Ayyubid sultan in Egypt, and found the Mamluk sultanate.

1444 The first enslaved people brought to Portugal are shipped from Mauritania, West Africa.

1909 Slavery is abolished in East Africa.

1962 Saudi Arabia and Yemen outlaw slavery.

2010 Reports emerge of hundreds of enslaved people in remote parts of northwestern Yemen.

lavery had been an important part of Arabian society long before Islam emerged in the 7th century CE. When Arabs, who had been enslavers, became Muslims, they continued the inherited tradition. Following the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 CE, the Islamic Empire expanded rapidly. Under Islamic law, Muslims were not permitted to enslave other Muslims (although in reality they sometimes did), and so initially enslaved people were acquired in wars waged on the Empire's frontiers. The 652 cE Treaty of Bagt,

negotiated between the Arabs in Egypt and a neighboring Nubian kingdom, required the Nubians to provide 300 enslaved people per year, and marks the beginning of the trans-Saharan slave trade.

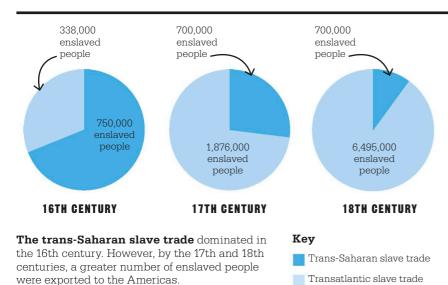
African societies had long had their own slave trade, driven by the demands for labor, and enslaved people were a key commodity. As Islamic influence extended across North Africa, traveling Muslim merchants began to buy enslaved people on a commercial frontier that ran along the southern edge of the Sahara, from Borno on the west

Slavery in the Muslim world

Muslim merchants who bought enslaved people from Africa took them to one of the many markets in the central provinces of the Islamic Empire to be resold.

Unlike the transatlantic trade, eastern demand was greatest for women and children. A Muslim man could take no more than four wives, but he could have as many concubines as he wished.

Boys were trained for the military or for domestic service, and the most promising could advance through the ranks. Eunuchs were widely used in administration and to oversee harems, and the price for eunuchs was high, so boys also faced castration—nine out of ten boys died due to unsuccessful operations. The children of enslaved people were assimilated into Muslim society and replaced by new imports. If they proved their loyalty, they could be assigned official positions. They were able to marry the free-born and were not constrained by their ancestry. **See also:** The Muslim conquest of Egypt 58-59 = The birth of the Atlantic slave trade 116-121 = Abolitionism in the Americas 172-79 = The Zanzibar slave trade 204-205 = The African diaspora today 314-315



coast to the Red Sea and to Mali on the East African coast of the Indian Ocean. They bought enslaved people in exchange for foreign goods that usually gave them the upper hand in local markets.

Though evidence is scant, it is thought that in nearly 1,000 years (650 cE-1600) almost 5 million enslaved people crossed the Sahara, in a steady flow of about 5,000 per year. The journey was so long and water so scarce that three out of four enslaved people died en route.

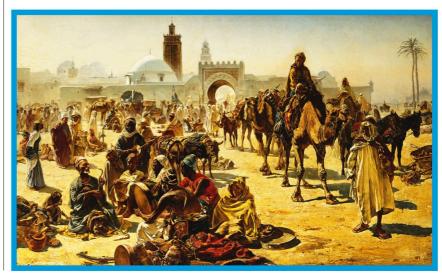
Transatlantic slave trade

Europeans began to ship enslaved people out of West Africa in the late 15th century. Initially, the eastern trade continued to dominate. Just over one million enslaved people left Africa in the 16th century: around three quarters were taken across the Sahara to Arabia, and the rest across the Atlantic to the Caribbean and the Americas.

As transatlantic exports shot up in the 17th and 18th centuries, eastern exports shrank as a proportion of total trade. In the 17th century, around 700,000 enslaved people were traded along trans-Saharan routes. Meanwhile almost 2 million enslaved people were shipped across the Atlantic, mostly from West Africa to the Americas. In the 18th century, more than fourfifths of African enslaved people were taken to the Caribbean and the Americas, up from a quarter in the 16th century. While the trans-Saharan trade remained static from the 17th to the 18th century, the transatlantic trade leapt by more than 4 million people.

When abolitionists campaigned to end the transatlantic slave trade in the 19th century, eastern trade rose to its highest ever level, with 1.2 million enslaved people being trafficked via trans-Saharan routes. To satisfy changes in the external demand, the geographical focus shifted. By the 1890s, political pressure finally succeeded in stifling the eastern trade, too. But the collapse of the external slave trade bolstered internal markets, where the flourishing trade in goods such as ivory and gold, and a shift to agricultural exports, maintained the demand for enslaved people to work the land and transport goods across Africa almost until World War I.

An Arab slave market (1888), by Hungarian artist Ferencz Franz Eisenhut. Such "Orientalist" art distorted Arab culture, portraying it as exotic and primitive compared to Western society.





THE PEOPLE OF THE COAST THE RISE OF SWAHILI CITY-STATES (c. 700–1500 ce)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION East Africa

BEFORE

40–70 BCE A Greco-Roman merchant describes East African ships in *The Periplus* of the Erythraean Sea.

c. 100 ce The Haya people smelt iron in East Africa.

c.600 ce Coastal communities built on agriculture, fishing, and ironwork begin to trade across the Indian Ocean.

AFTER

1498 Vasco da Gama's route from Portugal to India leads to Portuguese invasion of the East Africa coast.

1698 Omani Arabs take control of the Swahili coast.

1828–1886 The ruling sultans of Zanzibar trade enslaved people and ivory.

1884–1919 The coast is colonized during the European "scramble for Africa."

or millennia, seafarers have made use of predictable monsoon winds to take their ships across the Indian Ocean. The earliest expeditions paved the way for trade, which in the 8th century cE began to flourish between Africa's east coast towns and villages and Arabia and Asia.

Remnants of around 400 settlements that eventually became known as the Swahili City-States are scattered along 2,000 miles (3,219km) of coastline from Somalia to Mozambique. These included Pate and Gedi on the Kenyan coast, Mogadishu on the Somali coast, and the islands of Zanzibar and Kilwa off the Tanzanian coast.

The early inhabitants of these communities were farmers and fishermen, descended from the Bantu speakers of West Africa who are thought to have migrated across the continent over a period of 1,000 years beginning in 1000 BCE. Over time,

The Great Mosque in Kilwa, with coral and limestone concrete domes and octagonal columns, is the largest surviving temple on the coast. It was founded in the 10th or 11th century.



See also: The Bantu migrations 32–33 • The Romans reach Africa 38–39 • The gold trade in Mozambique 108–109 • The Zanzibar slave trade 204–205 • The construction of the Suez Canal 215 • The scramble for Africa 222–23



Kilwa is one of the most beautiful and well-constructed cities in the world.

Ibn Battuta Travels in Asia and Africa, 1353



they began to trade with the inland city of Great Zimbabwe, to bring the bounty of the Great Lakes region in East Africa's Great Rift Valley to the coast for export. Gold, copper, ivory, salt, and raw steel for weaponry were shipped to Oman, India, China, and Cambodia.

The monsoon wind changed direction every six months, which meant that traders had to spend months in overseas towns waiting for the wind to carry them home. These extended periods of cultural and religious exchange contributed to a hybrid Swahili culture with a largely Muslim faith. From the 9th century ce, settlers arrived from Arabia and the Persian Gulf.

Rise of the stone towns

The Kilwa sultanate is thought to have been founded in the 11th century by Ali ibn al-Hassan Shirazi, an African with Persian family roots. During the medieval period, the "stone towns," as they became known, reached their peak. Trade paid for magnificent houses and mosques built of coral stone blocks quarried from the seabed in an architectural fusion of African and Eastern influences. Grander homes had up to five stories with rooms for entertaining, bedrooms, bathrooms, and indoor latrines.

Ibn Battuta, a Berber-Moroccan scholar and explorer, visited Kilwa in 1331 and named the region with an Arabic word *Sawahil* or "people of the coast"—the origin of the word *Swahili*. In the late 19th century, archaeologists surveyed the 13thor 14th-century Husuni Kubwa, the Royal Palace of Kilwa, and noted works for more than 100 rooms.

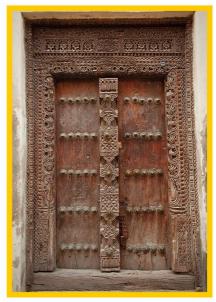
Revealing relics

From the 16th century, Portuguese invasions led to the decline of the Swahili City-States and destroyed much of their architectural heritage. After the Omani seized control, the sultanate of Zanzibar became a trading post for people enslaved to work on spice plantations.

Archaeological excavation of the region is now focused on African foundations that were often ignored by colonialist researchers. These include 13 ancient iron furnaces in Tanzania that would have produced

Swahili poetry

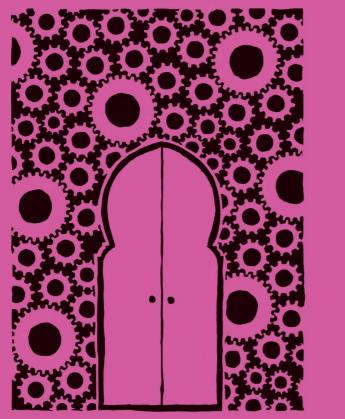
Although many thousands of preserved Swahili manuscripts in Arabic script date from the 17th century, the oral tradition of Swahili poetry is much older. Songs and lullabies that are still part of the culture are drawn from Swahili epic poems or *tendi*, which were often 5,000 quatrains or more in length and intended to be sung for an audience. One of the most popular is *The Epic of Liyongo*, a 232-stanza poem about Fumo Liyongo, a heroic figure whose the finest steel available anywhere in the world. Swahili coins minted in the 12th century have been discovered in northern Australia, suggesting that Swahili sailors visited these lands long before Captain Cook's arrival in 1770.



Double doors in the stone towns had elaborate brass bosses and exquisitely carved wooden frames.

struggles to realize his birthright are embedded in Swahili culture, Swahili literature expert Dr. Kenneth Simala proposes that the real Fumo Liyongo was a Swahili leader, living between the 9th and 13th centuries, who was a warrior and poet and the author of his own epic. Simala regards the poem's heroic deeds and events as a reflection of the turbulence of the eastern coast's history, and interprets them as a message from the past that marks the birth of pan-Swahili identity.

MASTERS OF EVERY ART AND INDUSTRY THE MOORS IN AL-ANDALUS (711 GE)



IN CONTEXT

LOCATIONS Spain, Portugal

BEFORE

415 ce The Iberian Peninsula is settled by Visigoths, Germanic Christians.

632 The Prophet Muhammad dies in Arabia. Islam, the religion he founded, spreads.

634 The Islamic Empire expands into North Africa.

AFTER

1492 After the Christian Reconquest of Iberia, Spain embarks on a long period of overseas expansion. Christopher Columbus lands in America, on a voyage funded by the Spanish Crown.

1609 A royal decree expels descendants of *Moriscos*— Muslims who had converted to Christianity—from Spain.

n the spring of 711 cE, Tariq ibn Ziyad, Governor of Tangier, in Morocco, sailed a fleet across the straits between North Africa and Hispania, the Roman name for the Iberian Peninsula. Tariq was accompanied by a large army of African soldiers under the banner of the powerful Umayyad Caliphate, the Islamic empire seated in Damascus. The distinctive rocky outcrop where the fleet landed would come to be known as Tariq's Mountain, or Jabal Tarig—today's Gibraltar. This marked the start of Moorish rule in Iberia (Spain and Portugal).

Tariq's army quickly defeated and killed King Roderic, the Visigoth ruler, and exploited the **See also:** The Muslim conquest of Egypt 58–59 • Ghana converts to Islam 78–79 • Blackamoors in Tudor England 104–107

resulting power vacuum. Over the next decade, Moorish armies from North Africa completed the conquest of Hispania. In generations to come, the province of Al-Andalus would become the western jewel of the Islamic world, the center of a sophisticated culture.

Different factions

The word "Moor" comes from Mauri, the Roman name for the inhabitants of the Berber kingdom of Mauretania (Morocco and Algeria). By the time of the conquest of Iberia, the term referred to a loose ethnic group of North Africans. Some descended from the Berbers—the Indigenous peoples of the Maghreb (North Africa)—and some from the Arabs who had arrived during the Umayyad expansion from Syria.

The horseshoe arches of the Great Mosque of Córdoba are typical of Mozarabic architecture—a style developed by Christian architects who assimilated Moorish influences. By the time the Umayyad Caliphate fell in the east in 750, Al-Andalus was in the grip of feuding Arab and Berber factions. When a young prince called Abd al-Rahman, who had fled from Damascus before its fall, arrived in Al-Andalus in 755, he was welcomed by many and quickly took control. The fact that he was half Berber made him a uniting force in multicultural Moorish Iberia. He and his successors consolidated Al-Andalus into the prosperous and cosmopolitan emirate (later caliphate) of Córdoba.

Intellectual capital

Al-Andalus reached its zenith in the 10th century. It was known for its open culture where Christians and Jews could each practice their religion. Non-Muslims were not seen as completely equal to Muslims, and had to pay a special tax, but many prospered and made significant cultural contributions. Córdoba became renowned as the intellectual capital of Europe, »





Tariq ibn Ziyad

Little is known about Tariq ibn Ziyad, the general who led the Muslim conquest of Spain, but historians think he was of Berber origin. Before becoming a soldier, he had been a trusted advisor (and possibly enslaved before that) to Musa ibn Nusayr, Umayyad governor of North Africa. Ibn Nusavr made Ibn Zivad governor of Tangier, and tasked him with leading the Muslim conquest of Iberia, a few miles across the narrow straits. in 711.

Tariq and his largely Berber army of 7,000 men were welcomed by some communities in Iberia, such as Jews who had been persecuted by the Visigoths, and they quickly swept north, taking Toledo, the bastion of the Visigoth king Roderic, near modern Madrid, in the same year they set sail. Tariq succeeded in holding power until large Arab armies arrived the following year to consolidate Umayyad rule.

In 714, the caliph ordered Ibn Ziyad and Ibn Nusayr to Damascus. Ibn Ziyad died there in 720, never returning to Iberia or North Africa.

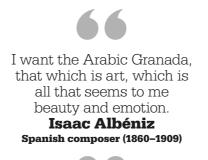
66 THE MOORS IN AL-ANDALUS

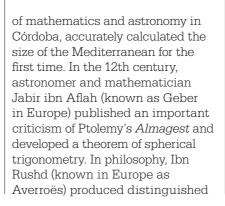
attracting the best minds of the day, whether they were Muslims, Jews, or Christians. In the 10th century, Caliph Al-Hakim II built the most extensive library in the world, reputedly containing some 400,000 volumes. He invited scholars from Egypt and Baghdad, the brilliant capital of the Abbasid Caliphate that was experiencing its own golden age, to study in Córdoba, paying them out of his own treasury.

The exchange of knowledge and ideas in the city led to significant advances in science, astronomy, and mathematics. The 10th-century surgeon Abu Al-Qasim Al-Zahrawi, for example, produced medical textbooks that were still being used in 17th-century London, while his contemporary Maslama Al-Majriti, who established a school

Abu Abdallah Muhammad XII

surrenders the keys of Granada to the Catholic rulers of Aragon and Castile in 1492. After the fall of the emirate, he left Spain for Morocco.





summaries and commentaries on the works of Aristotle and Plato's *Republic*, and produced his own treatises on the philosophical study of religion.

Stability fractures

In the 11th century, a power struggle between the caliph and members of his court led to a period of civil war. known as the fitna, lasting from 1009 to 1032. Al-Andalus splintered into a set of warring fiefdoms and city-states called taifas, which became pawns in the struggle for dominance between Christendom to the north and Muslim empires in Morocco. Christian states capitalized on the decentralization by launching targeted attacks to reclaim the Iberian Peninsula, while both the Almoravids and the Almohads Berber dynasties that had swept to power in Morocco, annexed taifas in attempts to shore up Al-Andalus.

Christian powers had tried to drive the Moors out of the Iberian Peninsula for almost as long as the



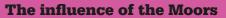
Moors had ruled over Iberian territory. The *Reconquista* (Reconquest) was bloody and long, an 800-year struggle that ebbed and flowed. By the 13th century the tide was unstoppable—Córdoba fell to Christian forces in 1236, followed by Seville in 1248.

The emirate of Granada was the only Moorish jurisdiction left on the peninsula. For the next 250 years, Granada's Nasrid dynasty kept both the Christians and the powerful Moroccan dynasties at bay by alternately switching their alliance between the two. The policy was sufficiently successful to enable Granada to thrive. Like Córdoba in the 10th century, it became a hub of learning, centering on the Alhambra palace.

Fate and legacy

By the late 15th century, Moorish rule in Granada could hold out no longer. Appeals for military assistance from Morocco, by then in a weakened state itself, failed. In January 1492, Oueen Isabella of Castile and King Ferdinand of Aragon, whose marriage and joint rule had united the Christian territory of Spain, accepted Granada's surrender by Abu Abdallah Muhammad XII (known in Europe as Boabdil). This marked

> These are the keys to paradise. Abu Abdallah Muhammad XII on the surrender of Granada



The Moors left an enduring legacy on the culture of the Iberian Peninsula, while their learning and inventions made a significant contribution to the wider world.



Medicine Physicians introduce inhaled anesthesia, antiseptics, and catgut sutures.

The introduction of the

five-stringed oud (lute)

of traditional guitar-

such as flamenco.

based Spanish music

leads to the development

Music



Math and science Astronomers improve the calculation of time and invent the *azafea*, a type of astrolabe.



Food Oranges, lemons, saffron, rice, and spices such as coriander and cumin are incorporated into Spanish cuisine.



Philosophy Translations of Greek texts and commentaries on Aristotle inform European philosophy.



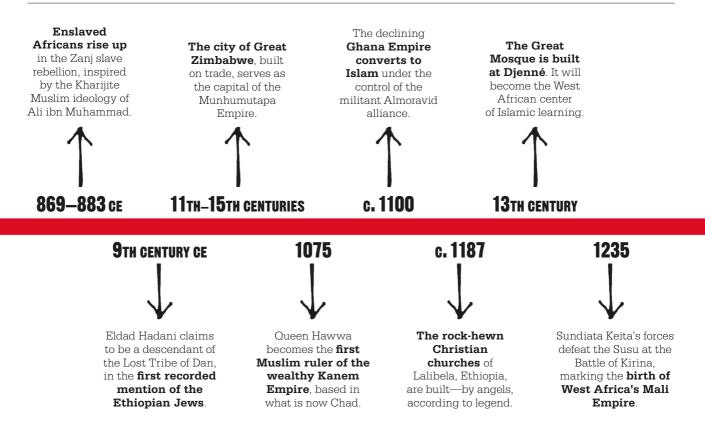
Inventions These include the metronome, weight- and waterdriven mechanical clocks, and a polar-axis sundial.

the end of Islamic rule on the Iberian Peninsula, and set the scene for Spain's Golden Age as one of the largest empires in history.

After the Reconquest, Moors in Spain were forced to convert to Christianity, emigrate, or face execution. Many of them, whose families had populated the region for close to 800 years, stayed in Spain, even though their language and customs represented an affront to the Catholic kingdom. Muslims and Jews who practiced their faith in secret faced the Inquisition, a judicial body set up to stamp out heresy. The inquisitors used torture to extract confessions; punishments included burning at the stake. Attempts to expunge Moorish culture from the peninsula were not wholly successful. Spanish and Portuguese contain many Arabic words, and some of Spain's finest monuments, such as Granada's Alhambra and Seville's Alcázar. are of Moorish origin. Córdoba's Great Mosque, commissioned in 785 by Abd Al Rahman I on the site of a Visigoth church and possibly a Roman temple, has functioned as a Christian cathedral since the Spanish conquest of Córdoba, yet it remains a magnificent monument of the Moorish period and is now a World Heritage Site.

800 - 1510





edieval Africa saw the rise and fall of some of the continent's most famous empires—some Islamic, some Christian, and some adhering to Indigenous religions. West Africa's Ghana, Mali, and Songhai empires all rose to prominence in this period, as did Zimbabwe's Munhumutapa Empire.

The cultural and architectural achievements of these empires have secured their place in world history. Mali's Mansa Musa, for example, hired an architect to design the Madagou Palace, the Gao Mosque, and the Djinguereber Mosque in Timbuktu, the Mali Empire's largest city. In 1491, Askia Muhammad took over the Songhai Empire and developed Timbuktu into a center of learning and Islamic culture. Oba Ewuare, a 13th-century ruler of the Benin Empire, built a palace with famed bronze plaques telling the stories of his kingdom.

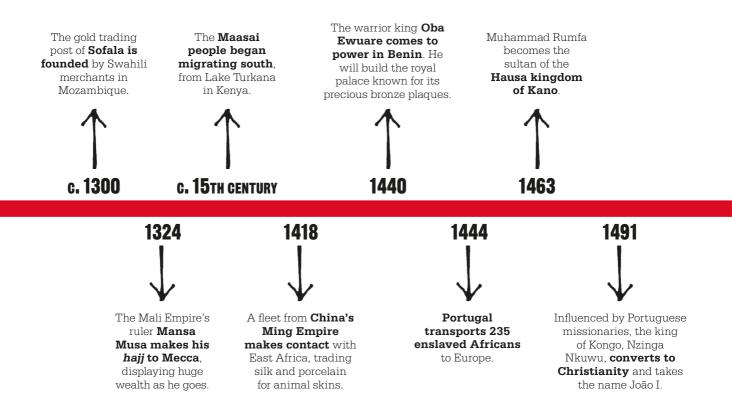
From Ghana to Mali

One of the greatest—and most lasting—empires of the period was the Mali Empire. Its predecessor, the Ghana Empire, began to decline in power in the late 11th century following the arrival of the Almoravids, a militant Islamic group. Ghana converted to Islam around 1100, but over the next century suffered from drought and internal strife. The empire was finally brought to its knees in 1203, when its capital was captured by the Susu people. By 1230, the Susu had extended their control over the region, but this proved to be short-lived.

The Mali Empire came to power in the mid-13th century, after its first ruler, Sundiata Keita, routed the Susu at the Battle of Kirina in 1235. Ruled from its capital at Niani, the Mali Empire expanded to gain control of the same trade routes once dominated by the Ghana Empire, and amassed extreme wealth from the lands it conquered.

Major religions

At its peak in the 1330s, the Mali Empire encompassed around 20 million people. During this golden age, Mali became a shining beacon of Islam in Africa, with many great Islamic scholars of the period and descendants of the Prophet Muhammad following Mali ruler Mansa Musa back to West Africa after he had completed his famous pilgrimage to Mecca.



Islam, which was introduced in Africa in 639 ce, continued to take hold throughout the continent. The Zanj slave rebellion of 869-883 CE, which saw the revolt of enslaved people taken from Africa to what is now Iraq, was inspired by Islamic ideology. Chad's Kanem Empire converted to Islam in 1075, and the king of Djenné, a kingdom on the Niger Delta, converted in the 13th century. Many of Africa's most impressive mosques date from the medieval period, including the Mali Empire's Great Mosque of Djenné and the Djinguereber Mosque, as well as the Ghana Empire's Larabanga Mosque.

Islam was not the only religion spreading through Africa. Christian churches were also established in this period, most notably the spectacular churches of Ethiopia. Elsewhere in Ethiopia, a small but resilient community of Ethiopian Jews also flourished, despite ongoing persecution by Ethiopia's Christian rulers.

Christianity's spread in the late medieval period was partly a result of increasing contact between Africa and Europe. The Portuguese Age of Exploration brought traders to Africa from the 1440s, and Portuguese missionaries led to the conversion of the king of Kongo at the end of that century.

Global connections

The medieval period was a time in which international trade flourished, and new connections between disparate nations were made. This was certainly the case in East Africa in the 15th century, when a fleet from Ming China arrived in the ports of Mogadishu, Brava, and Malindi to trade and establish diplomatic relations.

As a result of both trade and conquest, Black people moved to other continents by the late medieval period. While the trade across the Sahara had brought enslaved Africans to Asia, there were also free Black people living outside Africa. The Moorish conquest of Al-Andalus had brought North African people to Spain, but "Blackamoors" also began to appear in English and other European records. These people traveled on trading ships from West and North Africa, or via Spain, to settle in European cities. They found paid work, were baptized, and started families, founding generations of Europeans with African heritage.



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Iraq

BEFORE

689 cE Early enslaved Zanj revolt but are crushed by forces of the Umayyad caliphate. A second revolt fails in 694.

750 The Abbasid caliphate overthrows the Umayyad caliphate, ushering in a new Islamic golden age.

861 The assassination of the Abbasid caliph Mutawakkil prompts a period of political and social instability.

AFTER

1258 The Mongol siege of Baghdad, Iraq, leads to the fall of the Abbasid caliphate.

1600 The establishment of the British East India Company results in increased trade in enslaved East Africans.

1962 Saudi Arabia and Yemen finally abolish slavery under pressure from Britain.

THE ZANJ CALLED ONE ANOTHER TO ARMS THE ZANJ SLAVE REBELLION (869–883 CE)

or more than two centuries, as they penetrated further into Africa, Muslim Arab traders exchanged goods for native peoples enslaved by African traders. In the 9th century cE, thousands of mainly Bantu-speaking East Africans, whom the Arabs called "Zanj," were transported to southern Iraq, which was part of the Muslim empire ruled by the Abbasid caliphate. The land around the

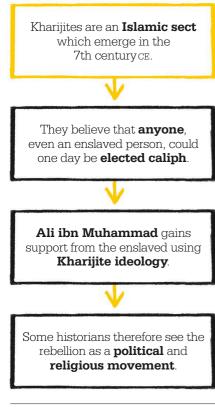
The marshlands of southern Iraq were difficult to navigate and easily defended. Proudly independent Marsh Arabs later built reed homes here until driven out by Saddam Hussein, who drained the marshes in 1990. Tigris and Euphrates Rivers was highly fertile, but floods made much of it impossible to cultivate. Local Muslim magnates sought to reclaim such areas for agriculture, which would then entitle them to own the land. They forced the Zanj to perform the back-breaking labor required—digging ditches, draining marshland, and scraping salt flats.

Resentment and uprising

Underfed and living in overcrowded camps, many of the Zanj fell ill and died. Survivors developed a fierce community spirit and a resentment toward their Muslim enslavers. In 869 CE, Ali ibn Muhammad, a Persian scholar, won their support



See also: The Muslim conquest of Egypt 58-59 = The trans-Saharan slave trade 60-61 = The rise of Swahili city-states 62-63 = The slave rebellion in Hispaniola 130-131 = The Zanzibar slave trade 204-205



by recognizing their hardship and promising them freedom and wealth if they joined his rebellion.

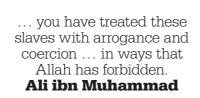
Ibn Muhammad had fled to Basra, a prosperous port in southern Iraq, after leading a failed revolt in what is now Bahrain, in eastern Arabia. He espoused the beliefs of Kharijism, an early Muslim sect, which taught that enslaved people could, through merit and piety, escape hardship and even become caliphs. Inspired by this message, the Zanj rallied around him.

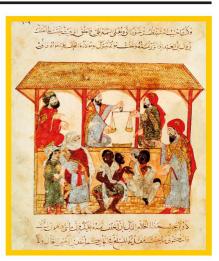
The rebellion, also supported by disaffected groups such as local peasants and Bedouin peoples, quickly spread across southern Iraq, coinciding with a time of unrest and instability in the Abbasid Empire. Imperial armies were sent but failed to put down the rebels, who raided towns and villages and then disappeared back into the hidden channels and overgrown reeds of the marshes. Other enslaved Africans who were part of the imperial forces defected and joined the Zanj.

By 870, the rebels had created their own fortified city, called al-Mukhtar, in a dry area of the salt flats that was surrounded by canals. There, they built houses, palaces, a prison, and markets, and even minted their own currency. Now in control of southern Iraq, they took Basra in 871 and exacted their revenge on the city's inhabitants, massacring many, and enslaving some. While the caliph's armies were fighting in Persia, the Zanj extended their control further north, coming within 70 miles (115 km) of Baghdad, and then pushed east into Khuzistan, an area just north of the Persian Gulf

The empire fights back

In 879, al-Muwaffaq, a brother of the caliph al-Mutamid, returned to lead the imperial army after having fought in Persia, and launched a



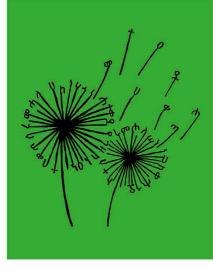


Enslaved Africans are traded for gold in a Muslim market in an illustration from *al-Maqamat*, written around 1100 by the Basra poet al-Hariri. Enslaved Africans worked in homes or on the land.

major offensive against the Zanj first taking the second Zanj city, al-Maniah, then expelling the rebels from Khuzistan.

In the spring of 881, al-Muwaffaq built his own city on the Tigris River, opposite al-Mukhtar. He cleared the waterways for navigation, set up a blockade, and laid siege to the Zanj capital. Al-Muwaffaq promised money and freedom to rebels who surrendered, and many accepted his offer. For three years, however, the Zanj capital held out.

Finally, in 883, al-Muwaffaq led an army of around 50,000 against the Zanj, and al-Mukhtar fell. Ibn Muhammad was captured and his head was taken to the caliph. The brutal revolt was over, but it had disrupted the region and weakened the caliphate. The rebellion's successes and the fear of similar uprisings led to the cessation of large-scale plantation slavery in much of the Abbasid Empire.



THE DAUGHTERS OF MY DISPERSED ONES THE ETHIOPIAN JEWS (9TH CENTURY CE)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATIONS Ethiopia, Israel

BEFORE

722 BCE The Northern Kingdom of Israel falls to the Assyrians. In Jewish legend, ten tribes are lost, including the Danites.

c.330 ce Christianity becomes the official religion of Ethiopia under King Ezana.

AFTER

14th century The epic Kebra Nagast (Glory of the Kings), written in Ge'ez, relays the legend of Ethiopian founder Menelik I as son of Solomon, King of Judea, and Makeda, Queen of Sheba (Saba).

1904 Polish-born French Jew Jacques Faitlovitch founds pro-Falasha groups to help connect the Ethiopian Jews with the global Jewry.

1984 Some 6,500 Ethiopian Jews are airlifted from Sudan to Israel in "Operation Moses."

he Beta Israel ("House of Israel"), now known as the Ethiopian Jews. first appeared in written records in the 9th century CE, with Eldad Hadani, a traveling merchant. He claimed to be from a Jewish African sect descended from the Danites, one of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. According to Eldad, his distant ancestors left Israel, crossed through Egypt, and settled in Ethiopia. Historians today have suggested several other theories to explain the Ethiopian Jews, while some Ethiopians believe that the Beta Israel are descendants of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba

Isolation and recognition

For centuries, Ethiopian Jews were isolated from the global community. They only knew the older books of the Old Testament, but in contrast with Hebrew scrolls, their Torah called the *Orit*—was written in books, in the Ethiopian holy language of Ge'ez, which Ethiopian Christians also used. Known by the derogatory name *Falashas*

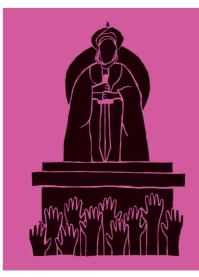


Ethiopian Jewish women pray on a hill overlooking Jerusalem for Sigd, a holiday commemorating the giving of the Torah. It is traditional to celebrate this event by climbing to a high peak.

("outsiders"), Jews were persecuted by Christian rulers of Ethiopia and targeted by missionaries in the 19th-century "scramble for Africa."

From the mid-19th century with their faith under threat and later in the face of severe famines many Ethiopian Jews tried to make the journey to Israel. Their plight was finally recognized in the 20th century, and in 1975, Ethiopian Jews migrating to Israel were granted immigration rights under the Israeli Law of Return. Around 130,000 live in Israel today. ■

See also: The trading empire of Aksum 44–47 • Christianity reaches Africa 48–51 • Ethiopia's rock churches 84–85 • Ethiopia defies colonialism 226–227



LOCATION Niger River, West Africa

BEFORE

639 ce Islam is introduced in Africa as a result of Arab conquests. These conquests bring Arab merchants to African trading hubs.

AFTER

1326 The Malians under Mansa Musa I conquer the Gao Empire.

1464 Sonni Ali ascends to the throne at Gao, now a small kingdom, and founds the Songhai Empire; his many conquests will include Timbuktu and Djenné.

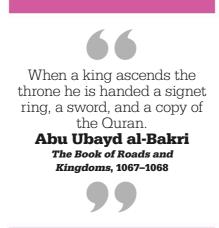
1493 A new dynasty led by Askia Muhammad takes over the Songhai. The Askia dynasty brings the empire to the height of its power.

1591 The Songhai Empire collapses following Moroccan incursions into the major cities of Gao and Timbuktu.

ALTHE KINGDOMS OBEY ITS KING THE ORIGINS OF THE SONGHAI EMPIRE (890 CE)

he first ruling house of the Songhai was established at Kukiya, an island on the Niger River. The Zuwa dynasty ruled here from 690 cE, producing 31 successive monarchs.

Around 890 ce, another powerful Songhai city emerged at Gao, north of Kukiya on the Niger's west bank. Gao was a political and commercial powerhouse. The 10th-century Arab writer al-Muhallabi wrote that the king ("Kanda") of Gao had two



towns: a town for him and his associates, and a market town. The latter attracted merchant caravans from Morocco, Tunis, Kanem (a Central African kingdom located around Lake Chad), and Egypt.

Uniting kingdoms

The 15th ruler of Kukiya, Zuwa Kusoy, was also the first Muslim king of the dynasty. Kusoy moved his capital to Gao in the early 11th century. For reasons unknown, Kusoy and the Kanda of Gao joined their two kingdoms, thereby creating the Gao Empire, which was a precursor to the powerful Songhai Empire of the 15th and 16th centuries.

Historians do not know the exact geographical boundaries of the Gao Empire, but some claim that its territory spanned around 1,000 miles (1,600 km) from end to end. Seven other kingdoms pledged their allegiance to the empire, and fell under its control. The Gao Empire prospered for around 300 years before it was defeated by the Mali ruler Mansa Musa in 1326.

See also: The Ghana Empire 52–57 • The Muslim conquest of Egypt 58–59 • The Kanem Empire 80–81 • The Mali Empire 86–91



LOCATION Southern Africa

BEFORE **300–650 ce** Gokomere and Ziwa cattle herders settle in the region.

c.700 ce Copper and gold are mined in Southern Africa.

c.890 ce The region's earliest known kingdom, Mapungubwe, begins to flourish.

AFTER

c. 1450 The new city of Khami becomes the capital of a breakaway Torwa dynasty.

1629 The Portuguese force the Mutapa ruler to sign a vassal treaty.

1871 Geologist Karl Mauch plunders Great Zimbabwe.

1980 After nearly 100 years of British colonization and rule, independent Southern Rhodesia is renamed Zimbabwe.

1986 The city ruins become a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

A UNIQUE AFRICAN AFRICAN CIVILIZATION THE CITY OF GREAT ZIMBABWE (11TH-15TH CENTURIES)

ne of the most significant ruins in sub-Saharan Africa is a hill-top fortress of stone, overlooking an enclosure that, in medieval times, housed as many people as the city of London. From the 11th to 15th centuries, Great Zimbabwe—its name derived from the Bantu *zimba we bahwe* (houses of stone)—was the beating heart of the vast Munhumutapa Empire, the territories that make up modern-day Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, and South Africa. The empire established its hegemony

This was the civilization that represented the highest achievement of the Bantu-speaking people in this part of Africa.

Stan Mudenge Zimbabwean politician (1941–2012) over the region in the 12th and 13th centuries by placing it under the rule of a *Mutapa*, the regional equivalent of a Caesar.

The inhabitants of the region were Shona people of Bantu origin: cattle herders and farmers who in the dry season mined and panned iron, copper and bronze, and gold, sourced from the rivers to the north. Great Zimbabwe's location on the shortest route between traders on the East Coast and the goldfields contributed to a rise to power built on trade in ivory; metals; and, most importantly, gold. Chinese celadon dishes, glass from the Middle East, painted bowls from Persia, and Arab coins found at the site reveal the city's reach across the Indian Ocean.

In decline as a capital by the mid-15th century, the city was steadily plundered of riches that detailed the Shona way of life, but historians make comparisons with Mapungubwe in the Shashi-Limpopo region, which also flourished through gold trading.

Masonry skill

With massive stone walls up to 22 ft (7 m) thick in places, Great Zimbabwe's hilltop acropolis was the earliest construction, built in

See also: The rise of Swahili city-states 62–63 • Europeans arrive in Africa 94–95 • Changamire Dombo and his army of "Destroyers" 152–153



The sweeping curved walls of

Great Zimbabwe's main enclosure are constructed of cut granite blocks held together without mortar.

the 11th century to house royalty. In the valley, an elliptical Great Enclosure was added in the 14th and 15th centuries, its outer wall 304 yd (278 m) long and 38 yd (20 m) high, encircling the living quarters of up to 18,000 people. Its iconic conical tower may have been built to represent a grain store, a symbol of the ruler's duty to feed his people. Thatched, mud-brick built cottages once covered the 3 sq mile (8 sq km) site, inside and outside the walls.

Visiting the city in 1531, Vicente Pegado, a Portuguese captain stationed at Sofala garrison on the coast, described "a fortress built of stones of marvellous size." It says much about the nature of colonialist archaeology that 19thand early 20th-century excavators attributed these magnificent structures to a much earlier Arab or Phoenician civilization. Cedar pillars at the site were assumed to be imports from Lebanon. More recently, radio-carbon samples have established that most of the city was constructed in medieval times from local materials.

The city's decline

Great Zimbabwe's loss of status may have been brought about by over-farming to feed a large population, and dwindling gold supplies. Centuries of colonization followed before the newly independent Zimbabwe took the old city's name in 1980. An image of one of the soapstone birds found at the site now appears on its flag.

The goldsmiths of Southern Africa

Archaeological evidence points to gold mining in Southern Africa on an astonishing scale. In medieval times, people in the region are believed to have mined 43 million tons of gold ore and produced 700 tons of pure gold.

In a hilltop burial site near the city of Mapungubwe, a similar center of power to Great Zimbabwe, several exquisite gold relics were discovered. Believed to be mere trinkets that survived hundreds of years of looting. they reveal the sophisticated techniques of Southern African goldsmiths, burnishing gold to increase its shine and using hammers to beat gold into thin sheets. These were then used to plate metals such as iron and bronze and cover headrests, furniture, statues, battle axes, and arrowheads.

Craftworkers also made gold ornaments and jewelry, drawing out gold wire to make chain links. The finest gold thread was woven into cloth for elite members of the courts who wore damask, satin, and silk cloths, some decorated with woven gold roses.



This golden rhinoceros, small enough to fit in the palm of a hand, was found with other gold artifacts in royal graves at Mapungubwe. It dates from the 13th century.



WE ARE PEOPLE OF THE DESERT GHANA CONVERTS TO ISLAM (1076–1103)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION West Africa

BEFORE

4th century ce According to oral tradition, the Ghana Empire emerges.

639–709 After the Muslim conquest of Egypt, further Muslim victories in North Africa fuel the spread of Islam.

9th century The Sanhaja Berbers of northwest Africa convert to Islam and begin to expand their territories.

AFTER

1147 The Berber Almohad caliphate conquers Marrakesh, the Almoravid capital, and the Almoravids' power declines.

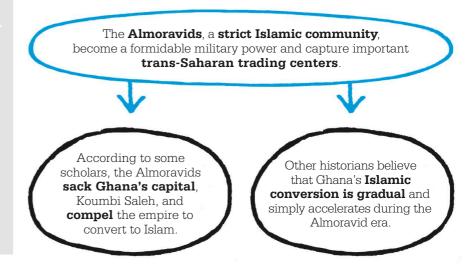
1203 The Susu kingdom, led by Sumanguru, occupies Ghana's capital, Koumbi Saleh.

1240 Sundiata Keita razes Koumbi Saleh and incorporates what is left of Ghana's empire into the Mali Empire. rom the 9th to the early 11th centuries, the Ghana Empire in West Africa was at the height of its power. Its vast wealth stemmed from levies imposed on gold from its southern and western regions. This was traded in the capital Koumbi Saleh and elsewhere for goods, especially salt, carried south by North African caravans.

The trading routes across the Sahara were guided and protected by the Sanhaja tribes, a nomadic Berber confederation that included the Gudala on the Atlantic coast. Between 1035 and 1036, the Gudala chief, Yahya ibn Ibrahim, performed the Hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca) and became convinced that the form of Islam his people practiced was too lax.

A stricter form of Islam

Around 1040, ibn Ibrahim appointed Abdallah ibn Yasin, a zealous Islamic scholar of the Moroccan Jazula tribe, to teach true Islam to the Gudala. They resented the strict Islamic reforms ibn Yasin imposed, and rebelled when ibn Ibrahim died, forcing ibn Yasin to flee with his followers. He formed the Almoravid



See also: The Ghana Empire 52–57 • The Muslim conquest of Egypt 58–59 • The Kanem Empire 80–81
The Mali Empire 86–91 • The Great Mosque is founded at Djenné 92 • The sultanate of Ifat 93

The Larabanga Mosque in modern Ghana, one of the oldest in West Africa, was built of packed earth and timber beams in 1421, and later restored. It is a place of pilgrimage for African Muslims.

alliance with Yahya ibn Umar, chief of the Lamtuna, northwest Africa's most powerful tribe, and together they united the Sanhaja. Inspired by a militant Islamic ideology, the Almoravids soon emerged as a formidable fighting dynasty that conquered Morocco, stormed south across the Sahara, and also occupied southern Spain.

Challenging Ghana

In 1054–1055, the Almoravids seized two key cities on the trans-Saharan trade routes—Sijilmasa in northwest Africa and Audaghost in the north of the Ghana Empire. Around 1056, when Yahya died in battle, his brother Abu Bakr took his place. After securing the northwestern Sahara, he led his forces south and attacked Ghana's subject kingdoms. Some later historical accounts suggest that Abu Bakr sacked



Ghana's capital, Koumbi Saleh, in 1076. Other historians dispute this, and whether it was such violent events that compelled the empire to convert to Islam is uncertain.

Ghana already had a significant Muslim population and the king employed Muslim scribes and administrators. Many of Ghana's merchants had converted to Islam to promote trust in their business dealings with Muslim traders. As the Almoravids gained control of the Saharan trade routes, Ghana adopted the Islamic faith, whether willingly or under duress—an event 12th-century Muslim geographer Mohammed al-Zuhri dates a little later to 1102–1103.

Plagued by drought and local conflicts that disrupted trade in the region and fomented unrest, the Ghana Empire steadily lost its power and prestige. In the mid-13th century, the Mali Empire rose and took its place.



A clay sculpture (c. 1250–1550) from Djenné, Mali, shows a snake rearing up at a squatting, diseased figure and is thought to represent the Bida myth.

The legend of Bida

West African oral tradition uses allegory to relate the story of the Ghana Empire—which in these accounts is named Wagadu—and its demise. The empire, which the 8th-century Persian scholar al-Fazari called "the land of gold," was enormously wealthy. The legend relates that a black snake named Bida supplied the nation's gold and also rain to ensure the land remained fertile. In return, he demanded that Ghana should sacrifice a virgin each year. During the rule of Ghana's seventh king, the beautiful girl chosen to be sacrificed was betrothed, and her intended was determined to rescue her. He slaughtered Bida, who with his dying breath cursed the empire with drought, famine, and poverty. Wagadu's once prosperous and fertile lands became desolate and inhospitable, and its Indigenous Soninke tribes gradually left.

Studies examining the area's geological past have confirmed that the savanna became increasingly arid, which almost certainly contributed to the Ghana Empire's decline.

LOCATION Chad

BEFORE

4th century BCE The So people begin to settle around Lake Chad. By 700 CE, the So civilization is at its height.

c.800 ce Mai Dugu founds the Dugawa dynasty and becomes the first king of Kanem, on the eastern shores of Lake Chad.

AFTER

14th century The Bulala people invade Kanem, forcing the Seifuwa to move to Bornu. The So people who live there are eventually assimilated.

1571 Idris Alooma becomes king of Kanem-Bornu, and the empire peaks during his reign.

19th century The Kanem-Bornu Empire is in decline, and the Seifuwa—Africa's longest dynasty—collapses.

1902 Bornu is partitioned by Britain, France, and Germany.

Control of trans-Saharan trade routes brings wealth and power. The Kanem Empire expands. **Enslaved people** are taken from captured territories and **exchanged for luxuries** such as cloth, jewelry, and horses.

Ideas, as well as goods and

people, travel along trade

routes, and **Islam becomes**

the empire's state religion.

Scholars and merchants from Kanem travel to other parts of the world, helping the spread of Islam.

he Kanem Empire ruled over northeastern Nigeria, northeastern Cameroon, eastern Niger, western Chad, and southern Libya. After adopting Islam as its official religion in the 11th century, the empire came to dominate trade routes across the Sahara, and was influential in the spread of Islam across Africa.

Two dynasties, the Dugawa and the Seifuwa, held sway for most of Kanem's history. The Dugawa ruled from around 800 ce. Their kingdom was modest—the people built huts from corn stalks and lived a nomadic existence. By the 10th century, the kingdom had become wealthier and some permanent settlements had been established, including the cities of Manan and Tarazaki. The buildings in these new cities were made of plastered clay.

The spread of Islam

Most of the Dugawa rulers were "divine kings" (*mai*) who followed a traditional African religion. This began to change when Mai Arku led conquests of the Sahara region in the mid-11th century, seizing control of territory occupied by Arab refugees fleeing political pressures

THE CROSSROADS OF AFRICA, THE CRADLE OF ISLAM THE KANEM EMPIRE (1085)



See also: The Ghana Empire 52–57 • The Muslim conquest of Egypt 58–59 • The trans-Saharan slave trade 60–61 • The beginnings of Benin 82–83 • The Mali Empire 86–91 • Europeans arrive in Africa 94–95



The Seifuwa regained control of **Kanem** in the 16th century, creating a later Kanem-Bornu Empire. Shown here is the royal court, around 1870.

at home. The refugees' religion, Islam, soon made an impression on the royal court. Queen Hawwa, who succeeded Arku in 1067, became Kanem's first Muslim sovereign.

When the Seifuwa dynasty came to power in 1075, its rulers also followed Islam. They made pilgrimages to Mecca, and some studied hundreds of books on Islam. By 1085, the religion was spreading rapidly across Kanem, adopted by rich and poor alike.

By the mid-13th century, Mai Dunama II had built Kanem into a great regional power, with Njimi as its capital. Commanding 30,000 camel-mounted cavalry and a huge infantry, he led a campaign in the desert that resulted in Kanem seizing control of the Fezzan region of southern Libya, which included sought-after Saharan oases, and extending the empire's boundaries

Camel caravans carried gold and kola nuts, as well as enslaved people, to and from the Kanem Empire across the Sahara. Many of these trade routes are still in use today.

The move to Bornu

In the 14th century, the Seifuwa dynasty, weakened by internal battles, came into conflict with the Bulala people, who occupied land to the east of the Kanem Empire, in modern-day Chad. Jil ibn Sikuma, the Bulala king, forced the Seifuwa rulers to move west to Bornu, leaving the Bulala in charge of Kanem.

Rather than risk further defeats at the hands of the Bulala, Ali ibn Dunama, a later Seifuwa ruler, consolidated power in Bornu. In 1484, he established a new capital

to the east and north. Military commanders were put in charge of conquered areas, and defeated peoples were forced to pay tribute to the Kanem rulers, usually in the form of enslaved people.

Trading goods and ideas

Mastery of the trans-Saharan trade routes, along with the spoils of war, built large state revenues. Horses, metalware, and salt came in from Egypt, ivory came from the west, and cotton goods came from the south. The empire was also heavily involved in the lucrative slave trade. Ideas spread along the trade routes,

at Ngazargamu, near the Yobe River, which became home to 250,000 people. Their religious needs were served by four vast mosques, each accommodating 12.000 worshippers at a time. and the city was protected by a towering rampart with five entrances. Trade caravans continued to meet the empire's needs, and the Bornu people exchanged the leather goods and pottery they produced for European-manufactured goods and perfumes. Like Kanem before it, Bornu thrived as a center of Islamic scholarship.

too, and cultural contacts were established with the outside world. Travelers from Kanem established a school in Cairo, Egypt, which was used by pilgrims traveling to and from Mecca. Kanem poet Abu Ishaq Ibrahim Al-Kanemi worked at the royal court in Moorish Spain.

Despite their successes both on and off the battlefield, internal and external conflict eventually forced the Seifuwa rulers to abandon Njimi and form the new kingdom of Bornu, on the western edge of Lake Chad. There, the Seifuwa held on to power until the 19th century, the continent's longest dynasty.





THE ENCHANTED HOLY CITY THE BEGINNINGS OF BENIN (1180)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Kingdom of Benin, Nigeria

BEFORE

1st millennium BCE The ancestors of the Edo, or Bini, people of Benin begin to migrate south from the confluence of the Niger and Benue Rivers to forests in what is now southern Nigeria. There they intermix with the aboriginal Efa people.

c.500 BCE The city of Ife is founded by the Yoruba people and dominates the southwestern Nigeria region in the late 1st millennium CE.

AFTER

1440 Oba Ewuare ("the Great") ascends the Benin throne. He goes on to develop Benin City as a fortified capital and the center of an expanding empire.

c.1485 Portuguese traders begin to visit Benin City.

1897 British troops sack Benin City and colonize Benin. he emergence of Benin as a dominant West African kingdom is a story of two dynasties—the Ogiso and Oba. Across three centuries—roughly 900–1200 ce—they set Benin on a path toward becoming a distinct and powerful West African empire that, from the late 15th century, would forge trading links with European colonizing nations, particularly Portugal.

The kingdom of Benin began as a collection of small, mainly agricultural settlements west of the Niger River. In around 900 CE, to protect one another from external threats and improve their trade relationships, these settlements

The reign of Owodo, the last Ogiso, was a long course of misrule, failure, and anxiety. Jacob U. Egharevba

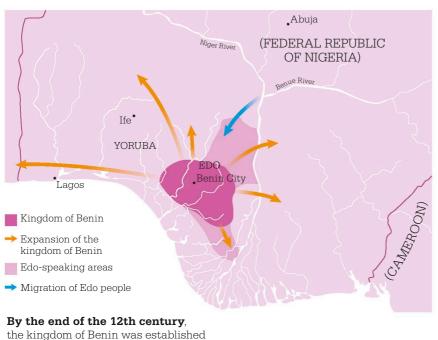
Benin historian (1893–1981)

banded together, some of them coalescing to eventually form Benin City. At the head of the kingdom was the Ogiso, meaning "King from Heaven." According to Benin oral history, the first Ogiso was Igodo, who gave his name to the early kingdom, called Igodomigodo.

Changing of the dynasties

In Benin's oral history, the Ogiso dynasty ended in the early 12th century, when Owodo, a weak ruler, was deposed and banished. The kingdom was replaced with a republic headed by Evian, a highranking member of the Efa ethnic group, the original settlers of Benin. They had intermarried with the Edo people—immigrants from the Niger–Benue river confluence—who had come to dominate the region.

Benin at this time was ruled by both Efa and Edo representatives. The former controlled areas of Benin in which people of Efa ancestry lived, and the latter, known as the *edionevbo* (a council of Edo chiefs), commanded the rest of the kingdom. As Evian neared the end of his long rule, he tried to found his own dynasty by naming his son, Ogiamien, as his successor. This angered the **See also:** The city-states of Hausaland 96–97 • The great bronzes of Benin 100–101 • The warrior women of Dahomey 164–165 • The Women's War of 1929 252



the kingdom of Benin was established around Benin City, the heartland of the Edo people. From the 15th century, the kingdom expanded, driven by trade.

edionevbo, who were afraid of losing their influence. Seeking a neutral ruler whom they could more easily control, they sent a delegation to the neighboring kingdom of Ife to ask its king, Oduduwa, to send one of his sons to govern them. Oduduwa agreed, on condition that his son be kept safe, and sent the young prince Oranmiyan, accompanied by a retinue, to Benin.

After defeating Ogiamien and his supporters in battle, Oranmiyan married an Edo woman called Erinmwide, and they had a son, Eweka. Around 1200, Oranmiyan abdicated, frustrated at the influence wielded by the *edionevbo*. Believing that only a king educated from a young age in Edo history and culture could effectively rule the Edo people, he left Eweka behind to become the first king, or "oba," of a new dynasty.

From kingdom to empire

The Obas gradually cemented their power, expanding the kingdom's boundaries and building Benin City into an impressive capital, with a royal palace and an intricate street system. They also exploited Benin's position close to the Niger River, the coast, and other West African kingdoms to develop trading routes, dealing in goods such as ivory, pepper, and animal skins. The Obas' control over the region reached its height in the 15th-17th centuries, when the empire extended west as far as present-day Ghana and sustained close trading links with European seagoing powers.

Ife's influence on Benin

The history of Benin and the Edo people is inextricably tied to the neighboring Yorubaspeaking people and their capital, Ife. A wealthy and regionally dominant state developed around Ife from about 700 CE and reached its height between 900 and 1200. Ife, like Benin City, grew rich on trade with other Africans and became a center for craftworkers in cloth, wood, and metals. They were particularly renowned for their casting of "bronze" sculptures (in fact, made from brass).

When the Benin governing classes faced a dynastic crisis in the 12th century, they looked to the well-established power of Ife and its ruler—the "ooni"—for help. Ife's gift was a new monarch, or "oba," who, like the ooni, was a spiritual as well as ruling figurehead, with a direct link to the gods. The love of Ife's oonis for elaborate metal sculpture also became part of Benin culture.



A brass head dating from around the 14th century may depict an Ife ooni. Ife's techniques in metal-casting, especially brass, were copied by Benin artists.



THE MIRACLES OF LALIBELA ETHIOPIA'S ROCK CHURCHES (c. 1187)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION **Ethiopia**

BEFORE

c.330 ce Christianity becomes the religion of the kingdom of Aksum (modern-day Ethiopia), after a Christian missionary converts its ruler, King Ezana.

8th century Muslim Arabs gain control of the Red Sea trading routes and Aksumite power begins to decline.

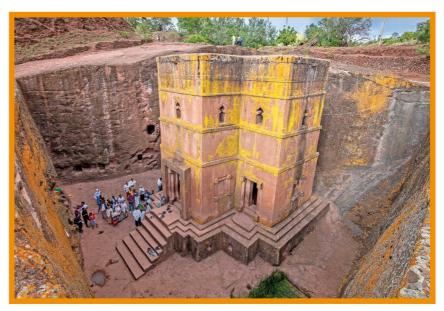
AFTER

1270 The Zagwe dynasty is overthrown by Yekuno Amlak, a prince of the Amhara people. He establishes the Solomonic dynasty, which claims descent from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

1529–1543 Many of Ethiopia's churches, monasteries, and libraries are destroyed in the Ethiopian-Adal War between the Ethiopian Empire and the Somali Muslim Adal sultanate.

he town of Lalibela in the northern highlands of Ethiopia has some of the world's most remarkable churches. While high-vaulted churches of medieval Europe rose to the sky, Lalibela's monolithic churches were gouged deep into the earth.

Biete Ghiorgis (Church of St. George) was the last of the churches to be built. Based on a cruciform plan, it is set apart from the other churches but linked to them by paths cut through the rock. The 11 churches occupy a 62-acre (25-ha) site. Legend has it that the churches were built with the help of angels over the course of one night during the reign of King Lalibela (c. 1185–1225) of the Zagwe dynasty. Some say he had visited the Holy Land shortly before Muslims reconquered Jerusalem in 1187, and was inspired to create a new Jerusalem in Ethiopia that would become a place of pilgrimage. The Holy Land is remembered in the names of



See also: Christianity reaches Africa 48–51 • The Ethiopian Jews 74 • The city of Great Zimbabwe 76–77 • The Great Mosque is founded at Djenné 92 • Ethiopia defies colonialism 226–227

Cave churches

In addition to its rock churches, Ethiopia has hundreds of churches built into caves. Some archaeologists estimate that Ethiopia could have as many as 3,000 rock-hewn and cave churches, sculpted between the 6th and 16th centuries. The walls and ceilings of some of the cave churches are lavishly decorated with paintings of the apostles, saints, angels, and Biblical figures. Some contain decorated manuscripts, crosses, and psalters.

some of the churches, including Biete Golgotha Mikael (Church of Golgotha and St. Michael) and Biete Lehem (Church of Bethlehem), and in natural features, such as the Yordana River (Jordan), which runs through the area.

Mighty monuments

Most historians agree that the churches were built over the course of the Zagwe dynasty and not by a single king. The Zagwe arose in Ethiopia's central highlands in 1137, establishing their capital at Roha, renamed Lalibela after King Lalibela's death. Historians think that the city's earliest churches may have been palaces or fortifications before being converted for worship.

Seven of the churches are hidden below ground, with only a very narrow gap between their walls and the surrounding rock. The other four, including Biete Medhani Alem (Church of the Redeemer)—the largest at 38 ft (11.5 m) tall and 110½ ft (33.7 m) Among the best known cave churches are the Yemrehana Krestos Church, and the Ashetan Maryam and Na'akuto La'ab monasteries, all built into caves in the mountains around Lalibela. and Abuna Yemata Guh, carved into a towering sandstone pinnacle in the mountains of Gheralta, in the Tigray region to the north. Believed to have been built in the 6th century, and containing 15th–16th-century murals, Abuna Yemata Guh can only be reached after a 1,000-ft (300-m) climb up sheer rock and a perilous walk along a narrow ledge.

long—and Biete Ghiorgis (Church of St. George), give the illusion of being freestanding—connected only by their bases to the earth. In reality, each of these churches was carved out of one piece of "rock" (monolith), with its roof at ground level. When deciding on a site for a church, the stonemasons had to consider not only the position of the outer walls, but placement of windows, columns, roof guttering, and gargoyles. It is thought that workers dug deep trenches around

It was carved out of the mountain. Its pillars were likewise cut from the mountain. Sinhab al-Din

16th-century Arab writer



An Orthodox Ethiopian priest in the Abuna Yemata Guh cave church holds a *mäsqäl*, a hand cross used in the Orthodox Church to heal, bless, and protect.

large blocks of rock and then masons chiselled out the shape of each church and hollowed out its interior using hammers and pickaxes. A system of drainage channels was then added to prevent flooding, along with storerooms, catacombs, and passages to other churches.

Many of the doors and windows of the churches display Aksumite forms and ornamentation. Biete Medhani Alem, for example, is surrounded by a colonnade of sculpted columns, a style known as steleform and used in Aksum.

Place of pilgrimage

Lalibela remains an important pilgrimage site for the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and is home to a large community of Ethiopian Orthodox priests and nuns. Since being added to UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1978, and the introduction of better transportation to the site, the churches have also become a huge attraction for international tourists, making their conservation a high priority.

H F THE MALI EMPIRE (1235–15th Century)



LOCATION West Africa

BEFORE

642 ce Arab Muslim forces take control of Egypt. Their conquest of the Maghreb (northwest Africa) begins five years later.

8th–9th centuries ce Muslim traders and travelers arrive in North Africa. Clerics follow and begin to convert Africans to Islam.

Mid-11th century The Ghana Empire in West Africa is invaded by the Almoravids, an alliance of Muslim Berber tribes, and begins to wane.

AFTER

1590s Following a significant defeat by Moroccan forces, the Songhai Empire crumbles.

1712 The Bambara Empire, whose capital is Ségou in present-day Mali, expands to include Timbuktu and Djenné.

1818 The Bambara Empire declines after a decisive defeat by Fula Muslim forces.

1861 Omar Saidou Tall founds Mali's short-lived Tukulor Empire, which survives for just three decades.

1893 French forces conquer Ségou and, a year later, Timbuktu. Under French colonial rule from 1899, Mali is known as the French Sudan until 1959.

1960 The territory of the French Sudan becomes the independent Republic of Mali.

Between the 8th and 19th centuries, West Africa had three great empires. Replacing the Ghana Empire in the 13th century, the Mali Empire at its height was the largest of the three and a flourishing center of both trade and Islamic scholarship. As it declined in the 15th century, the Songhai Empire rose to power.

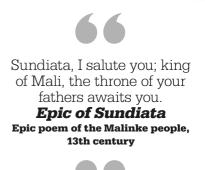
Malinke roots

By the 10th century, a number of Malinke chiefdoms had emerged, each ruled by a noble Malinke clan. One was the kingdom of Kangabe near the present-day Guinea–Mali border, which the Malinke Keita clan ruled in the early 12th century. Its center was the town of Niani on the upper Niger River.

Afflicted by civil war, drought, and economic hardship, the Ghana Empire finally collapsed in 1203, when one of its former vassals, the Susu kingdom, captured the capital Koumbi Saleh. The Susu

This terra-cotta warrior from the 13th–15th centuries was unearthed near Djenné in Mali. At its height, the Mali Empire's 100,000-strong army included a cavalry of 10,000 horsemen.







leader, Sumanguru, soon annexed what was left of the empire and, by about 1230, extended his tyrannical rule over the Malinke chiefdoms, including Kangabe. The Malinke revolted but were swiftly crushed by the Susu army.

According to oral tradition, Sundiata Keita, a monarch whose name means "Lion Prince," raised an army of troops and cavalry and scored a series of victories against Sumanguru's forces, finally routing the Susu tyrant at the Battle of Kirina in 1235.

Building an empire

Following Sundiata's victory, the Malinke chiefs gathered at Kangaba to swear loyalty to him as their sovereign and named him Mari-Djata—"Lion Lord." As Mali expanded, Sundiata was also given the title *mansa* ("sultan" or "emperor"), which his successors also assumed.

Sundiata established Mali's capital at Niani, which remained the country's capital until the 16th century. From the accounts of Arab historians al-Umari and Ibn Khaldun, it appears that the sprawling city was made up of conical clay houses with roofs

FAITH AND TRADE 89

See also: The Ghana Empire 52–57 • The Muslim conquest of Egypt 58–59 • The origins of the Songhai Empire 75 • Ghana converts to Islam 78–79 • The Great Mosque is founded at Djenné 92 • The Year of Africa 274–275

The character Simba in *The Lion King* musical has been linked to Sundiata, Mali's founder, as Simba flees after his father's murder, but like Sundiata—returns.

of wood and reed. Located on important trade routes to Egypt and the Maghreb, it had bustling markets with goods from many different countries.

Sundiata soon expanded his empire to control other major trade routes. He conquered and razed Koumbi Saleh, the former capital of the Ghana Empire, destroying any vestiges of the empire's power. In pushing Mali's frontiers west to the Senegal River and north to Gambia, he incorporated key hubs along trans-Saharan trade routes, such as the main southern terminus, the oasis town of Walata. home to some 2,500 people. The empire also controlled routes between Africa's interior and the Atlantic coast. taxing the passage of gold, salt, copper, ivory, and enslaved people, and buying up goods to sell at a significant markup.



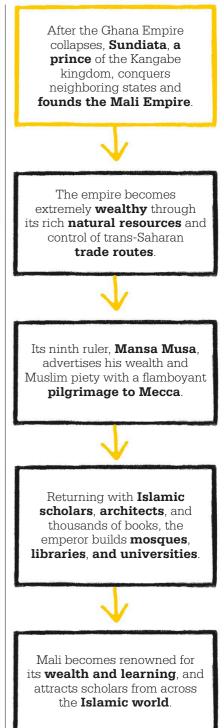
The lands Sundiata conquered were rich in natural resources, enabling the empire to develop a flourishing, diversified economy. Vast amounts of gold were extracted from the southern gold mines at Bambuk and Bure that had earlier enriched Ghana, while the fertile lands of the Niger floodplain and Gambia valley produced grains such as sorghum, millet, and rice. Fish were brought in from the Sankarani and Niger rivers, and herders in the drier Sahelian grasslands provided cattle, meat, and animal hides. »

Sundiata Keita

Born around 1210, Sundiata was the son of the Keita chief Nare Maghan, who ruled the kingdom of Kangabe. The legendary *Epic of Sundiata*, passed down orally, tells how Sundiata was born disabled but, through his own determination, regained the use of his legs.

Since there is no definitive text for the *Epic*, accounts of Sundiata's youth vary. As a sickly child, he may have been spared and possibly fled when Sumanguru, ruler of the Susu kingdom, overran the Kangabe and killed other members of the Keita family. Legend has it that when Sundiata finally defeated Sumanguru in the Battle of Kirina, it was because Sundiata's magic was more powerful.

Sundiata proved a strong military leader and a wise ruler, who appointed loyal warlords to rule the 12 kingdoms that made up the early Mali Empire. According to the *Epic*, Sundiata fulfilled the prophecies of soothsayers that he would create one of the most powerful empires ever known. He died in 1255.



By his death in 1255, Sundiata had set Mali on a path to greatness. His rule had lasted 25 years, and saw him immortalized as Mali's founder in the *Epic of Sundiata*, a poem of the Malinke people that was frequently recounted by generations of *griots* (traditional West African storytellers).

Decades of uneven rule

Sundiata was succeeded by three of his sons. The last was Khalifa, whom Ibn Khaldun described as insane for his practice of using his subjects as archery targets; they soon overthrew and killed him. Abu Bakr, Sundiata's nephew, ruled next, but royal power was faltering. Around 1285, Sakura, a court official and formerly enslaved person, seized the throne.

Sakura, a Muslim like the *mansas* before him, proved a strong leader and further expanded the empire's borders, reaffirming its position as the dominant political power in the region. He was killed in the Horn of Africa in 1308 as he returned from the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca. The Keita dynastic lineage resumed and in 1312, when

Mali's ninth ruler, Mansa Musa, took the throne, the Mali Empire entered its golden era.

A lavish pilgrimage

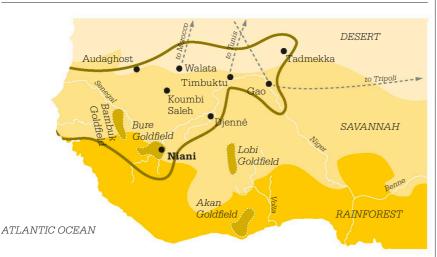
In 1324. Mansa Musa, a devout Muslim, set out with thousands of attendants and 100 camel-loads of gold on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and lavishly distributed alms along the way. His senior wife. Inari Kanuté, accompanied him, traveling with hundreds of her own retainers. His first stop was Cairo, where he spent nearly three months and is said to have presented the Egyptian ruler Al-Malik al-Nasir with a gift of 50,000 gold dinars. Later Arab historians report that the pietv and generosity of Mansa Musa greatly impressed the Egyptians.

The emperor's ostentatious journey increased his fame well beyond the shores of Africa and put Mali on the map, quite literally, as European cartographers began to note the location of the highly prosperous West African empire. His lavish spending, however, flooded the Cairo market with so

Borders of the

Mali Empire

Trade routes



The Mali Empire at its peak in the 1330s was made up of 12 garrisoned provinces, which included 400 cities, towns, and villages with a total population of some 20 million people.

This man [Mansa Musa] flooded Cairo with his benefactions. He left no court emir nor holder of a royal office without the gift of a load of gold. **Shihab al-Din al-Umari** *Syrian scholar, c.1327*

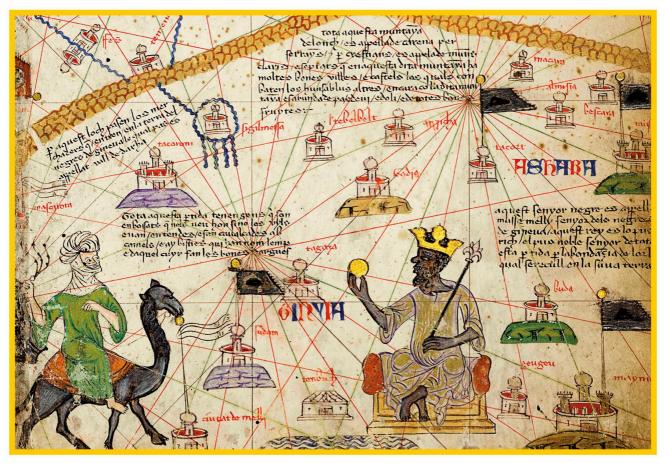


much gold that the price of bullion fell by a fifth in Egypt and did not fully recover for a decade.

While Mansa Musa was away. his forces continued to extend the empire to incorporate the large Songhai kingdom, which stretched for hundreds of miles to the east of Mali. The emperor visited its capital. Gao, on his return journey from Mecca and ordered a mosque to be built there. Songhai's other great city, Timbuktu, on the southern edge of the Sahara, was already an important trading post on the trans-Saharan caravan route and later became a center of Islamic culture. These acquisitions greatly added to the Mali Empire's wealth and influence.

Islam and learning

While in Mecca, Mansa Musa had persuaded the grand sharif (the traditional steward of Mecca and Medina) to allow several *shurafa* (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad) to accompany him back to Mali with their families. He also brought back Muslim scholars, architects, and thousands of books. The scholars he recruited in Mecca



included Andalusian poet and jurist Abu Ishaq al Sahili, who turned his hand to architecture and designed the Djinguereber (Great Mosque) together with the Madugu, a royal palace, both in Timbuktu.

Endowed with Mansa Musa's mosques, Gao and Timbuktu soon flourished as centers of Ouranic learning. The Sankara Madrassa in Timbuktu had the finest library in Africa and gained an international reputation. Many of the thousands of books and manuscripts such centers housed survive today. Scholars from across the Islamic world traveled to Mali to study history, geography, medicine, and astronomy, while Mali's native Muslims went to study in cities such as Fez in Morocco, and became scholars and clerics. Under Mansa Musa, Islam began to lose its image as a foreign religion and came to be seen as a Black African faith, too. The emperor's skill was to also respect traditional African beliefs and avoid conflict between the two, so that Mali's rich cultural and religious traditions could flourish simultaneously.

The Mali Empire's decline

Mansa Musa died in 1337 and was succeeded by a number of lesser rulers. As vassal states rebelled, Mali's economic power began to ebb away. Internal problems were compounded by the arrival of Portuguese trading ships on the Atlantic coast, challenging Mali's monopoly on trade routes to the Mediterranean. The kingdom was **Holding a golden orb**, Mansa Musa is portrayed at the center of African trade routes in a detail from the Catalan Atlas, which was drawn on vellum by Abraham Cresques of Majorca in 1375.

also raided repeatedly by nomadic Berber Tuareg people to the north and the Mossi kingdom to the south.

Songhai, one of Mali's rebellious states, used its significant naval power along the Niger waterways to conquer Mali's other breakaway territories and rapidly expanded to become a trading empire during the 15th and 16th centuries. Around 1545, the Songhai army occupied Niani, Mali's capital. Unlike Ghana, Mali did not disappear, but lost its non-Malinke provinces and shrank back to its original heartlands.

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Mali

BEFORE

639–42 ce Arab general Amr ibn al-As conquers Egypt, and Islam spreads into North and West Africa.

c.850 ce Djenné develops into a major urban center within the medieval Ghana Empire.

c. 11th century Timbuktu is founded; closely linked to Djenné, it becomes a center of scholarship and a trading hub.

AFTER

1327 The Djinguereber, Timbuktu's Great Mosque, is constructed.

1836–1838 Massina leader Seku Amadu, who conquered Djenné in 1818, builds a new mosque east of the original.

1591 The collapse of the Songhai Empire leads to the decline of the West African desert cities, including Djenné.

THE PEOPLE WHO PRAY IN IT WILL BLESS YOUR NAME THE GREAT MOSQUE IS FOUNDED AT DJENNÉ (13th Century)

he oldest known city in sub-Saharan Africa, Djenné is thought to have been settled in the third century BCE. From the 13th century, with the establishment of its Great Mosque. it became an important center of Islam, learning, and trade, and key to the dissemination of Islam in West Africa. Testament to its role as a center of scholarship are approximately 5,000 manuscripts, some of which may date as far back as the 12th century, on subjects ranging from history, geography, and astronomy to medicine and magic.

The mosque was created by Koi Konboro, the 26th ruler of Djenné, who had converted to Islam. Legend has it that he was instructed by a Muslim sage to build a mosque to



please God—and so, in a public act of piety, he turned his palace into a place of worship.

This magnificent adobe building, with an array of timber beams set into its walls of mud brick, is the finest example of Sudano-Sahelian architecture. The original structure had fallen into ruin by the 19th century, and was reconstructed in 1907 by Djenné's guild of masons.

The mosque remains an icon of community cohesion today. Since it is built from mud, it suffers damage each rainy season, so needs regular repair work. In the annual festival of *Crépissage* (plastering), thousands of young men climb the walls, using the timber beams as scaffolding, to coat them with fresh clay. Heralded by singing and dancing throughout the preceding night, the work starts in the early morning and is completed in a matter of hours.

The Great Mosque of Djenné, which is restored every year, might be described as a living monument. Part of a UNESCO World Heritage Site, it features on Malian banknotes and stamps.

See also: The Ghana Empire 52–57 • The city of Great Zimbabwe 76–77 • Ghana converts to Islam 78–79 • The Mali Empire 86–91



A MISSION TO Spread the light of islam The sultanate of 1FAT (1285–1415)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Ethiopia

BEFORE

615 ce The first Muslims arrive in the kingdom of Aksum (in present-day Ethiopia), driven from Mecca by persecution.

1270 The Solomonic dynasty, whose kings claimed direct descendance from King Solomon and the Oueen of Sheba, founds the kingdom of Abyssinia.

1277 Ali ibn Wali Asma attacks Shoa, initiating an eight-year conflict with the Makhzumid dynasty.

AFTER

1328 Ifat is conquered by the Abyssinian king Amda Seyon, and becomes a tributary state.

1991 Fighting intensifies in the Somali Civil War, destroying large parts of Zeila's historic infrastructure. n the early centuries of Islam, the Muslim faith spread with migrants and merchants across the Red Sea to Africa's east coast and the Horn of Africa. There, a series of key Muslim states held power during the medieval period. One of the most extensive was the sultanate of Ifat, which flourished in parts of what are now Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Somalia.

Key to Ifat's control was its coastal location. It was centered on the port city of Zeila, which fed a number of important trade routes. Ifat's command of this commerce made its rulers wealthy, allowing them to extend their dominion.

A unified kingdom

Ifat was previously the easternmost state of the sultanate of Shoa, ruled by the Makhzumid dynasty. In 1285, the sultan of Ifat, Ali ibn Wali Asma, deposed the Makhzumids and took control of their kingdoms. He then subdued regions of neighboring Afar and the nomad state of Adal, consolidating disparate Muslim territories into a powerful sultanate. Ifat's geography gave it not only a strategic advantage but also the benefit of fertile lands on the coastal plateau. But relations with the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia on its inland borders were uneasy and, within decades of its founding, Ifat was occupied.

For nearly a century, Ifat resisted its occupiers, but in 1415, in the final revolt, Sultan S'ad al-Din was killed in Zeila. Yeshaq I, Emperor of Abyssinia, destroyed the state and annexed its lands.

These kingdoms, which belonged to seven kings, are weak and poor ... the authority of each is isolated. **Ibn Fadlallah al-Umari** Arab historian (1301-1349)

See also: The trading empire of Aksum 44–47 = The Muslim conquest of Egypt 58–59 = Ghana converts to Islam 78–79 = Ethiopia defies colonialism 226–227



LOCATION Sub-Saharan Africa

BEFORE

c.711 ce The Moors' conquest of Iberia begins, forging links between Europe and Africa.

1312 Genoese merchant Lanzarotto Malocello builds a base on what is now Lanzarote.

AFTER

1510–1866 Some 12.5 million Africans are forced aboard European and American slave ships bound for the New World.

1550 The travels in West Africa of Spanish Berber Leo Africanus prompt Europeans to redraw their map of Africa.

1796 Scotsman Mungo Park attempts to trace the course of the Niger River on behalf of Britain's African Association.

1884–1900 In the "scramble for Africa," European powers vie to colonize 90 percent of African territory.

ALL BIRDS WILL FLOCK TO A FLOCK TO A FRUITFUL TREE EUROPEANS ARRIVE IN AFRICA (1364)

he arrival of mariners on Africa's west coast in the 15th century, and possibly as early as the 14th century, is typically regarded as a landmark meeting between Africans and Europeans. Yet Europeans and Africans had already encountered each other on relatively equal terms long before. Since the time of ancient Egypt, three millennia earlier, there had been an African presence in the Mediterranean world. After the conquest of Carthage, Tunisia, in 146 BCE, the Romans' productive North African colonies became known as the bread basket of Rome. In the 8th century CE, the Moors' invasion of Iberia brought North Africans into medieval Europe. In the 12th and 13th centuries, European crusaders

A map of the West African coast

from the Vallard Atlas (c. 1547) is drawn as viewed from Europe, with Gibraltar at the bottom and the Portuguese fortress of São Jorge da Mina top left.



94

See also: The Romans reach Africa 38–39 = Christianity reaches Africa 48–51 = The Moors in Al-Andalus 64–67 = The Mali Empire 86–91 = The birth of the Atlantic slave trade 116–121 = The scramble for Africa 222–223

In 1364, **two ships from Dieppe, Normandy,** venture down the coast of West Africa to Cape Verde and beyond. They **trade with local communities**, exchanging French bagatelles for ivory, amber, hides, and pepper.

In 1666, Villaut de Bellefond retells the story from naval files in Dieppe. But **all proof is lost** when the records are burned in 1694. By 1383, **French merchant** sailors are trading on the Gold Coast. They build an outpost at a place they call La Mine (the Mine).

brought news of African Christians in Ethiopia, and during the 14th century, diplomats and delegations from Ethiopia traveled to Europe.

In the medieval period, regional and international trading networks in sub-Saharan Africa stretched from the coast of West Africa to North Africa, and from east coast city-states across the Indian Ocean. Yet Europeans had only minimal knowledge of Africa's vast empires, relying on Muslim intermediaries in any trade between the two regions.

From the 10th century onward, merchants traveling in Africa's interior produced rudimentary maps. In the 13th century, Venetians are said to have traveled through Tunis, and Europeans may have penetrated south of the Sahara.

In search of gold

Berber Moroccan scholar and explorer Ibn Battuta may have piqued interest in Africa's potential bounty with his *Travels in Asia and Africa* (1353), in which he described the remarkable wealth, accrued through trade in gold and salt, of Mansa Musa, King of Mali. Norman merchants from Dieppe may have reached the Guinea coast as early as 1364, but the only voyages to West Africa that remain documented are the 15th-century Portuguese expeditions, sponsored by Prince Henry the Navigator. Their mission was to find sea routes to India. trade for gold. and counter Muslim domination in Africa. Their light sailing ships (caravels) reached the Senegal region in 1444 and continued to make merchant voyages down the coast, making contact with Africans in West. West Central, and Southern Africa.

In early encounters, communities were hospitable but presciently wary of the Europeans' intentions. The first shipment back to Portugal, in 1444, was of gold dust and captive Africans. After mariners reached the coast of modern-day Ghana in 1471, gold trade with the Akan people flourished to the point

Statues stand in the remains of a Portuguese fort built in 1588 in an early colony in Cacheu, Guinea-Bissau. It became a trading post for the slave trade in the 17th and 18th centuries. that the Portuguese renamed the coast Mina (the Mine)—later known as the Gold Coast. Within decades, the Portuguese had built a string of forts and established a monopoly on trade with West Africa that lasted throughout the 16th century. After Vasco da Gama rounded Africa's Cape of Good Hope in 1498, the Portuguese also tried to dominate the gold trade on the east coast, with limited success.

Trade in people

By the time the Dutch established their first trading posts in West Africa in 1598, traffic in enslaved people from Africa was the main European objective. By the 1620s, more than 100,000 Africans had been shipped to Madeira, Cape Verde, and Gulf of Guinea islands, and about 400,000 to the Americas.

War between France, Britain, and the Netherlands from 1652 to 1713 was played out on Africa's western coast in a race to establish colonies and slave-trading posts. The Europeans' arrival in Africa had forged links across the Atlantic, connecting Africa, Europe, and the Americas, but at the calamitous expense of Africa's independent path of development.





LOCATION Nigeria

BEFORE

5th–7th centuries ce The first Hausa states develop in the Sahel and include Dalla Hill, later known as Kano.

9th century ce Muslim geographer Ahmad al-Yaqubi mentions the Hausa and its central Sahel location.

11th century Islam, spread by merchants and missionaries, begins to influence Hausaland.

14th century Hausaland's trading power starts to rival that of its neighbors, the Mali and Kanem-Bornu Empires.

AFTER

1804 Hausaland is conquered by Muslim Fulani leader Usman dan Fodio, who establishes the Sokoto caliphate.

1903 Hausaland comes under British rule as part of the Northern Nigeria Protectorate.

THE BLUE MEN FROM THE SAHEL THE CITY-STATES OF HAUSALAND (1463)

rans-Saharan trade, local skills, and abundant resources fueled the rise of Hausaland's city-states in the 15th century. They lay in what is now northern Nigeria, between Lake Chad and the Niger River in the central Sahel—a semi-arid area south of the Sahara. Kano became the dominant city-state, ruled from 1463 to 1499 by Muhammad Rumfa, whose policies laid the foundations of the future Kano Empire.

The Hausa founding

legend says that

Bayajidda, the prince of

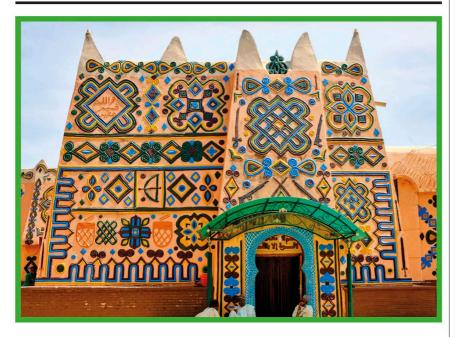
Baghdad, came to the city

of Daura.

The independent city-states developed from walled villages (*birni*), settled by Indigenous or migrating Hausa-speaking people. Their cities grew as trans-Saharan trade increased. Hausaland was well placed on trade routes from the northern Sahara to the western Sudan and forest lands to the south. Though independent, the city-states were intermittently joined in a loose confederation from the mid-14th century. At this time, they also

Their son's six sons founded the other Hausa city-states of Biram, Gobir, Kano, Rano, Zazzau, and Katsina. At Daura's well, **he killed a snake** that was terrorizing people, and cut its body into **seven pieces**.

Bayajidda married and had a son with the queen of Daura, which became **the first Hausa kingdom**. **See also:** The trans-Saharan slave trade 60–61 • The Kanem Empire 80–81 • The Fulani conquest 196–197 • "Zik" and independent Nigeria 286–287



Vivid patterns on the 19th-century Emir's palace in Bauchi, Nigeria, reflect symbols and designs that decorated the gates of earlier Hausa walled cities.

came under the influence of Muslim missionaries from the neighboring Mali Empire, who encouraged Kano's ruler Ali Yaji (1349–1385) to convert to Islam.

Vibrant trading centers

The seven city-states (or Hausa Bakwai) were Biram, Gobir, Kano, Rano, Zazzau, Katsina, and Daura, with several outer states loosely connected to them. Daura was the focus of Hausaland's founding myth, which is now thought to date only from the 16th century as it reflects the influence of Islam.

Each city-state had a *sarkin kasa* (king or ruler) and elders. The seven often vied for power but cooperated in trade, each with a distinct role and range of goods, based on its location and natural resources.

Biram was the original seat of government, while Gobir on the western border defended Hausaland against invasion. Kano and Rano grew cotton and produced fine cloth dyed with indigo, which gave the Hausa people the name of "blue men" for their vivid colored robes Kano was also a trading hub for ivory, gold, leather, and enslaved people, while Zazzau was a primary source of the enslaved, acquired by raiding lands to the south. Katsina, an agricultural region, produced hides and crops such as millet and groundnuts. Because Katsina and Daura were closest to the southern Sahara, they traded directly with trans-Saharan merchants.

The rise of Kano

The rule of Muhammad Rumfa in Kano consolidated its power. Rumfa established the Kurmi Market, still in use today, and welcomed foreign traders and Islamic scholars. Tutored by Berber missionary

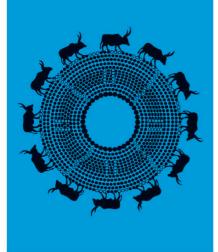
Queen Amina of Zazzau

Born in the mid-16th century in Zazzau to King Nikatau and Oueen Bakwa, Amina was the eldest of three siblings. According to oral tradition, her grandfather, in whose court she grew up, taught her military skills. Although she was named *Magajiya* (heir apparent) at the age of 16, her younger brother Karami was crowned king when their father died in 1566.

Rejecting many offers of marriage, including one from Kano's ruler. Amina chose to fight in the Zazzau army and proved herself capable of leading men into battle. On her brother's death in 1576, she became ruler of Zazzau and, within three months. launched a military campaign to expand its territory. As was the Hausa custom, she built protective earthen walls around cities she conquered. Amina also encouraged trade, and Zazzau reached its peak during her reign. A legendary warrior queen, she died in 1610, but precisely how and where are unknown.

Muhammad al-Maghili, he also introduced Islamic reforms, and built a grand palace and many mosques.

After Rumfa's death in 1499, Kano's power continued to grow. His grandson Muhammad Kisoki (1509–1565) created the Kano Empire, made up of Hausaland and other Sahel kingdoms. In 1804, however, weakened by internal and external conflicts, Hausaland fell to the Fulani, a militant Islamic force from West Africa, and later became part of the British Empire. Today, the Hausa are the largest ethnic group in sub-Saharan Africa.



THEY FOLLOW WHERE THEIR ANIMALS GO THE MIGRATION OF THE MAASAI (15TH-18TH CENTURIES)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATIONS **Kenya, Tanzania**

BEFORE

2000–1000 BCE Nilotic peoples, an ethnolinguistic group to which the Maasai and the Turkana belong, move down from the Nile Valley to modern-day South Sudan.

500 BCE Some Nilotic peoples migrate as far south as modern-day Kenya.

AFTER

1890s A cattle virus called rinderpest decimates Maasai herds. The resulting famine, combined with drought and a smallpox epidemic, kills up to 60 percent of the Maasai.

1904, 1911 In treaties signed with the British, the Maasai are forced to hand over their northern grazing lands.

1946 Nairobi National Park, a conservation area, is created in Kenya, on land traditionally occupied by the Maasai.

The Maasai lead a **pastoralist lifestyle** that **revolves around their cattle**. Land is a shared resource.

Over several hundred years, the Maasai **migrate southward** from South Sudan **in search of fresh pasture**.

As they travel, the Maasai assimilate or displace many other ethnic groups, and spread out across the Great Rift Valley.

Cattle are seen as a gift from God, and are used as currency as well as to provide sustenance.

ccording to their oral history, passed down through generations of Maa speakers, the Maasai used to live in the lands just north of Kenva's Lake Turkana, which are now known as South Sudan, Between the 15th and 18th centuries, perhaps in response to aggression from the Turkana people, they gradually migrated southward, taking their cattle with them. By the mid-19th century, when the Maasai occupied their largest area, they traveled over almost the entire Great Rift Valley. Today, they number about one million, and live mainly in southern Kenva and northern Tanzania.

Cattle herders

Feared for their warrior culture, the Maasai overwhelmed and gradually displaced or assimilated various ethnic groups as they migrated through East Africa. They divided into politically independent and culturally distinct (though still ethnically related) territorial sections, and forged relationships with the Bantu speakers in the surrounding highlands.

The most important thing to the Maasai is their cattle. One myth describes how their Supreme God, See also: The Bantu migrations 32–33 = The Xhosa Wars 180–81 = The scramble for Africa 222–223 = The Mau Mau uprising 262–263

The Maasai are traditionally seminomadic pastoralists—they herd their cattle from one pasture to another within their territorial sections in search of fresh grass, water, and salt licks.

Enkai, sent cattle down to the people from the heavens, along a bark rope. The Maasai believe, therefore, that all cattle in the world belong to them, as a gift from God. This belief historically led them into cattle rustling and poaching.

Cattle are crucial to Maasai everyday life. Cow's milk and blood traditionally fulfill their nutritional needs, and in large-scale public rituals. a cow is often sacrificed and its meat shared during a communal meal. The livestock are also a source of wealth and status for men in this patriarchal society, and individuals, families, and clans build and retain ties through the exchange of cattle. While men make the decisions, the role of a woman is to marry, bear children, and participate in initiation ceremonies for men. When she first, goes to her husband's homestead



(called an *enkang*), her mother-in-law gives her a milk cow. Her husband might then give her a herd of milk cows, which she will eventually pass on to her son when he comes of age.

Culture clash

Since 1895, when Kenya was made a British protectorate, environmental, economic, and social developments have affected the Maasai way of life. European settlers turned communal grazing land into farms, reducing Maasai territory. Game reserves and conservation areas supplanted their living and grazing spaces. More recently, the growth of urban centers, offering educational and employment opportunities, has led to the decline of traditional Maasai practices, including pastoralism, circumcision (of girls especially), and lion-hunting, which Maasai warriors used as a test of bravery.



Newly circumcised Maasai boys have their faces painted. They must wear black clothing for four to eight months after the ceremony.

The age-set system

Maasai society is organized by age-sets. An age-set is a group of male individuals who together go through rites of passage that initiate them into the different stages of adulthood. In Maasai culture, the first rite of passage is the *Enkipaata* (pre-circumcision ceremony). This is followed by the *Emuratta* (circumcision ceremony), then *Enkiama* (marriage), *Eunoto* (warrior-shaving ceremony), *Eokoto e-kule* (milk-drinking ceremony), *Enkang oo-nkiri* (meat-eating ceremony), and finally, *Olngesherr* (junior elder ceremony). Of these, the second, *Emuratta*, which initiates Maasai teenagers into warriorhood, is the most important.

First, a boy must show that he is ready to become a man by doing things like carrying heavy weapons and herding cattle. He is then cleansed with cold water, and as he walks to where the circumcision will take place, friends and male family members shout words of encouragement. (If he flinches during the operation, he will be outcast.) He is then given his own livestock.



THE MASTERY OF TECHNOLOGY AND ART THE GREAT BRONZES OF BENIN (15th-18th centuries)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATIONS Kingdom of Benin, Nigeria

BEFORE

12th century Yoruba people in the West African city of Ife begin to cast artworks from brass and other metals. By the next century, their skills reach the nearby kingdom of Benin.

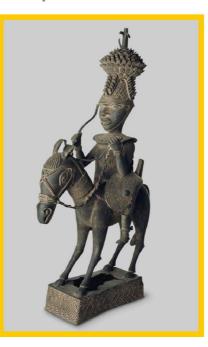
1471 Portuguese seafarers reach the West African coast, in modern-day Ghana, and trade with local peoples.

AFTER

1897 British troops occupy Benin City, looting thousands of objects.

1938 The British Museum in London returns two royal coral crowns to Benin—the first restitution of objects looted from Benin City.

2020 Plans are announced for the building of a national art museum in Benin City, which will house the Royal Collection of Benin bronzes. he Benin bronzes are intricate sculptures created by the Edo people of the kingdom of Benin from the 15th century onward. When the bronzes were plundered by British colonizers in the late 19th century, the arrival of these objects in Europe caused a sensation, giving the lie to the European view that Africans had never produced art of such sophistication. The bronzes



have since been the focus of strenuous efforts to return them to Nigeria from the museums of former European colonial powers.

A royal alloy

Few of the works were actually made of bronze, but rather of brass, an alloy of copper and zinc. The pieces-plaques, royal regalia, and the heads and figures of animals and humans—were cast using the *cire perdue* (or "lost wax") method passed on by the neighboring Yoruba culture. Sculptors began with a beeswax model covered with layers of clay. When this was heated, the wax melted, leaving a mold that was then filled with molten metal. Once the metal set, the mold was broken to reveal the sculpture.

The use of brass was controlled by the Oba, or king, of Benin and reserved for the royal court. Much of the alloy was cast into hundreds of plaques, nailed to pillars in a vast royal palace built by Oba Ewuare,

A 16th-century Beninese sculpture

portrays a horseman with an ornate parrot-feather headdress. In the 16th century, brass from Portugal created a surge in Beninese metal casting. **See also:** The Bantu migrations 32–33 • The beginnings of Benin 82–83 • Europeans arrive in Africa 94–95 • The scramble for Africa 222–223



a warrior king who reigned from around 1440 until 1480. Ewuare conquered many of Benin's neighbors and transformed the kingdom into an empire.

From trade to theft

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to make contact with the kingdom of Benin, in around 1485. Beninese traders offered them goods such as ivory, pepper, and cloth. In return, Portugal found a ready market for brass ingots, which Beninese sculptors melted down to make works of art.

The good relations that Benin had with European merchants began to change in the 19th century. Europe's major powers, driven by industrial and military rivalry and the urge for new empires, began to **The Benin palace plaques** recorded court life and ritual, as well as the kingdom's wars and relationships with neighboring societies and foreign traders, particularly the Portuguese.

eye West African lands as well as goods—leading to the scramble for Africa that began in 1884.

In 1897, British forces invaded and looted Benin City, bringing an end to the kingdom's independence. Thousands of the objects they stole soon appeared in museums and other collections in the West, where most have remained. Some Western curators argue that African nations lack the resources to look after artifacts, while the Beninese monarchy, which still exists within Nigeria, has made repeated calls for the bronzes to be returned.

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The looting of Benin City

By the second half of the 19th century, the British controlled much of the Nigerian coast. Their increasing reluctance to accept Benin's trading terms turned relations sour. In January 1897, an allegedly peaceful but nevertheless provocative British trade mission was attacked on its way to Benin City. The British used the attack as a pretext to invade and occupy the kingdom's capital.

Troops ransacked shrines and stole more than 900 brass plaques from the roval palace. One soldier described a fellow officer "wandering around with a chisel and a hammer. knocking off brass figures and collecting all sorts of rubbish." By fall 1897, 304 Benin plaques were on display at the British Museum, which later acquired 203 more. Two ivory leopards (royal symbols of power) with spots of inlaid copper were given to Queen Victoria. Many more artifacts brought back by soldiers were used as doorstops or left to gather dust on a shelf.



British troops sit surrounded by elephant tusks, bronze figures, and a collection of other objects looted during their raid on Benin City in January 1897.



LOCATION East Africa

BEFORE

2nd century BCE Earliest evidence of private contacts and indirect trade between Africa and China.

7th century ce Li Shimin, second emperor of the Tang dynasty, unifies China. Arab armies conquer North Africa, and Islam begins to spread.

AFTER

1433 China abruptly ceases its expensive maritime voyages, fearing the power of the eunuch class, and reduces international trade.

1498 Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama lands in Mozambique and is the first European to reach East Africa.

2013 Xi Jinping, president of China, revives Zheng's maritime silk routes, with his "One Belt, One Road" policy of global infrastructure development.

COMMERCE, NOT CONDUEST MING CHINA TRADES WITH EAST AFRICA (1418–1433)

he unification of China and the Arab conquest of North Africa led to the formation of the powerful Chinese and Caliphate (or Islamic) empires in the 7th and 8th centuries, with the elite classes seeking to demonstrate their authority by showing off expensive, exotic items. This led to increased demand for African goods.

The trade relationship between China and East Africa was already almost a thousand years old. By the 9th and 10th centuries, both were part of a global trade network that also included North Africa, Arabia, and India. East African traders sourced items such as ivory from further inland, which they then exchanged, usually with Arab merchants, for porcelain and other luxuries from China.

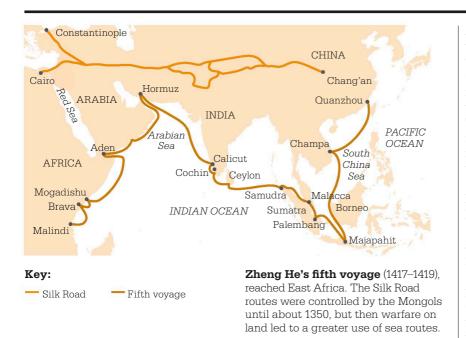
This trade network also carried disease. In 1346, the bubonic plague devastated much of the world, and trade declined. But China–Africa trade was soon revived in the 15th century by the Ming dynasty emperor, Yongle. Wanting to demonstrate China's power and satisfy the country's demand for exotic goods, he commissioned a

Chinese explorers, led by Zheng He, reach East Africa.

The explorers do not seek **to settle, dominate, or exploit** East African societies, but **trade with them as equals**.

Zheng He's voyages are missions of commerce, not conquest.

See also: The Bantu migrations 32–33 • The Muslim conquest of Egypt 58–59 • The rise of Swahili city-states 62–63 • The gold trade in Mozambique 108–109 • The construction of the Suez Canal 215



series of voyages to the "Western Oceans," putting his head eunuch, Admiral Zheng He, in charge.

Zheng He's voyages

In his first four naval expeditions, from 1405 to 1415, Zheng traveled around Southeast Asia, India, and Arabia. In 1415, when Zheng returned to China after his fourth voyage, he brought back a giraffe from the King of Bengal, who had himself received it from the Sultan of Malindi (now part of Kenya). The giraffe resembled a lucky, mythical Chinese creature called the *qilin*, and caused wonder in China.

Zheng embarked on a fifth voyage in 1417, partly to obtain more giraffes. He reached East Africa in 1418, and visited Mogadishu, Brava (both in modern-day Somalia), and Malindi. His impressive fleet consisted of 317 ships, 62 of which were treasure ships loaded with precious gifts from China. Prized Chinese wares, including silk and porcelain, were exchanged for local goods such as animal skins, tortoise shells, and rhinoceros horns. African ambassadors accompanied Zheng on his return to China, bringing with them gifts of ivory, zebras, lions, and giraffes. On Zheng's sixth voyage, in 1421–1422, the African ambassadors were taken home. Zheng returned to China, but part of his fleet traveled further down the East African coast, as far as modern-day Mozambique.

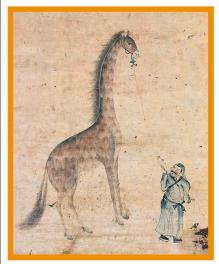
In the winter of 1431, Zheng set out on his seventh and final voyage. His fleet visited at least 17 different ports between Champa (today's Vietnam) and Kenya, but Zheng himself died in Calicut, India, in 1433.

East African society

The beauty, rarity, and high price of Chinese ceramics made them status symbols. From the 13th century, they became popular with East

African elites who, to show off their wealth. used them at banquets or to decorate their tombs. Medieval China-East Africa trade helped make East African societies wealthier but also more hierarchical. The fortunes to be made from the importation and sale of luxury materials and artifacts stimulated the growth of classes such as craftworkers and merchants. Farmers and laborers, however, had no access to this new economy. could not work their way up the social ladder, and spiraled deeper into poverty.

The Chinese did not maintain a permanent presence in East Africa. On the death of Zheng He and of the emperor, China ended the voyages of the treasure ships to Africa. However, archaeological evidence of their connection to the region, including Ming porcelain and coins from Yongle's reign, is still being unearthed.



The African giraffe presented to Emperor Yongle in 1415 was depicted by court painter Shen Du and feted in verse. Such novel animals were received in exchange for gifts of gold, silver, and silk.

FOSTERED AND POWERED HERE BLACKAMOORS* IN TUDOR ENGLAND (16th century)

*Language used in the 16th century (see p.4)



IN CONTEXT

LOCATIONS England, Scotland, Spain

BEFORE

1086 The Almoravids from West Africa invade Iberia.

1470 Maria Moriana, an African woman living in England, assumes the status of a free citizen after objecting to her employer's "base plot" to sell her as an enslaved person.

1485 Henry VII is crowned the first Tudor king of England.

1492 Christian monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella capture Granada, Spain's last independent Muslim kingdom.

AFTER

1609–1614 Philip III expels 300,000 Moors from Spain.

fricans have lived within the British Isles for more than 2,000 years. During the Tudor period, they were part of local communities, and were described, among other terms, as "Moors*" and "Blackamoors*." These Africans in 16th- and early 17th-century England—and in the neighboring kingdom of Scotland, which was ruled by the Stuarts intermarried and worked in a range of paid occupations.

A free country

Hundreds of contemporary parish records show that Africans lived in towns and villages throughout what is now the British mainland, from Edinburgh in Scotland to Devon in southwest England. The largest concentrations of Africans were found in the parishes of St. **See also:** The Moors in Al-Andalus 64–67 = Europeans arrive in Africa 94–95 = The creation of "race" 154–157



The Westminster Tournament Roll features the Black royal trumpeter John Blanke. The Roll was created in 1511 to celebrate the birth of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon's son.

Botolph Without Aldgate and St. Olave and Hart Street in London, and in the parish of St. Andrews in the port city of Plymouth. They arrived in England from the Iberian Peninsula (Spain and Portugal) and from West and North Africa, traveling with merchants or aristocrats, or on board ships seized by pirates or privateers privately owned merchant ships authorized by the Crown to assist the navy by taking control of enemy vessels. The experiences of Pero Alvarez, an African who arrived in England from Portugal in 1490, were recorded in English documents. He negotiated his manumission (freedom from slavery) from King Henry VII before returning to Portugal, where his new status was recognized by the Portuguese king.

Africans at court

As with white citizens, the status of "native" and foreign-born Africans in England depended on their own background or that of their employer. Some Africans worked as domestic servants, musicians, or companions in the upper echelons of society; others were skilled tradespeople. Catalina de Motril, an Iberian »

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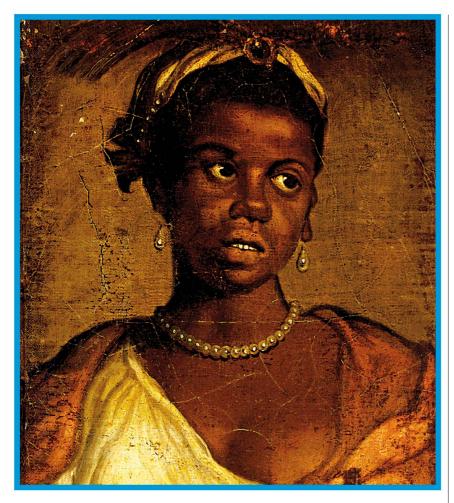
Henrie Anthonie Jetto

Born in 1569 or 1570. Black veoman Henrie Jetto (from "jet," meaning "black") first appears in English records at his baptism in 1596, when he was 26 years old. Jetto lived on English politician Henry Bromley's estate in Holt, Worcestershire, and worked as a gardener there. By 1608, he had saved enough money to become an independent man of property, and called himself "Jetto of Holt." He married Persida, a maid, and they had five children.

Jetto's status as a yeoman is significant. To rise to this rank, he had to own land worth more than 40 shillings. This gave him the right to serve in jury trials, and to vote in local elections. Jetto was also literate—he wrote his own will, naming his wife as an executive trustee, and signed it in 1626—the earliest example of an African will in England that survives to this day. Jetto died in 1627, but his descendants, bearing the name Jetter. continue to live in Worcestershire today.

... it is my will that my children shall not have their portion until my wife's decease unless they chance to marry ... **Henrie Jetto Extract from his will, 1626**

106 BLACKAMOORS IN TUDOR ENGLAND



Portrait of a Moorish Woman was painted in the 1550s by an Italian artist in the style of Paolo Veronese. Africans were often part of wealthy households across Europe at this time, and some held positions in the royal courts.

Moor, arrived in England in 1502 as part of Catherine of Aragon's entourage, and John Blanke, who lived in London in 1507, worked as a royal trumpeter. Blanke performed at the funeral of Henry VII and at the coronation of Henry VIII, and his pay was doubled by the new king.

Henry VIII's successor Elizabeth I had a "favourite lytle Blackamoore," and her chief minister Robert Cecil had an African servant called Fortunatus, who was buried in 1602 in Westminster, London. The practice of employing Africans at court was also taken up by foreign dignitaries, including the prince of Portugal, Don Antonio, who is recorded to have dwelled with "Katherin the negar."

Africans lived and worked in 16th-century Scotland, too. "Peter the Morien" was employed as a musician and event planner at the court of King James IV from 1500 to 1505, and two "Moorish lassies"—"blak Margaret" and "blak Elene"—worked as attendants. One of these women may have played the role of the "black lady" in "the justing of the wild knycht for the black lady," a jousting tournament that took place at the Scottish court in the summer of 1507 and 1508.

English citizens

Notable English playwrights of the Elizabethan era, including William Shakespeare, Christopher Marlowe, and Ben Jonson, featured Africans in their plays—possible evidence of the multiethnic nature of some London parishes at the time. Africans appear in Shakespeare's Othello and The Merchant of Venice, although these plays are set in Europe rather than England.

Some of the period's fictional Black characters may have been metamorphosed into exotic caricatures, but it is important not to apply 18th-century perceptions of race to Africans in 16th-century England. Three documents written at the end of the Tudor period, which some historians claim provide evidence of racism as they outline a plan to deport Africans, were not supported by laws or policies. Two are letters, written in July 1596, that include Elizabeth I's signature; the third is an unsigned proclamation. But the actual drafter was not the

... there are of late diverse Blackamoors* brought into the Realm, of which kind of persons there are already here too many ... **Letter to the Lord Mayor** Signed by Queen Elizabeth I, 1596

*Language used in the 16th century (see p.4)

queen, but a disgraced English politician, Thomas Sherley, and accomplices, who were working on behalf of an opportunistic Lübeck slave trader, Casper van Senden.

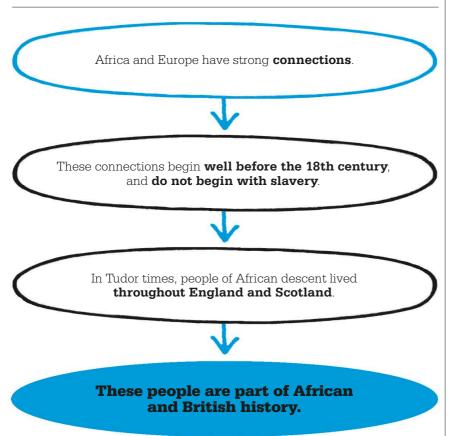
Van Senden's scheme failed. because Africans were "fostered and powered" in England. In other words, many of them were "natural" or "domiciled" citizens-people who had been born in England or had come to treat the country as their permanent home—who had been accepted into the Church of England and baptized. For example, Mary Fillis, "a black more," was baptized in 1597 at St. Botolph Without Aldgate, London. Parish records show that she was living with Millicent Porter, a seamstress. Fillis had come to England about 14 years earlier with her father, "Fillis

of Morisco, a black more, who was a basket maker and shovell maker." Other Africans were "denizen" foreign citizens who had been granted certain rights.

Diplomatic relations

The end of the 16th century brought a succession of African diplomats to England, including the Moroccan ambassador Abd el-Ouahed ben Messaoud ben Mohammed Anoun, who spent six months in England negotiating an alliance against Spain. The ambassador and other North African dignitaries attended festivities marking the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's coronation.

Trade and military negotiations with Africa continued into the reign of Elizabeth's successor, James I. Two West African princes took up





This armorial panel was made in Germany in 1521. It depicts Eva von Schonau, a Black woman who was the first wife of Jacob of Reinach. Personal coats of arms were a popular status symbol in 16th-century Europe.

residence in London as part of these diplomatic overtures: Walter Annerby, from the kingdom of Kaabu (Guinea-Bissau), who was baptized in 1610; and John Jaquoah, from the kingdom of Cestos (Liberia), who was baptized in 1611.

Britain's later colonial history along with the foreign privateering of John Hawkins and Francis Drake, who were sponsored by Elizabeth I in the 1560s to exchange enslaved people from Africa for goods from the Americas—makes it easy to assume that Africans in Tudor England were marginalized. But the evidence suggests otherwise. When English mobs attacked foreign-born people ("strangers") during London's Evil May Day riots of 1517, Africans do not appear to have been targeted. Rather, Africans who came to England were integrated into society; paid to work in a range of roles; and were baptized, married, and buried like any other citizen.



LOCATION Mozambique

BEFORE

c. 1300 The gold trading post of Sofala is founded by Swahili merchants in Mozambique.

1498 Ships led by Vasco da Gama first land on Mozambique's coast.

AFTER

1698 An army from the sultanate of Oman seizes Fort Jesus, a key Portuguese base in Kenya. Portuguese trade is forced south.

1823 A drought in Southeast Africa forces the closure of Mozambique's main gold trading areas.

1861 The Portuguese reestablish the gold trade at the towns of Zumbo and Manica in Mozambique.

1975 Mozambique achieves independence from Portugal.

THE QUEST FOR AN AFRICAN EL DORADO THE GOLD TRADE IN MOZAMBIQUE (1505)

old was mined in the interior of Africa from at least the 11th century, with Zimbabwe dominating the market. It was mostly produced by female peasant farmers, who supplemented their regular income by panning in rivers or dry digging for gold-bearing quartz. Small flakes of gold were then stored in quills and taken to fairs for trading. Such fairs had appeared soon after gold mining developed in the region, and over time they became permanent institutions.



The Portuguese colony of Fort São Caetano in Sofala, Mozambique, was established by Portuguese colonial governor Pêro de Anaia to help take control of the gold trade.

From the 11th to the 15th centuries, port towns on Africa's east coast grew and flourished into permanent trading cities. Muslim travelers had settled among the Bantuspeaking inhabitants along the coast and a unique Swahili culture developed from Somalia in the north to Mozambique in the south, influenced by merchants from across the Indian Ocean.

Trade and exploration

The Swahili people obtained gold by trading with inland African kingdoms, then sold it to foreign merchants from the Red Sea. Persian Gulf, India, Madagascar, and the Comoro Islands. The trading season coincided with the seasonal monsoon winds, which lasted from October to March. Merchants arrived in dhows (traditional Arab sailing vessels) laden with goods such as cloves, pepper, ginger, jewels, and pearls. They came mainly to buy gold for coins and jewelry, but ended up also leaving with animal skins, turtle shells, and ivory.

The Portuguese first appeared on the North African coast in 1415, with their conquest of the port of Ceuta, in Morocco, marking the **See also:** The Bantu migrations 32–33 • The rise of Swahili city-states 62–63 • The city of Great Zimbabwe 76–77 • Europeans arrive in Africa 94–95 • The manikongo succession 110–111 • The Year of Africa 274–275



The Zambezi River was used to transport goods by boat from Zumbo into Zimbabwe, and up the Luangwa tributary to Zambia.

The founding of Zumbo

The Zambezi, Africa's longest east-flowing river, is easily navigable for 200 miles (320 km). As such, Portuguese and Indian merchants looked for trading opportunities along it toward the end of the 17th century. In 1715, they formed Zumbo, a trading post in Mozambique at the point where the Zambezi meets one of its major tributaries, the Luangwa River.

Zumbo granted access to relatively unexploited regions, attracting large numbers of

São Caetano in Sofala, near the modern city of Beira. This fort then became the base of Portuguese gold-trading operations.

Following a failed attempt to capture the interior gold mines at Manica, south of the Zambezi River, between 1569 and 1575, the Portuguese established a presence at the gold fairs during the 17th century. They continued to maintain traders. Its population rapidly increased, as did its trade revenues. In 1749, the trading post was perhaps the most prosperous Portuguese settlement in East Africa at the time. By the mid-1790s, however, it had lost its commercial vigor. Drought and local instability had made the passage of goods to Zumbo increasingly risky and many merchants went elsewhere.

In the 1830s, another more serious drought forced traders to abandon Zumbo. It did not reopen for another 30 years.

a stable trade until the 19th century. Between 1823 and 1836, a regional drought caused serious problems in Mozambique. Drought was common in Southeast Africa, but this one was so severe that it destroyed the region's economic base. Trade, gold-mining, and normal artisanal production ceased. Manica and Zumbo, arguably the region's most important gold fairs, were closed.



beginning of the Portuguese Empire. Later, in 1498, a small fleet led by Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama searched for a sea route to India by sailing around Africa. They were interested in India's black pepper which, at the time, was literally worth its weight in gold. After traveling past the Cape of Good Hope (in modern-day South Africa) and up Africa's east coast, da Gama witnessed bustling port cities trading shiploads of gold.

Portuguese settlements

Determined to monopolize the Indian Ocean trade, Portuguese merchants began to establish settlements on the east coast, and later, colonies. Soon after their arrival on Mozambique's coast, the Portuguese began to travel inland to visit the gold fairs. In 1505, they established the settlement of Fort

Mozambique island, off the coast of northern Mozambique, was claimed by Vasco da Gama in 1506 as a trading post and place for Portuguese ships to resupply vessels en route to India.



OUR KINGDOM IS BEING LOST THE MANIKONGO SUCCESSION (1506)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATIONS Angola, Congo

BEFORE

c. 1390 The kingdom of Kongo is founded by several ethnic groups through marriage alliances. Conquests then expand the kingdom's territory.

1482 First contact is made with the Portuguese when the explorer Diogo Cão arrives at the mouth of the Congo River.

1490 The first known group of missionaries arrives in Kongo at the request of the king, the Manikongo Nzinga Nkuwu.

AFTER

1678 The Kongo capital, Mbanza Kongo, is destroyed and the kingdom breaks into smaller territories.

1913–1914 An unsuccessful revolt against the Portuguese hastens the end of the kingdom, which is absorbed into the colony of Angola.

The manikongo (king of Kongo) **achieves and holds power** with the support of powerful factions (makanda).

The factions **create dynastic lineages of kings**.

The lineages are **interrupted by succession challenges** driven by rival factions.

Repeated **succession crises** weaken the kingdom of Kongo and leave it open to European exploitation.

B y the end of the 15th century, Kongo was by far the largest kingdom in West-Central Africa. It was ruled over by Nzinga Nkuwu, the fifth king, or manikongo, who had also built trading, cultural, and religious links with Portugal. It was these close ties and repeated struggles over royal succession that would dictate Kongo's history.

In 1491, Nzinga Nkuwu and his son Mbemba Nzinga converted to Christianity, taking the names João I—in honor of King João II of Portugal—and Afonso. When João I died, in 1506, Afonso became the sixth manikongo, once he had defeated his non-Christian halfbrother, Mpanzu a Kitima. He linked his victory to Santiago Matamoros See also: Christianity reaches Africa 48–51 • Queen Nzinga takes on Portugal 140–145 • The scramble for Africa 222–223 • The Year of Africa 274–275

(St. James the Moor-Slayer), a mythical symbol of Christian triumph over the Muslim moors.

Having promoted his success in battle as divinely inspired, Afonso fashioned his kingdom as a modern Christian state. He built churches, made Catholicism the official religion, curbed Indigenous religious beliefs, established schools for the training of an elite class, and sent his children and the sons of the nobles to Portugal to be educated.

Trade dominates religion

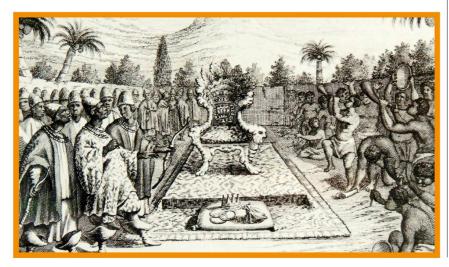
Afonso saw an opportunity to modernize his kingdom through the trading of goods and ideas with the Portuguese. Although he had embraced Christianity and Portuguese customs, Afonso's relationship with Portugal turned sour, particularly over the slave trade. Afonso kept enslaved people, but they were limited to war captives. He was horrified at

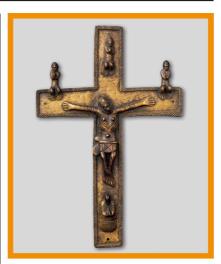
The coronation of a new king of Kongo is depicted in an engraving from the 18th century, when the kingdom had become less powerful but more settled. what he saw as an indiscriminate expansion of slavery when slave traders, to meet demand, extended their reach across all classes. In a letter sent to the Portuguese king, João III, in 1526, Afonso complained about the slave trade, and then set up a mechanism to regulate who could be enslaved. However, this failed to stop clandestine slave trading or prevent Portugal from exploiting the trade beyond Kongo.

An appeal by Afonso to Pope Clement VII in 1539 to control the slave trade was followed in 1540 by a Portuguese assassination attempt on the king as he attended Easter mass. Two years later Afonso died, with his vision of a Catholicized and moralized society not quite fulfilled.

Infighting and decline

The succession crisis that followed Afonso's death exposed how much his kingdom had been weakened by regional rivalries and Portugal's commercial exploitation. Afonso's son, Pedro I, succeeded him in 1543 but was overthrown two years later by Afonso's grandson, Diogo I. Although he maintained the spread





A brass crucifix, made in Kongo in the 16th–17th centuries, is Christian in its iconography but has distinctly African elements, including a Black Christ and four smaller Indigenous figures.

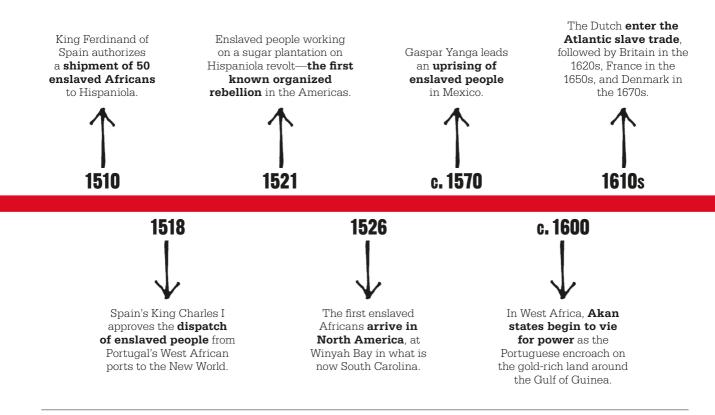
of Christianity, Diogo also expelled many Portuguese, whom he saw as a threat to the kingdom. On his death in 1561, Diogo was succeeded by Afonso II, who was assassinated within a year, probably with the collusion of Portugal.

The divisions that continued to surround kingship successions made Kongo vulnerable. In 1665, the reigning manikongo, António I Nvita a Nkanga, was killed in the Battle of Mbwila while fighting the Portuguese. Another crisis of succession led to a civil war, and the crumbling of the kingdom allowed the Portuguese to expand their slave trade. Although rival factions would later agree to the rotation of kingship between them, the kingdom had lost much of its real power. The desire for modernity and cultural expansion that had driven Afonso I had also brought about the conditions that led to Kongo's decline.

1510 - 1700



114 INTRODUCTION



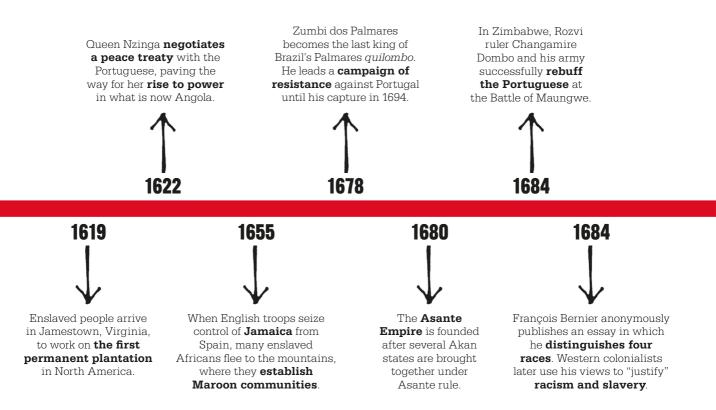
ooking at the history of enslavement in the 16th and 17th centuries, Africa and its people were not simply exploited by European colonists. Africa is a place with a rich history of power, struggle, and defiance. This is embodied by the resistance and leadership of Queen Nzinga of Ndongo and Matamba (in what is now Angola), who fought off Portuguese invaders for 30 years in the first half of the 17th century, and Queen Nanny of the Windward Maroons, who led raids to free enslaved Africans in Jamaica

Of the 12.5 million Africans who were captured and shipped to the Americas between 1510 and 1866, 10.7 million survived the voyage. On arrival, they were set to work on plantations, where sugar, tobacco, and cotton were cultivated to supply the growing demand from Europe. Life on the plantations was brutal, but enslaved workers found ways of preserving their own humanity through faith, tradition, and forging new connections with people from other parts of Africa. Against all odds, they established a strong and influential African diaspora across the Americas, with traditions that have withstood more than three centuries of enslavement.

Freedom seekers

Enslaved Africans across the New World put up a brave fight against their oppressors. The slave rebellion of 1521 in Hispaniola, which occurred soon after the first Africans were imported by the Spanish to work on the island's burgeoning plantations, marks the start of centuries of revolt. Plantation workers formed close communities, transcending culture and language in their desire to defy their enslavers and reclaim their freedom. In Brazil, those who evaded capture took advantage of the Portuguese colony's vast forests and mountainous terrain to set up secluded camps called *quilombos*, which were organized according to African models of governance.

Meanwhile, in Mexico, African freedom seekers led by Gaspar Yanga launched fierce attacks on the Spanish from their base in the highlands. A Spanish campaign to quash the rebels in 1609 failed, and in 1618, these formerly enslaved Africans were granted the right to establish a free settlement. Initially called San Lorenzo de los Negros, the town in Veracruz, Mexico, was renamed Yanga in 1932.



Independent communities were formed by freedom seekers called Maroons in Jamaica, after England wrested control of the Caribbean island from the Spanish in 1655. Maroon communities still exist today in Jamaica and other parts of the Caribbean and Latin America.

Defending Africa

Back in West Africa, Oueen Nzinga was determined to keep her lands free from Portuguese rule. Through a combination of military alliances, peace agreements, and guerrilla warfare, she managed to keep the Portuguese at bay throughout her reign—despite their vastly superior military might—and turned the kingdom of Matamba into a thriving trading hub. Her strong will and political cunning were irreplaceable, and Portugal quickly gained control of the region after her death, but she remains a symbol of resistance to modern Angolans.

Further north, in what is now Ghana, Boamponsem, ruler of the Akan state Denkyira, made use of the Portuguese presence in the Gulf of Guinea to trade gold and enslaved people for guns. This powerful but unpopular leader was eventually defeated by a coalition of Akan states, led by Osei Tutu, who consolidated the states in 1680 as the Asante Empire. With the sacred Golden Stool as its symbol of peace and unity, the empire flourished for another 200 years, thanks largely to Tutu's leadership and its wealth of gold.

The Rozvi Empire, which was established around 1684 in what is now Zimbabwe, was also rich in gold. When the Portuguese tried to gain control of the area's gold mines, they were swiftly repelled by a Rozvi army dubbed "the Destroyers," led by Changamire Dombo.

The concept of race

In 1684, French physician François Bernier was the first to attempt to categorize people by geographical origin and physical differences, dividing them into four "races." He listed "Blackness" as an essential trait of sub-Saharan Africans Later scientists not only grouped people by skin tone, but also added other characteristics, resulting in a constructed hierarchy of races. The white supremacy that still permeates institutions around the world has its roots in these classifications of race, developed to codify the people of Africa and justify colonial agendas.

ST THE FABRIC O F VAN HISTORY RTH OF THE ATLANTIC SLAVE R F. **TRADE (1510)**



IN CONTEXT

LOCATIONS Europe, Africa, Americas

BEFORE

1441 Portuguese sailors reach present-day Mauritania (then Cabo Blanco) on the west coast of Africa.

1461 Portugal erects the first fort to hold enslaved Africans acquired from Muslim merchants and African kings in Arguin, Mauritania.

1492 Christopher Columbus lands on Hispaniola and claims the island for Spain.

AFTER

1839 Enslaved Africans take control of the Spanish slave ship *La Amistad*.

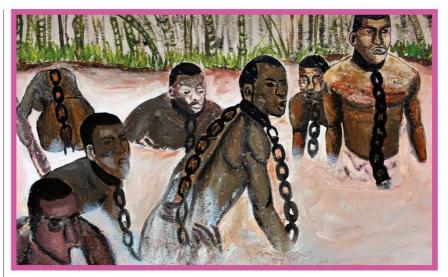
1866 The last slave ship sails, bound for Spanish-ruled Cuba.

2006 France inaugurates a national day of remembrance to commemorate victims of the slave trade, and Britain publicly regrets its involvement.

We grant you ... full and free permission to invade, search out, capture, and subjugate the Saracens and pagans. **Pope Nicholas V**

Dum Diversas, a papal bull to King Alfonso of Portugal, 1452





round 12.5 million people (we will never know the exact number) were trafficked across the Atlantic Ocean from Africa to the Americas in the Atlantic slave trade, which lasted from the 16th to the 19th centuries. It was the largest and longest forced migration of its kind, altering the course of history in Africa and the Americas, and in the parts of Europe that had initiated the trade, primarily to enrich their economies and feed the demands of their consumers.

At its peak, the Atlantic trade was controlled by seven countries: Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, Britain, France, Denmark, and the United States. These nations did not usually procure enslaved people themselves—they obtained them from African kings who had, from the dawn of their civilizations, been enslaving prisoners of war for their own needs. From the 7th century, some of these captives were sold to Muslims, who took them across the Sahara to Islamic states in North Africa. in what is known as the trans-Saharan slave trade.

Kingdoms on Africa's Atlantic coast, such as Dahomey (in what is now Benin), serviced the Atlantic In this modern mural, enslaved men take their last bath in Donko Nsuo River, Ghana, before they are loaded onto the slave ships that will carry them to the Americas.

slave trade. Dahomeans would travel long distances inland to kidnap other Africans. The subdued captives were marched ruthlessly back to the coast and handed to Europeans in exchange for rum, textiles, tools, and guns.

Cheap labor

The trade was born on the Iberian Peninsula, home to Portugal and Spain. Jutting out into the Atlantic, the peninsula was perfectly placed as the initial trading post. It was the part of Europe closest to Africa and the Americas, so it was almost inevitable that the Portuguese or Spanish would be the first Europeans to reach these lands. As it turned out, Portugal was first to navigate Africa, while Spain was first to colonize the Americas.

Portuguese sailors began to explore Africa from the mid-15th century. They did not venture far into the interior of the continent, but sailed along the Atlantic coastline,

ENSLAVEMENT AND REBELLION 119

See also: The trans-Saharan slave trade 60–61 • Europeans arrive in Africa 94–95 • Life on the plantations 122–129 • Abolitionism in Europe 168–171 • The Underground Railroad 190–195 • The ending of slavery in Brazil 224–225

where they discovered the preexisting trans-Saharan slave trade. Soon, the Portuguese were engaged in trading enslaved people, and built forts along Africa's Atlantic coast in which to house them. One such fort, on the island of Arguin, off the coast of Mauritania, was completed in 1461; another, Elmina Castle in what is now Ghana, was finished in 1482. The Portuguese also occupied and detained Africans on the previously uninhabited islands of Cape Verde and São Tomé from 1462 and 1486 respectively.

Some of these enslaved people were used to further Portuguese interests in Africa—as free labor on the sugar plantations established on São Tomé, for example. Others were taken back to the peninsula to work mainly as domestic servants, so that by 1500, there were several thousand Africans both in the Portuguese capital, Lisbon, and the Spanish city of Seville. Meanwhile, on the other side of the Atlantic, Spain had colonized the islands of Hispaniola and Puerto Rico in the 1490s. In Hispaniola, the colonists quickly established gold mines, and attempted to force the island's native inhabitants to work there. But when, in Spanish eyes, the local population proved too weak for the task, the island's governor sent urgent requests to Spain for better laborers in 1509.

The Atlantic trade begins

In January 1510, King Ferdinand of Spain despatched one letter to the Spanish governor of Hispaniola, and another to officials at the House of Trade in Seville. In both missives, he confirmed his decision to send 50 of the "best and toughest slaves" from Seville to Hispaniola, and so the transatlantic slave trade began.

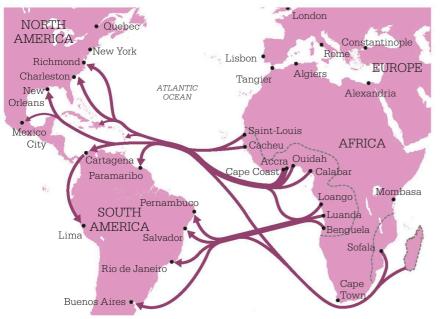
At first, only small numbers of enslaved people were transported across the Atlantic. But when »



The "Door of No Return" at the House of Slaves on Gorée Island, Senegal, was the last African door enslaved people would walk through before boarding a slave ship.

This map shows the middle passage

of the Atlantic trade triangle. Enslaved Africans were held captive in forts before being transported across the Atlantic Ocean from ports on the western coast of Africa. Enslaved people from the northern ports often ended up in the Caribbean and United States, while those from further south were usually taken to Portugal's colony of Brazil.

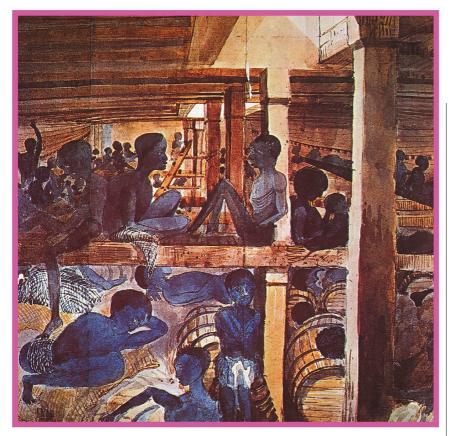


Key:

Main slave-trading regions

Routes of slave traders

120 THE BIRTH OF THE ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE



Ferdinand's successor Charles I (Holy Roman Emperor Charles V) approved the despatch of enslaved people to Spain's colonies directly from Portugal's African ports in 1518, the true Atlantic trade got under way. A ship from Arguin with 79 enslaved people reached Puerto Rico in 1521, and one from São Tomé with 248 enslaved people landed in Hispaniola in 1529. The Portuguese followed suit, sending a ship from São Tomé carrying 17 enslaved Africans to Portugal's newest territory, Brazil, in 1533.

From these early voyages, the Portuguese and the Spanish went on to run the trade exclusively for the first 100 years. Privateers from elsewhere in Europe got involved (licensed by their rulers), as did pirates and smugglers. It was not until the 1610s that the Netherlands officially entered the market, followed by Britain in the 1620s, France in the 1650s, Denmark in the 1670s, and the newly independent US in the late 1770s.

Terrible triangle

The entrance of other European powers into the Atlantic slave trade was clearly linked to their success in founding their own colonies in the Americas. In long, bloody wars, many Caribbean islands changed hands several times. To their mutual benefit, the rival powers evolved what became known as the "triangle of trade" in the Atlantic. Its effects were felt around the world.

At the top of the triangle was Europe, from where slave ships sailed south to the African coast, delivering goods and guns in return for enslaved people. In the "middle **Conditions on slave ships** were cramped, with barely enough space to stand, as depicted in this 1845 sketch of the Brazilian slave ship *Albanez* by British naval officer Francis Meynell.

passage," the ships transported the captives west to the colonies, or to other buyers in the Americas. The ships then exchanged their human cargo for goods such as sugar and tobacco, and sailed back to Europe to complete the triangle.

The system brought vast wealth to individual merchants. most of whom were seemingly unmoved by the brutality of treating humans as commodities. Conditions on slave ships were suffocating due to the hot climate; the lack of air or light below decks: and the foul stench of excrement, sweat, and vomit, Men were manacled together, packed so tightly that they were forced to lie down or crouch. Women had more freedom, but many were raped by crew members. Enslaved people relieved themselves where they were or in communal "necessary tubs." into which children would often fall.

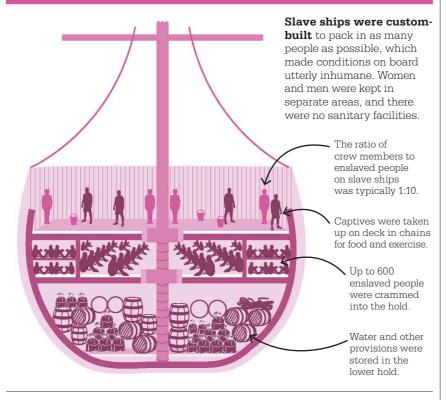
The middle passage lasted for around two months. Disease was rampant, with inevitable outbreaks

I must own ... that I was first kidnapped and betrayed by some of my own complexion ... but if there were no buyers, there would be no sellers.

> Ottobah Cugoano African writer and antislavery campaigner (c. 1757–unknown)

ENSLAVEMENT AND REBELLION 121

Cross-section of a slave ship



of dysentery, smallpox, measles, flu, and scurvy. Nearly two million enslaved people died on the journey and were thrown overboard. But many more survived, and formed close bonds—only for these to be broken on landing as the Africans were sold to different enslavers.

Cudjoe Lewis, a survivor of the last slave ship to reach the US in 1860, spoke in his old age about how painful it was to be separated from his fellow travelers after 70 days on the water together. He said that their grief was hard to bear.

The tide turns

In the face of such awful treatment, rebellions were a regular occurrence, often aided by enslaved seamen who were engaged to communicate with the captives. One such revolt took place just off the coast of Angola in 1812, on the Portuguese ship *Feliz Eugênia*. African sailors and enslaved people ambushed the crew, tied them up, and escaped in small boats. As news of these rebellions and the horrors of the middle passage spread, public outcry grew. Protesters began to reject the trade's products, with boycotts such as the sugar boycott in Britain in the 1790s.

In 1803, Denmark became the first of the slave nations to outlaw the trade. Britain followed suit in 1807, the US in 1808, the Netherlands in 1814, Spain in 1820, France in 1826, and Portugal in 1836. However, compliance was not strict since these nations did not completely abolish slavery itself for another 30 years—the last "legal" slave ship, bound for the Spanish colony of Cuba, sailed in 1866.

Based on evidence from ship's logs, tax registers, journals, and private letters, historians estimate that. of the 12.5 million Africans who boarded the ships. 10.7 million arrived in the Americas, the rest having died on the way. Almost half (5.8 million) were sent by Portugal, mainly to Brazil. Britain trafficked 3.3 million Africans. France sent 1.4 million: Spain. 1.1 million; the Netherlands, just over half a million; the US, 305,000; and Denmark, 111.000. In 1999. Benin became the first modern African state to apologize for its past role in displacing these people. Other nations have since expressed regret for their part in the trade.

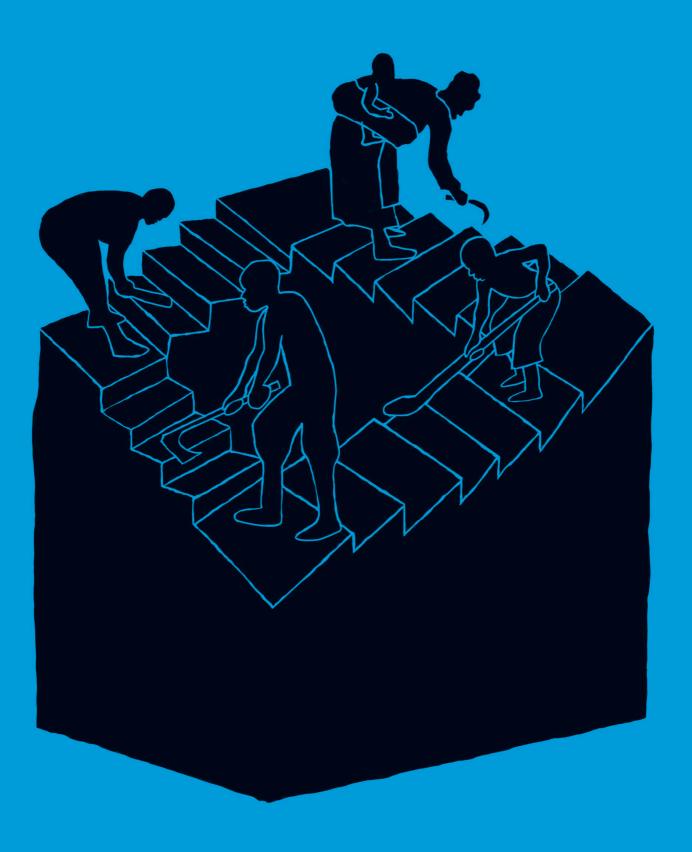
African diaspora

Before the transatlantic slave trade, the people of West Africa had limited interaction with Europe and the colonized Americas. This period of forced migration and enslavement, alongside the colonization of Africa by Europe's empires, created a new African diaspora, which is now prevalent in the islands of the Caribbean, in North and South America, and in the former slavetrading European countries. ■

... the hold so low that we could not stand but were obliged to crouch ... day or night were the same, sleep being denied from the confined position of our bodies. **Mahommah Baquaqua** African abolitionist (c. 1824-1857)

99

SICK OR WELL IT WAS WORK. WORK. WORK LIFE ON THE PLANTATIONS (16th century-1888)



124 LIFE ON THE PLANTATIONS

IN CONTEXT

LOCATIONS United States, Caribbean, Latin America

BEFORE

1425 The Portuguese use enslaved labor to grow sugar cane on the island of Madeira.

1493 Explorer Christopher Columbus takes sugar cane to Hispaniola in the Caribbean.

1501 Spain's rulers sanction the export of enslaved Africans to Hispaniola. From 1512, some work on sugar plantations.

AFTER

1886 In Texas, Black farmers form the Colored Farmers' National Alliance and Cooperative Union to counter protective white alliances.

1891 Black American cotton pickers strike, demanding higher wages. Nine are later killed in a mass lynching.

2010 The US Department of Agriculture vows to pay 40,000 Black farmers \$1.2 billion to compensate for discrimination.

Sometimes I feel like a motherless child, a long way from home. Black American spiritual



or more than 300 years from the early 16th century to as late as 1888 in Brazil enslaved African people and their descendants were forced to labor on plantations in the Americas. These large farms, where crops such as sugar, tobacco, rice, coffee, and cotton were grown, covered extensive areas in the Caribbean and Latin America, especially in Brazil. From the early 17th century, a system of smaller plantations also developed in the American South.

The rise of plantations

The Spanish established the New World's first sugar plantations in Hispaniola in the early 16th century, followed by the Portuguese in Brazil. Both initially forced Indigenous peoples to labor for them until disease and exhaustion depleted this workforce. Enslaved Africans were then imported to take their place. The number of plantations steadily expanded as European demand for sugar increased. They generated huge profits for plantation owners and for the Portuguese and Spanish governments who subsidized them, but they required

In sugar-cane mills such as this in the Antillean islands of the Caribbean, enslaved people processed the cane to extract sugar crystals and also juices, which were fermented to produce rum.

increasingly large numbers of enslaved people to maintain their output and profits.

From the 1650s until 1834, when the UK's Emancipation Proclamation abolished slavery in British colonies, Caribbean plantation economies also expanded and were dominated by first the Dutch, then the French and British. More than 12 million Africans were transported to the New World during that period. Over 90 percent of them went to the Caribbean and South America most were enslaved on plantations.

Deadly labor

Of the estimated four-fifths of enslaved Africans who survived the appallingly cramped conditions of their voyage across the Atlantic Ocean, around 30 percent died from the new diseases they encountered, and many others perished from the rigors of hard labor. By 1750, some 800,000 Africans had been **See also:** The birth of the Atlantic slave trade 116-121 = The slave rebellion in Hispaniola 130-131 = Louisiana's Code Noir 166-167 = Abolitionism in Europe 168-171 = Abolitionism in the Americas 172-179 = The ending of slavery in Brazil 224-225

transported to the Caribbean, yet the Black population stood at just 300,000. Life expectancy on many plantations was only seven to nine vears. The death rate was highest among field hands in the heat and harsh conditions of Caribbean and Latin American plantations, and also on the rice plantations of American colonies such as South Carolina. North Carolina. and Georgia. Standing in water for hours at a time in sweltering heat was frequently fatal. as malaria was rampant. Child mortality was as high as 90 percent on one rice plantation in the American South.

Market forces

The larger Caribbean and Latin American plantations often had hundreds of enslaved people, mainly men, who, by the 19th century, outnumbered the white population by about eight to one on Caribbean islands. Absentee ownership was common in the West Indies, where the running of plantations was often delegated to white managers or free Black people. Most of the

Enslaved people pick coffee beans in 1885 on a plantation in Brazil, which imported more Africans than any other country. Using enslaved Africans boosted profits for Brazilian planters. plantations in the American South had 50 or fewer enslaved people, with a more equal ratio of men to women, and enslavers were more immediately involved. Here, by 1860, African Americans made up around a third of the population.

Economics played a key role in how plantations developed. In the 18th century, as the consumption of sugar spiraled, it became the most valuable commodity in European trade, increasing competition between plantation owners, who forced enslaved people to step up production. Planting, manuring, and cutting the cane fell to the strongest and healthiest. Organized into gangs, they were compelled to work up to 18 hours a day with no respite at weekends and no days off.

Enslaved individuals were valued according to their skills. In the Caribbean, those skilled at boiling sugar were worth £150 in the 1780s— 25 times as much as an enslaved elderly person. On one Antigua plantation, 56 people were priced at £3,590 (£360,000/\$508,000 today).

Tobacco fuels the trade

Before the widespread cultivation of cotton in the American South from the early 1800s, most enslaved people worked on tobacco plantations in and around Virginia.



Mary Prince

Born enslaved in Bermuda in 1788. Prince was first sold aged 12. Sold again six years later, she was forced to work in salt ponds for up to 17 hours a day. She became an enslaved domestic servant for John Wood in Antiqua, who took her to London, UK, in 1828. There, she sought shelter from the Moravian Church and worked for abolitionist Thomas Pringle. Writer Susanna Strickland helped Prince set down her painful life story, which caused a stir amid mounting antislavery fervor. It is not known whether Prince returned to the Caribbean, or when she died.

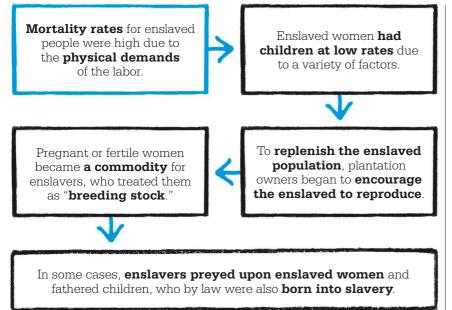
Key work

1831 The History of Mary Prince

With the rising use of tobacco in Europe from the 17th century onward, such plantations became a vital component of the American colonial economy. They developed in Virginia, especially in the region around Chesapeake Bay, from where it was easy to ship the crop to Britain. The number of enslaved on these plantations increased in the 18th century from around 100,000 to a million—around 40 percent of the area's population. Although no Africans were imported here after 1775, the children of Black women swelled the numbers of enslaved

Prior to the boom, relations between planters and enslaved people here were relatively close, and they often worked side »

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by side. As competition between growers increased, more Africans arrived. White workers increasingly managed Black teams, forcing them to work beyond their limits to grow a larger crop.

Cotton plantations began to expand in the American South after more efficient processing machines were introduced at the end of the 18th century. As elsewhere, the use

My pappy was used much as a male cow is used on the stock farm and was hired out to other plantation owners for

that purpose. Barney Stone Formerly enslaved Black American man, b.1847 of enforced slave labor to plant and harvest cotton for trade and export ensured these plantations' success. The numbers of enslaved continued to increase. By 1860, two-thirds of enslaved people in the New World worked in the South.

Personal violations

Increasing the population of the enslaved was a deliberate policy in the Americas. Women (and some men) were strongly encouraged and often forced to breed to boost their enslaver's profits by producing the next generation of enslaved people, although marriage between the enslaved was forbidden and families were often broken up. Many women were also raped by enslavers and plantation managers, who deemed it their right.

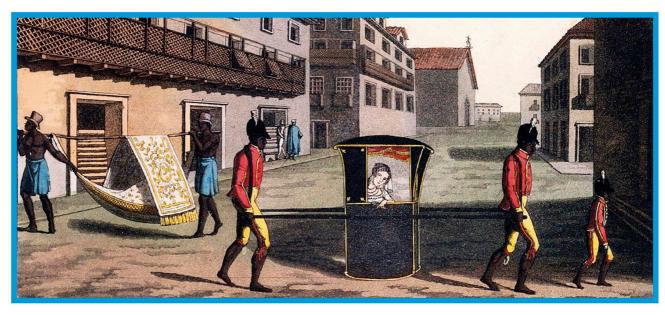
In the American South, children born of the rape of Black enslaved women by white overseers were called "mulattoes" and enslaved. Although some were educated and freed by white fathers, they could never be part of white society. Racial mixing was more acceptable to the Spanish and Portuguese in Latin America, but there and in the Caribbean, as in the American South, all children took on their mother's status.

Varying tasks

Male and female enslaved were involved in all aspects of crop production and catered for every need of their enslavers and local managers. Some women served as nurses, seamstresses, and kitchen maids Men who did not work in the fields did manual jobs around the plantations or in crop processing factories. Some were also rented out to work for others at whatever job was required. Older children and frailer adults did lighter work such as cleaning, scaring away birds, or water-carrying. Young children and a few elderly people were exempt from work. In Latin America the elderly, viewed as a financial burden. were often freed. There and

Black American maids, such as this woman from New Orleans, pictured in 1840, had the outward trappings of a neat uniform but could still be cruelly beaten, as Mary Prince revealed.



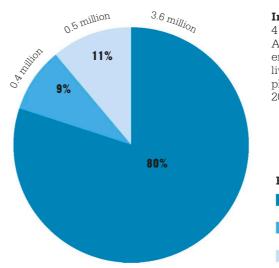


Enslaved Black men had to carry the gentry on hammocks or palanquins (sedans) in Brazil, sometimes between plantations, and in cities such as Rio de Janeiro, pictured here in 1816.

elsewhere, enslavers might free the enslaved by deed or in a will, but laws varied in different colonies and states; some sought to restrict the number of those freed. Church and benevolent societies might buy a person's freedom. Some enslaved people could even buy their own, but for most, life was endless labor.

Denigrating treatment

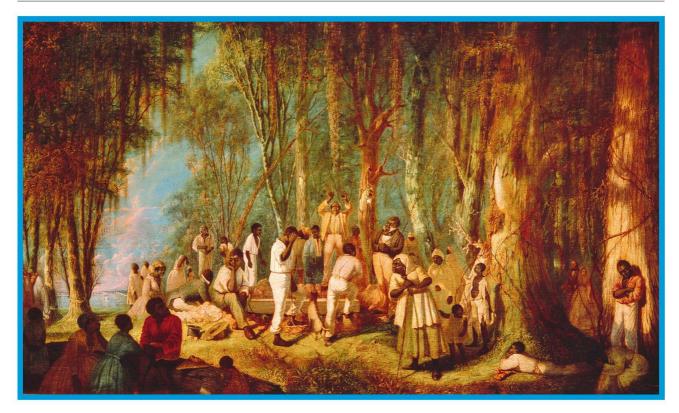
From the outset, enslaved people were property of enslavers—once bought, they were often branded with an enslaver's initial and given a new name. In 1661, Barbados was the first colony to impose legislation which enshrined in law an enslaver's right to subjugate enslaved people, equating them with "other goods and chattels." Other Caribbean islands followed suit, as did the American colonies of Virginia, Maryland, Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Plantation owners controlled the enslaved with punishments that included beatings, whippings, torture, and mutilation. Olaudah Equiano, a formerly enslaved man who published his life story in 1789, told how the enslaved had heavy hooks hung around their necks, and chains added for minor offenses. He described the use of thumbscrews and iron muzzles and seeing a man beaten until his bones were broken "for even letting a pot boil over." In Antigua, it was not a crime to kill an enslaved person until 1723. As planters were also the island's lawmakers, it was impossible to prosecute anyone for mistreating workers. The situation was similar throughout the Americas. »



The United States in 1860

In the US in 1860, of the 4 million enslaved African Americans held by 385,000 enslavers, 3.6 million lived on either farms or plantations (estates with 20 or more enslaved people).





In the American South, planters feared insurrections, and local laws were tightened whenever these were suspected. Patrols of white men enforced the laws, stopping any enslaved person found outside

All the colored* folk on plantations and farms around our plantation were slaves and most of them were terribly mistreated by their masters.

> Carl Boone Black American formerly enslaved person



a plantation. They would also raid homes and break up gatherings, searching for anything suspicious. If an uprising occurred or was suspected, white vigilantes would terrorize, torture, and kill any Black people they held responsible.

Community life

Whether in the Caribbean, Latin America, or the American South, enslaved people generally lived in very basic dwellings—huts or rough log cabins with earthen floors-that were barely furnished, with perhaps a bed, table, and bench. On later plantations in the South, some dwellings had separate sleeping and eating areas, and on at least twothe Hermitage Plantation in Georgia and Boone Hall in South Carolinafield hands lived in brick dwellings. and those who were skilled had their own homes, while enslaved domestic servants might live in the enslaver's

Enslaved people gather in the woods in Mississippi for an evening burial service conducted by a Black preacher, in this 1860 scene painted by American artist John Antrobus.

house. Although there was little time for leisure and few communal areas where enslaved people could gather, the shared privations of their lives engendered a deep sense of solidarity and defiance. Many of them subtly or openly resisted their ill-treatment—for instance, by breaking tools, feigning sickness, stealing food, or deliberately misinterpreting instructions.

Intermittent Caribbean slave revolts—the first in Hispaniola in 1521—inspired others elsewhere. Records suggest that more than 250 attempted or actual uprisings of 10 or more people occurred in the Americas in the 200 years before the US Civil War of 1861–1865. We slept in a long shed, divided into narrow slips, like the stalls used for cattle. Boards fixed upon stakes driven into the ground, without mat or covering, were our only beds. **Mary Prince**



Many of the enslaved turned to religion for solace and guidance. In Latin America, Africans were baptized into Catholicism when they first arrived, and while their treatment on plantations remained harsh, enslavers encouraged family units. Religious worship that might have included elements of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism, mixed with traditional African beliefs, often became part of plantation life. In the American South, some enslavers forbade the enslaved to attend church. Bill Collins. an enslaved person from Alabama. recalled that on Sunday the enslaved would sneak off to the barn and pray to God to "fix some way for us to be freed." Despite their cruelty toward the enslaved, other enslavers felt it no contradiction to insist that enslaved people attend Christian services. Spirituals evolved from hymns the enslaved heard, which were adapted and infused with a defiant call for freedom. Languages and dialects developed to conceal the evolution of this new Black American culture, communicated in shared songs and stories.

The end of enslavement

Britain's 1834 Emancipation Proclamation abolished slavery in its colonies. Plantations introduced forms of apprenticeship, but many Black people preferred to make a modest living growing and selling their own crops. In Latin America, emancipation occurred throughout much of the 19th century. Many of the enslaved joined patriot armies as countries overthrew Spanish control, and pressed for equal rights once independence was achieved. In the American South, the fate of

A happy wedding scene, depicted in 1820, belies the often short-lived unions celebrated by jumping the broom. The tradition is often said to have originated from Akan practices in West Africa.

Jumping the broom

The phrase "jumping the broom," to signify an unorthodox marriage, surfaced in Britain in the 18th century, but it is best known as a Black American ritual, popular among the enslaved in the 1800s.

For enslaved couples who came together on plantations and elsewhere, the simple ceremony of jumping over a broom was a way to strengthen their union. The broom symbolized the sweeping away of evil spirits and bad memories from the past and represented the hope that the the formerly enslaved was often far worse. Thousands of Black people who escaped or were freed from slavery during the Civil War years were unable to find paid work and died of starvation or perished during outbreaks of smallpox and cholera. Many sheltered behind Union Army lines, in unsanitary "contraband camps," some of which were former slave pens. adding to their distress. Often the only way they could leave was by agreeing to return to work on the plantations they had left. For vast numbers of those newly emancipated in 1865 following the Union Army's victory. freedom came at a terrible cost

A basic hut at Green Hill, a tobacco and wheat plantation in Virginia, is one of 17 wood-and-stone buildings where 81 people enslaved by Samuel Pannill lived in the 19th century.



couple would survive an uncertain future. Even if an enslaver sanctioned or sometimes forced sexual relations between enslaved people, legal marriages were forbidden as they had no civil rights. Enslavers often split up and sold off family members.

In 1865, when the passing of the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery across the US, many Black Americans rushed to exercise their civil rights and legalize their marriages. The earlier broom-jumping ceremony survived to honor a proud tradition among the enslaved.



AMERICA'S FIRST SLAVE REBELLION IN HISPANIOLA (1521)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION The Caribbean

BEFORE **1492** Christopher Columbus claims the island of Ayiti as Hispaniola for Spain.

1496 Santo Domingo is established—the first Spanish capital in the New World.

1512 The earliest African freedom seekers or *Cimarrónes* establish communities with indigenous Taíno people.

AFTER

1697 Hispaniola is split between France and Spain. The French control Saint-Domingue (modern Haiti), and the Spanish retain the rest (today's Dominican Republic).

1791 Slaves revolt in Frenchcontrolled Saint-Domingue.

1804 Haiti declares independence from France.

1844 The Dominican Republic gains independence from Haiti.

ispaniola—the second largest Caribbean island, located west of Cuba in the heart of the Caribbean Sea was colonized by the Spanish and later, the French. It was later the site of the Haitian Revolution, the world's first successful slave rebellion, which then led to an independent Haiti in 1804. But long before this was the slave rebellion of 1521, which demonstrated what enslaved people could achieve.

When Christopher Columbus first landed on Hispaniola in 1492, it was inhabited by around 400,000 indigenous Taíno people. He promptly claimed the island for the Spanish crown, establishing Spain's first colony. The Spanish settlers

An illustration of enslaved people cultivating sugar on Hispaniola, c.1550. By then, the enslaved population was 20,000–30,000. Some 7,000 *Cimarrónes* continued to defy the Spanish.



See also: The birth of the Atlantic slave trade 116-121 = Life on the plantations 122-129 = Enslaved people rise up in Mexico 132-135 = The Jamaican Maroons 146-147 = Abolitionism in the Americas 172-179 = The Haitian Revolution 184-189

\bigcirc



Enslaved people were not permitted to possess weapons.

Enslaved people were not permitted to visit other properties.

The 1522 slave laws



There were harsh penalties for those seeking freedom.



People were not permitted to help freedom seekers.



Enslaved people were encouraged to pair up and form families.

forced the Taíno people to work in the gold mines and on colonial sugar plantations. By 1510, deaths from disease and brutal treatment reduced the Taíno population by nearly 90 percent. To remedy the acute shortage of labor, the Spanish king approved the transport of enslaved West Africans to the new colonies starting in 1518.

Rising against the system

Most of the enslaved people who were brought to Spanish colonies came from northwest Africa, but from different cultures and speaking different languages. Despite working side by side, it was difficult for them to communicate and organize any sort of insurrection. Many rebelled individually, fleeing their enslavers toward the uninhabited areas of the mountains. As enslaved populations grew, however, they started discussing how they could organize and rise up against the colonists.

By 1521, Columbus's son and governor of Hispaniola, Diego Columbus, oversaw a sugar plantation on the outskirts of the capital, Santo Domingo, where the rebellion began. The organization of the revolt has been attributed to Maria Olofa and Gonzalo Mandinga, two of the first *Cimarrónes* or Maroons—enslaved African freedom seekers. Rebels made weapons out of sharpened sticks, and seized machetes that were used for harvesting sugar cane.

On Christmas Eve, 1521, while the enslavers were celebrating, 20 rebels organized, marching west from the Nigua River toward the village of Azua, calling for other enslaved Africans to leave their plantations and join them along the way. When the Spanish cavalry was rapidly summoned to quash the insurrection, the rebels could not compete with mounted troops equipped with swords and guns.



The survivors fled to the rocky hills, but were captured within five days. Even so, the rebels had still managed to free about a dozen enslaved Taíno people and kill nine Spaniards.

The fallout

The slave revolt of 1521 was the first of its kind, and it unsettled the Spanish government. Just 10 days after the rebellion began, slave laws were put into place, in order to maintain control and ensure no other uprisings would ever happen again. These laws placed restrictions on Black people living in Hispaniola, whether enslaved or not. Freedom seekers fleeing their enslavers faced harsh penalties, such as the severing of a foot and, for a second offense. death. Yet the laws also promoted marriages between enslaved people, so that they could form familiesthus reducing, it was hoped, the likelihood of future rebellions and adding to the pool of enslaved labor.

Although Haiti, on the western side of Hispaniola, wouldn't fight for and gain its independence for another 282 years, the revolt of 1521 put the authorities on notice that the people they had enslaved could organize and fight for their freedom.

A BLOODY REBELLION REBELLION IN THE SUGAR FIELDS ENSLAVED PEOPLE RISE UP IN MEXICO (1570)



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Mexico

BEFORE

1428 The Aztec people take over central Mexico and go on to develop a powerful empire.

1517 Spanish explorer Francisco Hernández de Córdoba lands on the Yucatán Peninsula of eastern Mexico.

1521 Enslaved Africans on a plantation in Spain's colony of Hispaniola stage the first slave revolt in the Americas.

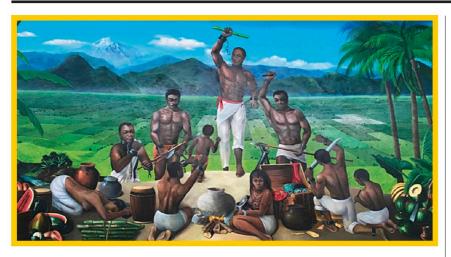
AFTER

1835–1836 Texas revolts and breaks away from Mexico, creating the Republic of Texas. It becomes a US state in 1846.

1846–1848 Disputes over territory result in the Mexican– American War, which the US wins, gaining extensive areas from northwestern Mexico.

rom the 1520s until the start of the Mexican War of Independence in 1810, around 250,000 Africans were imported to work on Mexico's sugar plantations, in silver mines, on cattle ranches, and as domestic servants. During the three centuries of African enslavement here, more than 100 rebellions and conspiracies were recorded, including the most successful revolt, led by Gaspar Yanga in 1570 on a sugar plantation in Veracruz.

The influx of enslaved Africans was, in part, prompted by a steep decline of the Indigenous population. In central Mexico, their numbers dropped from more than 27 million See also: Life on the plantations 122–129 $\,$ The slave rebellion in Hispaniola 130–131 $\,$ Brazil's slave resistance camps 136–139 $\,$ The Jamaican Maroons 146–147 $\,$



Gaspar Yanga and his compatriots celebrate freedom in a painting from the Museo Regional de Palmillas in Yanga, formerly San Lorenzo de los Negros, the free town Gaspar Yanga established.

in 1519 to just over a million in 1605, as a result of overwork and diseases such as smallpox, introduced by their Spanish conquerors. Spain's ruler, Charles I, encouraged the use of Africans to replace Indigenous workers as New Spain, the country's largest colony, took shape from 1521. As well as present-day Mexico, it included much of North America and Central America, northern parts of South America, and Caribbean and Pacific islands.

Short-lived compassion

The arrival in 1519 of *conquistador* Hernán Cortés in Veracruz, the main port of entry on the Gulf Coast, marked the start of Spain's export of enslaved Africans to Mexico. After Cortés's conquest of the Aztec capital Tenochtitlán in 1521, the demand increased sharply as mining and sugar plantations developed, and was at its peak from 1580 to 1650. Charles I, strongly influenced by the Catholic Church, which sought conversions, initially advocated the humane treatment of the enslaved. Some were allowed to purchase their freedom, and manumission (freeing the enslaved by deed or in wills) was encouraged. Enslaved African men were also permitted to marry Indigenous women, which ensured liberty for their children. The Church was a strong proponent of Christian marriage and sought to ensure that relationships between Spaniards and Black enslaved women were legitimized, too. Their offspring were free citizens but dubbed *mulattos*—a derogatory . reference to mules, which are horse and donkey hybrids. Numbers of people of African descent—both free and enslaved—quickly grew.

Despite the Church's initiatives, the reality of forced labor in mines and on plantations was brutal, and death rates among the enslaved were especially high in both areas. Enslavers flouted rules concerning humane treatment. African women were raped, families were often broken up, and the enslaved were frequently punished more harshly for the "blasphemy" of uttering curses as they were whipped.

Revolt and escape

Mounting resentment, combined with the growing numbers of the enslaved, led to individual and organized insurrections across Mexico. In 1537, the first attempt at a large-scale revolt was thwarted when the colony's viceroy Antonio de Mendoza learned of it. An agent »

| The Afro-Mexican population | | |
|-----------------------------|--|--|
| Date | Event | People of African descent in Mexico |
| 1580–1650 | Mexico's import of enslaved Africans is at its peak. | <i>c</i> .45,000 in 1580 <i>c</i> .150,500 in 1650 |
| 1810 | The Mexican War of Independence begins, and slavery is largely abandoned. | Approximately 500,000–600,000 (10% of the population) |
| 2020 | For the first time ever, the Mexican census includes a category for Afro-Mexican heritage. | 2,576,213 Afro-Mexican or partly Afro-Mexican (2% of the population) |

134 ENSLAVED PEOPLE RISE UP IN MEXICO

Yanga led the rebels into the mountains, where they found an inaccessible place where they could settle ... [For] more than thirty years, Yanga and his followers lived free.

Pérez de Ribas Spanish missionary and historian (1576–1655)



confirmed that, in Mexico City and outlying mines, Africans led by an elected king and supported by Indigenous people had vowed to free the entire enslaved population. The viceroy had the conspirators arrested and tried. After confessing, they were hanged, drawn, and quartered as a public warning.

Continuing tensions and at least two more plots in the 1540s prompted the viceroy to introduce a host of restrictions covering both free and enslaved Black people. They included curfews, and also prohibited the sale of firearms and any gatherings of three or more Black people without a Spanish employer or enslaver present.

Freedom in the highlands

In the 1550s, the new viceroy Luis de Velasco increased restrictions and established a civil militia (the *Santa Hermandad*) to help bolster the region's security. In 1553, he wrote that the Black and *mestizo* (mixed-race) population "exceed the Spaniards in great quantity," adding that they "all desire to purchase their liberty with the lives of their masters."

Around 1570, one uprising on the Nuestra Señora de la Concepción sugar plantation in the Veracruz region inland from the Gulf Coast became the stuff of legends. It was led by Gaspar Yanga, who was reputed to be an African prince from Gabon. He and his coconspirators killed 23 Spaniards before escaping to the mountains, where he formed a *palenque*—one of a number of such settlements of *cimarrónes* or Maroons, as the freedom seekers were called.

What distinguished Yanga's palenque was its success, size, and longevity. He and his followers armed themselves with machetes. bows and arrows, and any guns they could steal. From their safe hideaway, they planned violent raids on local highways, ranches, and plantations, seizing what they needed to subsist and freeing others wherever possible. The harsh terrain favored their guerrilla activities. For almost 40 years, as the attacks persisted and Yanga established more palengues, the communities became an acute embarrassment to the colony's Spanish governors and a source of terror in the Veracruz region.

Revolts intensify

The insurrections increased as more enslaved Africans were imported to labor on expanding plantations and in mines. In the north, those who escaped formed alliances with local Indigenous people against the Spanish. Seemingly helpless against this onslaught, the authorities imposed ever stiffer penalties, including the death sentence or castration for those missing for more than six



A bronze statue of Gaspar Yanga by Mexican artist Erasmo Vásquez Lendechy was unveiled in Yanga, Veracruz, in August 1976.

African roots in Veracruz

The free town that Yanga founded in 1618, now home to more than 20,000 people, lies inland in the eastern coastal state of Veracruz. The area around it was once Maroon territory, teeming with settlements that resisted Spanish rule. The Afro-Mexican population of Veracruz is larger than in many other parts of Mexico, and several villages retain African names, such as Matamba and Mozomboa.

Anthropologist Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán (1908–1996), who grew up in Veracruz, was the first to publish extensive research highlighting Mexico's important Black history. Veracruz-born singer Toña La Negra (1912– 1982) helped raise the profile of Afro-Mexicans as she proudly asserted her African roots throughout her long career.

Mexico's carnivals feature music in the *son jarocho* style that originated in Veracruz and combines Spanish, Indigenous, and African elements. So, too, does the Festival of Negritude in Yanga, first staged in 1986, which celebrates the town's founder and its African heritage.



months, but they had little effect. By the late 1570s, most of the colony outside Mexico City was in revolt.

Victory in Veracruz

In the last decades of the 16th century, Maroon guerrilla activities intensified in the Veracruz region, and the raiders rescued more enslaved people—even attacking Spanish homes to free domestic servants. The main road from the port of Veracruz to Mexico City was unsafe for travel as Maroons often intercepted wagons carrying goods from the Gulf Coast.

In 1609, Viceroy Luís de Velasco equipped Captain Pedro González de Herrera with a small army and ordered him to regain control of the region. In defiance, Yanga despatched a Maroon force to harass the Spanish troops as they approached and sent a captured Spaniard to deliver his peace terms: self-rule and freedom in exchange for cooperation in the region and the return of any local enslaved Africans who might flee to the region. When Herrera refused, a battle ensued and both sides suffered heavy casualties. Yanga and his people abandoned their settlement, which the Spanish burned down, but soon established another *palenque* in the mountains, and continued their local raids.

Nine years later, in 1618, both sides finally agreed to Yanga's terms. The treaty granted the formerly enslaved Africans their freedom to live in *palenques* and established the free town of San Lorenzo de los Negros, which was renamed Yanga in 1932. It was the first settlement of freed people in North America.

Independence and freedom

Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, minor revolts and almost continuous escapes continued across the colony, proving a precarious but effective path to liberty for many. Mexico's import of enslaved Africans had slowed by **Coyolillo's Carnival**, which celebrates the heritage of Afro-Mexicans, originated when enslaved Africans were given a single day off and used it to disguise themselves with masks.

the end of the 17th century; by the end of the 18th century, most people of African descent were employed, but usually under harsh conditions and for little pay. From 1810 to 1821, people of African heritage joined forces with their compatriots to fight against Spanish rule in the Mexican War of Independence and became part of the new nation with its unique mix of races and cultures. The Republic of Mexico abolished slavery in 1829, and was the second nation in the Americas to do so; Haiti was the first, in 1804.

Yanga was named a national hero in 1871 and has since been titled *El Primer Libertador de las Americas* ("The first Liberator of the Americas"). Yet most historians tended to overlook Mexico's rich Black history, focusing more on people of white and Indigenous descent. Only relatively recently have Mexicans begun to explore and celebrate their African roots. The country's 2020 census was the first in which Mexicans could assert their African heritage.

"I am mulatta* and proud to have the blood of Black people running through my veins." **Toña la Negra**

Mexican singer (1912–1982)



*Language used in 1945 (see p.4)

WARRIOR VILLAGES BRAZIL'S SLAVE RESISTANCE CAMPS (1570)



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Brazil

BEFORE

1444 The Portuguese begin buying enslaved people along West Africa's Guinea coast. They take them to work in domestic service in Europe.

1470 The Portuguese land on the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe in the Gulf of Guinea. They establish plantations on the islands, worked by enslaved Africans.

1500 Portuguese explorers sight and claim Brazil; imports of enslaved Africans begin in the 1530s.

AFTER

1822 Brazil declares independence from Portugal.

1888 The princess regent of Brazil abolishes slavery, freeing some 700,000 people.

he Portuguese added Brazil to their colonies at the start of the 16th century. Initially, they used the land to grow crops, especially sugar cane, for European markets. The combination of fertile soils, advanced milling techniques, and soaring demand created an economic boom. In the 1620s, Brazil yielded 14,000 tons of sugar per annum, dominating sugar production in the Western world.

Sugar production required vast amounts of labor. Before the arrival of enslaved Africans in Brazil, the Portuguese had manned their plantations with captive Indigenous people, but deadly diseases

ENSLAVEMENT AND REBELLION 137

See also: The slave rebellion in Hispaniola 130–131 = Enslaved people rise up in Mexico 132–135 = The Jamaican Maroons 146–147 = The Haitian Revolution 184–189 = The ending of slavery in Brazil 224–225 = Brazil's Black movements 240–241



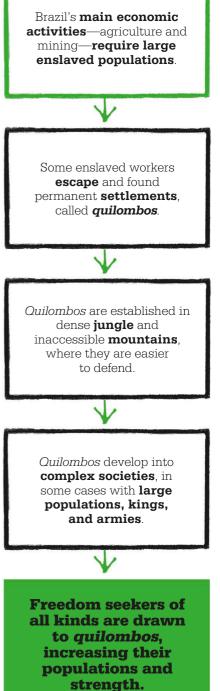
Brazil's northeast was the most profitable area for sugar production, especially the captaincy (prefecture) of Pernambuco, shown in this map of 1647, and neighboring Bahia.

introduced by the colonists had ravaged the Indigenous population; a smallpox outbreak in the 1560s killed around 30,000 Indigenous people. From 1570, the Portuguese began to import large numbers of enslaved Africans, and so began a story of brutality and resistance that still resonates in Brazil today.

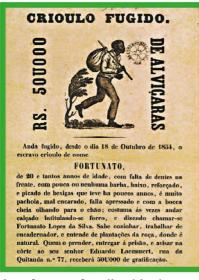
Fleeing brutality

By 1600, about 50,000 Africans had arrived in Brazil, overtaking Indigenous people as the country's main source of labor. The Africans found themselves at the mercy of their white enslavers. Floggings and brandings were common, and workers sometimes died at the hands of their enslavers. Portuguese law stipulated the death sentence for plantation owners who killed the enslaved, but this was rarely carried out in practice. There were also many cases of enslaved workers killing their overseers or plantation owners. The reasons given in court included constant beatings and very limited basic rights to food and rest.

It is clear from newspaper notices placed by enslavers seeking the return of their workers that enslaved people sometimes tried to escape, especially in rural areas. The majority of freedom seekers were African men. They usually fled alone and with a clear destination in mind, such as the home of a freed relative. Escape was usually temporary as most people did not get beyond the immediate vicinity before being caught. »



138 BRAZIL'S SLAVE RESISTANCE CAMPS



A cash reward is offered for the capture of a young freedom seeker in a poster of 1852. It includes details of his appearance and skills, including the fact that he can cook and garden.

Plantation owners, mindful of the cost of lost labor, would sometimes be conciliatory toward returning freedom seekers, delivering only moderate punishment and offering some redress of grievances, but whippings, imprisonment, and torture were common.

Quilombos spring up

Enslaved workers sometimes tried to escape to settlements called *quilombos* (possibly after the word for "warrior village" in the language of the Mbundu people of Angola) or *mocambos* (the Mbundu word for "hiding places"). Like the Maroons in Jamaica, the freedom-seekers built their villages in dense jungle and remote mountains, which were not easily accessible. In the case of Brazil, the only neighbors were Indigenous people, who mostly accepted the *quilombos*.

Areas that had many enslaved workers, such as the northeast, had the greatest concentrations of quilombos. The biggest and most famous of these was Palmares, founded in 1597. During the Dutch occupation of northeastern Brazil between 1630 and 1654, Palmares grew rapidly, as clashes between the colonial powers limited their ability to control its expansion. It became a confederation of ten *quilombos*, the largest of which had palisades, moats, lookout towers, and hidden traps. Its population included African and Brazilian-born enslaved people, Indigenous peoples, and some white people.

Palmares was subject to at least 40 attacks from Portuguese and Dutch forces. Some of them resulted in heavy losses for colonial armies, but the assaults became increasingly intense. In 1695, a colonial army of 6,000 troops destroyed Palmares.

New demands

In the 18th century, French and British islands in the Caribbean began to produce sugar cane for northern and eastern Europe. By the middle of the century, Brazil was still the third-largest sugar producer in the world, but the country's economy had shifted away from the northeast following the discovery of gold in Minas in the southeast. In 1763, Brazil's capital was changed from Salvador, in Bahia, to Rio de Janeiro in the southeast. The new capital flourished, especially after the arrival of the Portuguese court, which fled there just before Napoleonic forces invaded Lisbon in 1808.

Brazil's farms and mines required large numbers of enslaved workers, leading to increasing numbers of freedom seekers. The same need for labor unfolded in Goiás, in central Brazil, following the discovery of gold, and in Rio Grande do Sul, in the south, when cattle ranching took off in the late 18th century. Enslaved people were also brought to the state of São Paulo, in the southeast, which became a center for coffee growing.

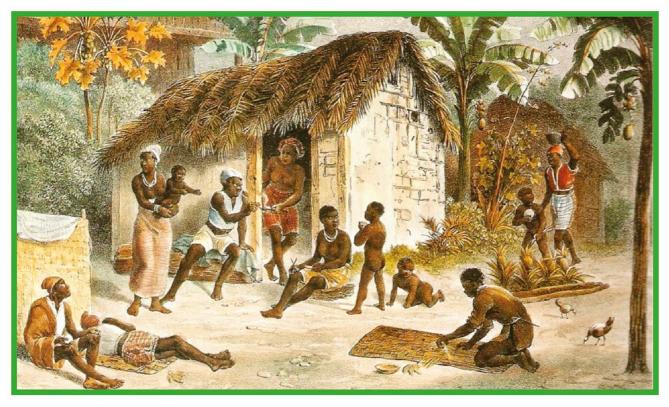
When gold production waned, the government regenerated agriculture in the northeast. The state of Grão-Pará and Maranhão became a center for cotton and rice as well as sugar cane. The Marquês de Pombal, a Portuguese government minister, imported 12,000 enslaved people to grow the crops. Large numbers of *quilombos* sprang up in the area. Between 1734 and 1816, more than 80 such settlements existed in Grão-Pará and Maranhão.

Zumbi dos Palmares

Born in the Quilombo dos Palmares around 1665, Zumbi dos Palmares was the last king of the *quilombo*. He became king in 1678, after the previous leader, Ganga Zumba, was poisoned for agreeing to pledge loyalty to the Portuguese king in exchange for legal recognition.

Zumbi led the community effectively, resisting colonial armies, organizing raids, and attempting to negotiate with the Portuguese. However, during a Portuguese assault by 2,000 white and Indigenous people armed with guns and arrows in 1694, he was betrayed and captured. The Portuguese decapitated and mutilated his body, displaying his head in the town of Recife. Palmares was destroyed the following year.

Zumbi is a legendary figure in Brazil. In 1978, Brazil declared November 20 *Dia Nacional da Consciência Negra* (National Day of Black Consciousness). In 2003, the day became a holiday commemorating Zumbi's death.



Life on a quilombo was depicted by German artist Johann Moritz Rugendas, who traveled through Brazil between 1822 and 1825. The largest *quilombo*, Palmares, held up to 20,000 people.

Quilombos often had formal organizational structures based on African models of governance. Royal documents attest to the existence of kings, captains, or other community leaders. Some *quilombos* had armies with purchased or stolen weapons; Vila Maria (also known as the Quilombo of Sepotuba) in the remote western state of Mato Grosso was said to have an army of 200 men during the 1860s.

The main problem faced by *quilombos* was their gender ratio. In the late 1860s, the Quilombo Manso in Mato Grosso reportedly had only 20 adult women and 13 children in a population of 293. Another challenge was growing sufficient food for the community, especially in *quilombos* in Minas, where poor soils made agriculture difficult. These issues drove *quilombolas* (those who lived in the settlements) to raid the supplies of nearby plantations and kidnap their women, leading to conflict.

Havens for all

Over time, quilombos attracted freedom seekers of many kinds, including fugitives from the law. They were constantly attacked by the authorities, which developed special military units to deal with them. Minas created a regiment composed of *Capitães do Mato*, mercenaries contracted to hunt down freedom seekers and destroy *quilombos*. The regiment included Black and white members, and around 15 percent were *forros*, freedmen who had been born enslaved. *Capitães do Mato* were paid according to how many *quilombolas* they captured. In remote areas that were heavily forested or mountainous, such as Minas Gerais, raids on *quilombos* were costly, and were carried out with the aim of containment rather than total destruction.

Quilombos were founded right up until the abolition of slavery in 1888. Around 3,000 quilombos still exist today, and the 1988 constitution enshrines their right to the land they occupy. Yet many of them have not received the necessary certification and are under renewed pressure from the authorities When Jair Bolsonaro successfully ran for president in 2018, his campaign promoted the interests of Brazil's influential agribusiness lobby at the expense of the landholding rights of the Indigenous communities and the *quilombolas*.

THE LADY OF THURDER QUEEN NZINGA TAKES ON PORTUGAL (1626)



142 QUEEN NZINGA TAKES ON PORTUGAL

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Angola

BEFORE

1444 The Portuguese bring African enslaved people to Europe for the first time.

c. 1500 The kingdom of Ndongo is founded on territory that used to be part of the neighboring Kongo kingdom.

1575 Moving southward, the Portuguese establish a colony on the island of Luanda, in modern-day Angola.

AFTER

1671 Capitalizing on Ndongo's weakness following the death of Oueen Nzinga, Portugal takes over the kingdom, making it part of Portuguese Angola.

1975 Angola achieves independence from Portugal after a successful armed revolt.

Sometimes force is able to exterminate the wicked customs of those that do not use reason and do not understand any argument without punishment.

Queen Nzinga Quoted by Italian missionary Cavazzi de Montecoccolo (1621–1678)





fearless warrior and skilled negotiator, Queen Nzinga (sometimes spelled Njinga) Mbande of Ndongo and Matamba in what is now Angola successfully warded off Portuguese invaders and slave raiders—as well as rivals for the throne—for three decades in the first half of the 17th century.

The Mbundu people of Ndongo, led by Nzinga's father, Ngola ("King") Kia Samba, had been defending the kingdom against the encroachment of the Portuguese since the colony of Luanda was established in 1575. As a result, Nzinga was well versed in military training from an early age, and often accompanied the king into battle and on state business. These experiences helped her realize the value of her African homeland to the Portuguese.

By the end of the 16th century, Portugal and Spain had claimed large territories in the Americas. These two European powers were also moving down the coast of Africa from the north and west **Nzinga was baptized as a Christian** in 1623, taking the Portuguese colonial governor as her godfather to strengthen their alliance. The move was tactical, but she reaffirmed her faith in old age.

toward the interior in a race for resources, notably minerals, and labor for their American colonies, in the form of enslaved people. Since the mid-15th century, the Portuguese had exchanged goods such as guns for human cargo. Their march across the continent in search of people to enslave appeared unstoppable—until the Netherlands and England entered the slave trade.

Growing threat

Portugal had already established multiple trading forts along the West African coast, beginning in 1461, but the arrival of the Dutch and English in the 1610s and 1620s forced Portuguese slave traders to relinquish their monopoly and hunt for alternative areas to exploit. They began to move south, into Mbundu

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See also: Europeans arrive in Africa 94–95 • The city-states of Hausaland 96–97 • The manikongo succession 110–111 • The birth of the Atlantic slave trade 116–121 • Changamire Dombo and his army of "Destroyers" 152–153

territory, which was said to have silver mines. Weakened by conflict with the Portuguese, who had hired the Imbangala (African mercenary warriors) to aid them in their slaveraiding missions, the new Mbundu king, Ngola Mbande, sent his sister, Nzinga, to represent the kingdom of Ndongo's interests at a peace conference instigated by the Portuguese in 1622. Nzinga soon realized that an alliance with the Portuguese, though risky, could be advantageous, since they could supply the Mbundu with guns.

Rise to power

At the first meeting in Luanda, a Portuguese colony west of Ndongo, Nzinga knew she had to present herself as an equal to the Portuguese governor in order to negotiate favorable terms. Seeing that only the governor had a chair, she ordered one of her servants to kneel on all fours to serve as a seat for her.

As part of the peace agreement that followed, Nzinga converted to Christianity and was baptized with the Portuguese name Ana de Sousa. She also persuaded her brother that their people needed to convert, too. In return, the Portuguese agreed to end slave raids on Ndongo.

In 1624, Ngola Mbande died in suspicious circumstances, leaving the throne clear for his ambitious sister. Aware of the ever-present threat from neighboring tribes, who were ready to raid and attack Ndongo in the hope of gaining greater prestige in the eyes of the European powers, the new queen quickly strengthened her agreement with the Portuguese. In doing so, Nzinga secured a powerful ally to fight off her African enemies.

The queen's rise to the throne did not go uncontested, and was not widely celebrated. Many of her subjects believed that women were unfit to rule, and since her mother had been enslaved by her father, and was not his first wife, Nzinga was not a legitimate heir. She countered this argument by saying that since she was her father's daughter, she was a descendant of the direct royal line, which her challengers were not. Relations with the Portuguese soured when they backed the claim of one of Nzinga's most prominent rivals to the throne, Hari. He was established as a puppet ruler in Ndongo, with the Portuguese name Felipe I. Nzinga was forced to flee, taking refuge with the Imbangala, who had abandoned the Portuguese in 1619. In 1626, she declared war on her former ally—the start of a conflict that would last for 30 years. »

> For these and other betrayals I took shelter in the *matos* [forest], far from my territories. **Queen Nzinga**

Letter to the Governor General of Angola, 1655



Queen Nzinga



Legend has it that Nzinga Mbande was destined for a position of power. She was born c. 1582 with the umbilical cord wrapped around her neck, and her name is derived from the Kimbundu word *kujinga*, meaning "twist." Having survived this life-threatening ordeal, it was clear that the future queen would be a fighter.

Favored by her father, the king of Ndongo, Nzinga was educated in the arts of diplomacy, government, and war from a young age. She was also taught to read and write Portuguese by two visiting missionaries. Following the death of her father, and then her brother, and in the absence of a clear successor, Nzinga took control of Ndongo's throne. She fought off rival claimants and went on to defend her lands from the Portuguese and other invaders for decades, using a combination of alliances and attacks.

Oueen Nzinga died peacefully in 1663, aged 81, having paved the way for her sister Kambu (also known as Barbara) to succeed her. In modern Angola, Nzinga's name is associated with resistance and liberation.

144 QUEEN NZINGA TAKES ON PORTUGAL

By 1631, Nzinga had taken over as queen of Matamba, a kingdom to the east of Ndongo. With the help of the Imbangala, she created a formidable fighting force, enlisting the mercenary warriors to train her young subjects in martial arts and guerrilla warfare. She prepared her kingdom for months and perhaps years of siege by stockpiling food and other supplies. Nzinga also made Matamba a place of refuge for people who had resisted enslavement in other parts of Africa, and for African soldiers who had been recruited and trained by the Portuguese. In return, she

was able to employ these freedom seekers and soldiers to bolster her army. Meanwhile, the queen continued her efforts to silence those among her subjects who doubted her ability, as a woman, to rule—often by dressing as a man and wielding weapons on the front line. Gradually, she gained the respect and support of the Mbundu people.

Dutch alliance

In 1641, the Dutch seized Luanda from the Portuguese, forcing them to retreat to the fort of Massangano. Having lost the support of the



Imbangala, Nzinga saw this as an opportunity to forge an alliance with the Dutch against their common enemy. In doing so, she hoped to reclaim lost land and potentially drive the Portuguese out of her territories. The Dutch West India Company had already formed allegiances with other African kingdoms-including Nzinga's neighbor and rival, the kingdom of Kongo-to take control of various lands in West Africa. Nzinga forged her own diplomatic relations with the Dutch, offering to sell them enslaved people in return for military assistance.

At first, Nzinga's coalition with the Netherlands and Kongo was successful, marked by a major defeat of the Portuguese in 1644. Briefly, the gueen was able to reclaim Ndongo-helped, in part, by her recruiting of loyal former subjects to incite rebellion against the Portuguese-controlled puppet king, Felipe I, in her old territory. However, by 1646, the Portuguese had regained control, and Nzinga and her forces were again forced to retreat. The queen's sister is rumored to have been captured in the process, along with several vital pieces of intelligence that revealed alliances that Nzinga had made and future battle plans.

Ending the conflict

Although Nzinga and her Dutch allies besieged the Portuguese at Massangano in 1647, their victory was short-lived. The Portuguese fought back the following year, bolstered by an influx of troops from Brazil, and the severely

Nzinga led her troops into battle throughout her reign, in defiance of those who claimed that women could not rule. She was skilled in handling weapons and often wore men's attire.



weakened Dutch withdrew from the conflict after securing a peace agreement with their European rival. Left to fend for herself, Nzinga retreated to Matamba—but she did not give up. Her efforts to prevent Portuguese invasion lasted for another eight years and, despite the superior might of Portugal's forces, they struggled to gain any control over Nzinga's lands.

In 1656, after several years of negotiations, Nzinga secured a formal treaty with the Portuguese, finally ending the war between them. The Portuguese agreed to recognize her as ruler of both Matamba and Ndongo, but after decades of conflict, her lands had largely been destroyed and needed to be redeveloped and rejuvenated.

Nzinga turned her attention to making Matamba a powerful trading empire. She opened her borders to Portuguese merchants and slave traders, allowing them access to the interior of Africa,

The fight for Angola became part of the Dutch-Portuguese War (1602–1663) over overseas territory and trade. Shown here is the 1656 siege of Cochin, India.

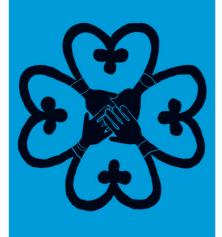
and profiting from their use of her territory to transport and trade their spoils. Soon, she had control over a number of lucrative trade routes. Yet she also continued to welcome formerly enslaved people in the hope of increasing the kingdom's population, which had been decimated by decades of war.

Mother of Angola

After Nzinga's death in 1663, her kingdom became mired in civil war as rival parties fought to claim the throne. The Portuguese took advantage and, in 1671, Ndongo became part of Portuguese Angola.

Today, Queen Nzinga is regarded as the "Mother of Angola," revered for her skill in diplomacy and warfare and her ability to lead her people in the face of consistent challenges to her rule. Although she had to adapt her identity to appear more male, she proved that a woman could lead the Mbundu people—and Matamba was ruled by women for roughly 80 of the next 100 years. Nzinga's determination to defend her territory against colonialism left a lasting impression on the people of Angola, who continued to fight for independence until well into the 20th century.





WE ARE KIN, AND WE ARE AND WE ARE FREE THE JAMAICAN MAROONS (1655)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Jamaica

BEFORE

c.600 ce The Redware people, Jamaica's first known inhabitants, arrive—possibly from islands to the east.

c.800 ce South American Arawakan-speaking Taino people migrate to Jamaica.

1520s The Spanish first bring large numbers of enslaved people from Africa to work on Caribbean plantations.

AFTER

1800 The deported Trelawny Maroons are transported from Nova Scotia to the new colony of Freetown in Sierra Leone.

1842 The Maroons refuse to comply with the British Allotment Act designed to divide up their lands.

1975 Nanny is the first and only woman declared a National Hero of Jamaica.

In Spanish-occupied Jamaica, **African people** are enslaved.

When the English invade Jamaica, many Africans **escape harsh conditions** and **establish their own communities**. They become known as **Maroons**.

Maroon communities are **fiercely independent** and preserve their **cultural identity and traditions**; many still exist today.

n 1655, a British expedition invaded and took control of Jamaica, the Caribbean island that Christopher Columbus had claimed for the Spanish crown in 1494. In the mayhem, many Africans enslaved by the Spanish escaped to mountainous areas in the interior, where it was difficult to track them down. There, some joined the Taino Africans who had escaped earlier, and others established their own communities on the island. There were two major groups of these

"Maroons." (The word comes from the Spanish *cimarrón*, meaning "fierce" or "unruly.") Those in the mountainous interior of the eastern part of the island were known as the Windward Maroons, led for decades by the formidable Queen Nanny. The Leeward Maroons settled in Cockpit Country in western Jamaica. Their most notable leader was Captain Cudjoe.

As Maroon settlements grew, there were frequent skirmishes with colonial militia. The Maroons

ENSLAVEMENT AND REBELLION 147

See also: Life on the plantations $122-129\,$ $\blacksquare\,$ The slave rebellion in Hispaniola 130–131 $\blacksquare\,$ Abolitionism in the Americas 172–179

regularly attacked plantations, and conflicts escalated when British troops stormed settlements in a bid to recapture freedom seekers who had fled enslavement.

Conflict and freedom

The First Maroon War against the British began in 1728, lasting until peace treaties were signed in 1739 and 1740. The treaties secured the Maroons some land rights, freedom, and autonomy. In exchange, some Maroon groups promised to aid the colonists by returning those fleeing enslavement and by helping suppress conflicts that threatened British supremacy.

In 1795, land disputes between the colonists and the Trelawny Maroons from east of Montego Bay triggered the Second Maroon War. After eight months of conflict, in which the Windward Maroons remained neutral, the Trelawny Maroons surrendered and most were exiled to Nova Scotia in Canada.

Nonetheless, the guerrilla tactics of Jamaican Maroons in the 17th and 18th centuries won them a degree of freedom after the First Maroon War that other enslaved people would not enjoy for at least a century. Such liberty required some concessions, and there is evidence that they both assisted the British in capturing and returning freedom seekers, and helped suppress a number of uprisings. For the most part, however, they were able to live separately from British settlers and still maintain many of the sociocultural practices and traditions of their West African—particularly Akan—ancestry and some political autonomy.

Maroon communities today

Across the Americas, Maroon communities continue to proudly celebrate their ancestry. Jamaica still has four of its original Maroon communities—Accompong Town, Charles Town, Scott's Hall, and Moore Town, which was inscribed on the UNESCO list of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2008.

In historical dress, members of the Maroon community take part in the Poolo Booto (beautiful boat) contest at the Moengo Festival in Suriname, which has a Maroon population of around 65,000.



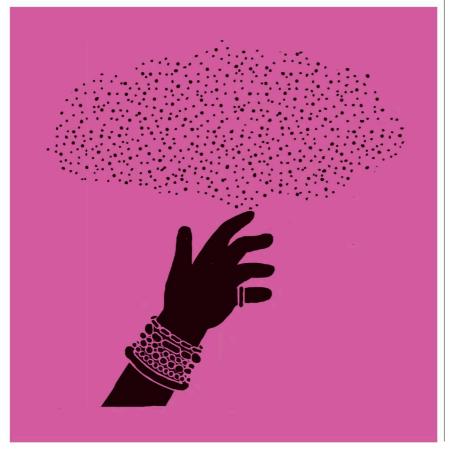


Nanny of the Maroons

Born in present-day Ghana around 1686. Nanny, the renowned leader of the Windward Maroons, was probably Akan and part of the West African Asante nation. Oral traditions suggest that she came to Jamaica as a free woman or that she escaped enslavement, possibly by jumping ship. Together with Captain Quao, she led the Windward Maroons in the First Maroon War, providing tactical guidance and proving herself a fierce fighter.

Nanny was also a healer and was said to possess spiritual powers that she used against the British forces. Legend has it that at the height of the conflict in 1737. when her people were near starvation and on the brink of surrender, she had a dream in which the ancestors told her not to give up. Awaking, she found pumpkin seeds in her pocket, which she planted on the hillside. Within a week, they matured into pumpkins that provided much needed food for the starving troops. Nanny, thought to have died around 1755, is depicted on the \$500 Jamaican banknote.

FROM HEAVEN IN A CLOUD OF WHITE DUST THE BIRTH OF THE ASANTE EMPIRE (1680)



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION **Ghana**

BEFORE

Mid-9th century cE Akan ancestors of the Asante build settlements at Asantemanso.

9th–12th centuries The Akan develop solid trade relationships with the empires of Ghana and Mali.

1471 Portuguese explorers reach the coast of modern Ghana. Merchants follow and begin to trade guns for gold.

AFTER

1922 After WWI, the League of Nations hands part of Togoland, a former German protectorate, to the British.

1957 The Gold Coast, renamed Ghana by its president, Kwame Nkrumah, becomes the first sub-Saharan African state to gain independence from Britain.

he Asante Empire of what is now southern Ghana and Ivory Coast was West Africa's most formidable power for more than 200 years. Formed in 1680 from a collection of separate states, it flourished thanks to its gold and a conquering hero called Osei Tutu. According to legend, on declaring himself the Asantehene (paramount king), Osei Tutu received a golden stool that had descended from heaven. It was said that if the stool were ever captured, the Asante Empire would fall.

The ancestors of the Asante were the Oyoko, a branch of the Akan people, who gradually migrated north from the settlement **See also:** The Ghana Empire 52–57 • Europeans arrive in Africa 94–95 • The birth of the Atlantic slave trade 116–121 • The scramble for Africa 222–223 • Ghana declares independence 272–273



Former Ghanaian president John Kufuor wore a robe of rich traditional Kente cloth for his swearing-in ceremony in Accra in 2001.

of Asantemanso, in southern Ghana, in the late 16th century. Led by Oti Akenten, they founded Kwaman (now Kumasi, Ghana's second-largest city) in the mid-17th century. During his reign, Akenten annexed the surrounding lands and several other Akan states, such as Adanse, Asen, Denkyira, Sehwi, and Domaa.

Denkyira wages war

After the arrival of the Portuguese in the Gulf of Guinea in the late 15th century, local chiefs began to trade gold and enslaved people for European muskets to replace the bows and javelins of their armies. The main trader was Boamponsem, who ruled Denkyira between 1650 and 1694. This kingdom stretched from the coast to the southern border of Adanse, the state directly south of Kwaman lands.

Boamponsem soon became the largest importer of guns. In 1660, he rebelled against Asante suzerainty and took over several of its Akan states, including Adanse, making Denkyira the most powerful Akan

Kente cloth

According to Asante legend, the first king, Oti Akenten, introduced and gave his name to Kente cloth. The best-known African textile, Kente has become a symbol of African identity in general.

Asante oral tradition has it that the cloth's patterns were inspired by the web of the spider Ananse, a trickster figure in Akan folk legends, who also crops up as Anansi in Caribbean folklore. The patterns and colors symbolize particular clans and qualities. Red, for example, represents

state in the region. Boamponsem gained control of the trade corridor from inland regions to the coast, where European forts were located, and his kingdom extended over almost the entire Ofin-Pra river basin, an area of south-central Ghana rich in gold.

Boamponsem demanded excessive tributes from his subjects and other Akan states, executed those unable to pay, and instigated ritual human sacrifices whenever a Denkyira royal was killed. Ntim Gyakari, his successor, who was equally ruthless but less skilled militarily, continued the practice.

The people fight back

People from the Akan states controlled by Gyakari, together with Denkyira subjects who had incurred his displeasure, began to seek refuge in Kwaman, then ruled

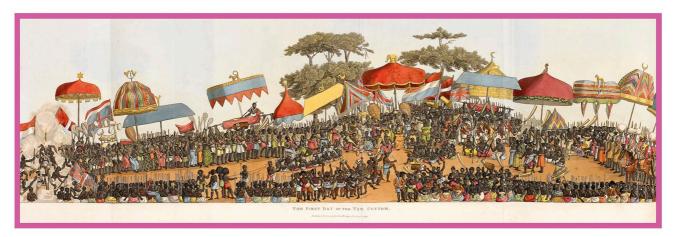
The gilded hilt of a 19th-century staff used by a "linguist"—a court advisor and storyteller—is an example of Asante goldwork. The Asante extracted gold from pits and river beds. passion, black indicates union with ancestors, and gold reflects status. Dyed cotton and silk, historically bought from traders, are woven on a narrow loom, then stitched together into large pieces of fabric.

Originally worn only by royal or very wealthy people, Kente cloth is now worn by the middle classes, including by Africans in the diaspora (rayon may replace silk), usually on special occasions, as a mark of their prestige. Men wear the cloth like a Roman toga; women wear a Kente dress with a shawl.

by Osei Tutu. As a youth, in the 1660s and 1670s, Osei Tutu had lived in Akwamu, a neighboring Akan state, whose political and military tactics he admired and later employed. When the king of Kwaman, Obiri Yeboah, died around 1680, Tutu traveled from Akwamu to Kwaman, stopping on his way at Christiansborg Castle, a Danishcontrolled fort, where he exchanged some of his followers for guns. He also brought with him a 300-strong **»**



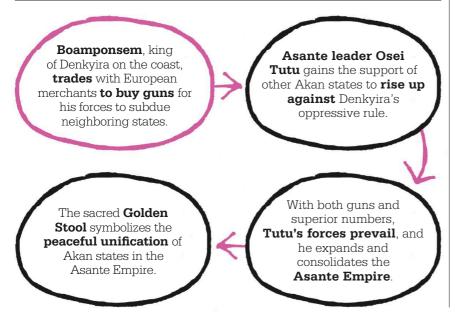
150 THE BIRTH OF THE ASANTE EMPIRE



contingent of Akwamu gun-bearers. With these resources, Tutu set about reconquering the Akan territories that had been lost to Boamponsem.

Tutu's reconquests of Akan states, his harbouring of Denkyira enemies, and refusal to pay tributes to Gyakari infuriated the Denkyira king. He sent messengers to Tutu demanding a necklace of precious beads (a symbol of submission), gold, and Tutu's favorite wife. Tutu refused Gyakari's demands, and while both sides prepared for war, he recruited other Akan states that also resisted paying tributes. By about 1699, after several years of preparation, Tutu's coalition of Akan states greatly outnumbered Denkyira forces. Even Gyakari's household servants had abandoned him, as had Assensu Kufuor, leader of Nkawie, one of Denkyira's most important towns. Kufuor brought with him gold, guns, and citizens to swell the Asante ranks.

The fighting continued for more than two years. The Denkyira forces initially drove the Asante

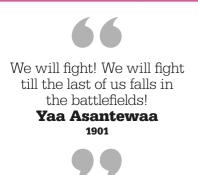


The Asantehene, under the canopy topped by a gold elephant, greets a British diplomatic mission in 1816. The visit coincided with the yam festival, when tributes were paid to the king.

back north, until they encountered Tutu's main forces at Feyiase, south of Kumasi, where the final battle took place in 1701. Gyakari was killed in the fight, and his army retreated and dispersed. Tutu marched into the undefended Denkyira capital, Abankeseso, and spent two weeks sacking the city and plundering it of its gold.

The Golden Stool

Following the Asante-Denkyira war, Tutu sought to preserve peace between Denkyira, Asante, and all the diverse Akan states in the coalition. He ordered the chiefs to surrender their regalia (stools, swords, and spears), which were then buried in the bed of the Bantama River. Next, he called for the help of his friend and counsellor Okomfo (priest) Anokye who, according to oral tradition, uttered incantations and conjured the Golden Stool (Sikwa da) from the heavens. It descended from the sky amid a mighty storm and fell onto Tutu's lap, to the joy of the chiefs and Asante people. The stool was



the symbol of unification and Tutu's authority, as well as the soul of the newly formed Asante Empire. Tutu became the first *Asantehene*, a title that all subsequent Asante rulers have held.

The Golden Stool remains the Asante's most important cultural artifact, used ever since to swear in new Asante kings. Made of solid gold, it stands about 18 in (46 cm) tall, 24 in (60 cm) long, and 12 in (30 cm) wide. The Asante treat the stool as a living being and even "feed" it with sacrifices at festivals throughout the year-they believe that if the stool is left hungry, the Asante nation will be in danger of dying. Kept in a secret hiding place in a sacred forest, it is never allowed to touch the ground, and sitting on it is forbidden.

Golden age and decline

In the 18th century, under Tutu and his successors, the Asante Empire traded principally in gold and enslaved people; Tutu had made all gold mines royal assets, and gold dust was the empire's currency. The empire supplied enslaved people to the British and Dutch on the Guinea coast, often in exchange for firearms. Despite an unsettled period after Tutu's death in 1717, under Asantehene Opoko Ware (1720–1750) the empire expanded to about the size of modern-day Ghana. During this time, wood-carving, goldwork, and weaving flourished. The king encouraged such creativity, and his garments and adornments represented the finest work, as testimony to the empire's prosperity.

From 1823, disputes with Britain over land in the coastal states developed into five wars over more than 70 years. The fourth war (1894– 1896) ended in a decisive British victory and the exile of Asantehene Prempeh I to the Seychelles.

The final conflict was the War of the Golden Stool in 1900, triggered when the British representative, Sir Frederick Mitchell Hodgson, threatened to sit upon the Golden Stool. Commanded by Yaa Asantewaa, the 65-year-old Queen Mother, the revolt cost some 3,000 lives—1,000 British and 2,000 Asante. The Queen Mother's forces were defeated, and Asante lands became Ashanti, a British crown colony under the authority of the governor of the Gold Coast, until the independence of Ghana in 1957.

To show that the stool belonged not only to the king but to the Ashanti nation, it was then rubbed with an ointment prepared from nail parings and clippings of hair ...

A. Kyerematen "The Royal Stools of Ashanti," 1969

Stools in Akan culture

For centuries, stools (*dwa*) have been an important part of Akan culture, intimately connected to the Akan nation's oral traditions and beliefs. Carved from a single block of wood—often a soft white wood called osese—a stool usually has four legs and three parts: a curved seat, base, and central support, often decorated and carved with a traditional saying.

Stools serve a variety of functions. They are practical objects, to be sat on while washing or cooking. They are used to mark rites of passage, such as puberty, marriage, and death. The woman's stool (mmaa dwa) is a powerful fertility symbol, while a chief's stool (osese dwa) symbolizes his authority. Stools used to swear in new chiefs are often intricately patterned with silver or gold. When a chief dies, a mixture of soot and egg volk is rubbed on his stool to honor him. A "black stool" acts as a shrine for the soul of the chief for whom it was consecrated, enabling him to remain in contact with his people from the afterlife.



This chief's stool, an unusual five-legged form known as *kontonkrowie* ("circular rainbow"), evokes an Akan proverb about the king's role in uniting his people.



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION **Zimbabwe**

BEFORE **c. 1450** The kingdom of Mutapa is established.

1531 The Portuguese set up a trading post at Sena, on the Zambezi River, and begin to deal directly with Mutapa.

AFTER

1830s The Ndebele people flee Zululand, arrive in Zimbabwe, and overthrow the Rozvi.

1889 The British South Africa Company obtains a mandate to colonize what becomes Southern Rhodesia.

1917 Mambo Chuoko, the final king of the Mutapa dynasty, dies in battle against the Portuguese.

1980 ZANU party leader Robert Mugabe wins independence elections and Zimbabwe becomes globally recognized as a nation.

THE ROCK THAT IS UNHARMED BY THE HOE Changamire dombo and his army of "destroyers" (1684)

n the 17th century, the peoples of the Zimbabwean plateau were engulfed in civil wars and faced incursions from Portuguese forces attempting to take advantage of the gold trade in the heart of the African continent. That trade was controlled by two kingdoms, Mutapa and Torwa, made up of Shona people who had migrated from Great Zimbabwe when the city declined in the 15th century. Around 1660, as the Mutapa kingdom slowly lost control over the region and its gold reserves, a new power began to

emerge among the Shona people, led by Changamire Dombo, a wealthy cattle owner.

Dombo was disillusioned with the Mutapa kingdom's failure to prevent increased encroachment by the Portuguese and broke away to form his own independent army, which he named the Rozvi, or "the destroyers." The effectiveness of his army earned Dombo the title

The remains of patterned walls at the site of the city of Danangombe date from the 17th–18th centuries, when the Rozvi Empire was at its height.



See also: The city of Great Zimbabwe 76–77 = The gold trade in Mozambique 108–109 = Oueen Nzinga takes on Portugal 140–145 = The Xhosa Wars 180–181 = The Zulu Empire 198–199

Changamire, or "Great Lord," and by the 1670s, the Rozvi were the most formidable force in the region. They displaced the Torwa from their power base in southwest Zimbabwe and built a new capital at Danangombe.

A great African victory

Dombo was determined to rid the region of Portugal's influence. In June 1684, his first conflict with Portuguese forces and their African mercenaries took place at the Battle of Maungwe. Although Rozvi bows and arrows were up against European gunfire, Dombo's army withstood the Portuguese for a full day. That night, Dombo enlisted the help of Rozvi women, who lit a ring of fires around the enemy camp. Believing they were entirely surrounded, the Portuguese fled.

Dombo and his "destroyers" had accomplished a rare feat—the routing of a European army by an African force. Their fearsome reputation became embellished by Dombo's own renown as a "magician," leading to beliefs that

Changamire Dombo

Little is known about the birth and family of Dombo—short for Dombolakonachingwango, meaning "The rock that is unharmed by the hoe." He may have been descended from a Torwa leader, while Portuguese documents of the time speak of Dombo as originally a cattle herdsman in the Mutapa state.

After establishing himself as a leader among the Shona people, Dombo broke away from the Mutapa Empire, successfully drove the Portuguese out of Zimbabwe, and replaced existing dynasties with his own. The Rozvi commander-in-chief, or mambo, was believed to possess supernatural powers, which he shared with his army of "destroyers." Oral tradition said Dombo could turn a white cow into a red one, and even Portuguese soldiers believed he had magic oil that could kill with just one touch. After his death in 1696. Dombo was succeeded by his son, the first of six direct descendants to rule the Rozvi Empire over the next two centuries.

Rozvi control. He also continued to drive the Portuguese out of the region, destroying their trading stations at Dambarare in 1693 and Masekesa in 1695. Dombo died soon after, but he left a system of succession and hierarchical government more secure than that of the Mutapa kingdom. The Rozvi Empire, with the Changamire dynasty at its center, remained Southern Africa's greatest power until the 19th century.

grew out of the region once ruled by the Torwa from Khami, near present-day Bulawayo. Portuguese trading stations such as Tete and Zumbo processed goods to be exported via Sofala.

The Rozvi Empire



Core of Rozvi Empire Modern boundary of Zimbabwe Approximate boundary

 Approximate boundary of the Rozvi Empire

66

[Dombo was] a proud enemy who dared to measure his bows against our muskets. Father António Conceição Portuguese missionary, 1696

the Rozvi could summon swarms of bees in battle and put their enemies to sleep. As a military tactician, Dombo may also have used the "buffalo horns" battle formation 100 years before it became a feature of Zulu warfare.

Sealing an empire

With a skilled, disciplined, and well-equipped standing army behind him, Dombo soon brought the whole of Zimbabwe under



RACE IS A HUMAN A HUMAN INVERTION THE CREATION OF "RACE" (1684)



IN CONTEXT

LOCATIONS Europe, United States

BEFORE

5th–4th centuries BCE The Greek physician Hippocrates writes that geography influences the appearance and disposition of different peoples.

98 ce The Roman writer Tacitus describes German tribes as being "free of all taint of intermarriages with foreign nations."

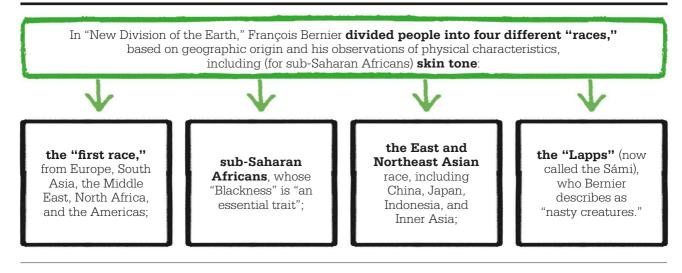
AFTER

1956 Martin Luther King, Jr., denounces the Curse of Ham as "blasphemy." The pernicious myth holds that Noah's son was given Black skin and condemned to serve others.

Mid-1970s American legal scholars establish Critical Race Theory to challenge white dominance of Western society and seek racial emancipation.

he concept of "race" as it is understood today developed over the past four centuries, although the topic of ethnicity was discussed in ancient Greece and Rome. The word "race" itself is a corruption of the Italian *razza*, meaning people who share a common descent. It entered the English language in the early 16th century, at the beginning of the Scientific Revolution, as scholars began to classify living things in their quest to gain a better understanding of the natural world.

French physician and traveler François Bernier was the first to publish a classification of human difference. In his 1684 essay, "New **See also:** Humans migrate out of Africa 20-21 = The birth of the Atlantic slave trade 116-121 = Abolitionism in the Americas 172-179 = Global antiracism campaigns 306-313



Division of the Earth by the Different Species or Races That Inhabit It," he grouped people into four distinct "races" on the basis of geographic origin and physical characteristics. For three of the four, he attributed different skin tones to more or less exposure to the sun, an idea that dates back to antiquity, but singled out the "Blackness" of sub-Saharan Africans as an immutable trait.

However, Bernier did not establish a racial hierarchy and emphasized that his groupings were based on his own observations of the people he encountered on his travels, whom he described in subjective and often disparaging terms.

As other travelers and scholars attempted to classify humans by appearance and culture, discussions revolved around the origins of such differences and their implications for a group's intellectual, social, political, and moral capabilities.

François Bernier wrote a largely critical book about his impressions of India, where he served at the court of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, illustrated here by Paul Maret in 1710.

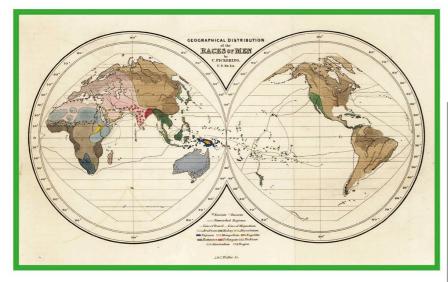
By the 18th century, two principal theories on the origins of race had emerged in Europe—monogenism (that all humans share a common origin) and polygenism (that human races have different origins).

Same origin, yet different

The majority of Christian and Jewish monogenists believed that every human was descended from Adam and Eve. Despite this common origin, the influence of colonial conquests in Africa and the Americas fueled the belief that Europeans were superior to African and American Indigenous peoples.

In 1735, Swedish botanist and physician Carl Linnaeus published his Systema Naturae (The System of Nature), a classification of all living things into kingdoms, classes, orders, genera, and species. He grouped humans (classified under »





animals) into four types by their continent of origin—Europe, Asia, America, and Africa—and described them by skin color.

By Systema Naturae's 10th edition (1758), Linnaeus had added appearance, temperament, and how different peoples were governed to his human classifications. For instance, "Europaeus" (Europeans) were said to be muscular, wise, with "plenty of yellow hair and blue eyes," and governed by laws. Those of African ancestry were deemed "lazy," "sly," "sluggish," "neglectful," and governed by caprice—all implying some innate inferiority.

In 1787, German anthropologist, naturalist, and physician Johann Friedrich Blumenbach countered the prevailing notion that Black people were less intelligent than other races. He wrote a paper examining the physiology and mental capacity of Black people and concluded that "in regard to their mental facilities and capacity" they are "not inferior to the rest of the human race." He also collected the works of West. African-born writers such as Phyllis Wheatley, and corresponded with some of the authors, confirming his belief that their intellectual abilities

were equal to some of the best minds in Europe. Yet Blumenbach, who divided humans into five races—Caucasian, Mongolian, Malay, Ethiopian (African), and American—was also convinced that the first humans were white Caucasian, which in later years attracted accusations of racial bias.

Scientific racism

In contrast to the monogenists, polygenic (or pre-Adamite) theorists argued that there is no single origin of the human species. They were convinced that the difference in origins explained why some races were superior to others in intellect, capability, and morality. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the belief in such innate differences was used to justify the social political order, colonialism, and the enslavement of Black Africans in the Americas.

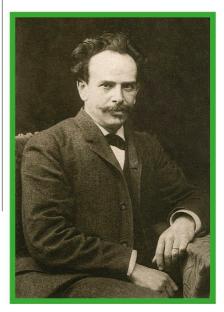
Scottish philosopher David Hume embraced both polygenism and the notion of a racial hierarchy.

Franz Boas communicated a deep respect for different cultures. His students included Black American writer Zora Neale Hurston and American cultural anthropologist Margaret Mead. **The Races of Man** (1850) by American race scientist, naturalist, and polygenist Charles Pickering included his map of the world, color-coded by race and later reproduced as this engraving.

In a footnote of his 1753 essay "Of National Characters," he asserted his belief that "negroes" were "naturally inferior to whites" and that there was no civilized nation "of any other complexion than white"—comments later widely quoted by pro-slavery advocates.

In the US, physician and natural scientist Samuel Morton (1799–1851) claimed that hundreds of skulls he had examined revealed that white Caucasians had the greatest brain capacity and Black people the least. This so-called scientific racism the theory that such "evidence" supports the division of people by racial type—impressed his contemporary Josiah Nott, a surgeon who used it to defend his enslavement of Black Americans.

One notable opponent of scientific racism was German-born American anthropologist Franz Boas, who studied and recognized





Race is the child of racism. not the father, and has never been a matter of genealogy and physiognomy so much as one of hierarchy. **Ta-Nehisi Coates** Black American writer, Between the World and Me (2015)



the talents of Indigenous peoples. In a series of experiments, he showed that cranial (braincase) size varied not according to intelligence but due to diet and health. From 1899. as professor of anthropology at Columbia University, he influenced a generation of anthropologists. Yet scientific racism persisted, in the US and elsewhere, and would reach its horrific apogee in Nazi Germany.

Gobineau's theories

Among the most pernicious and long-lasting influences on public thinking in Europe and the US was French writer and diplomat Joseph-Arthur de Gobineau's 1853 Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races. Gobineau argued that intellectual prowess rendered the white race superior and ranked Black people as "at the foot of the ladder" with an intellect that moved in "a very narrow circle." He also introduced the toxic idea that the mixing of races polluted their purity and caused civilizations to decline Josiah Nott ordered a translation of the work, which he published in the US in 1856 to further support his pro-slavery agenda.

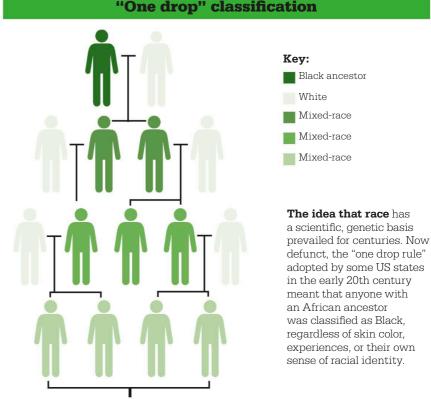
For Europe, Gobineau's assertion that the blond. blue-eved Arvan was the racial ideal would have tragic consequences. German nationalists adopted the idea, and Adolf Hitler used it during World War II to legitimize the mass extermination of Jewish and Romany peoples.

Radical rethinking

As the horrors of the Holocaust and Nazi eugenics programs were revealed, scientific racism came under fire In 1950 UNESCO condemned the "false myths" and "superstitions" that had directly contributed to the war, and declared that racial discrimination was both "unscientific and false"

After a number of revisions, the statement was published again in 1978 as the UNESCO Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice, which stated that all peoples of the world "possess equal faculties for attaining the highest level in intellectual. technical, social, economic, cultural and political development." It further explained that any differences between the achievements of different peoples are entirely attributable to geographical, historical. political. economic. social, and cultural factors.

Despite general academic agreement that racial difference has been socially constructed, questions around "race" and human diversity continue to generate extensive debate among scholars and the general public. Racism and prejudice have not disappeared, and continue to shape many aspects of modern society.

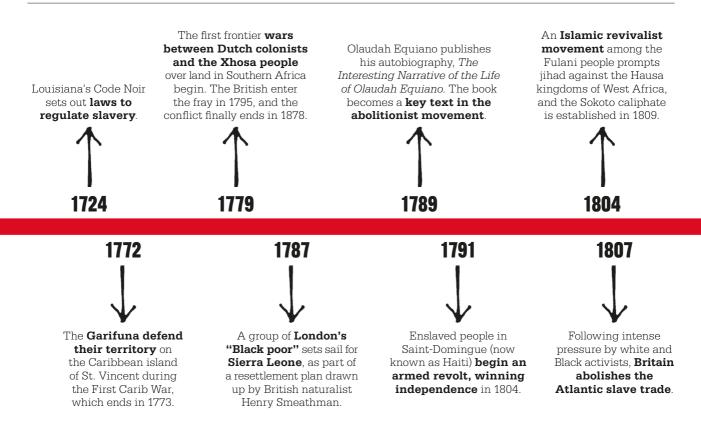


Classified as Black

"One drop" classification

F 1700 - 1900





By 1700, few communities in Africa were untouched by the rapidly growing Atlantic slave trade. The constant threat of violent slave raids and the participation of fellow Africans in the trade of humans was profoundly destabilizing. Meanwhile, those who arrived in the New World in chains faced the brutal reality of the devaluation of their humanity.

The treatment of enslaved Africans was completely at odds with Enlightenment ideas about liberty and humanity, which were popular in 18th-century Europe and America but had no place for Black humanity, it seemed. Africans were dehumanized and subjected to harsh labor on the plantations. They were treated as the property of others—a principle that was made law in the French territory of Louisiana in 1724. The Code Noir restricted the basic freedoms of enslaved people, and outlined brutal penalties for those who broke the rules.

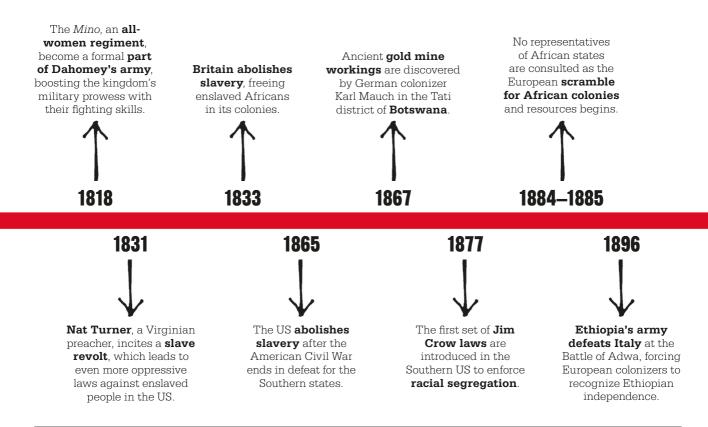
Fighting back

The Atlantic slave trade and its East African counterpart, the Zanzibar slave trade, gave rise to an anti-Blackness ideology—the notion that Black people were in some way deserving of a life of servitude. European powers used this prejudice to justify colonialism and settler wars, such as the Xhosa Wars, in which the Dutch and British vied to take over Xhosa territory in Southern Africa. These wars were not easily won, however. The Xhosa held off the Europeans for almost a century from 1779, and their neighbors, the Zulu, inflicted a series of crushing

defeats on the British. Meanwhile, in West Africa, the warrior women of Dahomey fought to the death after French forces invaded their kingdom in 1890.

For enslaved Africans with no territory to defend, their resistance to the prevailing anti-Blackness ideology came in other forms. It entailed slave revolts, such as the 1831 uprising led by Nat Turner in the US state of Virginia, and the earlier Haitian Revolution—the only armed slave rebellion to result in freedom for New World Africans. Black people also used intellectual means to confront their oppressors, acquiring Western educations to demonstrate their capacity to reason and write powerful narratives.

The first antislavery campaigns were led by Quaker groups in the US and Britain, but by the late 18th



century, Black activists were being heard—among them, Black British abolitionist Olaudah Equiano, who wrote a bestselling book about being enslaved, and later, Frederick Douglass, who became an advisor to US president Abraham Lincoln during the American Civil War.

Long walk to freedom

In 1807, Britain outlawed the Atlantic slave trade. Other countries soon followed suit, including the US in 1808, but it took many more years for slavery to be fully abolished. Resistance continued, often through acts of moral defiance such as the Underground Railroad, which from around 1831 helped many enslaved people escape to free states in the US and to Canada. The American Civil War (1861–1865) was fought over the issue of slavery, which was finally abolished when the slave-holding Southern states were defeated. Brazil continued to exploit enslaved people until 1888, and even then, many freed Africans had no alternative but to work for their former enslavers without pay.

The abolition of slavery led to a new agenda—how to help the Black people who had been displaced as a result of the slave trade. Although late 19th-century efforts by British philanthropists to resettle the "Black poor" of London in the West African colony of Sierra Leone had been controversial, the American Colonization Society nonetheless saw repatriation as a good option. By 1867, they had sent about 16,000 Black Americans to Liberia.

Back in the US, Reconstruction policies included attempts to grant civil rights to Black Americans. But these rights were soon undermined in the South by the Jim Crow laws, which legitimized racial segregation.

Reshaping Africa

The Berlin Conference of 1884–1885 divided Africa among rival European powers. By 1900, 90 percent of the continent (excluding Liberia and Ethiopia) was under European control. Artificial boundaries were drawn up, shaping a modern nation-state system that roped together disparate ethnic groups as countries, and the fight against colonialism went on.

Not every reaction to colonialism involved armed resistance. The new world order brought opportunities, such as formal education, which empowered African intellectuals to pursue a decolonization agenda in the 20th century.



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION St. Vincent

BEFORE

Pre-15th century Ancestors of the Carib Amerindian people migrate from South America and settle on Caribbean islands, including St. Vincent.

16th century The first enslaved Africans are transported to the Caribbean by European colonizers.

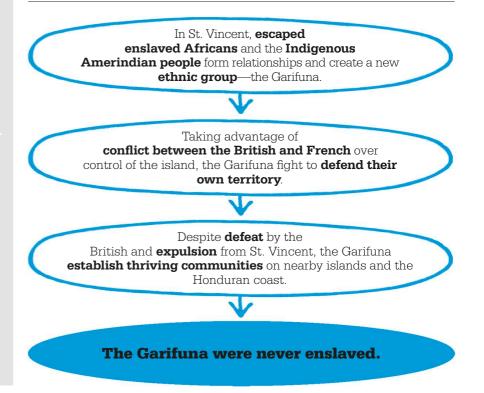
AFTER

1871 An official census of St. Vincent reveals that only 431 Caribs and Garifuna remain on the island, out of a total population of 40,000.

21st century More than 40,000 people of Garifuna descent live in Honduras, with large communities also in Belize, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and the United States.

WE WERE NEVER ENSLAVED THE GARIFUNA (17th-18th centuries)

uring the 17th century, European powers, including France and England, raced to conquer the Caribbean islands. The Amerindians who the colonizers encountered on the Lesser Antilles islands, including St. Vincent, called themselves the "Kalliponam" or "Kallinago" but became known by the Europeans as "Caribs." Most islands fell, but not St. Vincent, thanks to its rugged terrain, the fighting skills of the Caribs, and their ability to exploit differences between the French and the English. At the same time, enslaved Africans who



See also: Life on the plantations 122–129 **•** The slave rebellion in Hispaniola 130–131 **•** The Jamaican Maroons 146–147 **•** Abolitionism in Europe 168–171 **•** The Haitian Revolution 184–189

The First and Second Carib Wars

Once St. Vincent had been ceded to Britain by the French in 1763, tensions between British settlers and the Garifuna intensified, culminating in rebellion against Britain, and the start of the First Carib War, in 1772. The war was led primarily by a Garifuna chieftain, Joseph Chatoyer, who in 1773 signed a peace treaty with the British—their first treaty with an Indigenous Caribbean people. The terms of the accord divided St. Vincent into British and Garifuna areas,

had escaped from shipwrecks or other islands began to settle on St. Vincent and mix with the Caribs, absorbing their language and culture. By 1700, this group, known as the Garifuna (their chosen name, meaning "cassava eater") or the Black Caribs, dominated the Amerindian Caribs.

Disputes and conflict

In 1719, the French established a settlement on St. Vincent's west coast, which led to further disputes with Britain over island control. In 1763, Britain annexed St. Vincent following France's defeat in the Seven Years' War, allotting territory to the Caribs and Garifuna.

British colonizers were drawn to the rich sugar-producing areas controlled by the Garifuna, who now felt under threat. The British were repeatedly repelled and this conflict led ultimately to the First Carib War (1772–1773), with France aiding the Garifuna. The war ended in stalemate and a peace that guaranteed Garifuna territory in return for recognition of British rule. but the colonizers continued their efforts to take control of the whole island.

A series of further rebellions culminated in the outbreak of the Second Carib War, in 1795. French forces backed the Garifuna, who were led again by Joseph Chatoyer, although he died early in the conflict, in March 1795. Weakened by Chatoyer's death and fading French support, the Garifuna were finally defeated just over a year later, in June 1796.

In 1779, France seized the island, only to return it to Britain at the end of the American Revolution in 1783. Although the rights of French settlers on St. Vincent were retained, they continued their animosity toward the British, in tandem with the Garifuna. A joint revolt in 1795, armed by France, led to the Second Carib War (1795–1796) and victory for the British forces.

Expulsion and survival

Britain now carried out a long-held plan to expel all Garifuna from St. Vincent, imprisoning more than



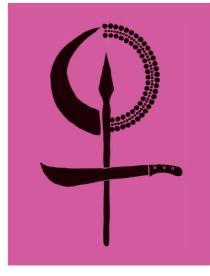


The Black Caribs' survival, with their unique culture intact, is the ultimate testament to their forebears' tenacious spirit. **Christopher Taylor** *The Black Carib Wars*, 2012

4,000 on the neighboring island of Balliceaux. The Garifuna were then deported to the Spanish-owned island of Roatán, off the coast of Honduras, in July 1797. Only around 2,000 reached Roatán, the rest having died either on the journey or in Balliceaux. In turn, most of the Garifuna were transported by the Spanish to areas around the Bay of Honduras, and from there they spread to Belize, Guatemala, and Nicaragua.

Today, most people of Garifuna descent still live along the Central American coast. Many have migrated to the United States, forming a community of at least 100,000. The Garifuna maintain their Carib language and a strong sense of pride in their culture, including music, dance, and oral histories passed down through the generations.

A Garifuna man celebrates African Heritage Month in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, in 2018. The Garifuna are one of the largest minority ethnic groups in Honduras.



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Benin

BEFORE

c. 1600 The kingdom of Dahomey is established by the Fon people in West Africa, taking up the southern third of modern-day Benin.

1645 Houegbadja, Dahomey's first king, begins his reign.

AFTER

1892–1894 In the Second Franco-Dahomean War, the *Mino* are wiped out by French firearms and disbanded, and the king is overthrown.

1904 The kingdom of Dahomey is officially disestablished.

1958 The French establish the Republic of Dahomey as a self-governing colony. The colony gains independence in 1960.

1975 The Republic of Dahomey is renamed as Benin.

1979 Nawi, believed to be the last Dahomey warrior, dies.

REMARKABLE FOR THEIR COURAGE AND FEROCITY THE WARRIOR WOMEN OF DAHOMEY (1708)

ystery surrounds "the most feared women in history," dubbed the "Dahomey Amazons" by visiting 19th-century Europeans after the ruthless female warriors of Greek mythology. The *Mino* (meaning "our mothers" in the local Fon language) were frontline soldiers for the kingdom of Dahomey, which forms part of modern-day Benin.

Little is known about when or why this all-women military regiment was established, but it is thought that on assuming the throne in 1708, Queen Hangbe established a female bodyguard.

War is our great friend, without it there would be no cloth, nor armlets; let us to war, and conquer or die. Attributed to the warrior women of Dahomey However, as it was the custom that only men should bear Dahomey's crown, Queen Hangbe's brief fouryear reign was erased from history after she was deposed by her younger brother, Agaja—and some historians question whether she existed at all.

Fight to the death

Whatever the origins of the *Mino*, records show that they became a formal part of Dahomey's army following the accession of King Ghezo in 1818. Military might was vital to the wealth of the kingdom it enabled Ghezo to stop paying tributes to the neighboring Yoruba kingdom of Oyo, and to wage annual campaigns to capture prisoners of war to enslave and sell.

Sworn in as virgins, some as young as nine, the *Mino* were trained to be strong; immune to pain; and ruthless, executing their foe by swift decapitation. Despite its hardships, serving in this elite regiment offered women status and privilege, including access to stocks of tobacco and alcohol, the right to take up to 50 enslaved people each, and the chance to influence policy by holding prominent positions on the kingdom's Grand Council. See also: Queen Nzinga takes on Portugal 140-145 • The Jamaican Maroons 146-147 • The scramble for Africa 222-223 The Women's War of 1929 252 The rise of Black feminism 276-281

Roles for Dahomey warrior women in the 19th century



Huntresses (Gbeto) were the Mino's oldest unit. created to hunt animals. They wore crowns of iron with antelope horns.



a spear and short sword, made up most of the regiment.

Reapers (Nyekplohento) were a select band of fearsome warriors who carried a single sharp, heavy blade.

Archers (Gohento) were talented young warriors, able to shoot hooked and poisoned arrows from their bows.



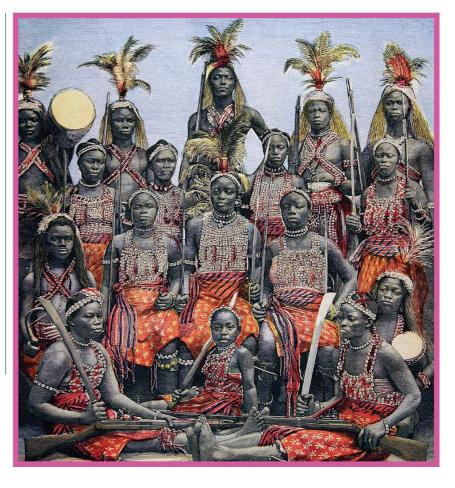
Gunners (Agbalya) used artillery, usually older cannon and large-caliber, shortrange muskets.

By the mid-19th century, Ghezo had enlarged his army to include up to 6.000 warrior women, who mounted pre-dawn attacks on enemy villages, in search of prisoners. They were rarely defeated, but failed to capture the neighboring town of Abeokuta (home to the Egba) in 1851 and 1864.

Meanwhile, European nations had set their sights on West Africa, armed with modern firepower. In 1890, Béhanzin, the last king of Dahomey, began fighting French forces in the First Franco-Dahomean War, which saw the Mino gunned down and crushed. The Second Franco-Dahomean War brought a swift end to the regiment and the kingdom, which became a French colony. The Mino had been the last to stand down, true to their age-old beliefs: "I am a wolf, the enemy of all I meet who are the king's enemies, and if I do not conquer, let me die."

This portrait of Dahomey warriors

was featured in the French newspaper Le Petit Journal in 1891. By 1894, most of the Mino-conditioned to fight to the death-had been slain by French troops.





SLAVES HAVE NO RIGHT TO PROPERTY Louisiana's code noir (1724)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Louisiana, United States

BEFORE **1661** The first slave code is

established, in the British colony of Barbados.

1682 René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle claims the territory of Louisiana for France.

1685 France's Code Noir is first introduced to colonial possessions in the Caribbean.

1719 The first group of enslaved Africans arrives in Louisiana.

AFTER

1729 Enslaved people in Louisiana join the Native American revolt in Natchez, Mississippi.

1848 Slavery is abolished in the French colonies; Code Noir ends.

2001 The French Parliament acknowledges that slavery was a crime against humanity.

Slave codes are introduced by **Spain**, **Portugal**, **the Netherlands**, **and Britain** in their **colonial territories**.

Slave codes claim to provide a **legal basis** for slavery and **maintain order** over enslaved populations.

In reality, slave codes **treat enslaved people as property** and **limit their basic freedoms**.

Slave codes **regulate the lives** of free Black people as well as enslaved people.

B ased on the 1685 slave code for French territories in the Caribbean, the Code Noir laws of 1724 were promulgated by King Louis XV of France for the North American territory of Louisiana. The Code was modified when France ceded Louisiana to Spain in 1763, but largely remained in effect until the 1803 Louisiana Purchase, when the United States acquired Louisiana and repealed some of the laws.

Louisiana's Code Noir contained 60 articles, providing the French colonial government with a legal framework for slavery. Enslaved people greatly outnumbered white Europeans in the French American colonies, accounting for around 65 percent of the total population of Louisiana by 1732. The Code Noir was deemed necessary to maintain hierarchical order over the enslaved population and protect the colony's

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See also: The birth of the Atlantic slave trade 116–121 = Abolitionism in the Americas 172–179 = The Underground Railroad 190–195 = The war to end slavery 206–209 = The golden age of Reconstruction 210–213 = Jim Crow 216–221



We forbid our white subjects, of both sexes, to marry with the Blacks* under the penalty of being fined and subjected to some other arbitrary punishment. **Louisiana's Code Noir**

*Language used in 1724 (see p.4)

biggest investment and economic driver—enslaved labor. This unpaid manpower was vital for digging drains, raising levees, and planting crops, among other work.

The Code and its impact

Although the Code Noir was difficult to enforce throughout the colony, overall it had real effects on the lives of enslaved people. The French laws on slavery gave greater rights to enslaved people than their British and Dutch counterparts. The Code forbade enslavers from forcing their enslaved populations into marriage against their will. It also stated that enslaved people must be properly fed, clothed, and provided for by their enslavers. Enslavers could not kill, mutilate, or excessively punish their enslaved populations.

This was in stark contrast to the British slave codes, which gave enslavers full autonomy. Moreover, family units could not be sold separately—another difference to the British and Spanish codes, which often broke up families. The Code led to some areas having a higher number of Black people being freed than under the British system—13.2 percent in Louisiana compared with 0.8 percent in Mississippi.

Despite this, the Code was very restrictive for enslaved people as well as free Black people. It forbade interracial marriage or cohabitation in a state of concubinage. There were to be no social gatherings of enslaved people from different plantations. Enslaved people were forbidden from owning weapons of any kind, and were even required to be baptized in the Roman Catholic Church. Since Catholicism was the state religion in France, this was a means of stopping the spread of Protestantism from the rival British and Dutch empires. Punishments for enslaved people breaking the rules were incredibly harsh, particularly for those seeking freedom, including whipping, branding, and even death.

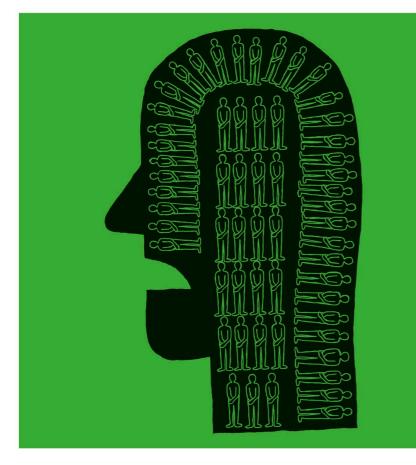
The sale of enslaved people alongside estates and pictures at an auction in New Orleans in 1842. Abolitionists sought to end such degradation and the treatment of enslaved people as property.

British slave codes

Unlike the French Code Noir. there was no centralized British slave code. Instead, each British colony developed its own laws. The first slave code in the British Empire was established on the Caribbean island of Barbados in 1661. Many other slave codes of this period were based directly on the Barbadian model; such as those put in place in Jamaica in 1664, which were then copied by South Carolina in 1691. These would then serve as a model for many other colonies in North America.

The British argued that enslaved people were of a barbarous, savage, and wild nature, and that the slave codes were essential in order to establish control over this population, which they viewed as property. Unlike the French Code Noir, British slave codes gave legal rights to enslavers to punish, torture, and even kill enslaved people.





IN CONTEXT

LOCATION **Europe**

BEFORE

1772 A landmark legal ruling known as the Somersett Case establishes that no enslaved person can be taken by force in England and sold abroad.

AFTER

1824 British antislavery activist Elizabeth Heyrick publishes *Immediate Not Gradual Abolition*, arguing for the immediate ending of all forms of slavery and rejecting the policy of gradual change.

1833–1834 Britain abolishes slavery in its colonies. It compensates enslavers for the loss of their "property."

1839 Quaker Joseph Sturge and Lord Henry Brougham set up the British and Foreign Antislavery Society to police slavery across the world.

urope's involvement in the transatlantic slave trade had grown massively by the 18th century. Britain used enslaved labor in its 13 American colonies before the American Revolution (1775–1783) and in the Caribbean, and the slave trade was considered key to its prosperity. France, Spain, and Portugal also had colonies in the Americas that were dependent on the slave trade, and other countries, such as the Netherlands, greatly benefited from the trade in goods produced by slave labor.

From the late 18th century, the movement against the transatlantic slave trade began to build in these countries, though powerful **See also:** The birth of the Atlantic slave trade 116–121 • Abolitionism in the Americas 172–179 • The founding of Sierra Leone 182–183 • The ending of slavery in Brazil 224–225



The image of a pleading man accompanied by the motto *Am I Not a Man and a Brother?* was reproduced on abolitionist mementoes such as this cameo produced by Wedgwood.

interests sought to counter it. In Britain and the US, it was spearheaded by Quakers and other religious nonconformists, such as Methodists, who objected to slavery on religious and moral grounds. There was significant collaboration between the abolitionist movements in the US and Britain, and it was common for activists to travel between the two countries to attend conferences and participate in speaking tours.

Leading abolitionists

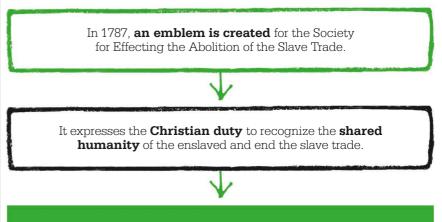
In 1787, the first abolitionist society in Britain, the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade, was formed in a Quaker bookstore in London. Most of their members were Quakers, although Granville Sharp and Thomas Clarkson, its president and secretary respectively, were Anglicans. Eight years earlier, Sharp, an activist and lawyer, had achieved a legal precedent in the Somersett Case, in which a judge ruled that the right to freedom took precedence over the right to property, making the selling of the enslaved defendant, James Somersett, illegal on British soil.

The society organized rallies and lectures, and challenged specific cases of slavery in the courts. Clarkson, author of the influential 1785 essay "Is it lawful to make slaves of others against their will?," petitioned William Wilberforce, a prominent abolitionist in parliament.

Slavery's evils

Slavery was less evident on the streets of Europe than it was in the colonies, even though British cities such as London, Liverpool, and Bristol had been financial centers for the buying and selling of enslaved individuals since the 17th century, and slave ships were built in their docks and moored in these cities on the way to and from the colonies. To make the evils of the slave trade relatable to the populations of Europe, who were either desensitized to slavery or not fully aware of its horrors, abolitionists produced and distributed images of the enslaved. Their aim was to force the public to consider the enslaved as God's creation, deserving of human dignity. They believed that unless they changed the way people viewed the enslaved, there was little hope of getting them to support their cause against a practice that was ingrained in the fabric of society.

One of the most striking images to emerge was that of the supplicant slave—a kneeling Black man, his chained hands raised heavenward. and the caption "Am I not a man and a brother?" Created for the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1787 by three unknown Quakers, this emblem was first reproduced on cameos created by British pottery manufacturer Josiah Wedgwood, a prominent abolitionist. The image embodied the religious, ethical, intellectual. and legislative arguments against slavery, but the pleading figure was also designed to appeal to »



It poses the question "Am I not a man and a brother?"

170 ABOLITIONISM IN EUROPE

Abolitionist lawyer Granville Sharp (center) secures the freedom of Jonathan Strong in 1767. Strong had been kidnapped in a London street by his former enslavers and resold into slavery.

people's personal vanity, as if emancipation was a kindness in the gift of white people and not a fundamental human right, and slavery not an outright abomination that had to be stopped.

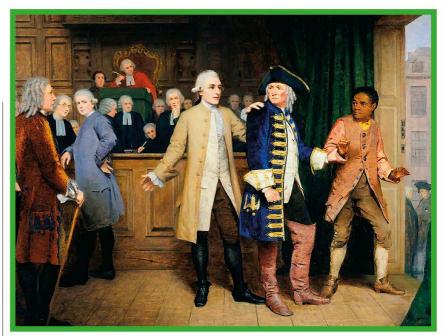
A powerful tool

Slave narratives-firsthand accounts by formerly enslaved people—were often read out at abolitionist conventions. They raised awareness of the horrors of slavery and helped the abolitionist movement gain momentum. One of the first Black British abolitionists to publish a slave narrative was Olaudah Equiano, who campaigned for abolition in Britain after buying his freedom. His memoir. The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself (1789), which became an influential text in the abolitionist

Slavery is an evil of the first magnitude ... and contrary to all the genuine principles of Christianity, and yet carried on by men denominated thereby.

Ottobah Cugoano Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery, 1787





movement, vividly described his abduction from West Africa, the horrors of the Atlantic crossing, and his brutal life enslaved in the British colonies. The book became a best-seller, and by 1794 had been translated into Russian, German, and Dutch.

Slave narratives were not the only antislavery tracts by formerly enslaved people. An associate of Equiano, Ottobah Cugoano-who became a leading figure in Sons of Africa, London's Black abolitionist community-drew on his deep understanding of the Bible to write Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species (1787). As well as overturning arguments put forward by some that slavery was divinely sanctioned, it demonstrated the author's powers of reason, exposing the lie that Black people were incapable of reason and therefore less than human. Cugoano sent his book to George III and leading politicians, including Edmund Burke, who expressed

dislike of slavery but argued for better treatment of the enslaved rather than their immediate emancipation.

Liberty, equality, fraternity

In France, the first antislavery group was the *Societé des Amis* des Noirs, formed in Paris in 1788. French abolitionism drew on the ideals of the Enlightenment that would inspire the French Revolution the following year-that all men had a natural right to liberty and all human life had dignity. Among its members was French aristocrat. Gilbert du Motier, Marguis de Lafayette, who drafted the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen and had fought with General George Washington's forces in the American Revolution

However, many supporters of the French Revolution argued that its ideals could not extend to enslaved people, as their freedom would destroy the French economy. Some Enlightenment thinkers, including German philosopher

REVOLUTION AND RESISTANCE 171

Immanuel Kant, also fell back on the argument that Enlightenment values did not apply to Black people because they were inferior.

In Haiti, which was the richest French colony, enslaved people led by Toussaint Louverture staged a revolution in 1791 against the white plantation owners, defeating the French army sent to repel them. The rebellion's success forced France to declare the end of slavery in 1794. It was reinstated by Napoleon in 1802 as part of his efforts to regain control of the colonies, but the rebellion shook the confidence of slaveholding interests across the world, as did revolts in the British colonies of Jamaica and St. Lucia.

Abolition is in sight

The years of abolition advocacy began to yield results when one country after another introduced laws limiting the slave trade. In Britain, tens of thousands of people signed petitions, and William Wilberforce introduced the first bill



French abolitionist Marquis de Lafayette (left) had served in the American Revolution, helped by James Armitage (right), an enslaved Black man, who spied on the British.

I would never have drawn my sword in the cause of America if I could have conceived that thereby I was founding a land of slavery! Marquis de Lafayette



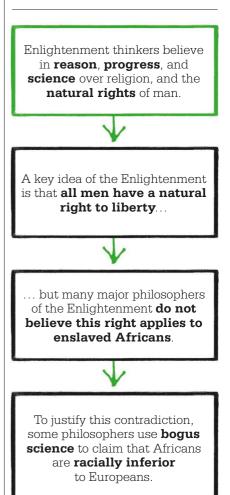
for the abolition of the slave trade in 1791. Although the bill was defeated by 163 votes to 88, and wars with France temporarily derailed the abolitionist movement in Britain, Wilberforce reintroduced the bill annually, and continued to raise public awareness.

Boycotts of items produced with slave labor, such as Caribbean sugar, also had an impact. A 1791 pamphlet by abolitionist William Fox urging people to buy sugar from India and Indonesia sold 70,000 copies in four months. By the following year, an estimated 400,000 people in Britain were boycotting Caribbean sugar.

In 1807, Britain passed the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act. banning any British ship or British subject from engaging in the slave trade and committing its Navy to policing the seas. Spain followed suit four years later, while Sweden and the Netherlands did so five and six years later respectively. Despite the various bans on the slave trade, the raiding and selling of enslaved people continued in the colonies. and British ships patrolled the Atlantic for many years, pursuing slavers and freeing their captives. Some countries that had abolished

the slave trade simply looked the other way when their merchants continued to trade in enslaved people.

Although the abolitionists had won the battle to ban the slave trade, at least a million Africans were illegally enslaved and transported through the 19th century, and those already enslaved in European colonies were still denied freedom and equal rights. Abolitionists on both side of the Atlantic turned their attention to ending slavery itself. Becoming impatient, they started to demand its immediate end rather than gradual reform.



OF JU Ź **IS YOU IR F ABOLITIONISM IN THE AMERICAS** (1758–19TH CENTURY)



174 ABOLITIONISM IN THE AMERICAS

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION The Americas

BEFORE

1526 The Portuguese complete the first transatlantic slave trip, from São Tomé in West Africa to Brazil.

1619 Captive Africans are taken to North America by British soldiers. They are sold into slavery in the English settlement of Jamestown.

1640 An African called John Punch is sentenced to a lifetime of slavery in Virginia in the first legal sanctioning of slavery in an English colony.

AFTER

1928 Domestic slavery is banned in Sierra Leone.

1993 The American Anti-Slavery Group is formed to raise awareness of slavery across the world today.

n the 16th and 17th centuries the case for the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade was barely considered. Enslaved people's only prospect of freedom was escape or the hope that their enslaver would free them voluntarily. By the 18th century, Quaker groups, who came to view slavery as evil, and others inspired by the Enlightenment and its principles of humanity and liberty began to campaign against slavery as an institution.

In the US, colonists demanding independence from Britain were confronted with the hypocrisy of denying freedom for the enslaved. At



the Philadelphia Meeting of Friends in 1758, the influential antislavery campaigner John Woolman urged his fellow Quakers to free the enslaved. He asserted that "the color of a man avails nothing, in matters of right and equity."

The antislavers

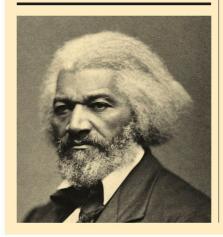
Initially, the abolitionist movement was largely white, and included many women who were also campaigning for the rights of women, and saw advantages in uniting the two causes. After the American Revolution (1775–1783), when northern states gradually began to outlaw slavery, the number of Black abolitionists started to build. Many of them had been enslaved before the war, making their fight personal. The most prominent Black activist of the 19th century, Frederick Douglass, evoked his own experiences to inspire the abolitionist cause.

Central to the success of the movement was the formation of antislavery societies to educate the public and lobby politicians. America's first antislavery society, the Society for the Relief of Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, was formed in Philadelphia in 1775. Many

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See also: Abolitionism in Europe 168–171 = The Underground Railroad 190–195 = The settlement of Liberia 200–201 = Nat Turner's revolt 202–203 = The war to end slavery 206–209 = The ending of slavery in Brazil 224–225

Frederick Douglass



others followed, including the New York City Manumission Society in 1785 and the Rhode Island Society for the Abolition of Slavery in 1789.

Antislavery societies held meetings, organized lecture tours, and raised funds. Like their counterparts in Britain, they believed they could end slavery by publicizing its evils and appealing to the moral principles of white people. Adopting the British emblem of an enslaved person kneeling in chains, they raised funds by producing abolitionist merchandise, ranging from china to snuffboxes.

As in Britain, abolitionists also encouraged formerly enslaved people to write first-hand accounts of slavery that could be read out at conventions. Such literature disturbed white people's view of enslaved people as uneducated, as did the poems by Phillis Wheatley, an enslaved African in Boston, Massachusetts. In a 1772 poem addressed to the Earl of Dartmouth, Britain's Secretary of State in America, Wheatley subtly Douglass was born into slavery in 1818 and grew up in the US state of Maryland. Taught the alphabet by the wife of his enslaver, he learned to read and write.

In 1838, Douglass escaped from slavery with the help of his wife, Anna. He fled north, first to New York City and then to Bedford, Massachusetts. After powerfully describing his experiences at an antislavery meeting, he became a prominent abolitionist speaker.

Following a two-year speaking tour of Britain and Ireland, Douglass returned to the US and set up *The North Star*, an

equated American demands for independence from Britain with enslaved people's dreams of freedom. Britain's George III was a known supporter of slavery.

Slavery persists

The Atlantic slave trade was abolished by Britain in 1807, by the US the following year, and by other countries soon afterward, including Spain and its colonies (except Cuba) in 1811 and the Netherlands in 1814 However slavery itself and the buying and selling of enslaved people, continued in British colonies. including in the Caribbean, and in the Southern US, where cotton and tobacco plantations depended on slave labor. Those who were already enslaved remained so. as did their descendants. This ensured a renewable source of

In 1773, the poet Phillis Wheatley

became the first person of African descent to publish a book in English. A number of her poems criticized slavery and racial inequality. antislavery newspaper that also championed women's rights and suffrage for the formerly enslaved.

During the American Civil War, Douglass was an advisor to President Lincoln. Entering politics after the war, he became the country's first African American vice presidential candidate in 1872 and was appointed Consul General to Haiti in 1889. He died in 1895.

Key work

1882 Life and Times of Frederick Douglass

labor. Portugal, which banned the slave trade at home in 1761, shifted it to its colony of Brazil, where it continued for another century.

Supporters of slavery in the US argued that not only did the wealth of the nation depend on slavery, but it was a benevolent, paternalistic system that reflected the natural order. They saw the enslaved as inferior, therefore not entitled to the rights set out in »



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Sojourner Truth

Born into slavery as Isabella Baumfree, in 1797, Sojourner Truth was set free when her birth state of New York outlawed slavery in 1827. Inspired by mystical experiences, she joined the household of an evangelical missionary called Elijah Pierson in New York City and became a preacher. She advocated the brotherhood of man and the abolition of slavery and was an outspoken supporter of women's suffrage.

In 1843, Baumfree left New York City in order to "travel up and down the land." She changed her name to Sojourner Truth to symbolize her desire to spread the truth about the gospel and slavery. Truth continued to preach and campaign until well into her seventies. After the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery was passed in 1865, she campaigned for the repeal of segregation laws. Truth died in 1883, at the age of 86.

Key works

1850 The Narrative of Sojourner Truth **1851** "Ain't I a Woman" the US Constitution. Many also argued that formerly enslaved people would threaten white society by undercutting wages and depriving others of paid employment.

Even those who did not support slavery worried about how the white and Black races would live together peacefully once enslaved people were given their freedom. The American Colonization Society. founded in 1816 by a Presbyterian preacher, proposed purchasing enslaved individuals and paying for their transportation to Africa. a course of action that was viewed as repatriation. Britain had already begun to resettle some of its formerly enslaved people from the Caribbean in Sierra Leone, which they called the "Province of Freedom."

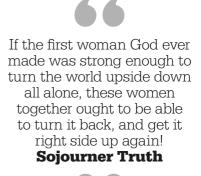
Some antislavery campaigners in the US, including a number of Black abolitionists, embraced these ideas as a way of ending slavery, but most saw them as deportation and a denial of the birthright enslaved people were entitled to—the right to be free American citizens.

Gathering momentum

In the 1820s, as support for slavery continued to hold, abolitionism in the US stepped up. Activists

I longed to have a future—a future with hope in it. To be shut up entirely to the past and present is abhorrent to the human mind.

Frederick Douglass



circulated petitions, wrote thousands of pamphlets, and delivered hundreds of speeches. It was common for activists to travel between the US and Britain to attend antislavery conventions. Abolitionist and suffrage campaigner Sarah Parker Remond, born into a prominent Black family in Massachusetts, the center of America's abolition movement, made grueling speaking tours of European countries. Her speeches were so influential that Southern politicians tried to bar her reentry into the US.

In 1833, Britain passed the Abolition of Slavery Act, effectively ending the buying and owning of enslaved people in all British territories. France followed suit in 1848, but the US and Brazil remained major centers of slavery.

Leading advocate

One of the most effective Black abolitionists of the second half of the 19th century was Frederick Douglass, a formerly enslaved man who had risen to a position of influence in the US. Douglass recognized the moral case for linking abolition with the campaign

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for female suffrage, as they both appealed to the egalitarian principles enshrined in the US Constitution. He admired Sojourner Truth's campaigns for abolition and women's rights, and often spoke with her, but the two fell out over Douglass's belief in securing suffrage for Black men before women.

A gifted orator, Douglass toured the antislavery lecture circuit at home and abroad, and was an associate of America's leading white abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison. As a young man, Douglass worked for Garrison's newspaper, *The Liberator*, the most widely circulated antislavery publication.

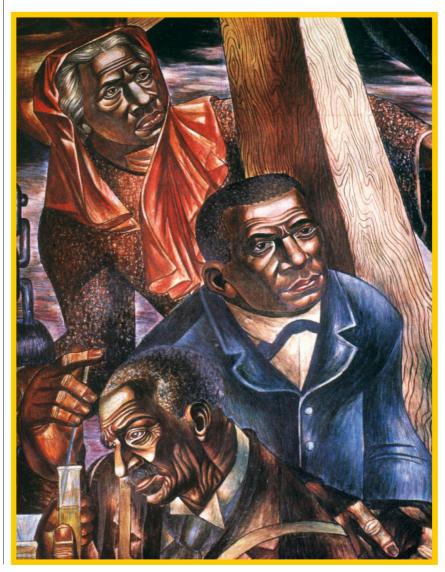
Different tactics

By the 1830s, there were some 1,500 local antislavery organizations in the US, with around 100,000 members. However, a new urgency caused by the country's western expansion, and thus the potential extension of slavery, caused some abolitionists to become impatient. The American Anti-Slavery Society, founded by Garrison in 1833, had pledged to seek the emancipation of enslaved people through "moral suasion," but Garrison began to fear this was too slow. Adopting the concept of "immediatism" from

The sum of sixteen hundred millions of dollars is invested in their bones, sinews, and flesh. **Sarah Parker Remond** Britain, he denounced slaveholding as a sin that had to be stopped at once. He called for the immediate emancipation of enslaved people and suffrage for freedmen otherwise, he warned, there would be a race war.

Douglass, who supported gradualism, began to distance himself from Garrison, and in 1847, founded his own newspaper, *The North Star*, aimed specifically at Black abolitionists. Winning and retaining the moral high ground had been an important strategy in the early years of abolitionism. As the movement advanced, and tactics became more sophisticated, legal action was often used to free individuals who had been illegally enslaved. Douglass saw political action—lobbying politicians and »

Sojourner Truth stands over reformer Booker T. Washington (center) and scientist George Washington Carver in a mural celebrating Black achievement at Hampton University, Virginia.





The Ouakers and some evangelical groups spearheaded moral and religious arguments against slavery.



Antislavery societies were formed to formulate strategy, organize rallies, and petition politicians.



Formerly enslaved people wrote first-hand accounts, describing the harsh conditions they had experienced.

using arguments rooted in the Constitution—as the most effective route forward.

Neither Douglass nor Garrison advocated violence, yet rebellion had also played a part in the wider history of ending enslavement, and some abolitionists, white and Black, urged direct action. One of the earliest and most successful uprisings, on the French island of Saint-Domingue (now Haiti), led by Black abolitionist General Toussaint Louverture, had resulted in the first free Black settlement outside Africa being established in 1804.

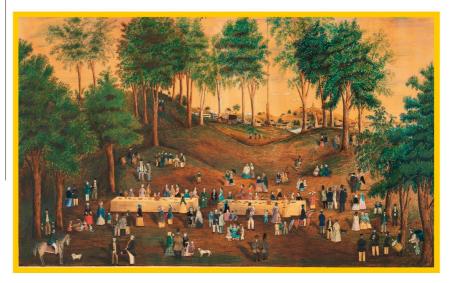
In the US, slave rebellions had almost always failed, leading to brutal clampdowns. Nat Turner's revolt in 1831, during which 55 white people were killed, had been put down with overwhelming force. Nonetheless abolitionists such as Henry Highland Garnet, whose family had secured their freedom

Abolitionists held community

picnics, like this one in Weymouth Landing, Massachusetts, in 1845, to attract supporters and raise funds for the cause. while he was a child, openly advocated direct action. In 1843, he delivered "An Address to the Slaves of the USA," in which he urged the enslaved to demand their freedom from slaveholders, using force if necessary.

The last straw

In response to the Underground Railroad, which helped enslaved individuals escape to free states, the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 enforced the return of freedom seekers to their enslavers. The act was the last straw for enslaved people. Now they would only be safe if they could reach Canada. Around the same time, Solomon Northup's 1853 memoir *Twelve Years a Slave* described in harrowing detail how Northup, born a free man in New York State, had been kidnapped and sold into slavery for 12 years while on a visit to Washington, D.C. The book, which was reviewed in many



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Boycotts of products made with slave labor took place to undermine the economic advantages of slavery.



Activists began to advocate the use of force, such as armed rebellions and attacks on government property.

northern newspapers, fueled the abolitionist cause. It sold 30,000 copies in three years, and Northup embarked on a series of influential speaking tours.

The road to war

With mounting calls to respond to the Fugitive Slave Act using all possible means, Douglass, who had condemned Highland Garnet's speech of 1843, began to question pacifism. When white abolitionist John Brown and his Black and white supporters attacked the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in 1859, Douglass distanced himself from the event but expressed admiration for its audacity and denied claims that Brown was insane As the Southern states sought to protect and extend their slaveholding interest, war between the North and South became increasingly likely. Douglass now supported military action: by this time, it was a matter of self-respect.

The American Civil War (1861– 1865) ended slavery throughout the US, with abolition a stated war aim of President Abraham Lincoln. The Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery, was ratified on December 6, 1865.

Last outposts

After slavery ended in the US, the only remaining centers of slavery in the Americas were the Spanish colony of Cuba and the former Portuguese colony of Brazil. The road to abolition in both these countries was slow. Around 40 percent of enslaved men and women taken to the Americas ended up in Brazil. By 1807, they made up nearly half of the population. After independence from Portugal in 1825, political power rested with large rural landowners, who produced sugar, cotton, and coffee. Slavery was considered vital to the economy, and a policy of gradual abolition was pursued. Laws such as 1871's Law of the Free Womb, which freed all children born after the law was passed, and 1885's Sexagenarian Law, emancipating enslaved people over the age of 60. led to incremental progress.

Some enslavers ignored the laws, which were only enforced when cases were brought before the court. Luís Gama, a Black abolitionist lawyer who was sold into slavery as a child, is believed to have freed more than 1,000 people in this way. Other notable Black abolitionists included symbolist poet João da Cruz e Sousa, who campaigned for abolition in the *Tribuna Popular* newspaper.

Brazil finally abolished slavery in 1888, two years after Cuba. It was the last country in the Western world to do so.

Úrsula by Maria Firmina dos Reis

Newspaper articles, pamphlets, and slave narratives all sought to turn public opinion against slavery, but literature also played a part. In the US in the 1850s, Frances Harper Watkins wrote poems for antislavery newspapers and novels and short stories about race and class. In Brazil, *Úrsula* by Maria Firmina dos Reis, a self-educated Afro-Brazilian writer and teacher, made a similar impact on its readers. Published in 1859, *Úrsula* is a doomed love story between two white characters, but over the course of the novel parallel stories unfold about the enslaved Black characters—Túlio, Susana, and Antero—caught up in the fates of the protagonists. These Black characters are shown to have emotions, morals, and opinions, and lives beyond those of their enslavers.

Firmina dos Reis's radical novel emphasized the humanity of enslaved people and forced readers to confront the reality of their lack of free will.



THE DEAD WILL RISE TO DRIVE THE WHITE MAN OUT THE XHOSA WARS (1779–1878)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION South Africa

BEFORE

1st century ce Xhosa ancestors, the Bantu-speaking Nguni people, migrate to Southern Africa.

1488 Portuguese navigator Bartolomeu Dias sails around the Cape of Good Hope.

1652 The Dutch East India Company founds the Cape Colony settlement.

AFTER

1909 The South Africa Act unites the Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, and Orange Free State as the Union of South Africa, a self-governing dominion of the British Empire.

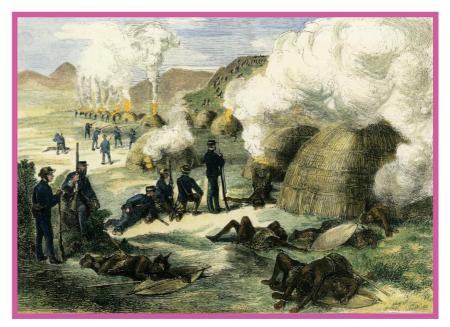
1961 South Africa becomes a republic under the all-white National Party.

1994 Nelson Mandela is South Africa's first democratically elected president.

rom 1779 to 1878, Dutch and British colonists and forces were almost constantly at war with the Xhosa—farming people in what is now Eastern Cape, South Africa, whom the Europeans dubbed Kaffirs. There were nine principal conflicts—also known as the Cape Frontier Wars or the Kaffir Wars—interspersed with regular raids, which ended with the absorption of Xhosa territories into Britain's Cape Colony.

The early clashes arose as Trekboers, nomadic farmers of Dutch descent, spread rapidly east across Southern Africa into Xhosa territory, and competed with local herdsmen for land and water. In the first three wars (1779, 1793, and 1799–1801) between Boer (Dutch) frontier men

British troops burn a Xhosa village and kill its inhabitants during the final war to seize the last Xhosa territory, illustrated in a contemporary engraving.



See also: The Bantu migrations 32–33 = Europeans arrive in Africa 94–95 = The Zulu Empire 198–99 The scramble for Africa 222–23 = Pan-Africanism 232–35 = Nelson Mandela and the anti-apartheid movement 260–61



The cattle-killing tragedy is depicted in the Keiskamma Tapestry, which records the history of the Cape from the Stone Age to the 1990s.

and the Xhosa, the two sides were evenly matched. The Dutch used guns and cavalry, while the Xhosa had superior numbers, which resulted in a stalemate.

British occupy the land

The British first seized Cape Colony from the Dutch in 1795, and began their extended occupation of the area in 1806. With greater military power than that of the Dutch, they could also summon reinforcements from Britain or India if necessary. For hand-to-hand fighting, where most casualties occurred, they relied on their African allies, the Mfengu from the Eastern Cape.

In 1812, the British started to push the Xhosa back, driving them out of the Zuurveld, a buffer zone between the Gamtoos River and the Great Fish River. During a further war (1818–1819), when Xhosa prophetchief Makana vowed to "turn bullets into water," British forces again prevailed. They then declared the Zuurveld neutral territory but installed 5,000 British colonists along the Great Fish River.

Xhosa cattle killing

In 1856, the young prophetess Nongqawuse claimed she had met two ancestors, who promised that the dead would arise if the Xhosa fulfilled certain conditions, which included destroying their cattle and crops.

Xhosa cattle were already dying in large numbers from the lung disease contagious bovine pleuropneumonia, transmitted by infected animals that arrived on a European ship in 1853. As the disease remained latent for long periods, affected animals quickly

Forced out of their territories by the British into the land of other African populations, the Xhosa resorted to frontier cattle raids to survive, incurring a violent and decisive British response from 1834 to 1836.

A new treaty brought relative peace but further tensions over land resulted in the next war in 1846. After this conflict, the British annexed previously neutral territory between the Keiskamma River and the Great Kei River to create the Crown Colony of British Kaffraria.

The last nail in the coffin of the old way of life for the Xhosa people. Mtutuzeli Matshoba on the Xhosa cattle killing of 1856–1857 passed it to healthy cattle. The Xhosa associated such misfortune with witchcraft.

Exhausted by decades of warfare with the British and convinced their cattle would die anyway, large numbers of Xhosa farmers found hope in the vision of Nongqawuse. In 13 months, they slaughtered some 400,000 of their cattle, and 40,000 Xhosa people died of starvation. The event further weakened Xhosa resistance to the British settlers who had taken their land.

Resentful of their occupiers, the Xhosa mounted a fierce rebellion in 1850 but were again defeated.

Extreme measures

Becoming desperate, the Xhosa put greater faith in prophecies. In 1856, 15-year-old Nongqawuse declared that Xhosa ancestors would rise up and drive out the invaders, but to summon them the Xhosa would first have to destroy their cattle and crops. Many complied, and the consequent famine resulted in more deaths and significant losses of land to the British, and paralyzed Xhosa resistance for two decades.

The final war began in 1877, when the British advanced into Gcalekaland, east of the Great Kei River—the last bastion of Xhosa independence. In 1878, the victorious British annexed the area.

In later years, the Xhosa people fiercely maintained their cultural traditions and assimilated other tribes pushed west by Zulu expansion. After the Zulu, the Xhosa are now the second largest cultural group in South Africa.



TO SEND THE AFRICANS TO THEIR NATIVE QUARTER THE FOUNDING OF SIERRA LEONE (1787)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Sierra Leone, West Africa

BEFORE

15th century Portuguese sailors name a range of West African hills they sight as Serra Lyoa ("Lion Mountains").

1670 English traders establish Bunce Island, on the Sierra Leone coast, as a "slave fort."

1783 After the American Revolution, the British transport more than 14,000 Black Loyalists to Britain, the West Indies, and Nova Scotia.

AFTER

1808 The area of Sierra Leone around Freetown becomes a British Crown Colony and a base for the Royal Navy to intercept slave-trading ships.

1896 The British colonize further territory to create a new Sierra Leone Protectorate.

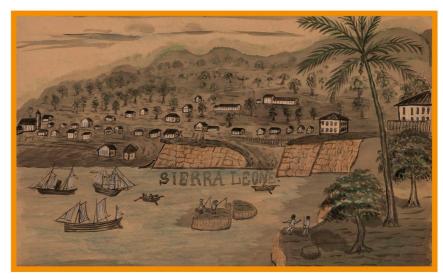
1961 Sierra Leone wins its independence from Britain.

he African nation of Sierra Leone had its origins as a solution—philanthropic and commercial—to the displacement of enslaved people by war and the unraveling of the slave trade. By the late 18th century, British involvement in enslavement had resulted in an African population in Britain of perhaps around 15,000.

Freetown, capital of Sierra Leone, was established in 1792 by Black Loyalists from Nova Scotia, on the edge of a peninsula overlooking Africa's largest natural harbor. including freed domestic workers and Black Loyalists—formerly enslaved Africans who had fought for the British in the American Revolution (1775–1783). Eking out a living on city streets, mostly in London, these "Black poor" were dependent on private charities for survival.

A doomed dream

In 1786, a group of philanthropists and abolitionists in London founded the Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor, aiming to help destitute Africans and Lascars (displaced



See also: The birth of the Atlantic slave trade 116–121 $\,$ The Jamaican Maroons 146–147 $\,$ Abolitionism in Europe 168–171 $\,$ The scramble for Africa 222–223

| Sierra Leone's free Black settlers | | |
|------------------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| Year | Number of people | Where they came from |
| 1787 | Around 350 "Black poor" | Britain |
| 1792 | 1,200 Black Loyalists | Nova Scotia, Canada |
| 1800 | 550 Maroons | Jamaica, via Nova Scotia |
| 1808–1871 | More than 85,000 formerly enslaved people | Africa |

Indian sailors). The committee was attracted to an ambitious plan by Henry Smeathman, a naturalist who had spent time in West Africa. He proposed an agricultural and trading settlement in Sierra Leone, which could be populated by free Africans shipped from Britain.

Smeathman died in July 1786, but the committee and the British government decided to back his plan. In November 1786, Olaudah Equiano, a Black abolitionist and writer, was appointed to the role of commissary, in charge of acquiring and distributing supplies to the "Black poor" who had signed up for the expedition. Shocked at the poor treatment of the emigrants and concerned that they were being forced to leave their homes in Britain, Equiano criticized the settlement plan and in March 1787 was fired from his post.

Emigration plans went ahead, and on April 9, 1787, 350 Black passengers—plus 59 white women, the wives and widows of Black men—set sail for the "Province of Freedom." About one in ten died on the journey, and another third within three months of the settlers' arrival in Sierra Leone in May 1787. In 1789, the first settlement was burned down by the indigenous Temne people. Disorganized and leaderless, the remaining settlers dwindled to around 60 in number.

Fresh hope

In 1791, Granville Sharp, a British abolitionist and supporter of the original plan, founded the Sierra Leone Company to create a new settlement. He was lobbied by Thomas Peters, one of more than 3,000 Black Loyalists who had been evacuated to Nova Scotia but were struggling with its harsh climate. In 1792, Peters and about 1,200 Black Loyalists migrated to Sierra Leone. They were joined in 1800 by around 550 Maroons-formerly enslaved Black Africans who had rebelled against their enslavers in Jamaicaand then by thousands of enslaved Africans freed by Royal Navy patrols.

The free Africans in Sierra Leone coalesced into a new ethnic group, the Krio (or Creole), based in and around Freetown. Today, the Krio are a minority in the country, but their English-based language—also called Krio—is spoken by the majority.

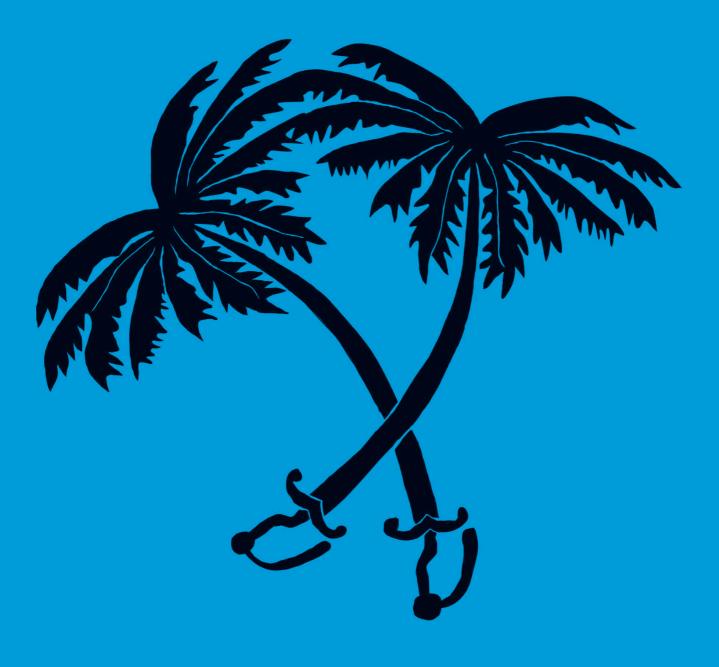


Olaudah Equiano

Known also as Gustavus Vassa—a name given to him by a Royal Navy officer-Olaudah Equiano was born around 1745 probably in present-day Nigeria. He was captured and enslaved as a child and brought to the Caribbean, where he was subsequently purchased by a naval captain and served on board British warships during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). As a young man, he saved enough money to buy his freedom, and spent many years as a sailor, traveling as far afield as Nova Scotia and the Arctic.

Equiano finally settled in London, where he became active in the antislavery movement. In 1789. he published his autobiography, The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, which depicted the horrors of slavery he had experienced and witnessed first-hand. The book had a great influence on the campaign that led to the eventual abolition of the British slave trade in 1807. Equiano married a white Englishwoman in 1792 and had two daughters before he died. in 1797.

INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION (1791)



IN CONTEXT

LOCATIONS Saint-Domingue/Haiti, France

BEFORE

1521 Enslaved people in Hispaniola rise up against Spanish colonists. This is one of the first known uprisings by enslaved people.

1789 In France, revolutionaries issue the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen.

AFTER

1825 France orders Haiti's government to pay 150 million francs in return for recognition of Haitian independence.

1834 Britain abolishes slavery in most of its colonies.

1848 Slavery is re-abolished in France; it had been reinstated in overseas colonies in 1802.

1862 The US finally recognizes Haitian independence.

he Haitian Revolution was a collection of slave revolts and military strikes that began in 1791. It resulted in the abolition of slavery in the French colony of Saint-Domingue in 1793, and the colony's subsequent rebirth in 1804 as the first independent, slavery-free nation of the western hemisphere—Haiti.

Sailing on behalf of the Spanish monarchy, Christopher Columbus landed on the island of Ayiti in 1492 and renamed it Hispaniola. The island's inhabitants, the Taino, resisted the Spanish conquistadors throughout the 16th century, but in the end the deadly combination of war and smallpox (brought over on Spanish ships) nearly wiped out the Indigenous population. The Spanish began to transport captive Africans to work the land as slaves.

Divided island

In 1697, following nine years of war in which an alliance of European states had tried to thwart France's expansionist policies, the Treaty of Ryswick ceded the western third of Hispaniola to the French, who renamed it Saint-Domingue. Over the century that followed, the French introduced and enslaved nearly one million captives from Africa to work on the territory's newly established, highly profitable sugar plantations. But conditions were so deadly that by the time the revolution began, the enslaved population numbered just 465,000.

Planters in Saint-Domingue practiced some of the cruellest slave punishments in the world: burning or burying enslaved people alive, and nailing them to walls and trees, along with branding and other forms of mutilation. As a result, freedom seekers or "Maroons" created entire communities in the mountains and sometimes raided and devastated crops.

These bands of Maroons were so feared by the French colonists that there were several high-profile executions of Maroon leaders. One such leader, François Makandal, was burned alive at the stake in 1758 for inciting rebellion. Legend has it that at the moment he was about to be set on fire, he turned into a mosquito and flew away.

In 1791, generalized revolts broke out when the enslaved began gathering to plot rebellion. The most important meeting was a Vodou

Toussaint Louverture



Born François Dominique Toussaint to enslaved African parents on a plantation in the colony of Saint-Domingue in the 1740s, Toussaint Louverture was freed from slavery in the 1770s. Said to have been inspired by Enlightenment philosophy, specifically the call for a "Black Spartacus" to lead the enslaved in Abbé Raynal and Denis Diderot's 1777 Histoire des deux Indes (History of the East and West Indies), Louverture went on to become a key player in the Haitian Revolution. He fought first for the Spanish army against the French,

then for the French against the Spanish and British, and rose to the rank of general in the French army before proclaiming himself governor-general of Saint-Domingue for life in 1801.

When the French threatened to reintroduce slavery in the colony in 1802, Louverture and an army of Black soldiers fought back, but were outnumbered. Louverture was arrested on the orders of Napoleon and deported to France. He was imprisoned in a fortress in the Jura Mountains, near the Swiss border, where he died of pneumonia in 1803.

See also: The birth of the Atlantic slave trade 116–121 = The slave rebellion in Hispaniola 130–131 = Enslaved people rise up in Mexico 132–135 = The Jamaican Maroons 146–147 = The Garifuna 162–163 = Louisiana's Code Noir 166–167



ceremony at Bois Caïman on a plantation in Morne-Rouge on August 14, 1791. The meeting was led by a formerly enslaved Vodou priest named Boukman Dutty, who urged the enslaved to engage in war against enslavers: "Throw away the image of the God of the whites who thirsts for our tears and listen to the voice of liberty which speaks in the hearts of all of us."

Freedom fighters

By mid-September 1791, up to 80,000 enslaved people were in open rebellion, and more than 1,500 coffee and sugar plantations had been destroyed. To add to this, Spain declared war against France and Britain in 1793, and early that year, French revolutionaries had executed their king, Louis XVI, and declared open war against Britain. Subsequently, all three nations— Britain, France, and Spain—began wrestling for control over the most lucrative sugar colony in the world. Both the enslaved population and the free people of color viewed this power struggle as an opportunity to achieve their political ends, and began to ally themselves variously with Britain and Spain.

Leading the rebellion, among others, was Toussaint Louverture, a formerly enslaved man from the Bréda plantation. In February 1793, Louverture and other key leaders joined Spanish forces and fought against the French army. By June,

I was born a slave, but nature gave me the soul of a free man. Toussaint Louverture Report to the French government, 1797 The colony's capital, Cap-Français, burned for several days after it was set on fire by Black revolutionaries in 1793. The white population deserted the city, sailing for the US and Cuba.

with some Black soldiers flighting for the Spanish, and others for the British or the French, confusion reigned. Desperate to secure their freedom, enslaved Africans began to riot, and the port of Cap-Français was set on fire. The city's white residents fled. In response, two of the French commissioners sent to restore order, Etienne Polverel and Léger-Félicité Sonthonax, published decrees of General Emancipation for the regions of the colony over which they had authority.

Achieving abolition

Louverture urged his troops to accept nothing less than the total abolition of slavery in all of Saint-Domingue as a victory. In August 1793, he issued his famous call at Camp Turel: "I want Liberty and »

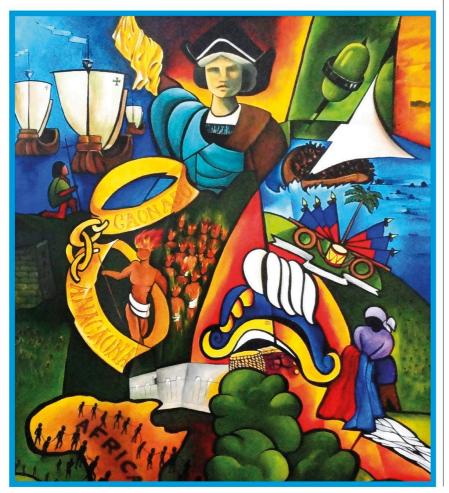
188 THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION

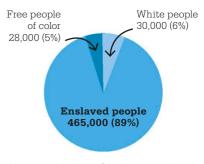
Equality to reign in Saint-Domingue. I work to bring them into existence. Unite yourselves to us, brothers, and fight with us for the same cause."

The National Convention in Paris had no choice but to abolish slavery in its empire in 1794. Louverture joined forces with French general Etienne Laveaux to defeat the forces of Britain and Spain. Laveaux is credited with giving Toussaint the name *l'ouverture*, which means "the opening" in French.

The Haitian flag was reportedly created in 1803 when Dessalines ripped the white out of the French flag. A Black woman, Catherine Flon (bottom right), sewed together the red and blue pieces. In 1795, the Spanish signed the Treaty of Basel, by which they not only ceded the western third of the island to France, but the eastern two thirds, Santo Domingo, as well. The British persisted in their quest to wrest control of the colony from France up until 1798, when British general Thomas Maitland made a peace agreement with Louverture. Flushed with victory and selfproclaimed authority, Louverture declared, "I've been fighting for a long time, and if I must continue, I can. I have had to deal with three nations and I defeated all three."

In July 1801, Louverture, naming himself governor-general for life, issued his own constitution for





The population of Saint-Domingue around 1791 was made up mostly of enslaved people. This disparity, along with the cruelty they faced, meant that slave revolt was almost inevitable.

Saint-Domingue, which proclaimed that "slaves cannot exist in this territory and servitude is forever abolished." The constitution also demonstrated Louverture's loyalty to France by decreeing that all inhabitants of Saint-Domingue would die "free and French."

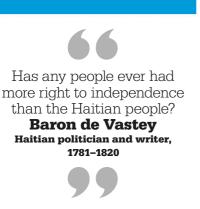
Back in France, First Consul Napoleon Bonaparte, who had risen to power in 1799, coldly received the news of Louverture's selfappointment. He did not share Louverture's view that they were equals, but rather saw the general as a rival who could prevent the reestablishment of slavery. Napoleon's response was to send General Charles Victor Emmanuel Leclerc, his brother-in-law, to Saint-Domingue to depose Louverture.

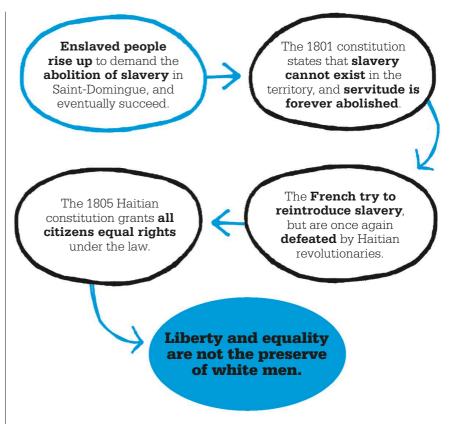
French retaliation

In late January 1802, the Leclerc expedition landed off the coast of Saint-Domingue, with an army of more than 20,000 troops. Anticipating the arrival of the French fleet, Black general Henry Christophe ordered Cap-Français to be set ablaze. Undeterred, Napoleon eventually sent as many as 60,000 additional French troops to quash the rebelling Black soldiers. Louverture warned his army and

the inhabitants of the colony that this meant the French planned to restore slavery. But after receiving promises to the contrary, General Christophe defected to the French in April 1802. Fellow Black general Jean-Jacques Dessalines soon did the same, leaving Louverture to surrender the following month amid assurances that he and his family would be given amnesty.

Then, in May 1802, Napoleon signed into law a decree that permitted the reestablishment of slavery in the French Empire. This act alone was enough to inflame resistance, as the formerly enslaved were now forced to entertain the possibility that after 11 years of de facto freedom they would once again be subjected to the will of white enslavers. Adding fuel to the fire. Louverture was arrested in June by Leclerc's army and deported. As he was forced onto the ship that would transport him to France, Louverture reportedly uttered one of the most famous statements of the Haitian Revolution: "In overthrowing me, you have done no more than cut down the trunk of the tree of liberty in Saint-Domingue; it will spring back from the roots, for they are numerous and deep."





Soon after Louverture's deportation, Dessalines and Christophe defected back to the revolutionaries' side. They reassumed their commands as generals to form the *armée indigène* ("Indigenous army"), whose motto became "Independence or death!"

Independent Haiti

While trying to fight off the Black revolutionaries, French troops were also being wiped out by the onset of yellow fever. Leclerc died from the disease in November 1802. His second-in-command, Jean-Baptiste-Donatien de Vimeur, comte de Rochambeau, took over, ordering French soldiers to use bloodhounds to chase down and "eat the Blacks."

Rochambeau's tactics failed. In November 1803, he surrendered to Dessalines after losing the Battle of Vertières. The Black army assumed control of Cap-Français, renaming it Cap-Haïtien. Dessalines and the other Black generals proclaimed Saint-Domingue independent from France and restored the name of the island to Haiti (Ayiti) in 1804.

The Haitian Revolution remains the only armed slave revolt to have ended in universal freedom for New World Africans. In a modern world accustomed to seeing Haiti through the lenses of poverty and disaster, it is important to recognize how this revolution challenged the values of Europe's Enlightenment, which had pronounced liberty and equality to be only for white men. Moreover, the principle on which Haitian independence was basednamely, that no humans could ever again be enslaved—continues to define contemporary political ideas about what it means to be free.

R **IG F** Ε F R F NDERGROUND ROAD R E H (19TH CENTURY)



IN CONTEXT

LOCATIONS United States, Canada

BEFORE

1672 The first records appear of freedom seekers harassing plantation owners.

1786 George Washington complains in a letter that an enslaved person escaped from a neighbor with the help of a network of Quakers.

1793 The legislature of Upper Canada (modern-day Ontario) passes the Act to Limit Slavery, which states that enslaved people who reach the province will be free.

AFTER

1865 Slavery is abolished in the US.

2016 US Treasury Secretary Jack Lew introduces plans for Harriet Tubman to appear on the \$20 bill.

I was the conductor of the Underground Railroad for eight years, and I can say what most conductors can't say—I never ran my train off the track and I never lost a passenger. Harriet Tubman

Women's suffrage convention, 1896





he southern United States was fully entrenched in the practice of slavery by the mid-18th century. Forced labor on the plantations became a common fixture that drew little public outcry, allowing slavery to become a familiar part of life. As time went on, those who had been born or sold into slavery sought ways to escape their situation and find refuge in free northern states or British North America (present-day Canada).

Toward the end of the 18th century, escapes became more common and calls for the abolition of slavery began to grow louder in Britain and throughout the Americas. As the abolitionist movement gathered steam and support for escapees grew, so did the network of people willing to help them make their way to freedom. In the 1830s, the term "Underground Railroad" began to be used for this network of secret routes and safe houses.

Origins

The earliest mention of the Underground Railroad, in 1831, was by the enslaver of an escapee from Kentucky across the Ohio River into

A Ouaker family is depicted leading a group of enslaved people to freedom in Charles T. Webber's 1893 painting, *The Underground Railroad.*

the state of Ohio. The enslaver blamed an "underground railroad" for helping to facilitate the escape.

The Underground Railroad grew into a well-organized network during the 1840s. Early efforts to aid, shelter, and protect enslaved people stemmed from the Quakers' desire to help these people reach freedom, but the network was not based in religion. It was simply maintained by people who felt in their hearts and minds that what they were doing was for the best of their fellow man and woman.

Routes to freedom

In 1793, the Fugitive Slave Act was passed in the US, which required free states to enforce the capture and return of fleeing enslaved people. Another Fugitive Slave Act in 1850 strengthened regulations by demanding the cooperation of officials in free states. As a result, Canada became the main terminus of the railroad. The Underground Railroad also went south, with

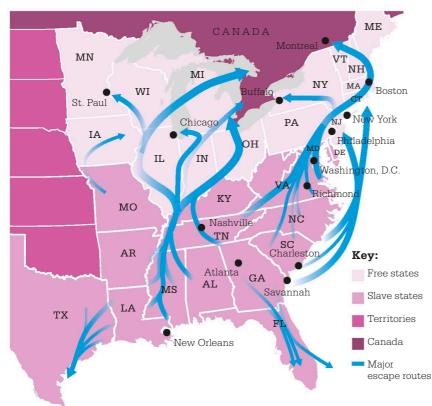
See also: The birth of the Atlantic slave trade 116–121 $\,$ $\,$ The Jamaican Maroons 146–147 $\,$ $\,$ Louisiana's Code Noir 166–167 $\,$ $\,$ Abolitionism in the Americas 172–179 $\,$

people traveling to Mexico where slavery was illegal, and islands in the Caribbean that were not part of the slave trade.

Areas of the Deep South that were recognized as popular escape routes were patrolled by people known as "Slave Catchers," who made money by returning freedom seekers. Consequently, many of the enslaved people who used the Underground Railroad were seeking escape from states closest to the north. Virginia and Maryland saw some of the highest numbers of freedom seekers, while states further south, such as Alabama and Georgia, were less likely to see people make a successful bid for freedom.

The Underground Railroad allowed for many different "stops" along the way. People would use their homes, which were sometimes equipped with elaborate trapdoor systems, crawl spaces, and secret rooms concealed in attics or cellars, to hide freedom seekers from sight. Churches and schools were similarly used, and the language describing such places only added to the legend of the Underground Railroad. These hiding places were often referred to as "stations" and "depots," while »

The main escape routes taken by enslaved people on the Underground Railroad were known as "lines." The lines took people to freedom in the northern US, Canada, Mexico, and the Caribbean.





Harriet Tubman

Known as the "Moses of her People," Harriet Tubman was born into slavery between 1820 and 1822 in Dorchester County, Maryland. Born as Araminta Ross, she was one of nine children. At around the age of 12, she suffered a severe head injury while defending another enslaved person. After the injury, she experienced trances and visions that she believed were God guiding her.

Tubman married a free Black man called John Tubman and began using the name Harriet. In 1849, in fear that she would be sold to another plantation, Tubman escaped using the Underground Railroad. She then became one of the most notorious conductors of the network, by some estimates leading more than 300 people to freedom.

During the Civil War, Tubman served as a nurse, scout, and spy for the Union. After the war, she focused her efforts on women's suffrage and donated land to open a home for elderly Black Americans in Auburn, New York. She died there in 1913.

194 THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

Secret code

Supporters of the Underground Railroad created their own code, including several railroad terms, to maintain secrecy. The railroads were still an emerging form of transportation and their terminology was not yet widespread.

| Code word Meaning | | |
|------------------------------|--|--|
| Code word | Meaning | |
| Agent | A coordinator who plotted escape routes and made contacts. | |
| Baggage, Cargo, or Passenger | Freedom seeker carried by Underground Railroad workers. | |
| Conductor | A guide on the Underground Railroad. | |
| Forwarding | Taking enslaved people from station to station. | |
| Heaven or the Promised Land | Canada or other locations where enslaved people would find freedom. | |
| Load of potatoes | A wagon of escaping enslaved people hiding under farm produce. | |
| Operator | A person who worked as a conductor or agent. | |
| Parcel | Expected freedom seeker. | |
| Pilot | A person who traveled south to find enslaved people seeking freedom. | |
| Preacher | A leader or speaker for the Underground Railroad. | |
| River Jordan | The Ohio River, which marked a major crossing into free states. | |
| Shepherd | A person who persuaded enslaved people to escape. | |
| Station or Depot | A safe house, or place of safety. | |
| Station master | A person who hid enslaved people in their home. | |
| Stockholder | A donor of money, clothing, or food to the Underground Railroad. | |

hosts were called "station masters." "Conductors" on the Underground Railroad were people who guided enslaved people on their journey to freedom. Perhaps the most famous conductor is Harriet Tubman Born into slavery, she escaped from a Maryland plantation in 1849. Then she did the unthinkable—she went back. Risking capture and execution. Tubman returned to the South 13 times to assist other enslaved people with their escape to freedom. She followed rivers to navigate north, wearing disguises and traveling on foot, horseback, boat, train, or wagon.

Secret system

Those who contributed to the Underground Railroad came from various backgrounds. Both rich and poor played significant roles in maintaining the network with donations of money and supplies. In addition to the Underground Railroad cutting across class lines, it also cut across racial lines, with some free Black people and white people offering shelter and aid. Those involved faced punishments such as fines, imprisonment, whippings, and even execution if they were discovered.

I should have done violence to my convictions of duty, had I not made use of all the lawful means in my power to liberate those people ...

Thomas Garrett American abolitionist, 1789–1871





A quilted mural from 2006 honors a modern myth that claims geometric patterns were codes stitched into quilts and hung outside as signals by enslaved people and safe houses.

Escaping slavery required many strategies. Some freedom seekers had to make the journey with no conductor at all, and relied on tips and word-of-mouth information. Since newspapers did not print Sunday issues, Saturday became the most popular day for enslaved people to seek their freedom: any publicized notices of their escape would have to wait until Monday.

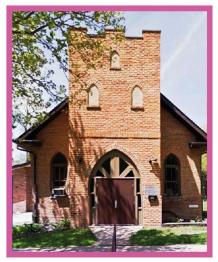
Not only did conductors employ disguises to help shield their identities, but freedom seekers were often given different clothes and false identification papers, and adopted different styles of speech or movement. A common strategy was also to plan operations for the dead of night, and many conductors preferred the winter months when there were darker skies and longer nights. Escapees would travel around 10–20 miles (15–30km) at night between stations. They usually traveled by foot, but were also transported in wagons, on horses, and in some cases by train.

Communicating through code was an important aspect of keeping information covert. The codes would be used by conductors or fleeing enslaved people in letters to agents to prepare them for arrivals, or to friends and family of enslaved people to inform them of their escape. Enslaved people also used the codes in songs to communicate between each other. The songs would contain secret messages to tell an enslaved person to prepare for escape, to communicate strategies, or to provide directions.

End of the line

In 1861, when the American Civil War broke out, the Underground Railroad became a significant tool in the Union Army's fight against the Confederacy. Conductors such as Harriet Tubman worked as operatives, participating in raids to liberate enslaved people from plantations and recruit them to join regiments of the Union Army. They also provided support as spies and scouts, gathering intelligence, mapping regions, and getting word to enslaved people of when raids would take place. Conductors worked with the Union to destroy Confederate Army depots and torch plantations, fields, and warehouses. They also burned the homes of Confederate sympathizers.

The last Confederate Army surrendered in June 1865. The Underground Railroad had ceased operations during the Civil War as its work became focused on aiding the Union Army's efforts. In December 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified in the US, ending slavery. As many as 100,000 people had found their way to freedom with the help of countless men and women who risked their lives to bring others to safety.



Sandwich First Baptist Church in Ontario, Canada, was a safe house on the Underground Railroad, with secret tunnels leading to its cellar.



THE BRIGHT SWORDS OF QURANIC VERSES THE FULANI CONQUEST (1804)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATIONS Nigeria, West Africa

BEFORE

15th–18th centuries

Between the Niger River and Lake Chad, city-states known as Hausaland or the Hausa kingdoms thrive on trade.

1725 Muslim Fulani people carry out a jihad, or holy war, to create the Islamic state of Futa Jallon, in present-day Guinea.

c. 1750 Gobir, in north Hausaland, emerges as the most powerful Hausa city-state.

AFTER

1830s The Sokoto caliphate expands beyond Hausaland, creating a large empire.

1903 British forces defeat the Sokoto caliphate, which is absorbed into the Northern Nigeria Protectorate.

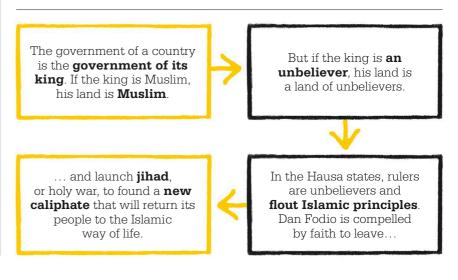
1914 The caliphate becomes part of the British Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria.

rom 1804, a series of Islamic revivalist movements took hold among the Hausa kingdoms in West Africa. Prominent Muslim clerics descended from the pastoral Fulani people orchestrated these revolutionary struggles, or jihads. Unhappy with what they perceived as their marginalization among host communities, they were keen to impose a new social and political order founded on Islamic principles. The most notable Muslim cleric was Usman dan Fodio, whose founding of a new Islamic state prompted further jihads and cemented Islam as the main religion

across northern regions of West Africa, while European-imposed Christianity spread in the south.

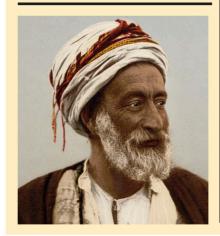
The road to jihad

Muslim refugees from Mali brought Islam to Hausaland in the second half of the 14th century. By the 18th century, most Hausa people were Muslim, but in name only. To clerics and other devout Fulani, their rulers were violating Islamic tenets. For example, Hausa rulers were misappropriating funds intended for the poor—ignoring Zakat, which is the giving of alms to the poor and is one of the pillars of Islam.



See also: The Muslim conquest of Egypt 58–59 • The Mali Empire 86–91 • The city-states of Hausaland 96–97 • "Zik" and independent Nigeria 286–287

Usman dan Fodio



Dan Fodio and other clerics began to produce reams of guiding texts, shaping a widespread opinion that reform could only happen through a Muslim takeover of government. In 1788, dan Fodio negotiated with Sarkin Gobir Bawa, ruler of the Hausa kingdom of Gobir (in present-day northern Nigeria), and won concessions, including the freedom to preach freely. However, successive rulers saw dan Fodio as a threat, and in 1804, he was forced to flee to the outskirts of Gobir.

Conquest and legacy

After he was proclaimed *amir al-muminin* (Commander of the Faithful), dan Fodio gathered his forces and launched a jihad against the Hausa kingdoms, seizing each one until Gobir itself was defeated in 1808. A year later he founded the Sokoto caliphate in the small Gobir

Fulani Muslim men pray in a Sokoto mosque in 2019. The sultan of Sokoto is still a key figure in Nigeria, where the Hausa–Fulani make up one-third of a total population of around 200 million. Born in Gobir in 1754 to an educated Fulani family, dan Fodio was instructed in mathematics, astronomy, the words and deeds (hadith) of the Prophet Muhammad, and Islamic law (Sharia). By the age of 20, he was writing and preaching about the Prophet's teachings, joined by his brother, Abdullahi. Dan Fodio eventually settled in the Gobir town of Degel. where he built a community governed by Islamic principles. This increasingly posed a threat to Gobir's rulers and led to dan Fodio's jihad against the Hausa kingdoms. After the jihad war,

town of the same name. All former Hausa states became emirates individual regions administered by emirs, or *amirs*. These leaders served as representatives of dan Fodio, the caliph, who was both spiritual and political leader.

The caliphate united the Hausa people for the first time, and they became increasingly integrated dan Fodio gradually withdrew from public life, leaving the government of the newly formed Sokoto caliphate to his son, Muhammad Bello, and Abdullahi. He retired to Sifawa, a town near Sokoto, where he continued to write, teach, and promote Islamic law. Dan Fodio died in Sokoto in 1817.

Key work

1806 *A* Clarification of the Obligation for the Believers to Emigrate, to Nominate the Imam, and to Lead the Jihad

with the Fulani. The British, who colonized the region in the early 20th century, found it difficult to manage the colony. However, they saw the Hausa–Fulani people as a stabilizing force and promoted their interests in northern Nigeria. Today, the Hausa–Fulani still remain a major force in the country's politics.





UP! CHILDREN OF ZULU THE ZULU EMPIRE (1816)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Southern Africa

BEFORE

c. 1500 ce Nguni peoples, including the Zulu, migrate south of the Limpopo River and settle close to the Indian Ocean in present-day South Africa, Eswatini (formerly Swaziland), and Mozambique.

17th century The Zulu begin to emerge as an independent force among the Nguni.

AFTER

1887 Britain annexes the Zulu homeland, which is absorbed into the colony of Natal in 1897.

1977 KwaZulu ("place of the Zulu") is created by the South African government as a homeland for the Zulu people.

1994 When Nelson Mandela is elected president of South Africa, KwaZulu merges with Natal to form KwaZulu–Natal. he Zulu people formed part of the migration of the Bantu-speaking Nguni peoples into Southern Africa that had taken place by around 1500 cE. The name Zulu translates as "heaven," and in their religion the Zulu are the children of the heavens, descended from the great creator known as Nkulunkulu.

The Zulu moved from a life of herding animals in extended family units to form consolidated groups led by chiefs who amassed large armies and gathered wealth in taxes. Chiefs subjugated neighboring chiefdoms,



The image of Shaka Zulu remains a symbol of unity and pride for the Zulu nation. Today, the Zulu are the largest ethnic group in South Africa and their language is the most widely spoken.

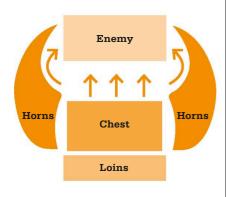
acquiring even greater power. Eventually, in the 17th–18th centuries, all these chiefs were conquered and united under King Shaka Zulu (c. 1787–1828). The Zulu became a significant nation and went on to build the most powerful empire in Southern Africa.

When the British set out to expand their empire in Southern Africa in the 19th century, they were resisted by the Zulu, leading in 1879 to the Anglo-Zulu War. Zulu forces inflicted a number of crushing defeats on the British Army. Such sustained resistance in the face of huge technical superiority created a reputation for legendary heroism that still resonates today.

Building Zulu identity

In the late 18th century, Zulu leaders, including King Jama kaNdaba, his daughter Mkabayi kaJama, and his son King Senzangakhona kaJama, began to build the Zulu into a nation and a military force. Shaka, the son of Senzangakhona, became ruler in 1816 and developed many of his father's military innovations. These included the *assegai*—a short stabbing spear with a long blade for close-quarter combat—and the *impondo zenkomo* ("buffalo horns") See also: The Bantu migrations 32-33 = The Xhosa Wars 180-181 = The scramble for Africa 222-223 = Nelson Mandela and the anti-apartheid movement 260-261

In the Zulu "buffalo horns" formation, seasoned soldiers—the "chest"—engage the enemy head-on, while younger, swifter fighters—the "horns"—attack the enemy's flanks and rear. The "loins" finish off the opposing forces.



attack formation (see above). Shaka took young men from all over his kingdom to train in military tactics. Deception and surprise became paramount, ruthlessly deployed by Shaka and his 40,000-strong army of warriors as they systematically subjugated surrounding clans.

Shaka was assassinated by his brothers in 1828. From 1816, the extermination of thousands of people and the clearance of cattle and crops in a series of wars between Indigenous ethnic groups destabilized the region, forcing many Nguni to migrate. This period, known as the *Mfecane* (the "crushing and wandering years"), continued beyond Shaka's death and up until around 1840.

Clash of empires

By the 1870s, the Zulu Empire was seen as a threat to British plans to create a federation of South African states. In December 1878, King Cetshwayo (a descendent of Shaka) was given an impossible ultimatum and war soon broke out. On January 22, 1879, two battles took place that were to become symbols both of African resistance to white rule and of European military superiority. First, British forces and a Zulu army clashed at Isandlwana. The Zulu were commanded by Ntshingwayo kaMahole, a military veteran familiar with European tactics. His army annihilated the British, who lost more than 1,000 soldiers. This was the first time that a British army had suffered a total defeat at the hands of an African army using African tactics and weaponry.

The same day, a Zulu regiment, led by Cetshwayo's half-brother Dabulamanzi kaMpande, attacked a far smaller but heavily armed British force at Rorke's Drift. More than 300 Zulu were massacred, but beyond Africa the action was seen as a heroic example of British superiority. On July 4, the British inflicted a decisive defeat at Ulundi. the Zulu capital, savagely killing the inhabitants and destroying the roval Kraal (residence). For some Europeans, the Zulu's resistance created an alternative perspective to the assumed inferiority of the African Others lauded the Zulu as the embodiment of the "noble savage." This iconic status became cemented in the international spelling alphabet, where Zulu is the code for Z, and in popular white culture. where the Zulu were portrayed as a noble and brave people who were ultimately doomed, in films such as Zulu (1964) and Zulu Dawn (1979).

Two British officers rescue a standard at the Battle of Isandlwana, in this 1881 depiction that sought to emphasize the isolated bravery of the white soldier under mass Zulu attack.





LAND OF THE SETTLEMENT OF LIBERIA (1820)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Liberia

BEFORE

1462 Portuguese explorers arrive on the coast of presentday Liberia and name it Costa di Pimento (Pepper Coast).

1819 The US Congress passes a bill that authorizes the establishment of an African colony for formerly enslaved Black Americans and allocates
\$100,000 to help fund it.

AFTER

1951 Liberia holds its first elections under universal suffrage. In earlier elections, only male descendants of Americo-Liberians could vote.

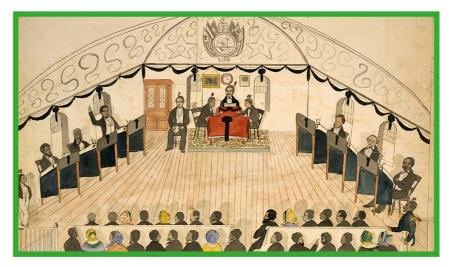
1989–2003 Two civil wars cause considerable bloodshed and bitterly divide Liberia.

2011 Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, reelected president of Liberia, wins the Nobel Peace Prize for her bid to ensure women play a full role in peace-building.

n January 31, 1820, the Elizabeth sailed from New York carrying 88 Black Americans seeking a better life in Africa. The group was leaving for a continent that had been represented to them as a homeland. even though the vast majority were born into slavery in America. Some hoped to become missionaries. For this pioneer group the journey to what would become Liberia was long and perilous. The *Elizabeth* docked first at Sherbro Island, off the coast of the British colony of Sierra Leone, where a third of the passengers died of malaria.

The voyage had been organized by the American Colonization Society (ACS), an alliance between mainly Ouakers and former enslavers. They regarded repatriation as the solution to the growing population of free Black people, who, they argued, would not achieve equal rights in America. Although some Black people believed emigration might better their condition, most

The Senate of Liberia, depicted in an 1856 drawing by Robert K. Griffin of Monrovia, is the upper house of the bicameral Liberian legislature, largely based on the US government model.



See also: Abolitionism in the Americas 172–179 = The founding of Sierra Leone 182–183 = Pan-Africanism 232–235 = The Year of Africa 274–275



To mark the founding of Liberia by Black Americans, Liberia's flag closely resembles the US flag. The eleven stripes represent the signatories of the Liberian Declaration of Independence in 1847.

saw repatriation as deportation. Dissenters organized protests and meetings to demand citizenship and rights in the country that had enslaved their ancestors. Black abolitionists were also galvanized to confront colonization schemes.

A coastal colony

It took almost two years for ACS agents to secure a strip of land on the West African coast at Cape Mesurado, purchased from local ruler Zola Duma (King Peter) in exchange for goods and weapons. The Dei and Bassa Indigenous peoples, who had traded with Europeans since the 15th century, resented handing over their land.

In April 1822, the settlers finally landed on the cape and began to build Monrovia as the new capital of the country which, in 1824, they christened Liberia, from the Latin *liber* ("free"). Relations with the Indigenous populations remained hostile, but the settlers were protected by the British and American navies.

By 1827, increasing numbers were arriving to populate new coastal colonies, run by agents of societies similar to the ACS. Two colonies joined Liberia to form the Commonwealth of Liberia in 1838, and others followed in later years.

Early independence

Liberia's growing prosperity was fueled by revenue from customs duties levied on British and other traders. In the 1840s, the British refused to pay, and the American government turned down Liberia's appeal for support. In 1846, the settlers opted for self-rule and a year later, Joseph Jenkins Roberts became Liberia's first president.

By 1867, the ACS and other societies had dispatched around 16,000 Black Americans to Liberia, where several thousand more Black people liberated from slave ships had also arrived.

Termed Americo-Liberians, the colonists formed only a tiny fraction of the Liberian population but were politically and economically dominant until 1980, when Samuel Doe of the Indigenous Krahn people staged a successful military coup. In 2005, following two civil wars, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf became Africa's first female head of state.

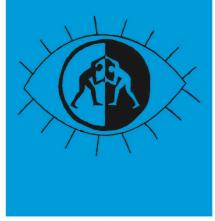
I love Africa and would not exchange it for America. **Rosabella Burke** Liberian colonist and formerly enslaved person, 1859



Martha Erskine Ricks

Although Martha was born enslaved in the American state of Tennessee in 1817, her father George bought his family's freedom. At the age of 13, she traveled with her parents and six of her siblings to Liberia. under the auspices of the American Colonization Society. Like their fellow Black travelers, the Erskines dreamed of a life free of slavery in a place where they could thrive. Most of the family, however, succumbed to disease. Only Martha and her brother. Hopkins, reached adulthood,

Martha married Zion Harris and, after his death. Henry Ricks. In 1848, she traveled to the US and UK with the first president of Liberia. Joseph Jenkins Roberts. Like other settlers, Martha grew crops and raised livestock, but is now best remembered as a talented needlewoman. In 1892, she fulfilled a long-held dream. With the aid of Edward Blyden, Liberia's ambassador to Britain, Martha traveled to London, met Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle, and presented the monarch with an intricate quilt depicting a Liberian coffee tree in bloom. Martha died in Liberia in 1901.



WHITE SPIRITS AND BLACK SPIRITS ENGAGED IN BATTLE NAT TURNER'S REVOLT (1831)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION United States

BEFORE

1619 The first documented enslaved African people arrive in the US, in Virginia.

1739 A band of 20 enslaved people organize an uprising on the banks of the Stono River in South Carolina. More than 20 white people are killed.

1822 American carpenter Denmark Vesey is captured and hanged while plotting to execute enslavers in Charleston, South Carolina.

AFTER

1859 American abolitionist John H. Brown leads an attack on Harper's Ferry, Virginia, seizing the armory.

1861 The American Civil War begins. The war is centered on the unresolved debate surrounding the abolition of slavery in the United States. he deadliest slave rebellion in American history took place in Southampton County, Virginia, on the evening of August 21, 1831, and into the following morning. Led by enslaved preacher Nat Turner, the uprising left 55 white men, women, and children dead—the largest number of white fatalities to occur in a single revolt.

Turner, a preacher and spiritual leader among his fellow enslaved people, often had visions which he believed were messages from God. In 1828, he was convinced that a vision had directed him to avenge slavery and lead a revolt. He waited for another sign to take action.

Turner believed that a solar eclipse in 1831 was a signal that the time to revolt had come. A week later, he met in the woods with a group of enslaved men from neighboring plantations and made

Nat Turner and six recruits held a secret meeting in the woods on the plantation of Turner's enslaver, Joseph Travis, several hours before the revolt.



See also: Life on the plantations 122–129 = Brazil's slave resistance camps 136–139 = Abolitionism in the Americas 172–179 = The Haitian Revolution 184–189 = The war to end slavery 206–209 = The golden age of Reconstruction 210–213

Nat Turner



plans for the insurrection. They intended to start at the home of Turner's enslaver Joseph Travis, killing him and then every white person they encountered, while gathering arms.

The group planned to capture the county armories in Jerusalem, Virginia, then continue 30 miles (48 km) to take refuge in the remote Great Dismal Swamp.

Rebellion and retaliation

On August 21, Turner and six rebels moved from plantation to plantation, armed with axes, hatchets, and knives. As the group freed enslaved people, they recruited around 75 others to join the uprising.

The revolt lasted 12 hours before it was suppressed by more than 3,000 members of the state militia and armed civilians, backed by federal troops. More than 100 people were captured and killed by the militia. The state eventually executed 56 others. As fear spread through white people in the region, mobs attacked and killed another estimated 200 Black people. Born in 1800 to enslaved parents on a plantation in Southampton County, Virginia, Nathaniel ("Nat") Turner was highly intelligent and learned to read and write at a young age. Raised as a Methodist, he spent much of his free time reading the Bible.

Turner became a preacher and gave sermons to other enslaved people. He believed he received messages from God through visions, and that he had been chosen to free his people from enslavement. His visions earned him the nickname "The Prophet" among his fellow enslaved people.

Turner successfully eluded capture in the woods for more than two months, but he was eventually apprehended on October 30. He was sentenced to death and hanged on November 11.

Turner's impact

Nat Turner's revolt destroyed the myth that enslaved people were content in their servitude and too passive to launch a violent rebellion. The uprising also led to the enactment of new oppressive legislation banning the education, movement, and assembly of enslaved people.

Virginia and neighboring North Carolina imposed new restrictions to bar enslaved and free Black people from preaching, or attending religious meetings without white supervision. Virginia instituted a colonization bill, which attempted to remove free Black people from the state. It also introduced a police bill that denied Black people trial by jury, and if convicted of a crime, made them subject to sale and In 1825, Turner had a vision of violent conflicts between white and Black people. Three years later, he believed he received a message to plan a revolt. After a solar eclipse in February 1831, Turner and a group of supporters began to prepare for an uprising. Before the year was out, Turner would be sentenced to death and executed by hanging on November 11, 1831.

Key work

1831 The Confessions of Nat Turner

relocation. In 1835, Southern legislators silenced congressional debates over slavery for almost a decade by prohibiting the reading of antislavery petitions in Congress. Conversely, Northern abolitionists used the uprising to intensify their efforts to end the institution of slavery. The divide between enslavers and abolitionists grew until the start of the American Civil War in 1861. ■

... the Spirit instantly appeared to me and said ... Christ had laid down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men ... I should take it on and fight ... **Nat Turner**

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The Confessions of Nat Turner, 1831



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Zanzibar

BEFORE **1503** Zanzibar becomes part of the Portuguese Empire.

1698 The sultan of Oman expels the Portuguese and takes control of Zanzibar.

AFTER

1861 Zanzibar becomes an independent sultanate, ruled by the sultan of Zanzibar.

1873 Following intervention from Britain, Stone Town slave market is closed, and the slave trade is abolished in 1876. However, slavery remains legal on the island until 1897.

1890 Zanzibar becomes a British protectorate.

1909 Slavery is abolished in East Africa.

1963 Zanzibar gains independence from Britain.



Zanzibar becomes one of the world's **biggest slave-trading hubs**.

uropean-led slave trading tends to dominate historical accounts of slavery, but the Zanzibar slave trade is a stark reminder of the fact that Black labor was lucrative for a number of different groups—in this case, Arab Muslims. In the mid-19th century, the island of Zanzibar, off the coast of mainland Tanzania, was home to one of the world's largest slave markets, at Stone Town.

Zanzibar became part of the Portuguese Empire at the start of the 16th century. Stone Town, which is situated on a natural harbor, was an established port on the Indian Ocean trade route, which connected Southeast Asia, India, Arabia, and East Africa. Spices, silk, and ivory, as well as enslaved people, were transported across the ocean by *dhow* (a traditional Arab sailing boat with

See also: The trans-Saharan slave trade 60–61 = Europeans arrive in Africa 94–95 = The birth of the Atlantic slave trade 116–121 = Abolitionism in the Americas 172–179 = The war to end slavery 206–209 = The scramble for Africa 222–223



The growing military power of Europe put an end to Islamic expansion, and now that there was a shortage of [white] slaves, Arab Muslims were looking to Black Africa.

Tidiane N'Diaye French-Senegalese anthropologist

triangular, slanting sails.) But Zanzibar's slave trade really took off after the sultanate of Oman (situated on the southeastern edge of the Arabian Peninsula) seized control of the island from Portugal in 1698, following a two-year siege. By 1840, Sultan Said bin Sultan had relocated his court from Muscat in Oman to Stone Town.

Terrible trade

Following the sultan's lead, Omani merchants flocked to Zanzibar, commandeering the most fertile land in order to develop the island's clove and coconut estates. By 1850, Zanzibar and the neighboring island of Pemba (also under Omani control) were the two biggest clove producers in the world.

As the plantations increased in size and profitability, the demand for cheap labor on the island rose, as well as in other Arab countries, where slave labor was scarce. Soon, the streets of Stone Town were full of enslaved people, and the town's market had become East Africa's main slave trade location. Thousands of East Africans, taken from a vast area, were brought to Zanzibar each year to be traded.

Conditions for enslaved people being transported by caravan and *dhow* from the African mainland were so appalling that many died en route. On arrival, the survivors were shackled in underground chambers. If they lived for more than three days, they would be sold at the Stone Town market. Another brutal practice, supposedly a test of fortitude, involved tying enslaved people to trees and whipping them with stinging branches. Those who did not cry, scream, or faint fetched a higher price at the market.

In demand

Although many enslaved Africans were kept to work on Zanzibar's plantations—such as those of Hamad bin Muhammad (or Tippu Tip, "the gatherer together of wealth"), who had around 10,000 enslaved workers—more than half were exported to other Arab countries, including Oman, Arabia, Egypt, and Persia. Islamic law prohibited Muslims from being enslaved, so the demand for African "non-believers" was high.

An end to slavery

Zanzibar gained independence from Oman in 1861, but it was not until after the Anglo-Zanzibar war of 1896, which resulted in a period of British rule, that all public slave markets were closed. Even then, enslaved people did not receive automatic emancipation. They had to apply for manumission (freedom from slavery) via colonial powers.

Zanzibar's history of slavery and imperialism continues to permeate the island today, highlighted by memorials and landmarks that speak of its sobering past.

Enslaved Africans were lined up

and inspected by prospective buyers at Zanzibar's slave market. Each enslaved person was made to wear a bracelet bearing the name of the slave trader.



MENOF COLOR, TO ARMS! The war to end slavery (1861–1865)



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION United States

BEFORE

1803 France sells the territory of Louisiana to the US. The Louisiana Purchase doubles the size of the US and opens up western expansion.

1820 The US Congress passes the Missouri Compromise banning slavery north of latitude 36°30' except in the state of Missouri.

AFTER

1868 The Fourteenth Amendment to the US Constitution grants equal civil rights to all persons who were born or naturalized in the country.

1870 The Fifteenth Amendment affirms that the right to vote cannot be denied on the grounds of race.

n 1861, the American Civil War, the most violent episode in the country's history, erupted in the slaveholding state of South Carolina. The four-year conflict between the country's Northern and Southern states tore America apart, but most Black Americans recognized it was a chance to overthrow the institution of slavery once and for all. In 1863, Frederick Douglass delivered a speech in Rochester, New York, urging "Men of color, to arms!"

The road to war

Several developments during the 1850s added to the inevitability of war. The gradual expansion of the US as white settlers migrated west

See also: Life on the plantations 122–129 • Abolitionism in the Americas 172–179 • The Haitian Revolution 184–189 • The settlement of Liberia 200–201 • The ending of slavery in Brazil 224–225 • Black combatants in World War II 254–257



Active from 1863 to 1865, the United States Colored Troops (USCT) had 175 regiments. By the end of the Civil War, some 200,000 Black Americans had fought in the Union Army and Navy.

after the American Revolution threatened to extend slavery, a prospect that not only appalled Black people and all abolitionists, but also Northern farmers, who feared competition from producers able to use slave labor.

To halt the growing divisions between North and South over slavery, Congress introduced several acts to appease slaveholding interests. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 enforced the return of enslaved individuals, even in free states, and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 permitted slavery in Kansas and Nebraska, canceling the 1820 Missouri Compromise that had banned slavery in any new territories north of Missouri's southern border (latitude 36°30').

The Kansas-Nebraska Act potentially opened the gates to new slaveholding states forming in the west and led to the founding of the Republican Party, a group of antislavery politicians, including Abraham Lincoln, that opposed the extension of slavery.

In March 1857, a crucial Supreme Court ruling known as the Dred Scott decision laid bare the bleak reality of Black people's status. Dred Scott and his wife Harriet, an enslaved couple from Missouri, had been staying for several years with their enslavers' family in the free state of Minnesota. The 1857 ruling decided they were not entitled to their freedom on their return to Missouri, despite the doctrine of "once free, always free" that had previously prevailed in the state. The judges' 7-2 verdict was based on the fact that Black people were not and could never be US citizens, and therefore did not have the same rights as white people, including that of petitioning a court. Dred Scott had received massive backing from Northern abolitionists, and the decision brought tensions between North and South to a head.

The Confederacy forms

In November 1860, Abraham Lincoln was elected 16th president of the United States. Within a month of »

during the

Civil War

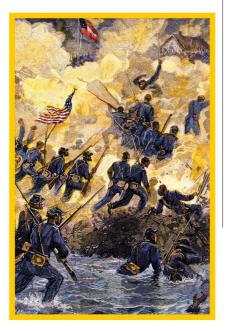


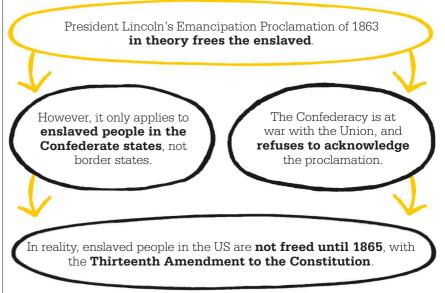
form the Confederacy. Four border states (slave states that stayed in the Union) were joined by West Virginia in 1863.

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the election, South Carolina, fearing Lincoln would introduce bills to end slavery, seceded from the Union, and by February 1861, six other slave states—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas—had followed suit. Together, they formed the Confederacy, led by Mississippi's Jefferson Davis, who had quit the Senate in January.

The country was on the brink of war, and in April 1861, following a skirmish at Fort Sumter off the South Carolina coast in which Confederate troops fired on Union forces, Lincoln called on the Northern states to form a militia. His main aim at this point was to restore the Union, and he reiterated an assurance not to abolish slavery in states where it already existed. Within days, however, four more slaveholding states-Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolinahad joined the Confederacy. Four border states-Kentucky, Delaware, Missouri, and Maryland-remained in the Union, later joined by West Virginia when it separated from the rest of Virginia in 1863.





In July 1861, the danger of serious war became a reality when the First Battle of Bull Run, in Virginia, resulted in a resounding victory for the Confederacy. It gradually became clear to Union forces that there would be no easy victory, despite having a much larger number of troops.

Black Americans' reaction to the war varied. In the South, most enslaved people saw it as a war of liberation. In the North, some Black Americans argued they should not put their lives at risk without the rights and privileges of citizenship. From the start, Frederick Douglass, who believed Union success would deliver freedom for the enslaved, ran editorials in his newspaper *The North Star* urging Black men to form militias—informal bands of fighters—to support the Union. Such help was initially refused by Lincoln,

The valiant performance of the Black American 54th Massachusetts Infantry regiment at the Second Battle of Fort Wagner in July 1863 proved the mettle of Black troops. who believed arming Black militias would be inflammatory to the border states loyal to the Union.

New strategies

As the war entered its second year, Lincoln continued to urge rebel states to return to the Union. For the border slaveholding states still in the Union, he proposed compensation for enslavers who freed their enslaved people, and the resettlement of those people in Haiti or Liberia But in the summer of 1862, with no end to the war in sight, and under pressure from more radical elements within his party, Lincoln's strategy began to change. In July, he approved the enlistment of Black soldiers for noncombatant. roles, such as building fortifications and guarding supply lines. Two months later, buoyed by a Union victory at the Battle of Antietam in the border state of Maryland, Lincoln issued the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. It threatened to free all the enslaved in the rebel states unless those states returned to the Union by New Year's Day, 1863.

Souvenir copies of Lincoln's 1863 Emancipation Proclamation were widely published. This version from 1888 includes the allegorical figures of Justice (left) and Liberty.

The war continued and Lincoln's ultimatum was ignored. On New Year's Eve 1862, Black Americans all over the country gathered in homes and churches anxiously waiting to hear whether Lincoln had made an announcement. On January 1, 1863, he issued the Proclamation—that all enslaved people in rebel states "shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free." Union forces were to free enslaved people as they advanced through Confederate territory.

The proclamation did not include the enslaved held in loyal border states or those in states that had already come under Union control, but Black Americans were jubilant. Emancipation was now a stated war aim and Union forces were an army of liberation obliged to protect the enslaved people they freed. Deprived of free labor, the Southern states' economy was bound to collapse.

Victory and abolition

Lincoln also announced that Black combatants were to be admitted to the Union Army and Navy, albeit in segregated regiments, commanded by white men. They were paid substantially less than their white counterparts until 1864, when a campaign for equal pay led by Douglass succeeded. Convinced that fighting for the Union would be his people's route to citizenship, Douglass now spearheaded the recruitment of Black troops to the Union Army and Navy. His sons were among those called to arms: Charles became 1st sergeant of the 5th Massachusetts Cavalry, and Lewis a sergeant major of the 54th

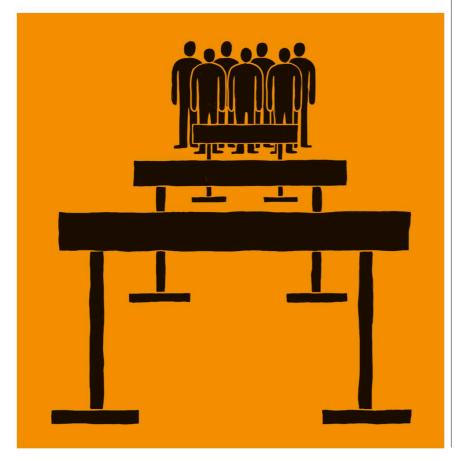


Massachusetts Infantry. The tide of war began to turn in the Union's favor through 1863 and 1864, bolstered by Black enlistment and conducted more aggressively by the Union's generals.

On January 31, 1865, Congress passed the Thirteenth Amendment to the US Constitution, abolishing slavery. The next day, Lincoln signed the amendment and it was passed to the states for ratification. Lincoln never saw that happen. On April 14, 1865, five days after the war ended, Lincoln was shot by an assassin. He died the next day. Our elevation must be the result of self-efforts, and work of our own hands. **Martin Robison Delany** First Black American field officer in the US Army (1812–1885)

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THE PRICE OF THE DISASTER OF SLAVERY THE GOLDEN AGE OF RECONSTRUCTION (1865–77)



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION United States

BEFORE

1861 Civil war breaks out between the Northern free states and the slaveholding Southern states of the US.

1865 The American Civil War ends in the defeat of the South. The emancipation of enslaved people is guaranteed by the Thirteenth Amendment to the US Constitution.

AFTER

1877–1950s Southern states pass Jim Crow legislation to enforce racial segregation and discrimination.

1954–1968 Civil rights activists campaign for the end of racial segregation and the protection of their rights enshrined in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the US Constitution.

fter President Abraham Lincoln issued the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation, freeing around 4 million people from slavery, politicians began to debate how formerly enslaved people could be assimilated into society once the war had ended. Earlier proposals to relocate them outside the US had been abandoned for reasons of expense and because of mounting opposition from Black and some white abolitionists.

The Reconstruction Era, the postwar period between 1865 and 1877, was characterized by progressive social initiatives for the formerly enslaved and the introduction of laws designed to

See also: Louisiana's Code Noir 166–167 • Abolitionism in the Americas 172–179 • The settlement of Liberia 200–201 • The war to end slavery 206–209 • Jim Crow 216–221 • The lynching of Emmett Till 268–269



A print celebrates the 1870 enactment of the Fifteenth Amendment. In the top trio, abolitionist Frederick Douglass is flanked by Martin Robison Delany, the US Army's first Black major (left), and Black senator Hiram R. Revels.

protect their hard-won rights. By the end of Reconstruction, some 2,000 Black Americans had achieved some kind of public office. At the same time, however, Southern landowners sought to regain the economic advantages of slavery by exploiting the destitution of many formerly enslaved people, who were also the target of vengeful Southern mobs.

Divided opinion

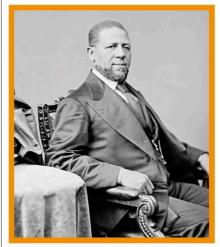
Exactly what conditions should be imposed on rebel states before they could be readmitted to the Union was a matter of debate by politicians. Radical members of the Republican Party proposed tight control of the Southern states by the US, and believed readmission should depend on at least 50 percent of Southern voters swearing allegiance to the Union. However, Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, who became president after Lincoln's assassination in April 1865, favored a more conciliatory approach that would not be unconstitutional (Lincoln's priority) or arouse white hostility (the main concern of Johnson, who was sympathetic to the South). The presidents and the radicals also disagreed on who should determine the type and level of help given to the formerly enslaved, with radicals pressing for federal control. and Johnson in particular believing they should be decided by each state.

The hunger for education

Even before the Civil War officially ended, Lincoln established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, known as the Freedmen's Bureau. Funded by the government and supported by Black churches and philanthropists, it provided food, clothes, medical aid, and transportation vouchers to enable people to reunite with family and find work. It also set up schools for all ages, the education of Black people having been illegal in most of the South prior to the Civil War.

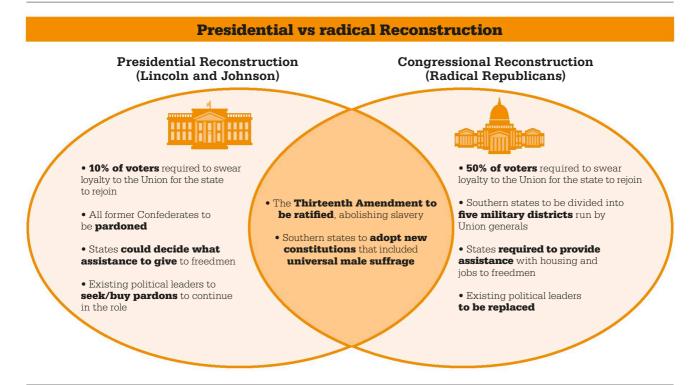
Thousands of Black and white Northerners traveled to the South to set up schools and teach. Frequently attacked by hostile Southerners opposed to the betterment of formerly enslaved people, teachers often had to be protected by US soldiers. When state aid was absent, Black communities helped themselves by pooling their meager funds to hire a teacher and find an empty building.

One of the most successful initiatives of the Reconstruction Era, the education program created more than 1,000 schools in the South. Some students went on to attend universities and colleges for Black students, such as Atlanta »



Elected to represent Mississippi in the US Senate in 1870, Hiram R. Revels was an ordained minister in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which nurtured the rise of many Black leaders.

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University, set up by the Freedmen's Bureau in 1865; Fisk, established in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1866; and the Augusta Institute (later known as Morehouse), founded in Augusta, Georgia, in 1867.

Southern land

The Freedmen's Bureau also arranged labor contracts between Black workers and employers when freedmen found work. During the war, Southern land had become



the property of the Union under the Confiscation Acts. Some radical Republicans, such as Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner, thought confiscated land should be distributed among freedmen as a means of reparation.

Some limited land redistribution had already taken place during the war. In January 1865, Union general William T. Sherman, whose military strategy of "total war" devastated vast areas of the South, issued Special Field Order No. 15, by which confiscated land in coastal Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida was distributed among freedmen. Stating that "each family shall have a plot of land of not more than 40 acres [16 hectares] of tillable

A Black minister preaches in *A Negro Congregation at Washington* (1845). Black churches, which greatly expanded after the Civil War, would become focal points in the fight for civil rights. ground," the plan was formed with the help of Black churchmen in the area, most of whom had once been enslaved themselves. By June 1865, around 40,000 freedmen in Georgia had each been granted land and a mule to help them plow it.

In August 1865, President Johnson reversed the "40 acres and a mule" scheme and returned the land to its former owners, under an amnesty plan for the South. Southern landowners quickly introduced a new economic model known as sharecropping to replace slavery. Under this system, plantation owners rented small pieces of land to freedmen, and some poor white people, in return for a share of the harvest—usually at least half. They also loaned the freedmen money, often at high rates of interest, to buy seed, equipment, and work animals. Sharecropping offered considerable advantages to planters, while their workers, who

took on the risks of poor harvests, often became locked into a cycle of grinding work, debt, and poverty.

Black Codes

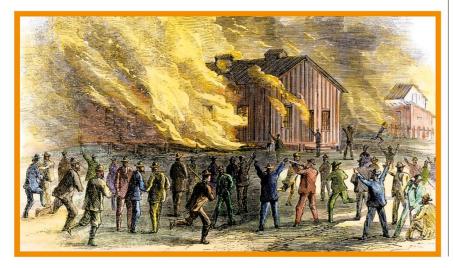
After the Civil War, freedmen could travel, enter into contracts, and own property, but as Southern states sought to regain power, they began to introduce Black Codes curbing the rights of Black Americans. In January 1866, Mississippi became the first state to introduce vagrancy laws, whereby people without a labor contract could be imprisoned or fined. It was common for planters to pay these fines in return for bonded labor-effectively returning freedmen to slavery. In South Carolina. Black Americans were required to pay a special tax if they worked in any sector other than agriculture or domestic service.

Radicals in the Republican Party acted swiftly to counter the erosion of Black rights, but were thwarted by Johnson. In 1866, the Civil Rights Act recognizing Black

A mob attacks a freedmen's school during the Memphis Race Massacre of 1866, in which 46 Black people were murdered, more than 70 were injured, and 5 Black women were raped. We will, as opportunity offers and ability serves, seek our places, sometimes in the field of letters, arts, sciences, and the professions. Blanche K. Bruce Speech to the Senate, 1876



Americans as US citizens with equal rights was passed by Congress but vetoed by Johnson. To get such rights written into the Constitution. the Fourteenth Amendment was passed by Congress in June 1866, but all former slave states except Tennessee refused to ratify it until July 1868. As Frederick Douglass had stated in 1865, Black Americans would not have equal rights until "the Black man has the ballot." In 1870, the Fifteenth Amendment preventing the disenfranchisement of voters "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," was



added to the Constitution. Women however, did not begin to be enfranchised until 1920.

Although states were permitted to set qualifications, such as a minimum literacy level, the right to vote led to Black men being elected to office. Between 1870 and 1877, 17 Black men were elected to Congress, and two to the Senate—Hiram R. Revels in 1870 and Blanche K. Bruce in 1874. Nonetheless, the struggle for equal rights was not over, as new restrictions imposed in the South from 1877 and the fight for civil rights in the 20th century proved.

Lynching

While politicians thrashed out the legal rights of Black Americans, Southern mobs sought to assert white supremacy by force. They used intimidation to deter freedmen from voting and inflicted gruesome punishments on people accused of crimes. These included lynchings—illegal executions, often preceded by mutilation—intended to instill terror in all Black people and any white people who helped them. The climate of fear worsened with the removal of Union troops from the South in 1877.

Lynchings attracted large crowds of white spectators, sometimes more than 2,000. The number of lynchings peaked at 292 in 1892. Black journalist Ida B. Wells, who lost three friends to lynchings that year, publicized the horrors of lynching, calling it a national crime that required a national remedy. The practice continued in the South for another 60 years.



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Botswana

BEFORE

c.800 ce Bantu-speaking people begin to mine iron and copper in east Botswana.

c. 1800 European settlers arrive in Botswana; the London Missionary Society establishes mission stations there by the 1840s.

AFTER

1870 The diamond rush begins in Africa after the discovery of a diamond by Erasmus Jacobs, the 15-year-old son of a farmer in South Africa; European prospectors and Botswanan laborers head south.

1885 Britain declares Botswana a protectorate under British control and names it Bechuanaland; all African countries except Ethiopia and Liberia are controlled by European powers.

EXPLOITING THE LAND AND ITS RESOURCES THE GOLD RUSH IN BOTSWANA (1867)

frican people had used gold as a commodity for hundreds of years before Europeans arrived on the continent. In the Tati district of Botswana, near the Zimbabwe border, openpit mining of gold dates back to the 13th century. The pits were dug into veins of quartz containing gold deposits. In 1867, these ancient mine workings were found by German colonizer Karl Mauch.

African gold rush

Mauch's news sparked excitement worldwide. Since the territory was claimed by two local tribes, the Matabele and the Mangwato, some Europeans requested mining rights from one tribe while others approached their rivals, hoping that one would grant rights simply to anger the other. Although the Europeans gained the rights they wanted, they did not succeed in stirring up tribal warfare.

Word of the potential riches drew prospectors from Europe, Australia, and America, in Africa's first gold rush. It lasted only two years, as the The tendency of capitalism in Europe from the very beginning was one of competition, elimination, and monopoly. Walter Rodney How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, 1972



gold was low-grade, but with news already circulating of diamond fields in Kimberley, Northern Cape, South Africa, the "scramble for Africa" had begun.

As they vied to exploit Africa's resources, European nations hastened to establish more settlements and acquire mining concessions. The course of Africa's future had profoundly changed.

See also: The Ghana Empire 52–57 • The city of Great Zimbabwe 76–77 • The scramble for Africa 222–223 • The African economic boom 302–303



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Egypt

BEFORE

1850 BCE Senusret III is the first of several ancient Egyptian rulers thought to have begun construction of a canal from the Nile River to the Red Sea.

1789 CE Napoleon I occupies Egypt, and considers building a canal across the Isthmus of Suez, but abandons the plan.

AFTER

1875 Massive debt forces Egypt to sell its shares in the Suez Canal Company to Britain.

1956 Egypt's President Nasser nationalizes the canal, which triggers the Suez Crisis: British, French, and Israeli forces attack Egypt, then withdraw amid international outrage.

2021 A huge cargo ship blocks the canal for six days, holding up an estimated \$9.6 billion of trade each day.

WE ARE NOW A PART OF EUROPE THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SUEZ CANAL (1869)

ne of the best-known feats of engineering in the world, the Suez Canal spans 120 miles (193 km) of the Isthmus of Suez in Egypt, connecting the Mediterranean Sea to the Red Sea. It provides a direct shipping route from Europe to Asia, and is thus of huge economic value to Egypt.

Work began on the canal in 1859, after the French diplomat Ferdinand de Lesseps gained agreement from Egypt's *khedive* (viceroy), Sa'id



The opening ceremony of the Suez Canal took place on November 17, 1869, hosted by Egypt's *khedive*, Isma'il Pasha. The first ship scheduled to pass through the canal was a French imperial yacht. Pasha, and formed the Suez Canal Company. Sa'id Pasha granted a 99-year lease on the canal to the company, after which Egypt would take control. He also agreed to provide laborers to do the work.

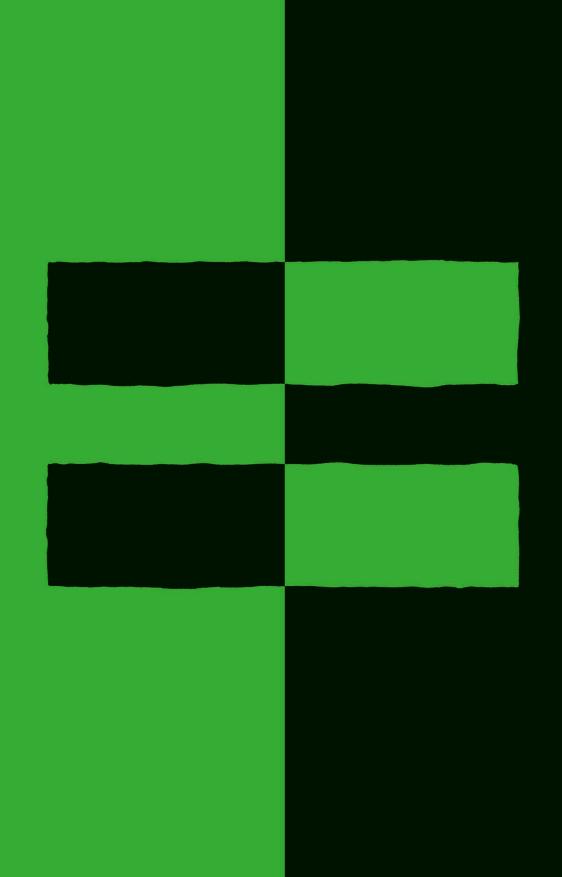
Forced labor

Egyptian men and boys dug the early parts of the canal using picks and shovels. They worked in dreadful conditions, with little or no water, housed in overcrowded shelters in which disease was rife. They were promised payment, but this never materialized. Of the estimated one million Egyptian workers on the canal, a hundred thousand are thought to have died.

In 1863, Egypt's new *khedive*, Isma'il Pasha, banned the use of forced labor, and the Suez Canal Company turned instead to steam shovels and dredgers operated by Europeans. The canal was heralded as an extraordinary achievement of colonial might and technology; photographs of the construction featured the impressive machinery, but few showed the early laborers.

See also: Egypt's Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms 24–29 • The Muslim conquest of Egypt 58–59 • The scramble for Africa 222–223

SEPARATE BUT EQUAL JIM CROW (1877–1964)



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION United States

BEFORE

1861 Seven Southern states leave the US to create their own Confederate government. The American Civil War begins later that year and four more states leave the US.

1865 Slavery is abolished across the US following the surrender of the Confederate Army and end of the Civil War.

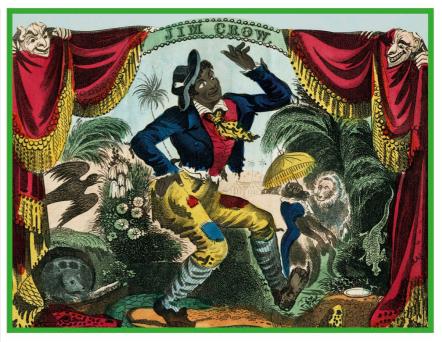
AFTER

1968 Congress signs the Civil Rights Act of 1968 to give all Americans fair and equal access to housing.

1968 Martin Luther King, Jr., is assassinated on April 4 in Memphis, Tennessee.

2008 Barack Obama becomes the first Black person to be elected president of the US. He is elected to a second presidential term in 2012.

n 1828, American playwright Thomas D. Rice began performing his popular minstrel act wearing Blackface. His signature act was the character of an enslaved person he called Jim Crow, who Rice portrayed with ignorant and lazy characteristics. The show, which was first performed in Louisville, Kentucky, became the most celebrated minstrel act of the time. By 1838, the name "Jim Crow" was being used as a derogatory nickname for Black Americans, and later to describe the system of racial segregation and discrimination



that operated primarily in the American South between 1877 and the mid-1960s.

The end of Reconstruction

After the American Civil War ended in 1865. slavery was abolished in the US, but the struggle for equal rights for Black Americans was far from over Former Confederate states in the American South attempted to institute a new system of racial oppression with Black codes, which were designed to replace the previous slave codes and continue to oppress Black people. The codes forced cheap labor contracts on Black Americans and restricted them to roles such as house servants and farm workers. In response, Republican Congress passed three constitutional amendments between 1865 and 1870. known as the Reconstruction Amendments. These aimed to protect the civil rights of newly freed Black people and prohibit discrimination in voting rights.

The character "Jim Crow"—played in Blackface by white entertainer Thomas D. Rice—propagated racist stereotypes about Black Americans.

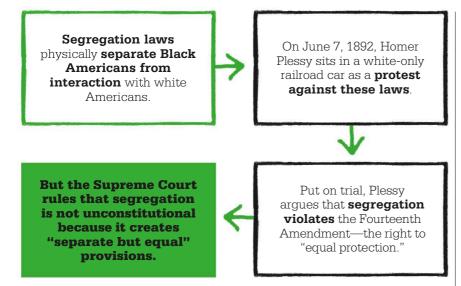
On November 7, 1876, election day ended in a viciously disputed electoral count as the outcomes from Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida were unclear. Early in 1877, the Republican nominee Rutherford B. Hayes struck a deal to grant home rule in the South and remove federal troops, who had actively intervened in politics to support Black American civil and political rights. The former Confederate states, where white people resented free Black people competing in the job market, reacted swiftly by establishing segregation laws, initially on common forms of transportation.

Supreme Court decision

When American shoemaker Homer Plessy boarded a train in New Orleans, Louisiana, on June 7, 1892, he knew he would be arrested.

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See also: The war to end slavery 206–209 • The golden age of Reconstruction 210–213 • Pan-Africanism 232–235 • *Brown v. Board of Education* 264–267 • The Montgomery bus boycott 270–271 • The Black Power movement 288–289



Two years earlier, the state had passed the Separate Car Act to segregate public transportation. Plessy, who appeared white but had an African great-grandmother, had been recruited by a local civil rights group to challenge this law.

After Plessy boarded the car for white passengers, a conductor asked him whether he was "colored." Plessy identified himself

> The slave went free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery. W.E.B. Du Bois

as one-eighth Black and refused to leave the car. He was promptly arrested by a private detective who was hired by the civil rights group to ensure that Plessy would be charged under the Separate Car Act.

Plessy's act of civil disobedience was designed to put the landmark case before the US Supreme Court. However when the court ruled in 1896, it stated that public facilities for Black and white people could be "separate but equal." The floodgates opened and segregation laws extended throughout the South to housing, schools, parks, hospitals, restaurants, drinking fountains, and public toilets. Jim Crow signs were placed above entrances and exits, and rather than being "equal," services for Black people were almost always grossly inferior, in poor repair, or completely absent.

Racial discrimination in voting rights was illegal under the US Constitution; however, beginning around 1890, several states in the South attempted to deprive Black Americans of their right to vote through racially motivated criteria, such as poll taxes (a fixed amount regardless of income) and literacy tests. The laws often included a grandfather clause to protect white people from restrictions. The clause allowed a registrant to bypass other voting prerequisites if they were descendants of voters before the Civil War. By 1904, only 1,342 Black people were able to pass the new rules to register to vote in Louisiana, compared with 130,334 who had registered in 1896.

Etiquette norms

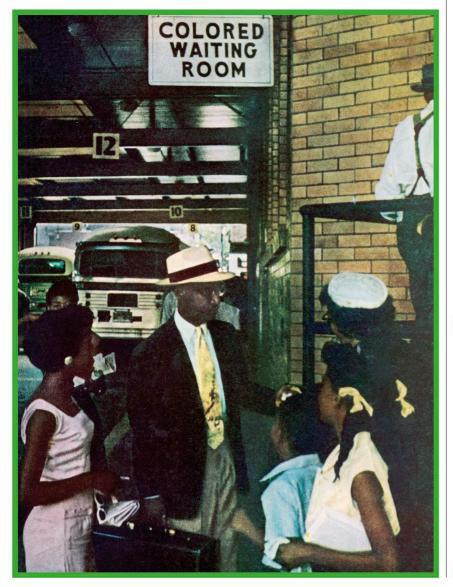
Jim Crow etiquette customs were unwritten rules that operated alongside segregation laws to discourage interracial social and sexual interactions, keeping Black people lower in the social hierarchy. Violating the racial etiquette norms risked beatings or lynching. Black people were introduced to white people, never the other way around, and first names were used for Black people, or simply "boy" or "girl" regardless of their age. »

The arbitrary separation of citizens, on the basis of race ... cannot be justified on any legal grounds. John Marshall Harlan Supreme Court justice, dissenting the *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling, 1896 White people, on the other hand, were given courtesy titles such as Mr. or Mrs., or referred to as "Boss" or "Cap'n." Black people were expected to be agreeable when in conversation with white people, and Black men were expected to remove their hats. Black men were also

A Jim Crow sign in Mobile, Alabama, indicates a segregated waiting room. In 1956, bus segregation was made illegal in the state by a court ruling. prohibited from making eye contact with white women, or offering to light a cigarette for them. The customs also dictated that Black and white Americans should eat separately. Black people could pick up food from restaurants for white people, but had to eat outside.

Racial violence

The Jim Crow laws were upheld by discriminatory law enforcement and violence from white people



with impunity. The most extreme form of intimidation was public lynchings. Between 1882 and 1968, at least 3,466 Black people were lynched for demanding civil rights or because they were accused of murder or rape, when often the victims had merely infringed Jim Crow etiquette or were seen as competing with white people for work.

Around 90 percent of lynchings occurred in the South, and the majority of victims were hanged. Bands of violent white people, including the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), also conducted nighttime raids on the homes of Black Americans, particularly targeting community and political leaders. The attacks involved arson and lynchings.

Founded in 1865 in Pulaski, Tennessee, the KKK started as a social club for Confederate veterans of the American Civil War. It grew into an extremist group dedicated to resisting the policies of Reconstruction. Spreading to almost every Southern state by 1870, the KKK used intimidation tactics against Black people and their supporters, such as arson and

One ever feels his two-ness, an American, a Negro*; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings. **W.E.B. Du Bois**



The Birth of a Nation was a racial propaganda film about the KKK that incited a resurgence of anti-Black racism in the early 20th century.

assassinations, in an attempt to reestablish white supremacy. In 1871, Congress passed the Third Force Act, which made hate crimes illegal, and the KKK receded at the end of Reconstruction, but it experienced a revival in the 1920s.

Civil rights movement

Ending the Jim Crow laws required many individual acts of courageous resistance and people joining together for large-scale protests. In 1909, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was established in New York City by leading civil rights activists, including American sociologist W.E.B. Du Bois and American journalist Ida B. Wells. The association strongly protested against Jim Crow laws and lynching, and in 1917 it led one of the first mass demonstrations in the US against racial violence.

Ida B. Wells used her career as a journalist to write about racial politics in the Southern states and



condemn lynchings. She collected data, identified victims, and reported on lynchings in Black newspapers. Wells also attempted to undermine the mainstream media, which falsely suggested that all the victims were criminals.

Du Bois popularized the term "color line" to draw attention to the injustice of "separate but equal" legislation. In 1903, he described the color line as differences of race being "the basis of denying to over half the world the right of sharing to their utmost ability the opportunities and privileges of modern civilization." Du Bois also encouraged the Black community to strive for equal rights through political agitation and protest.

In 1954, following a lawsuit filed by the NAACP, the US Supreme Court ruled that separating Black and white children in public schools was unconstitutional. In 1956, following a year-long bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, the court also declared that any law requiring racially segregated seating on buses was unconstitutional.

After a summer of protests, the US government passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, outlawing discrimination on the basis of race. The following year, thousands of marchers walked from Selma, Alabama, to Montgomery, to protest the issues that Black Americans faced when registering to vote. The march triggered the passing of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, making discriminatory voting practices such as literary tests illegal.

W.E.B. Du Bois



Born in 1868 in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, W.E.B. Du Bois became the first Black American to receive a PhD from Harvard University. In 1897, he was appointed as professor of sociology at Atlanta University, Georgia, and hired by the US Bureau of Labor Statistics to produce studies on Black households in Virginia.

In The Souls of Black Folk (1903), Du Bois famously challenged American educator Booker T. Washington's belief that Black Americans should accept segregation and advance themselves through hard work and economic independence. Du Bois argued that political agitation to pursue civil rights and education was the only way to equality. Over the course of his career, he also emphasized the need for higher education for the Black community.

At the age of 93, Du Bois was invited to move to Ghana, where he died two years later in 1963.

Key works

1899 The Philadelphia Negro1903 The Souls of Black Folk1935 Black Reconstruction



DIVIDE AND RULE THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA (1884–1885)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Africa

BEFORE

1444 Africans are captured and shipped to Portugal, beginning a regular trade in human cargo across the Atlantic.

1807–1808 Britain and the US abolish the international slave trade. Slavery persists in British colonies and in the US.

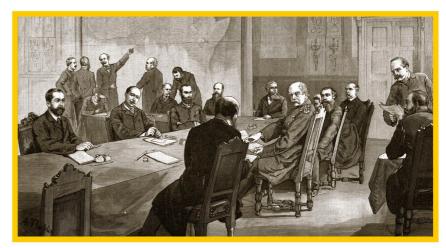
1860s Europeans discover diamonds and gold in South Africa and Botswana, setting off a diamond/gold rush.

1873 The Third Anglo-Asante War begins as the British try to occupy the Asante Empire.

AFTER

1956 Sudan is granted independence from Britain; Morocco and Tunisia become independent from France.

1960 Seventeen African nations gain independence in the "Year of Africa."



ollowing the industrial revolution in Europe and the transition from manual labor to industrial production. Europe's attention shifted from the slave trade to the search for raw materials for its burgeoning industries. By the mid-19th century, every major European nation had abolished its international slave trade in favor of "legitimate commerce," a trade in raw materials, agricultural produce, and natural resources. Representatives of various European nations began to canvass throughout Africa to secure trading and territorial rights. In many cases, treaties were obtained from African

The Berlin Conference (1884–1885) determined Africa's fate. The European nations exploited natural resources and imposed quotas on farmers, destroying traditional forms of agriculture.

rulers through deceptive means that dispossessed them of their lands and resources permanently.

The European nations clashed as they began to assert their influence in various regions. In 1885, King Leopold II of Belgium secured treaties in the Congo, establishing the Congo Free State as his personal property. He disguised his quest to colonize the Congo as a philanthropic mission. However, his exploitation

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See also: The manikongo succession 110–111 = The birth of the Atlantic slave trade 116–121 = The construction of the Suez Canal 215 = Ethiopia defies colonialism 226–227 = The Year of Africa 274–275 = The African economic boom 302–303

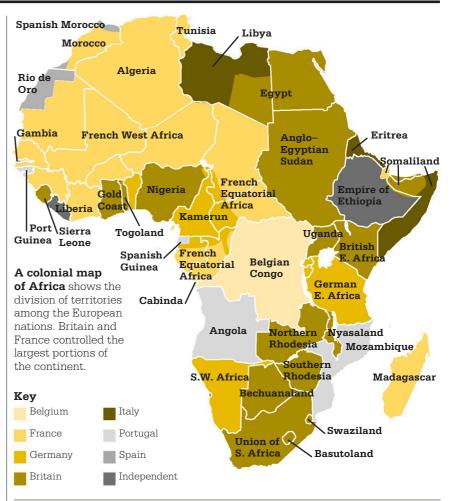
of the country and system of forced labor was intensely cruel and led to many deaths. France embarked on its own race for territories to counter Leopold's efforts. Germany also launched an expedition, creating panic for its major rivals, whose areas of control were already threatened by Portuguese and Italian expansion.

Carving up the continent

To ease mounting tensions, German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck summoned 13 European nations and the United States on November 15, 1884. to a conference in Berlin. The goal was to define each nation's spheres of influence and outline their collective rules of engagement on the African continent. They carved up African territories among themselves, without consulting the representatives of any African states. To minimize territorial conflicts with each other, they adopted the concept of effective occupation, giving each country the right to claim a territory if it had treaties, flags, or people on the ground. In this manner, Africa was divided between Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, and Italy. The agreements were settled by February 26, 1885, marking the start of colonization across Africa

Impact of colonization

By 1900, the political and economic landscape of the African continent had changed drastically. In the 1870s just 10 percent of Africa was under European control, but by 1900 this had become 90 percent. Apart from Ethiopia and Liberia, most of the remainder of the continent was under European rule, although a sizable portion was governed indirectly through local chiefs.



Africa's economic development now lay in the hands of Europe as land and resources were exploited for the benefit of colonial rulers, often at a significant human and economic cost. Africa became a supplier of raw materials for European factories while serving as a market for Europe's surplus industrial production. Under colonial rule, Africans left their traditional workplaces to work in the mines and other colonial enterprises, which also resulted in the collapse of local industries. The partition of Africa created unnatural boundaries that merged precolonial states and ethnicities. and divided families and village groups. These boundaries were maintained even after nations achieved independence and they still cause interethnic conflict today.

Colonization also disrupted regional trade. Tied to today's global economy as providers of raw materials rather than finished goods, African countries still trade more with former European colonizers than with each other.



THE ENDING OF SLAVERY IN BRAZIL (1888)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Brazil

BEFORE

1538 Brazil's first recorded shipment of enslaved Africans arrives in Bahia province.

1549 Portugal allows traders to sell up to 120 Africans to each Brazilian planter. This leads to the mass importation of enslaved Africans.

1822 Pedro I is appointed the first emperor of Brazil after the country wins independence from Portugal.

AFTER

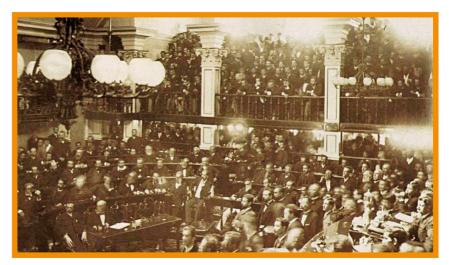
1889 Brazil becomes a republic when Pedro II is overthrown in a military coup.

1988 One hundred years after the abolition of slavery in Brazil, around 5,000 Afro-Brazilians march through Rio de Janeiro, declaring that liberation from slavery has yet to be achieved. or 350 years, Brazil played a key role in the transatlantic slave trade, first as Portugal's largest and richest colony, then as an independent empire. It imported 4.9 million Africans—nearly half the total transatlantic trade—to work initially on sugar plantations, and then also in gold and diamond mines and on coffee plantations. In 1888, Brazil became the last western hemisphere nation to abolish slavery.

Britain ended its transatlantic slave trade in 1807, and other European countries soon followed suit. Brazil, however, continued to import captives, exploiting the direct shipping and trading links it had built up with Africa. When the nation won its freedom from Portugal in 1822, support for abolition grew, until, in 1831, the slave trade was declared illegal.

Most Brazilian enslavers, however, carried on trading, with the Brazilian government reluctant to enforce the ban. Britain, as the world's leading naval power and under pressure from abolitionists

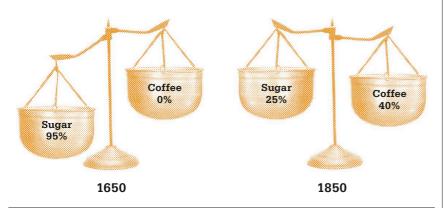
The Brazilian senate, watched by a large crowd on May 12, 1888, passes the bill that abolished slavery in Brazil. It became law the next day.



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See also: Brazil's slave resistance camps 136–139 • Abolitionism in Europe 168–171 • Brazil's Black movements 240–241 • The African diaspora today 314–315

By the mid-19th century, coffee had overtaken sugar as the cash crop that dominated Brazil's exports. This encouraged industrial growth and the emergence of a largely urban middle class that favored the abolition of slavery in Brazil.



at home, took action, seizing slave ships and attacking ports in Brazil and Africa. This reduced the supply of enslaved labor and increased the cost, forcing Brazil to eventually abolish its slave trade in 1851.

Abolitionist campaigns

Although slave trading had ceased, enslaved Brazilians were not yet free and were still exploited. Prominent Brazilian abolitionists—including Luís Gama, a Black poet, journalist, and activist-increasingly spoke out, bringing abolition a step closer in 1871 with the passing of the "Law of the Free Womb." This legislation freed all children born to enslaved women but also stipulated that these children had to work for their parents' enslavers until adulthood. In 1885, the Sexagenarian Law was passed, freeing all enslaved persons over the age of 60.

The final push for abolition came from an unexpected champion of emancipation—Isabel, Princess Imperial of Brazil, the daughter of Emperor Pedro II, who acted as regent during her father's regular absences abroad. In 1888, she signed the *Lei Áurea*, or Golden Law, which declared free the remaining 700,000 enslaved Brazilians. In doing so, Isabel unwittingly hastened the end of Brazil's monarchy, which was overthrown in 1889 in a military coup backed by enraged planters.

The "unfinished abolition"

In reality, for those who had been enslaved, life changed little. Scant action was taken to help them become full citizens or gain access to secure employment, education, or land to settle. With no other viable options, many had to work for free for their former enslavers.

The legacy of enslavement is felt to this day in Brazil, which has the world's largest population of people of African descent outside Africa itself. Afro-Brazilians still face racism and discrimination, and many continue to fight for their right to equality, declaring May 13 each year (the anniversary of the Golden Law) as the day of the "unfinished abolition."



Luís Gama

Born in Bahia province in 1830 to a free Ghanaian mother. Luís Gama was enslaved at the age of 10 to pay off his Portuguese aristocrat father's debts. After working as a "house slave" for eight years in São Paulo, he joined the army, where he also studied law. Returning to São Paulo, Gama worked as a clerk and in 1859 published a book of poems. Primieras Trovas Burlescas (First Burlesque Ballads), which satirized the monarchy, aristocracy, and the social aspirations of the "mulatto" (mixed race) class.

Throughout the 1860s and '70s, Gama wrote abolitionist periodicals and articles, and in 1872 he helped found the anti-monarchy São Paulo Republican Party. Although not a qualified lawyer, Gama won the freedom of more than 500 enslaved Brazilians through the courts, and in 1881 started a fund to buy freedoms. Gama died in 1882, before he could witness the full emancipation of the people he had championed.

Key works

1859 Primieras Trovas Burlescas

THE CONQUERING LIONS OF ABYSSINIA ETHIOPIA DEFIES COLONIALISM (1896)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Ethiopia

BEFORE

1st century ce The kingdom of Aksum, covering northern Ethiopia and Eritrea, is established. Its kings claim descent from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

1137 The Zagwe dynasty replaces the Aksumites.

1270 Yekuno Amlak becomes emperor of Ethiopia, founding a new Solomonic dynasty.

AFTER

1975 The Derg, Ethiopia's communist government, abolishes the monarchy.

1982–1983 A devastating famine in Ethiopia causes 1.2 million deaths.

1991 The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) seizes power. It wins the country's first multiparty elections in 1995. thiopia, which in Europe was known as Abyssinia, was one of only two African countries (the other was Liberia) to resist colonization by European powers in the late 19th century. The Ethiopians confronted Italian attempts to take over the country.

After the Suez Canal opened in 1869, ending the need to sail around Africa to reach Europe from the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea region acquired huge importance. Britain, which had occupied Egypt in 1882, supported Italy's ambitions in Ethiopia, if only to close off the Nile Valley to the French, their rivals in Egypt. Initially, Ethiopia welcomed the Italians. Italy had already colonized Eritrea, which had access to the Red Sea, something Ethiopia had long since lost. With a fellow Christian country controlling Eritrea, Ethiopia hoped to regain this trading advantage. Regional rulers also flirted with Italy, in the hope of strengthening their own claims to Ethiopia's throne.

Ethiopia's success at the Battle of Adwa shook Europe. The superior size of its army and the quality of its weapons undermined the expectation of white dominance in Africa.



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See also: The trading empire of Aksum 44–47 • Christianity reaches Africa 48–51 • The Ethiopian Jews 74 • Ethiopia's rock churches 84–85 • The scramble for Africa 222–223 • The Rastafari movement 253

Menelik II



In 1889, Menelik II became emperor of Ethiopia. Italy wasted no time in proposing a pact with Menelikthe Treaty of Wichale, written in Italian and Amharic (the language of Ethiopia's dominant ethnic group). Article XVII of the Amharic version stated that Menelik "could have recourse to the good offices of the Italian government in his dealings with other foreign powers," but the Italian text used the word "must" instead of "could," reducing Ethiopia to a protectorate. On discovering this difference, Menelik renounced the treaty.

Decisive action

Seven years later, in 1896, Italy invaded Ethiopia from Eritrea in the Battle of Adwa. Convinced by Eritrean agents secretly working for Menelik that victory would be swift, Italian general Oreste Baratieri decided to launch a surprise attack. On the evening of February 29, 1896, he split his army into three columns, which marched through the night. When the sun rose, faulty mapreading left one column hopelessly Born Sahle Miriam in 1844, Menelik II was one of Ethiopia's greatest emperors. His father was Prince Haile Melekot, the son of Sahle Selassie, king of the semiautonomous region of Shewa. His mother was a palace servant.

On becoming emperor in 1889, Sahle Miriam assumed the name Menelik, after Menelik I, the country's legendary founder, who was said to be the son of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Menelik II expanded the Ethiopian Empire to almost its present-day borders. A skilled diplomat, whose victory at Adwa greatly enhanced

isolated. In addition, Menelik had intelligence of the attack and his troops were waiting. The Ethiopians destroyed the Italian army. Within months, Italy was forced to cancel the Treaty of Wichale and recognize Ethiopia's independence.

Haile Selassie

The next significant emperor of Ethiopia was Haile Selassie I. Crowned in 1930, he replaced the country's traditional government

An enemy that intends to destroy our homeland and change our religion has come crossing our God-given frontiers. **Menelik II** his reputation in Europe, he secured guns for his army by charming foreign emissaries.

Menelik took great interest in technology and was delighted when Britain's Queen Victoria sent him phonograph equipment with a prerecorded message. He established Ethiopia's first telephone and telegraph systems, built railroads, and reintroduced a national currency (the birr).

Menelik died in 1913, four years after suffering a stroke that had led to his wife Empress Taytu acting as regent.

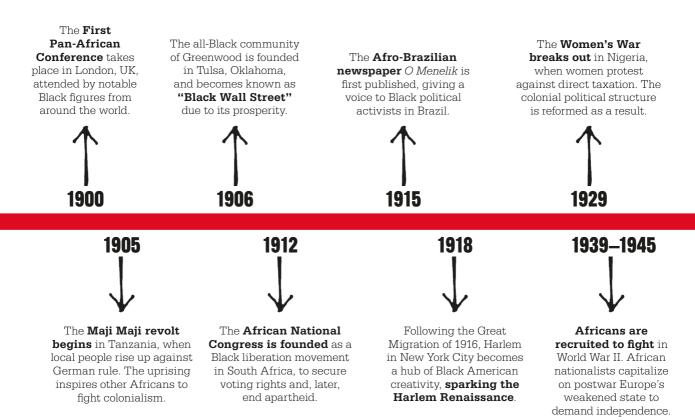
of semiautonomous regions with a central administration. Ethiopia's first modern constitution, in 1931, gave the emperor "supreme power," enabling Haile Selassie to introduce reforms even when they were opposed by local rulers. Selassie's reforms were interrupted by a second Italian invasion in 1935, when the Ethiopian army was overwhelmed by Italian troops, who occupied Addis Ababa from 1936. Selassie fled to Britain in exile.

When Haile Selassie returned to Ethiopia in 1941, he continued to modernize the country, improving education and policing, while also increasing his personal power. This included curbing Ethiopia's ethnic diversity and imposing Amhara identity across the nation. Rebellions erupted in the 1960s, and Haile Selassie's government began to falter. In 1974, it failed to react to a serious famine. Amid raging street protests. Haile Selassie lost the support of the army, and in September 1974, he was deposed by a military committee, ending the Solomonic dynasty.

DECOLON AND DIAS 1900-PRESENT

IZATION PORAS

230 INTRODUCTION



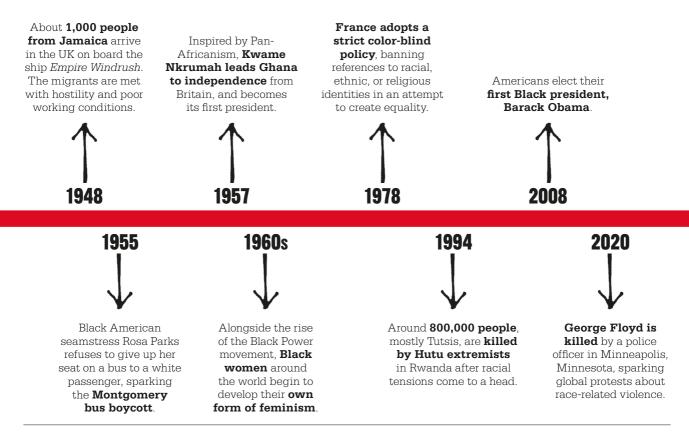
B y the dawn of the 20th century, slavery had been outlawed in many parts of the world, but prejudice against Black people remained entrenched. Much of Africa was under the control of a handful of European powers, who had partitioned the continent into administrative units that forced disparate communities to live under the same set of rules. In the US and elsewhere, slavery was replaced by institutionalized violence and policies that promoted racial discrimination.

Self-determination

Intellectual and revolutionary movements sprang up around the world, aiming to upturn the existing political order and its enforcement of anti-blackness ideologies. The Pan-Africanism movement called for all people of African descent to unite, sharing their experiences of oppression and celebrating African history, culture, and traditions. The first of a series of conferences was held in 1900, with decolonization and self-determination for Black people on the agenda. On a smaller scale, various grassroots movements culminated in uprisings against colonial powers, such as the Mau Mau revolution in Kenya, when the Kenyan Land and Freedom Army (a radical group known to the British as the Mau Mau) began to fight for land rights and freedom in the 1940s.

While many Black radicals were militant in their desire for selfdetermination, many more took a different approach. In post–World War I New York City, the Harlem Renaissance began as a Black American literary movement, and came to encompass jazz and blues and other artistic expressions. Its writers and artists sought to present what it meant to be Black in the US, dispelling the crude stereotypes that prevailed and fueling the fight for equal civil rights. But although Black artists such as Ethel Waters and Louis Armstrong achieved great fame, they still had to enter and leave jazz clubs by the back door.

Négritude, an ideological and literary movement that began in Paris, France, in the 1930s, was inspired by the Harlem Renaissance and by radical political groups in France. Whether artistic or militant, what these movements had in common was racial pride and selfassertion. Gradually, their efforts began to pay off. Ghana became the first West African country to achieve independence, in 1957.



In 1960 alone, 17 African countries became independent. Many more became self-ruling modern nations over the decade that followed.

Equal rights

As many African nations embraced their freedom, elsewhere the battle for desegregation was only just beginning. In 1948, the policy of apartheid was introduced in South Africa, legalizing segregation on the grounds of race. The African National Congress (ANC) led a decades-long campaign to end the practice, eventually succeeding in 1990. Leading ANC member Nelson Mandela, who spent 18 years in jail for the cause, went on to become the country's first Black president.

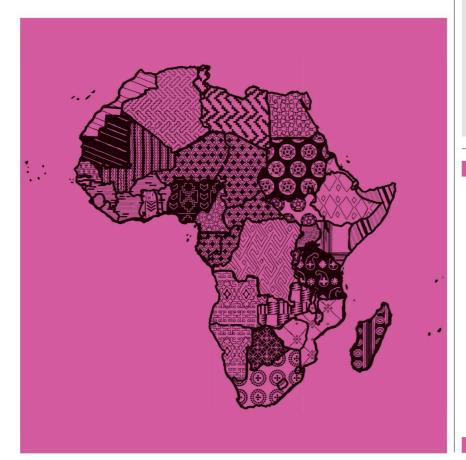
In 1950, Oliver Brown filed a lawsuit against the Board of Education in Topeka, Kansas, questioning why his daughter was not allowed to enroll in the local all-white school. Four years later, the US Supreme Court ruled that racial segregation in schools was unconstitutional. This landmark ruling, alongside the injustice of the "not guilty" verdict in the 1955 Emmett Till lynching case, gave momentum to America's burgeoning civil rights movement. In 1963, a guarter of a million people joined the March on Washington to call for justice and equality for Black Americans. A year later, the Civil Rights Act became law.

Black Lives Matter

In recent times, Black people have cooperated across national divides to promote their collective wellbeing, assert their racial pride and joint heritage, and fight for a future without racism. This has come through artistic collaboration in music, movies, and the arts, as well as through protests against police brutality and other forms of institutionalized violence.

Although the Brixton uprisings against police discrimination in London in 1981 spread to other British cities, more recent protests have been amplified far beyond national borders. The Black Lives Matter movement that began in the US in 2013 soon caught the world's attention, and in 2020, millions of people—Black and non-Black—took to their local streets to protest the killing of George Floyd and take up the refrain of "Black Lives Matter." The magnitude of this response suggests attitudes are changingand perhaps it marks a shift toward a more equitable future.

A UNITED States States Of Africanism (1900)



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Worldwide

BEFORE **1816** The American Colonization Society is founded to resettle free Black people in Africa.

1847 Liberia gains independence and creates its own laws as a sovereign nation.

1865 Abraham Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing enslaved people of the Confederate states.

AFTER

1916–1970 More than 6 million Black people migrate from the Southern US to the North and Midwest in The Great Migration.

1958 The All-African Peoples Conference is created to push for African independence.

1960 Seventeen African countries gain independence.

We declare all men, women, and children of our blood throughout the world ... free citizens of Africa, the Motherland of all Negroes*. Declaration of the Rights of the Negro* Peoples of the World, 1920, issued by the UNIA



*Language used in 1920 (see p.4)

See also: Black movements in France 250–251 **•** The Year of Africa 274–275 **•** The Black Power movement 288–289 **•** The African diaspora today 314–315

an-Africanism is a political ideology that promotes solidarity and a common consciousness among all people of African descent. Its roots lie within the shared experiences of oppression of Africans throughout the African diaspora. Following the successful Haitian Revolution (1791–1804) and Haiti's declaration of independence, the idea of Black sovereignty became a rallying cry for Black activists.

In the United States, the Black abolitionists of the 19th century such as Frederick Douglass, David Walker, and Alexander Crummell, debated whether emigrating to Africa or creating their own sovereign nation within the US was the best solution to racial inequality.

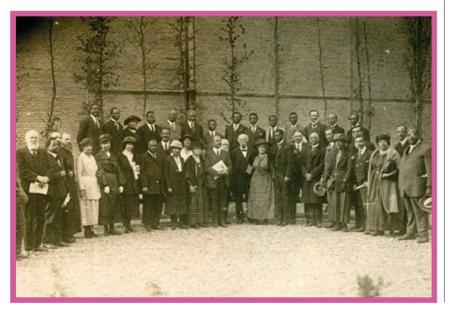
Shortly after the American Civil War ended and the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery—was ratified in 1865, there was a shift toward a more developed articulation of Pan-Africanism. Among the most influential intellectuals of this era was Liberian politician Edward Blyden. Like Crummell, he argued that an effective call for African unity required Black people in the African diaspora to return to their ancestral homeland and work alongside other Africans to rebuild the continent.

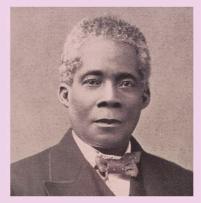
Pan-African Conference

In the Caribbean, H. Sylvester Williams, a Trinidadian lawyer, formed the African Association (later renamed the Pan-African Association) in 1897. His objective was to provide a stronger forum through which Black people could address their shared problems and unite to fight paternalism, racism, and imperialism. The success of the African Association inspired Williams to convene the First »

The First Pan-African Conference

in 1900 in London, where W.E.B. Du Bois made his famous statement that the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line.





Edward Wilmot Blyden

Born in the Danish West Indies (today's US Virgin Islands) in 1832, Edward Wilmot Blyden traveled to the United States in 1850 to gain higher education but was denied entrance to many institutions because of his race. With the assistance of the American Colonization Society, Blyden emigrated to Liberia in January 1851 and became editor of the *Liberia Herald, The Negro*, and *The African World*.

Blyden often traveled to the United States, encouraging Black people to remove themselves from the yoke of oppression by returning to Africa and participating in its development. One of the first to discuss the phrase "African personality" he used it to counter pseudoscientific theories about Black inferiority, instead promoting equality.

Blyden's uncompromising stances on Black nationalism, Black emigration, and Black pride earned him the title "Father of Pan-Africanism." He died in Sierra Leone in 1912.

Key work

1888 Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race

234 PAN-AFRICANISM

Pan-Africanism looks above the narrow confines of class, race, tribe, and religion. In other words, it wants equal opportunity for all.

George Padmore Pan-Africanism or Communism, 1956



Pan-African Conference in London in 1900, which began the process of institutionalizing Pan-Africanism.

The conference was attended by many notable Black people from Africa as well as the diaspora. The most prominent member of the US delegation was civil rights activist W.E.B. Du Bois, whose address, "To the Nations of the World," concluded the conference. His speech closed with a plea to respect the human rights of Black subjects of all nations. At the end of the conference, Du Bois organized the Pan-African Congress which held its first meeting in Paris in 1919, with a series of other meetings throughout the decades.

The Pan-African Conference and subsequent meetings had a significant impact on the spread of Pan-Africanism in much of the 20th century. It inspired a shift in Black consciousness and led to increasing efforts by Black artists, writers, and academics to apply their works to the uplifting of the Black race. This

The audience listening at the Fifth Pan-African Congress, in Manchester, UK, in 1945. The new leadership of this congress was mostly African. advanced Black studies, which explored the history and culture of Black people, and the Harlem Renaissance—a flourishing of Black literature and arts in the US.

Other Pan-Africanist thinkers emerged by the 1930s, including Trinidadians C.L.R. James and George Padmore, two of the most significant Pan-Africanists of their era. Padmore and James migrated to Harlem in New York City, and exchanged ideas with Black American artists and intellectuals. Their works influenced many Pan-Africanists of the 20th century.

Emerging from the Francophone world, Pan-Africanists included Senegalese scholar Cheikh Anta Diop and Martinique scholars Aimé Césaire and Frantz Fanon. Their writings often employed Marxist philosophies within a Black radical tradition to reflect on issues such as the Italian invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1935 and the treatment of Black soldiers during World War II. Pan-Africanists of this era contributed to the emergence of several movements throughout the African diaspora, including Afro-Surrealism, *Créolité* in the Caribbean, and Black Is Beautiful in the United States. In Africa, they influenced nationalist leaders and shaped the fight for independence.

Pride and liberation

In the US and the Caribbean, the rise of Jamaican-born Pan-Africanist Marcus Mosiah Garvev and his brand of Black nationalism, referred to as Garveyism, popularized Pan-Africanism. Founding the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in 1914, he revived the "Back to Africa" movement that was advocated by earlier Pan-African leaders. He attracted Black people from varying backgrounds to unite and project the beauty of Black history and culture. By the mid-1920s, the UNIA claimed between 6 and 11 million members globally





with more than 700 branches in the United States, as well as many in the Caribbean, South America, Africa, Australia, and Europe. Its red, black, and green flag became adopted as the colors of Pan-Africanism.

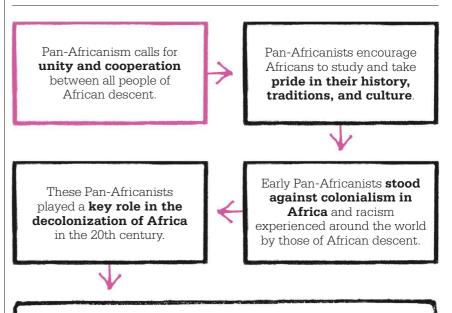
In the post–World War II era, Pan-Africanism became focused on calls for independence on the African continent-led first and foremost by Ghanaian leader Kwame Nkrumah. After navigating his own country to independence in 1957, Nkrumah led the charge for a fully liberated, self-sufficient African continent. In 1958, he hosted the First All-African Peoples' Conference (AAPC) in Ghana, in which a political and social union was achieved between the Arabic and Black African regions of the African continent. The AAPC and later the Organization of African Unity (OAU) created a domino effect; 36 countries gained independence between 1960 and 1970.

Pan Africanism lives on

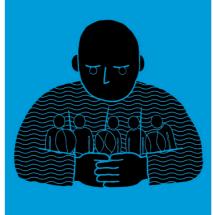
Throughout the 20th century, Pan-Africanism continued to have an impact and shaped other major struggles of the era, such as the civil rights movement and the Black Power movement. Throughout the Caribbean, notably in Trinidad and Jamaica, Pan-African intellectuals challenged colonial regimes and advocated for political reforms and voting rights. In 1966, Pan-African leader and president of Senegal, Léopold Senghor, initiated the first World Festival of Black Arts (later renamed Black and African Festival **African traditional dancers** perform during a parade on the eve of the 2009 Pan-African Cultural Festival (PANAF), which took place in Algeria.

of Arts and Culture) to promote Black unity through the arts. The second festival. this time hosted by Nigeria in 1977, attracted Black representatives from 48 countries. During the 1980s and 1990s. Pan-African ideologies ushered in the Afrocentric movement, which countered European domination of education by highlighting the perspectives, history, and cultures of African peoples. It influenced Black cultural expression and identity, especially for young people who began to align their names, clothing, language, food, and belief systems with their African ancestry.

Pan-Africanist ideologies live on in current movements such as Black Lives Matter, and continue to promote African unity as the key to African development.



Pan-Africanists today focus on African unity as a way to help Africa **develop and prosper socially, politically, and economically**.



THE WATER OF LIFE THE MAJI MAJI UPRISING (1905–1907)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Tanzania, East Africa

BEFORE 1884–1885 Africa is divided at the Berlin Conference.

1888–1889 The Abushiri revolt breaks out against German territorial ambitions on the East African coast.

1891 The Hehe ethnic group defeats German colonial troops and resists colonization for seven years.

AFTER

1919 Following defeat in World War I, the Treaty of Versailles strips Germany of all its African colonies. German East Africa is taken over by Britain and renamed Tanganyika.

1961 Tanganyika gains independence.

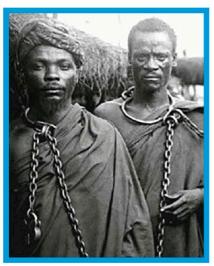
1964 Tanganyika unites with the island of Zanzibar to form the United Republic of Tanzania. ollowing Africa's partition at the Berlin Conference in 1885, Germany laid claim to a sphere of influence in East Africa (today's Tanzania, Burundi, and Rwanda), declaring it a protectorate under the administration of the German East Africa Company. With the failure of the Company to administer it successfully, Germany assumed direct control of the colony in 1891. To consolidate German rule,

African soldiers, Askari, who made up the bulk of the German colonial military, are depicted here defending the fort in Mahenge when the Maji Maji attacked in August 1905. colonial governors unleashed a reign of terror that included violence against entire communities, the murder of kings and chiefs, and the imposition of high taxes. They also used forced labor to build roads, and adopted a quota system to compel Africans to grow the desired amounts of cotton for export. This repressive regime upended local norms, alienated communities, and generated resistance to German rule.

In July 1905, during a period of drought and economic hardship, Tanzanian prophet Kinjikitile Ngwale claimed that he had a substance, *maji maji* (sacred water), that could shield people from bullets.



See also: Europeans arrive in Africa 94–95 • The scramble for Africa 222–223 • The Mau Mau uprising 262–263 • The Year of Africa 274–275



Maji Maji prisoners in chains following their capture. The uprising involved people across 10,000 sq miles (25,900 sq km) and lasted for two years.

Emboldened by the protection that *maji maji* was said to provide, locals of the Matumbi region of Tanzania doused themselves in the mixture of water, castor oil, and millet seeds and embarked on a rebellion against the colonial government. With spears and arrows, the group attacked small German outposts, destroyed cotton plants, and reclaimed occupied territories. As news of this spread, other ethnic groups across the colony joined the uprising. By the end of August 1905, about 20 ethnic groups had joined the fight.

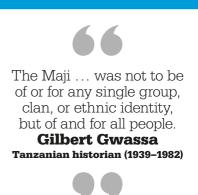
German reprisals

On August 30, a group of 20,000 Maji Maji fighters marched on a German fort in Mahenge, Tanzania. They were repelled by German machine guns, resulting in thousands of African casualties. In response to the attack, Germany deployed reinforcements to quell the uprising that had now spread across German East Africa, despite Ngwale's recent hanging and the proven failure of the *maji maji* mixture to offer protection. The colonial government launched a counteroffensive in October 1905, starting with an attack on a camp of the Ngoni people who had recently joined the resistance. Hundreds of Ngoni men, women, and children were killed. By the end of the year, Germany had recaptured most of the territories held by the rebels, but resistance continued until 1907.

In an attempt to end the revolt, colonial governor Gustav Adolf von Götzen adopted a scorched earth policy of deliberately destroying farms and food supplies, causing famine across the colony. By August 1907, an estimated 200,000 to 300,000 Africans had died—the official government figure was 75,000 deaths—and the last of the Maji Maji had been executed, bringing the uprising to an end.

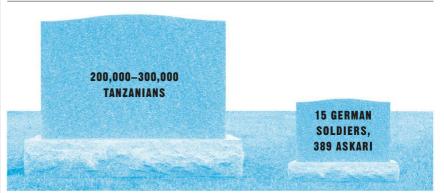
Inspiring nationalists

Although the Maji Maji uprising failed to dislodge German colonial rule, it provided inspiration to other

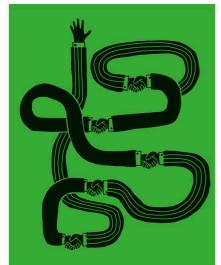


Africans struggling against European colonization. In Tanzania, it created a national consciousness, with different ethnic groups working together toward a common cause.

The rebellion also forced Germany to make agrarian and economic reforms across its colonies. The semi-military form of government was replaced in German East Africa with a more liberal one until the outbreak of World War I and Germany's consequent loss of the colony to Britain.



The Tanzanian death toll was far higher than that of the colonial side. It is estimated that anywhere between 200,000 and 300,000 Tanzanians died in the fighting and as a result of the famine.



FOR BLACK PEOPLE BY BLACK WALL STREET (1906)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION United States

BEFORE

1738 Black people, mostly freedom seekers, settle in Fort Mose, Florida, which becomes the first town of freed people.

1865–1886 Southern states enact Black Codes.

AFTER

1921 White mobs attack Greenwood in what is known as the Tulsa Race Massacre.

1959 Desegregation results in white businesses moving into the Greenwood area and Black people moving out.

1995 The Greenwood Cultural Center, which showcases Black American heritage and culture, is founded.

2020 A 105-year-old survivor of the massacre files a lawsuit against the city of Tulsa for reparations for damages to the city's Black businesses. Greenwood is built on land that a wealthy Black landowner **sells only to Black people**.



The district develops into a **self-sufficient Black community** with **thriving Black**owned businesses.

Greenwood is a community for Black people made by Black people.

ollowing the American Civil War, and the abolition of slavery in 1865, life remained hard for Black people living in the South. Gone were the old brutalities of an enslaved life, but state governments across the South enacted Black Codes, restricting the lives of Black Americans. Many struggled to get access to education or employment, and lived in poverty.

Through the Dawes Act of 1887, the federal government made Native American territory available to new settlers, by breaking up tribal land and redistributing it. Indigenous peoples lost control of more than 1 million acres (405,000 hectares). A vast swathe of Oklahoma was one such area. The 1899 Oklahoma land rush—a mad dash into the newly opened territory—allowed settlers to stake their claims on cheap land. Some of these settlers, known as "boomers," were Black Americans, leading to more than 50 all-Black towns in Oklahoma. Greenwood, founded in 1906 in the city of Tulsa, grew so prosperous that it became known as "Black Wall Street."

A thriving community

The district of Greenwood was founded by a Black American landowner named O. W. Gurley. He purchased 40 acres (16.2 hectares)

See also: The war to end slavery 206–209 **•** The golden age of Reconstruction 210–213 **•** Jim Crow 216–221 **•** The Black Power movement 288–289



of land, which he declared would be sold only to Black people, and set up a grocery store, the first Black-owned business there. He loaned money to Black Americans seeking to start their own businesses, and opened a boarding house. The community was self-contained and selfsufficient—with its own grocery stores, restaurants, cinemas, and beauty salons—so money stayed within the community. Soon, the district had its own transportation system, charter airplane service, postal system, and newspapers.

Under attack

Despite its successes, Greenwood also faced tumultuous times. Following Oklahoma's admittance to the union as the 46th state in 1907, Jim Crow laws were passed in the state, establishing segregation and other racist laws. In 1919, Oklahoma suffered attacks from white supremacists in what was known as the Red Summer, a period of bloodshed when race riots took

Well-dressed residents of

Greenwood pose outside a store. As in any other developing neighborhood, the people believed in education, hard work, and freedom.

place in cities across the US. Two years later, a Black man from Tulsa was falsely accused of assaulting a white woman, resulting in hundreds of white supremacists attacking Greenwood. Houses and businesses were burned down, and between 100 and 300 people were murdered. No arrests were made by the authorities.

Residents worked to rebuild the district, though there were huge financial losses. In the 1950s and 1960s, desegregation brought white people to Greenwood and Black Americans began to move out.

Today, Greenwood has a center dedicated to Black American history and culture. The district has a lasting legacy as it offered a place for Black Americans to lead happy and prosperous lives, and served as an inspiration for the civil rights movement.

... descendants of freed slaves ... considered [Oklahoma] a territory of hope, and a place where they could create their own opportunities. **Ralph Ellison**

Black American novelist (1914–1994)



O. W. Gurley

Born in 1868 to formerly enslaved parents in Huntsville, Alabama, Ottowa W. Gurley became a very wealthy businessman. He worked a number of jobs before becoming a landowner, a principal of a school, and a store-owner.

In 1906, Gurley and his wife moved to Tulsa. Having heard about the giant oil fields there, they saw it as an opportunity. Gurley opened a grocery store and purchased land that he divided into a number of commercial lots for Black people. He then went on to build a hotel, cofound a church, and develop other property. Fellow entrepreneur J. B. Stradford, who moved to Tulsa in 1899, had begun to plan a Black community on the outskirts of town. and the two men began to work together.

After the attacks on Greenwood in 1921, all of Gurley's properties were reduced to ruins, and he suffered huge financial losses. He and his wife left Tulsa, moving to Los Angeles, where they ran a small hotel. Gurley died in 1935 at the age of 67.



THE VOICE OF THE RACE BRAZIL'S BLACK MOVEMENTS (1915–1964)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Brazil

BEFORE

1850 The trafficking of African enslaved people is banned by the Brazilian government.

1881 Electoral reform prompts a new, more radical abolitionist movement in the cities.

1910 The Revolt of the Lash protests against the use of whips on enlisted People of Color by white naval officers.

AFTER

1986 Antidiscrimination offices are created in Brazil's Ministry of Education and Labor.

2012 The Brazilian Senate approves a bill allocating a number of places in federal universities to People of Color.

2021 Studies suggest that Black people in Brazil are 1.5 times more likely to die from the COVID-19 disease. n 1888, slavery was abolished in Brazil. However, abolition did not bring the expected social transformation. Instead, newly freed enslaved people found themselves living in Brazil's First Republic, founded in 1889 and dominated by white landowners.

Embracing doctrines of so-called scientific racism, which championed white supremacy, the First Republic went to great lengths to "whiten" its population. The state of São Paulo invested millions of dollars in bringing white European immigrants to the area. Black Brazilian people began to be denied work when facing competition from European settlers. The city of São Paulo had been a hub for Black political action since the late 19th century. In the early 20th century, Black Brazilian publications emerged in the city, such as the leading newspaper *O Menelik*, founded in 1915. In 1931, urging direct participation in political reform, São Paulo's Black

Frente Negra Brasileira provided social events, health care, and legal defense for the Black Brazilian community. It also promoted education and training, and organized jazz bands.



See also: The war to end slavery 206–209 • The golden age of Reconstruction 210–213 • Jim Crow 216–221 • The ending of slavery in Brazil 224–225 • Ethiopia defies colonialism 226–227 • The Black Power movement 288–289



So Blacks* are not people? Why? Why is it that whites are better than Negroes*?

O Menelik



paper *Progresso* wrote "the men and women of the Black race must prepare to fight so that ... Black people are represented."

The Vargas era

After losing the presidential election in 1930, Brazilian lawyer and politician Getúlio Vargas led a military uprising which overturned the First Republic and its one-party rule. Black activists responded by founding the party, *Frente Negra Brasileira* (Brazilian Black Front).

Within months of its founding, the *Frente* had allied itself with Brazil's fascist movement, as leaders of both sought strong nationalist government to halt immigration. Many Black members felt alienated by the organization and broke away to form other parties.

In 1932, a revolt began against Vargas's government, triggered by the killing of four protesting students by government troops on May 23. The uprising led to a new Brazilian Constitution in 1934; however, it was abolished after only three years when Vargas established a dictatorship. In 1937, when Brazil entered the dictatorial

O Menelik

In 1896, Ethiopia repelled a colonial invasion by Italy. As the rest of Africa yielded to European military might, Ethiopia and its emperor, Menelik II, became icons of Black resistance. One of Menelik II's legacies was a pioneering African Brazilian newspaper, *O Menelik*.

First published in 1915, *O Menelik* described itself as "a monthly publication with news, literature, and criticism dedicated to men of color." The newspaper also promised to demonstrate the knowledge

period known as *Estado Novo* ("New State"), all other political parties were banned, including the *Frente*. The Black press was also outlawed; however, Black newspapers resurfaced following a regime change in 1945 when Vargas was forced to step down. There were fresh attempts to form

If we could put together a voting bloc, then the Black* would see his position change, without having to bow down at every step to the will and commandments of others. **O Clarim da Alvorada**

Afro-Brazilian newspaper, 1929



of Black Brazilians to a wider Brazilian audience. *O Menelik* was one of a number of newspapers founded by social and recreational clubs, which were the first documented Black organizations to emerge following the abolition of slavery in Brazil. Initially, the primary function of the papers was to circulate information to members.

However, *O Menelik* took on a more bellicose tone than its contemporaries, and the newspaper's pioneering critical stance became the mold for a new generation of Black Brazilian publications in the late 1920s and 1930s.

Black political parties, but these fell flat. People still had bitter memories of the *Frente's* failure. Instead, from 1946 to 1964, Black organizations were mainly cultural.

Unified Black movement

A coup d'état in 1964 dragged Brazil back into the clutches of dictatorship. Despite the economic boom that followed, educated Black people were frustrated by the refusal of Brazilian employers to hire them. This led to the formation of *Movimento Negro Unificado* (Unified Black Movement).

As a radically left-wing group, MNU activists found it difficult to connect with workingclass Black people. However, they did succeed in achieving political change. In 1982, government commissions were created to understand the issues Black people faced, and four years later, antidiscrimination offices were set up at Brazil's Ministry of Education and Labor. ■

YOUNG, GIFTED, AND BLACK The Harlem Renaissance (c. 1918–1937)



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION United States

BEFORE

1895 Paul Laurence Dunbar publishes *Majors and Minors*, becoming the first influential Black American poet.

1903 W.E.B. Du Bois publishes *The Souls of Black Folk*, which explores Black identity.

AFTER

1948 For his campaign song, US President Harry S. Truman chooses "I'm Just Wild About Harry," from the Black musical *Shuffle Along*.

1965 Poet and playwright Amiri Baraka founds the Black Arts Movement, using ideas from the Harlem Renaissance.

1993 Toni Morrison becomes the first Black American woman to win the Nobel Prize for Literature.

arlem, New York City, was the cultural capital of the Black American world from around 1918 until the late 1930s. It was the epicenter of the Harlem Renaissance, also called the New Negro Movement, which inspired creativity in Black artists and intellectuals in other American cities, and in London, Paris, the West Indies, and West Africa.

At the movement's heart was Black American literature. Around this, jazz and blues, visual art, and performance art orbited during a period of unparalleled Black cultural production that was both artistic and political in intention. Fueling the Renaissance was the large-scale

See also: The creation of "race" 154–157 • The golden age of Reconstruction 210–213 • The Jazz Age 246–249 • Black combatants in World War II 254–257 • *Brown v. Board of Education* 264–267 • The Black Power movement 288–289



migration of Black Americans from the rural South to Northern cities in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, seeking to escape racial prejudices and poverty and improve their social and economic status.

A new cultural identity

Following the emancipation of Black Americans in the South, school enrolment for Black children had risen dramatically, and literacy

I do not care ... for any art that is not used for propaganda. But I do care when propaganda is confined to one side while the other is stripped and silent. **W.E.B. Du Bois**



levels increased from around 20 percent in 1870 to 77 percent by 1920. Talented writers emerged, who encouraged the search for a fresh identity free of overtones of an oppressed past. Many were first published in *The Crisis*, the journal of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), founded in 1909. Under its editor, sociologist W.E.B. Du Bois, every issue included poems,

The New Negro

At a time when most books about Black people were by white Americans, Alain Locke, a Black American Rhodes Scholar dubbed the "Dean" of the Harlem Renaissance, saw the need for a publication by Black Americans that examined the depth and breadth of Black life. In 1925, he published *The New Negro*. Part 1, "The Negro Renaissance," included short stories by Zora Neale Hurston, poetry by Countee Cullen and Georgia Johnson, plays by Jessie **The New York Library's** 135th Street branch in Harlem became a cultural center for Black Americans and a platform for Black writers, artists, and performers. It was the first library in the city to employ Black librarians.

fiction, and artwork as well as news. It became the most widely read Black American magazine.

Thousands of Black Americans fought for their nation in World War I, and they had hoped for their patriotism to be recognized and that they would be granted greater civil rights as a result, yet these were still denied. Black Americans were excluded from unions and suffered chronic unemployment. Since they were refused the right to vote, they were shut out of politics, too. With these avenues closed to them, promoters of the Renaissance—such as Du Bois and sociologist Charles S. Johnson, a lifelong campaigner for racial equality—believed that excelling in the creative arts could help to positively influence white political power brokers and advance Black political rights. »

Fauset and Willis Richardson, and Black American folk songs by Langston Hughes. In Part 2, "The New Negro in a New World," sociologists, political scientists, and anthropologists discussed contemporary race relations in the US. Drawings and designs by Winold Reiss and Aaron Douglas and pictures of African masks illustrated the work. The New Negro was the first book solely devoted to Black self-expression that explored the roots of Black creativity and laid the foundation for future Black cultural production.

244 THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE

Collectively, Black writers and artists sought to depict Black American lives in authentic and dignified ways to counter crude stereotypes of Black people in the popular media. Their portrayal as buffoons and lustful savages (and the Ku Klux Klan as heroes) in D. W. Griffith's sensationalist film *The Birth* of a Nation (1915) had angered the NAACP, which lobbied to have the work censored or banned. Film boards, made up almost exclusively of white people, paid little heed.

Heritage and identity

By examining what it meant to be Black in America. Harlem Renaissance artists and writers asserted a pride in their collective African cultural inheritance, which they refashioned as a symbol of hope and promise rather than a badge of inferiority. Novelists and poets offered innovative prose and verse that explored the ideas. emotions, and lives of Black Americans, reflecting the larger quest for meaning and identity. Individually, writers searched for significant connections to something greater than themselves.

We younger Negro* artists who create now intend to express our individual dark-skinned selves without fear or shame. Langston Hughes The Negro* Artist and the Racial Mountain, 1926





In his 1923 novel, *Cane*, Jean Toomer examined his Southern roots, while other writers, such as Gwendolyn Bennett and Richard Bruce Nugent, looked to the African continent for inspiration.

Countee Cullen, a gifted poet of this era, had arrived in Harlem at the age of nine, and gained recognition while still a college student. "Incident," one of his bestknown poems, from *Color*, published in 1925, is a first-person account of a young boy, whose long months in Baltimore are marked by a single memory—the racial insult he received while traveling on a bus.

James Langston Hughes, a writer and fervent activist in the Renaissance, infused his poetry with jazz rhythms and Black American vernacular, celebrating everyday Black life as something to be cherished. In a career that spanned five decades, his writings included 9 books of fiction, 11 plays, 10 books of poetry, 8 children's books, and 2 autobiographies. Cullen and Hughes, and other major writers, such as author, filmmaker, and anthropologist Zora Neale Hurston, poignantly described the grim realities of Black American life in early 20th-century America. They also explored the political, social, and cultural factors that had led them to this point, and began to construct a new Black American identity, infused with cultural pride.

Music and art

While Black writers wrote the script for the Harlem Renaissance, blues and jazz musicians supplied the musical score. Performance art was infused with jazz and blues. *Shuffle Along*, a musical written by Black comedy-writing duo Flournoy Miller and Aubrey Lyles, opened on Broadway in 1921 with an all-Black cast and ran for more than 500 performances. It launched the careers of many Black performers, and inspired other works with Black casts, such as the opera *Porgy and Bess* and the musical *Show Boat*.

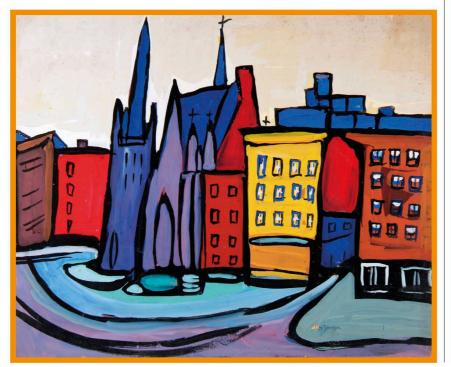
A number of talented Black visual artists, including Loïs Mailou Jones. Augusta Savage, Aaron Douglas, and William H. Johnson, also came to the fore during the Renaissance. Jones held her first solo exhibition at the age of 18 and later moved to Paris where her art, which reflected African traditions, won her great acclaim. Savage was a sculptor and educator. In the 1920s, she made busts of prominent Black figures, including W.E.B. Du Bois. She produced The Harp for the 1939 New York World's Fair and, the same year, opened her own art gallery-the first Black American to do so. Douglas painted murals and supplied illustrations and cover art for Black publications. His greatest work is the four-panel Aspects of Nearo Life, commissioned for the 135th Street branch of the New York Public Library, depicting the history of Black people in America. Johnson absorbed modernism and folk art. while in France and Scandinavia

in the 1920s and '30s. He returned to New York City in 1938 and taught at the Harlem Community Art Center.

Lasting creative influence

Black aspirations were often dashed during the Great Depression of the 1930s, when Black American workers were more than twice as likely as whites to lose their jobs. Yet the Harlem Renaissance had fueled a new sense of pride and self-determination, and would have an enduring impact on later Black artistic expression worldwide. Its rich creativity laid the foundations for the Black Arts Movement (BAM) in the 1960s, which in turn greatly influenced 21st-century Black artistic expression.

William H. Johnson's Harlem Cityscape with Church (c. 1939–1940) is typical of the deliberately naive, bold, colorful style the artist used to capture the Black American experience of city life.





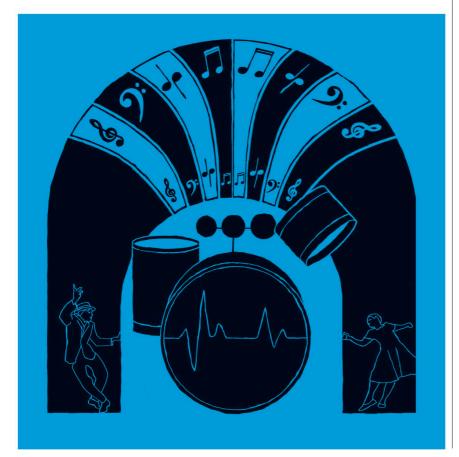
Zora Neale Hurston

Born in Alabama in 1891, Zora Hurston was raised in Eatonville, Florida, an all-Black township outside Orlando. She was 13 when her mother died, and, aged 16, she joined a traveling theater troupe before resuming her education. In 1925, Hurston won an anthropology scholarship to Barnard College in New York City, and afterward pursued postgraduate studies at Columbia University. These studies strongly influenced her writings, which contain astute observations of Black folk culture. She penned many academic articles, short stories, and plays, for which she received great acclaim but little money. In later life. Hurston worked as a maid to support her writing, and died penniless and forgotten in 1960. Her writings were rediscovered by Black American author Alice Walker. whose 1975 article in Ms. magazine kindled fresh interest in Hurston's work.

Key works

Mules and Men Their Eyes Were Watching God Dust Tracks On a Road

THE ETERNAL TOM-TOM BEATING IN THE BEATING IN THE BEATING SOUL THE JAZZ AGE (1920s—1930s)



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION New Orleans, Louisiana

BEFORE

1718 France founds New Orleans, and brings military bands and Mardi Gras to the city.

1719 The first enslaved people arrive from West Africa, bringing new music to Western ears.

1763 Spain takes control of New Orleans.

1803 The colonial period ends as the US acquires the city, where free people of color are permitted to play their own music in public.

AFTER

1938–1954 Jazz moves away from its New Orleans roots and gradually evolves.

1954–1960 New Blackinspired music, rock 'n' roll, dominates the period.

he Jazz Age was an era in which the popular culture of the United States came to be dominated by jazz, a vibrant and largely improvised music created by Black Americans.

American novelist F. Scott Fitzgerald, the first to identify the period, thought it spanned the decade of the 1920s. But it really began with the release of the first jazz record in 1917 and can be said to have ended on a high at the first mass open-air jazz festival in 1938.

The music was played by bands using wind instruments and drums to produce the genre's infectious rhythms, although piano was usually part of the sound, too. Unlike

See also: The birth of the Atlantic slave trade 116–121 • Jim Crow 216–221 • The Harlem Renaissance 242–245 • The March on Washington 282–285



Jazz is freedom. You think about that. **Thelonious Monk** Black American jazz musician (1918–1982)



Unifying effect of jazz

The freedom of jazz was embraced by the young, both Black and white, who reveled in dancing to this new music, which they heard at parties, clubs and, later, on the radio. Gangsters hired jazz acts to perform in illicit clubs, called speakeasies, which they set up to circumvent prohibition, the law that banned alcohol between 1920 and 1933.

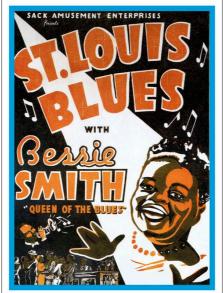
Jazz made celebrities out of Black musicians such as Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington, and singers such as Ethel Waters. The music was adopted by leaders of popular white bands such as Paul Whiteman and Benny Goodman. Jazz was a language that sometimes enabled Black people to speak to white people on equal terms, perhaps for the first time since they were enslaved, and barriers began to dissolve.

However, even though Black musicians were the main draw at clubs, they still had to enter and leave by the back door and were not allowed to fraternize with the clientele. Worse still, while on tour in the South, musicians often slept outdoors after concerts for lack of hotels that would give them a room.

Origins of jazz

The cross-racial appeal of jazz may in part have been due to its origins in New Orleans, a southern port city in Louisiana with a unique blend of musical traditions. The initial French colonizers introduced the military band, the Mardi Gras music festival, and the first brass instruments. Most Black people in the city came from the Caribbean and brought with them a swinging beat. Black people from West Africa added percussive rhythms.

From 1817, authorities in New Orleans allowed enslaved people to sing and dance on Sundays at »



A publicity poster from 1929, featuring the singer Bessie Smith. Known as the "Empress of the Blues," Smith expressed the hopes of Black Americans in her performances.



Louis Armstrong

Born to poor parents in New Orleans in 1901, trumpeter Louis Armstrong defined the role of the soloist in jazz. Dubbed "Satchmo." short for "satchel mouth" because of his large mouth, Armstrong was immersed in jazz from an early age. A Jewish family for whom he ran errands helped him buy his first cornet at the age of 10. In his teens, Armstrong joined local jazz bands and played on the riverboats that sailed up and down the Mississippi River, before moving to Chicago in 1922 and then to New York City in 1929.

Armstrong's career spanned five decades. His 55 recordings for Okeh Records between 1925 and 1928 revealed his amazing virtuosity and gave the wider public a sense of the crystal clear tones he blew from his trumpet. He was an important singer, too. His 1926 song *Heebie Jeebies* was one of the first to record scat singing, the technique of using nonsense syllables to imitate an instrument. His gravelly voice became one of the most iconic in the 20th century. He starred in a number of films, such as High Society (1957) and Hello Dolly! (1969). He died in New York City in 1971.



Spirituals are a type of biblical folk song strongly associated with enslaved people in the American South. These songs helped preserve their culture.



Blues music originated in the American South in the 1860s, and was created by Black Americans. It has its roots in African work songs and spirituals.



Jazz is rooted in blues and ragtime, and improvisation plays an important part. Most jazz relies on syncopation for its character, and often features call and response patterns.

an official site called Congo Square. There, they were able to showcase their musical skills of drumming, improvisation, and also call and response in which a phrase by one singer or instrument would be answered by another.

By the mid-19th century, Black people had developed a distinct tradition based on several strands: spirituals, sacred songs of hope and redemption; work songs, which helped get them through a tough day; and field hollers, which were related to work songs, but were more like chants that were creatively timed to match the rhythms of, for example, digging the ground.

Blues and ragtime

There were two further Black inventions that acted as precursors to jazz. First was blues music. This introduced a new scale in which the sound of one or more notes on the conventional scale ("blue notes") were flattened or lowered. It emerged in the South in the mid-19th century and itinerant guitarists brought it to New Orleans in the 1890s.

The second came from the Midwest in the 1890s and was called ractime. Its most celebrated composer, Scott Joplin, developed a "ragged" style of syncopation—stressing the weaker notes of the expected rhythm—on the piano. The form was perfectly attuned to dance. which brought fame to a pair of white dancers, Vernon and Irene Castle, whose musical arranger was another gifted Black American, James Reese Europe. Jazz was an amalgamation of blues scales and ragtime, but it took in everything that had developed since the colonial period. From the early 20th century, jazz bands sprouted up all over New Orleans.

The first jazz stars

In 1915, a New Orleans Creole, Jelly Roll Morton, published the first jazz sheet music, titled *Jelly Roll Blues*. But it was a white ensemble, the Original Dixieland Jass Band, which cut the first record in 1917, after Black musicians reportedly

Duke Ellington performing with his orchestra and singer Bette Roche in 1943. Ellington's career spanned more than six decades and he became known as the greatest jazz composer of his time.



Swing arose out of jazz, and was popular in the 1930s and 1940s. Some jazz bands grew into larger groups of musicians, and these became known as swing bands.

passed up the opportunity. The landmark A-side was *Dixieland Jass Band One-Step*. After that, jazz became a national obsession, influencing everything from George Gershwin's famous New York concert in 1924, when he premiered *Rhapsody in Blue*, a work for Paul Whiteman's jazz orchestra and solo piano, to Hollywood's first talking picture, *The Jazz Singer*, in 1927.

Yet it was Black Americans who drove and epitomized the era. Louis Armstrong became jazz's foremost trumpeter. Duke Ellington wrote the anthem that best caught **Soul** combines gospel music, blues, and jazz. It became popular in the Black American community during the 1950s and 1960s, and is marked by the use of strong vocals.

the spirit of jazz, *It Don't Mean a Thing (If It Ain't Got That Swing)* (1932). Ethel Waters sang the innuendo-strewn *My Handy Man* (1928). James P. Johnson wrote the tune of the defining dance of the age, the Charleston (1923), and Harlem's *Savoy Ballroom* gave birth to the period's other famous dance, the Lindy Hop (1928).

Peak and decline

Jazz soon won devoted followers around the world—but above all in France, the country that had helped sow the seeds for jazz in New

Josephine Baker



Born in the United States in 1906, Josephine Baker met with little success in her fledgling career as a dancer until she was spotted playing a minor role in a show in Harlem in New York City. Parisbased American Caroline Reagan was seeking Black entertainers for a show about the Jazz Age that she wanted to bring to France, called the Revue Nègre. She hired Baker, who became the star of the production when it opened in Paris in 1925. Baker's provocative performance of the Charleston, the fast-paced jazz-era dance, made her the talk of the town.

Orleans two centuries earlier. In 1918, in the dying months of World War I, it was former ragtime arranger James Reese Europe who brought jazz back to France. Now leader of a regimental Black band, he began a tour of France as part of the war effort, playing jazz to cheering crowds.

By the 1930s, the original form of jazz had been superseded by swing in the United States, partly due to the popularity of Benny Goodman's smooth swing jazz. In 1935, Goodman became the first white jazz musician to invite Black musicians to play with him on stage.

In 1938, as the era drew to a close following the Great Depression of the 1930s, the first outdoor jazz festival took place at Randall Island stadium in New York. Around 24,000 young people, Black and white, attended. There were 25 acts, with Goodman and Ellington among them, and the mixed audience danced in the aisles.

Jazz was a Black American achievement, and it would not be the last. By the 1950s, when the wide appeal for jazz had been eclipsed by big bands and crooners, music would unite young people again with another variant of the blues, rock 'n' roll. ■

Baker was impressed by the racial integration in Paris, and made the city her home. She soon became part of an elite expatriate American community, including writers F. Scott Fitzgerald and Ernest Hemingway.

In 1937 Baker became a French citizen, and during World War II she worked for the French Resistance. She was an outspoken activist, campaigning for civil rights in the 1960s alongside Martin Luther King, Jr., and spoke at the March on Washington in 1963. She died in Paris in 1975.



WE DEMAND TO BE CITIZENS BLACK MOVEMENTS IN FRANCE (1920s)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION France

BEFORE **c. 1918** In New York City, the Harlem Renaissance starts.

1919 France hosts the second Pan-African Congress, in Paris.

1920 Jamaican activist Marcus Garvey presents the "Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World" in New York City.

AFTER

1929 Martinican-born sisters Paulette, Jeanne, and Andrée Nardal open a salon in Paris, where Black intellectuals meet.

1931–1932 The influential French journal *Revue du Monde Noir (Review of the Black World*) is published.

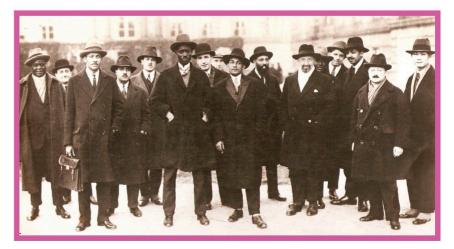
1960 Négritude cofounder Léopold Sédar Senghor becomes the first president of an independent Senegal. or Black intellectuals and radicals living in Paris, the end of World War I signaled a chance to negotiate improvements for people of African descent in France's overseas colonies. These activists developed a distinct form of Pan-Africanism—the notion that those of African descent should be unified—in the 1920s.

Speaking out

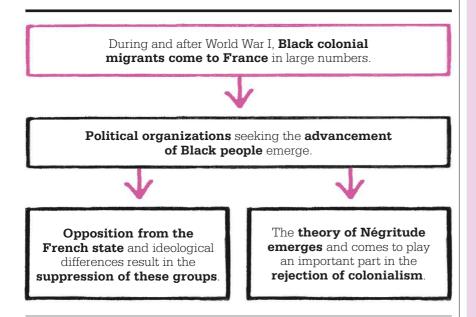
Large numbers of migrants from French West Africa and the Antilles had been forced to join the French army, but were refused citizenship when the war ended in 1918. Several grassroots political organizations sprang up in Paris. The first to gain significant support was the *Ligue Universelle pour la Défense de la Race Noire* (LUDRN, or International League for the Defense of the Black Race), founded in 1924 by Dahomeyborn lawyer Kojo Tovalou Houénou. Houénou also founded France's first Black newspaper, *Les Continents*.

The LUDRN's objectives were to defend the rights of Black people worldwide, to develop solidarity

Speaking at the League Against Imperialism in Brussels, Belgium, in 1927, CDRN leader Lamine Senghor (sixth from left) denounced colonialism and called for "no more slaves."



See also: Pan-Africanism 232–235 • The Harlem Renaissance 242–245 • The Year of Africa 274–275 • The African diaspora today 314–315



among the Black population, and to enable the "evolution of the Race" through education. The organization condemned the abuses of French colonial rule and also campaigned for the naturalization of French subjects. But in 1924, the LUDRN became embroiled in a libel case after an article in *Les Continents* described Blaise Diagne, the first African deputy elected to the French National Assembly, as an agent of colonialism. By 1926, it had been driven underground.

Promoting independence

The LUDRN provided a foundation for a more radical group, the *Comité de Défense de la Race Nègre* (CDRN, or Committee for the Defense of the Negro Race), led by Lamine Senghor, a Senegalese activist. The CDRN was outspoken in its criticism of French colonial policy, and militant in its advocacy of nationalism the independence of colonies from France. These anti-colonial demands infuriated the French government, and Senghor was arrested and imprisoned in 1927. He was released but died later that year, leaving the organization to reinvent itself.

Sudanese militant Tiemoko Garan Kouvaté, one of the CDRN's founding members, took charge of the reconstituted group, the Lique de la Défense de la Race Nègre (LDRN, or League for the Defense of the Negro Race), in 1928. The LDRN was even more militant than its predecessor in its attempts to influence the French administration, and under Kouyaté, it developed Communist ties. Kouvaté's dismissal in 1931, combined with the government's hostility, severely weakened the organization. By 1933, it had ceased to function.

These groups did not achieve much in terms of their anti-colonial agenda, but were influential in the development of Pan-Africanism. Perhaps most importantly, they paved the way for Négritude, which aimed to raise Black consciousness across Africa and its diaspora.

Négritude

Born out of a rich intellectual scene in Paris during the 1930s and 1940s, Négritude was a Black literary movement whose leading lights were poets Léopold Sédar Senghor, Aimé Césaire, and Léon Damas. In Césaire's words, Négritude is the "recognition of the fact that one is Black, the acceptance of this fact and of our destiny as Blacks, of our history and culture."

Although it began among French-speaking African and Caribbean writers as a protest against French colonial rule and the policy of assimilation, Négritude was an international movement. It argued that Africans must look to their own cultural heritage to determine which values are most useful in the modern world. Emerging just before the rise of African independence movements. Négritude made an important contribution to the rejection of colonialism. By the 1960s, its political and cultural objectives had been achieved in most African countries.



Cuban-born Négritude artist Wifredo Lam combined African culture with cubist and surrealist elements in *Self-Portrait III* (1938).



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Nigeria

BEFORE

1912 Frederick Lugard, British governor of the Northern and Southern Protectorates of Nigeria, establishes a system of indirect rule, whereby colonial officials oversee existing local power structures.

1916 Warrant chiefs are appointed to govern locally in southern Nigeria, ousting traditional village councils.

1928 Igbo men are directly taxed for the first time.

AFTER

1938 Tax protests take place in Ngwaland, southeastern Nigeria, inspired by the Women's War of 1929.

1959 Nigeria holds its first national election.

1960 Nigeria gains independence from Britain.

WAS YOUR MOTHER COUNTED? THE WOMEN'S WAR OF 1929

he first major revolt against British colonial rule in Nigeria, the Women's War of 1929, or Ogu Umunwanyi in the Iqbo language, was sparked by a dispute over a census being carried out in Oloko. a town in southern Nigeria, in November 1929. Already excluded from political decisionmaking and incensed by increased customs duties, women in the area began to suspect that they were about to be subjected to direct taxation-despite being financially dependent on their men, who were already being taxed.

Thousands of women flocked to Oloko to join the protest, led by an Igbo-speaking woman named Madame Nwanyeruwa. They performed the traditional ritual of "sitting" on the local warrant chief a way of shaming a person by singing and dancing around them.

The British district officer soon gave in to the women's demands, but by December, women in other areas had rebelled. Government buildings and factories were ruined, and violent clashes arose between the women and officials. Around 25,000 women are thought to have joined the war, and more than 50 of them were killed before it ended in January 1930.

In response to the protests, a new British administration sought to reform the colonial political structure in Nigeria, abolishing the warrant chief system and enabling women members to be appointed to the native courts. The Women's War also paved the way for later anticolonial and independence movements in Nigeria.

Women will not pay tax until the world ends. Madame Nwanyeruwa Statement on the results of the Women's War

See also: The warrior women of Dahomey 164–165 = Pan-Africanism 232–235 The rise of Black feminism 276–281 = "Zik" and independent Nigeria 286–287



IN CONTEXT

LOCATIONS Jamaica, Ethiopia

BEFORE

1920 Marcus Garvey predicts the coronation of a Black king, and proclaims that the "day of deliverance" is soon to come.

1930 Haile Selassie I is crowned emperor of Ethiopia.

AFTER

1966 Haile Selassie visits Jamaica. He offers Rastafarians the opportunity to move to Shashamane, Ethiopia, and around 2,000 emigrate. The date of the visit, April 21, becomes a Rastafarian holy day known as Grounation Day.

1974 Haile Selassie is overthrown by a military coup, and is murdered a year later.

2019 Rastafarianism has around one million followers worldwide. Of those who emigrated from Jamaica to Ethiopia, about 200 remain.

A BLACK KING WILL BE CROWNED THE RASTAFARI MOVEMENT (1930s)

R astafarianism—a religious and political movement influenced by Biblical stories and Pan-African thought originated in Jamaica in the 1930s. Rastafarians believe the forced enslavement of African people by European colonizers in the 19th century, which led to Africans being sent into exile around the world, resulted in the "downpression" (oppression) of Black people. When this subjugation ends, Rastafarians believe, all Africans will return to the motherland—Ethiopia.

A "Black Messiah"

In 1920, Jamaican political leader Marcus Garvey declared that a "Black king" would be crowned and that he would be a "Redeemer." Ten years later, Haile Selassie I became emperor of Ethiopia. Both Garvey's prophecy and the inauguration led to the foundation of the Rastafari movement, named after Ras Tafari, Haile Selassie's name before he was crowned emperor. Believers consider him to be the "Black Messiah," sent to "save the African people."



The coronation of Haile Selassie in 1930 was seen by many Jamaicans as the fulfillment of a prophecy. Despite his death in 1975 following a military coup, Rastafarianism remains popular today.

Rastafarianism spread across the world through reggae music, thanks largely to Jamaican musician and Rastafarian Bob Marley. As well as a belief system, it is a way of life that has peace as its main focus and includes meditation and prayer, growing hair long and naturally (often in dreadlocks), and following an "I-tal" (natural, meat- and processed food–free) diet. ■

See also: The Jamaican Maroons 146–147 • Ethiopia defies colonialism 226–227 • Pan-Africanism 232–235 • The Windrush migration 258–259

WE WERE WEARING THE WEARING THE SAE UNIFORM BLACK COMBATANTS IN WORLD WAR II (1939–1945)



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Worldwide

BEFORE

1861–1865 More than 200,000 Black Americans fight in the American Civil War.

AFTER

1945 Three members of the first all-female, all-Black American battalion to serve overseas are buried at Normandy American Cemetery.

1948 Veterans in Accra (in present-day Ghana) protest not receiving their benefits for service in World War II.

2017 In London, UK, a war memorial to the African and Caribbean soldiers of both World Wars is unveiled.

2021 British authorities apologize for not properly honoring African and Indian veterans of World War I.

fter the defeat of Germany and its allies in World War I, Germany began to rearm in 1933 under Adolf Hitler, leader of the Nazi Party. In 1936, Hitler secured treaties with Japan and Italy and began the invasion of Germany's European neighbors. The aggression continued unchecked until September 1, 1939, when Germany invaded Poland and compelled Britain and France to declare war two days later, marking the beginning of World War II between the Axis and Allied powers.

The Axis powers were formed by Germany, Italy, and Japan, while the Allies consisted of Britain, the US, the Soviet Union, Poland, and France

See also: Jim Crow 216–221 = Ethiopia defies colonialism 226–227 = The Windrush migration 258–259
Ghana declares independence 272–273 = The Year of Africa 274–275 = The Black Power movement 288–289



among others. As the war fronts extended, European countries drew upon labor and soldiers from their colonies to sustain their war efforts.

Colonial forces

European nations were reluctant to deploy Black African soldiers against white people, but the scale and demands of the war and the human toll that it exerted compelled the mobilization of Black troops. British, French, and Belgian colonies fought with the Allies, and Italian colonies with the Axis powers.

Britain mobilized soldiers from its colonial regiments—the West African Frontier Force and the King's African Rifle. The troops **British Army soldiers** from the Gold Coast (Ghana) played an important role in helping the Allies take control of the colony of Italian East Africa in 1941.

were deployed to fronts in the China Burma India (CBI) theater under the 81st Division. Around 23,000 West Africans were also dispatched to the Horn of Africa and across the Indian Ocean as combatants. In the European theater, Britain adhered to its World War I policy of not deploying African troops against white Europeans. Instead, it used the troops in noncombatant roles.

Between 1939 and 1940, France recruited around 300,000 North African and 197,000 West African troops from its colonies. Unlike Britain's colonial forces, some African units were deployed to European fronts in mainland Italy, Sicily, and Germany, and about 63,000 African soldiers fought in France. They also served on the North African front and in West Asia.

In Europe, the African units served as frontline combatants, making them more vulnerable. They were the target of mass execution by German units, who considered—as they had in World War I, which saw Germany defeated and stripped of its African colonies and troops—that the deployment of African troops in Europe against white soldiers was a dishonor.

Following its occupation of France in 1940, Germany repatriated a number of African soldiers back to the continent. Many soldiers rejoined the French Army upon Germany's defeat in Syria and Lebanon and enlisted in the 1st Free French Division. This became the most decorated French division of the war, instrumental in the liberation of southern and eastern France. In 1945, however, the French government repatriated African troops to "whiten" the army.

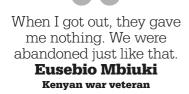
Unsung war heroes

Neither France nor Britain recognized the contributions of African troops to their victories. »

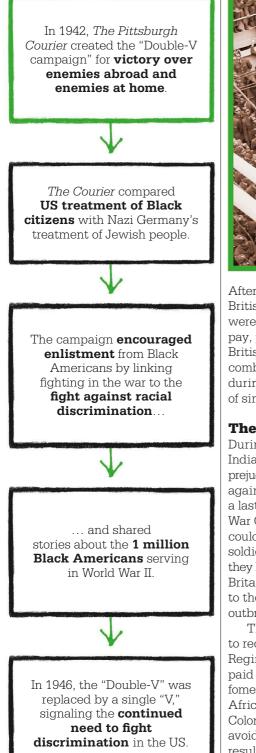
Black soldiers from French colonies

in Africa travel to France to aid Allied troops on June 8, 1944—two days after the D-Day landings to liberate Northwest Europe from Nazi occupation.





256 BLACK COMBATANTS IN WORLD WAR II





After the war, many veterans in British and French African colonies were denied their demobilization pay, pensions, and benefits. The British Army had also paid Black combatants up to three times less during the war than white soldiers of similar ranks.

The Caribbean Regiment

During World War I, Black West Indian soldiers had suffered racial prejudice, which resulted in mutinies against military authority. This left a lasting impression in the British War Office that West Indian soldiers could not be depended on as loyal soldiers. Despite the discrimination they had faced, Black citizens in Britain's Caribbean colonies rallied to the British cause following the outbreak of World War II.

The War Office hesitated to reconstitute the West India Regiment, fearing that the betterpaid Black West Indian troops could foment rebellion among Britain's African troops. However, the Colonial Office was desperate to avoid the political fallout that could result from the continued refusal to deploy willing Caribbean troops. **Thousands of Caribbean volunteers** joined the British Royal Air Force during World War II as pilots, navigators, and air gunners, as well as ground crew.

The two ministries debated the issue until 1944, when the War Office finally recruited soldiers from British territories in the West Indies to form the British Army's Caribbean Regiment. A unit was deployed to the Mediterranean front, but it was limited to general duties including escorting war prisoners, sweeping land for mines, and loading military equipment for transit.

Black American soldiers

One of the most renowned Black American units during World War I was the 369th Infantry Regiment, popularly known as the Harlem Hellfighters. This regiment spent more time in frontline trenches and suffered more losses than any other American unit, with more than 1,400 fatalities. However, when the US joined World War II in 1941, its Department of War had no concrete protocols for deploying Black troops, aside from recruiting them

for labor and keeping the troops segregated. As the theaters of war expanded in 1942, Black troops were deployed overseas to the Caribbean, Asia, and Europe. By the end of the war, 1.2 million Black Americans had served.

At the war fronts, America's Jim Crow racial segregation laws were implemented in every section of the military. The majority of Black troops were employed in labor and service units, and those who advanced to commanding positions were limited to leading Black units. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and Black newspapers highlighted the hypocrisy of the US Army's fight to preserve democracy while upholding segregation in its own forces.

With increasing casualties in 1944, the US deployed the 761st Tank Battalion, the first Black American division to see ground combat in Europe. This battalion was instrumental in the liberation of France from German occupation. In the same year, the Tuskegee Airmen, a group of Black military pilots and airmen, were also deployed. Yet American military Should I sacrifice my life to live half American? Is the kind of America I know worth defending? Will America be a true and pure democracy after this war? These and other questions need answering.

J. G. Thompson Pittsburgh Courier, 1942



units remained segregated, with one notable exception. During the Battle of the Bulge, a German offensive in Belgium that lasted from December 16, 1944, to January 25, 1945, a desperate need for manpower motivated commanders to merge units.

Moving toward equality

Following their return to the US, Black veterans were confronted by white mobs who perceived the



The Tuskegee Airmen

In 1941, following pressure from activists to have Black servicemen serve in combat roles, around 1,000 pioneering Black Americans were trained as pilots at the Tuskegee Army Airfield, Alabama. They were dispatched to various parts of Europe and North Africa to escort and protect bombers from attacks by the enemy.

In 1944, various Black fighter squadrons were combined to form the 332nd Division. The group escorted heavy bombers of the 15th Air Force into enemy veterans as a threat to racial segregation norms. They were also often denied post-war benefits.

While serving in Europe, Black American servicemen witnessed societies without a formal color line. In Britain, for instance, there were no restrictions to places they could visit, and some soldiers socialized with white women, a taboo in the US. Upon their return to the US, many soldiers joined the NAACP and participated in the civil rights movement.

In Africa, Black veterans spread ideas of equality and played a role in the expansion of independence movements and political organizations. Many ran for political office, including Senegalese poet Léopold Senghor, who became Senegal's first president.

As the Cold War commenced between the US and the Soviet Union, the segregated US military units in Germany became an increasing embarrassment. Soviet and German propaganda portrayed the US as a racist nation to discredit American global leadership. On July 26, 1948, President Harry Truman authorized the racial integration of the US armed forces.

territories in aircraft with tails painted red, earning them the nickname "Red Tails." They achieved the highest rates of success among any escort groups in the 15th Air Force, helping to destroy the myth that Black people were unsuited for combat roles. After the war, many Black airmen pursued extended careers in the military.

In 2007, more than 300 of the surviving Tuskegee Airmen were awarded the Congressional Gold Medal by President George W. Bush in recognition of their service to the US.



THEY TELL YOU IT IS THE MOTHER COUNTRY THE WINDRUSH MIGRATION (1948)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATIONS Caribbean, UK

BEFORE

1939–1945 Around 16,000 Caribbean men and women fight for Britain in World War II. More than 40,000 join the civilian war effort in the US.

1948 The Nationality Act gives all British subejcts in the Commonwealth and Britain's colonies the full entitlements of British citizenship and the right to migrate to Britain and settle there.

AFTER

1962 The Commonwealth Immigration Act ends the automatic right of citizens from the Commonwealth to settle in the UK.

1971 The UK's Immigration Act permits only temporary residence if Commonwealth immigrants have no close UK ties. It comes into force in 1973.

Having been promised Faced with a **labor** work and British shortage after World War II, nationality, thousands of the British government Caribbean migrants arrive in invites citizens of the UK's the UK **expecting a Commonwealth** colonies welcome from their to help rebuild Britain. "mother country." Caribbean people In fact, the new arrivals face **poor working** come together to conditions, harsh weather, campaign against and increasing hostility racism and organize and prejudice from community events white residents to increase morale.

fter World War II, Britain faced a labor shortage and sought workers to help rebuild the nation. Appealing to its Commonwealth colonies, the government urged their citizens to come over to the "mother country," promising them employment and the legal right to settle in the UK. In the following years, thousands of Caribbean people arrived; many viewed the offer to work and live in Britain as potentially life-changing. Families often pooled resources to buy a passenger ticket to ensure that one member could make the transatlantic voyage.

The first ships transporting the new migrant workers began to arrive in 1947. It was, however,

See also: The birth of the Atlantic slave trade 116–121 $\,$ The Jamaican Maroons 146–147 $\,$ The Garifuna 162–163 $\,$ Black combatants in World War II 254–257 $\,$



the HMT *Empire Windrush* from Jamaica that docked at Tilbury, Essex, in 1948—carrying over 1,000 passengers—whose name gave rise to the Caribbean migrants known as the Windrush Generation.

Work but also hardship

Although most Caribbean people found employment, their lives were not easy. The work was badly paid, making it difficult for many who had left behind family members to save enough to bring them to the UK. The harsh British winters, long hours, poor working conditions, and cultural differences were a shock in comparison to the pleasant climate and calmer pace of the Caribbean. Many were also disappointed by the dirt and destitution of the areas where they lived.

Increasingly, the Caribbean arrivals faced hostility from both white colleagues and the general public. In 1958, unrest occurred in Notting Hill, London, with similar disturbances in Nottingham, as mobs of white working-class men attacked West Indian residents, who then retaliated with force. In 1959, **Caribbean passengers** prepare to disembark in England from the *Empire Windrush*, a former German liner and troopship. The 1,027 official passengers included 539 from Jamaica, 139 from Bermuda, and 73 from Trinidad.

the murder of British Antiguan Kelso Cochrane by a gang of white London youths further fueled racial tension. His killers were never caught.

The Caribbean community united in the face of overt racism, and their lobbying and activism led to the UK's Race Relations Act of 1965, which banned discrimination on the grounds of "color, race, or ethnic or national origins."

Deportation scandal

From 1962 onward, successive government Acts began to limit immigration to Britain from the Commonwealth, ending large-scale arrivals from the Caribbean by the early 1970s. More than 50 years later, however, the name Windrush again made headlines when a scandal broke. In 2018, the UK government was compelled to admit that many Caribbean people of both the Windrush generation and later generations had suffered a grave injustice. Due to lost paperwork or the failure to recognize that no documentation was necessary when early migrants or close relatives had arrived, many Caribbeans had been wrongly detained, denied their legal rights, threatened with deportation, or actually deported.

In March 2020, an independent government review declared that the Home Office's treatment of the Windrush generation and their children revealed "a profound institutional failure." Those eligible were promised compensation.

The Notting Hill Carnival

To raise spirits and show solidarity in the face of increasing racial tension, Trinidadian-born activist Claudia Jones organized the first Caribbean Carnival in January 1959 in St. Pancras Town Hall, London. Similar indoor events took place in the early 1960s, but it was a 1966 bid to entertain local children that marked the birth of the modern Notting Hill Carnival.

Community activists Rhaune Laslett and Andre Shervington initiated the August street event, inviting popular Trinidadian musician Russell Henderson and his steel band to take part in a procession through Notting Hill. By 1974, the Carnival's Caribbean music and colorful costumes were attracting more than 100,000 people and soon featured Jamaican reggae, dub music, and ska, as well as soca and traditional calypso.

The two-day August Bank Holiday event has become a cultural institution, attracting more than two million visitors in recent years, and still thrives as a space for community cohesion and celebration.



Paraders wearing colorful Jamaican-themed outfits perform at the 2019 Notting Hill Carnival.

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION South Africa

BEFORE **1652** South Africa is colonized by the Dutch.

1797 The British in the Cape Colony restrict Black South Africans and force them to carry internal passports.

1910 The South Africa Act is introduced, giving white South Africans complete political control over other racial groups.

1912 The African National Congress (ANC) is founded.

AFTER

1993 Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Klerk are jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their work in laying the foundations for democracy in South Africa.

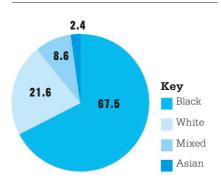
1996 Nelson Mandela sets up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to address the human rights abuses of the apartheid regime. n 1948, the National Party (NP) was elected to power and adopted a policy of apartheid, a system of racial segregation, in South Africa. More extreme legislation was passed to deprive Black South Africans of rights, including the Population Registration Act of 1950, which classified the population into four racial groups white, Black, "Indian" (Indian and Pakistani people), and "Colored" (mixed race). This led to "Petty Apartheid"—the segregation of public areas and social events, and

NELSON MANDELA AND THE

ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT (1949)

THERE IS NO EASY

ROAD TO FREEDOM



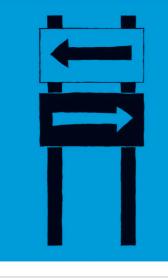
The majority of South Africans

were Black, as demonstrated by this racial breakdown of the population between 1904 and 1960. The racial segregation of the apartheid system forced 80 percent of the population to live in just 13 percent of the country. "Grand Apartheid"—limits on Black South Africans' access to land, political rights, housing, employment, and citizenship.

Internal resistance

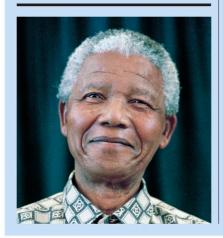
Though apartheid was set in law, many opposed it, including Nelson Mandela. At the age of 26, Mandela became the youth leader of the African National Congress (ANC), a political party and Black liberation group set up to campaign against apartheid. In 1949, the ANC adopted the "Program of Action," calling on its members to carry out strikes, boycotts, and other forms of nonviolent resistance. As one of the leading figures, Mandela made speeches and advocated for nonviolent protests.

Hendrik Verwoerd, who became prime minister in 1958, refined apartheid policy further. The "Homeland System" was adopted in 1959, creating 10 independent homelands, known as Bantustans, where Black South Africans were forced to live. From 1961 to 1994, more than 3.5 million people were forced to leave their homes and relocate to the homelands in poor rural areas. In some cases, families were forcibly separated if parents and



See also: Abolitionism in the Americas 172–179 = Jim Crow 216–221 = The scramble for Africa 222–223 = Pan-Africanism 232–235 = The Year of Africa 274–275 = The Black Power movement 288–289

Nelson Mandela



their children were identified and registered as belonging to different racial groups.

In 1960, 69 unarmed people were killed when police turned their guns on protesters in the Black township of Sharpeville during a nonviolent demonstration by the anti-apartheid group Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). Mandela and other members of the ANC gave up their stance of nonviolence and advocated for non-peaceful protests against South African forces. As a result of his work in founding the ANC's military wing, Mandela was arrested in 1962 and charged with planning a guerrilla war and acts of sabotage. He was subsequently sentenced to life imprisonment with hard labor at Robben Island.

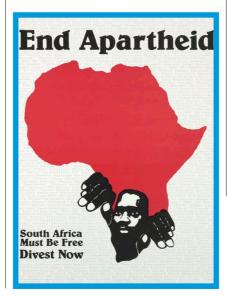
International pressure

Despite Mandela's imprisonment, the ANC's influence grew, with more South Africans protesting against apartheid and political parties calling for Black South Africans to have democratic rights. Given the birth name Rolihlahla, Nelson Mandela was born in Mvezo, South Africa, in 1918. His father, Henry Mandela, was an adviser to a chief of the Madiba clan, the ruling family of the Xhosa-speaking Tembu people.

In 1941, Mandela left for Johannesburg to pursue a career in law. His interest in African politics and history, as well as his passion for equality for Black South Africans, led him to become the youth leader of the African National Congress (ANC). Mandela was an active figure in the ANC, campaigning against South

International awareness of the treatment of Black South Africans as well as Mandela's imprisonment was also increasing.

In 1976, the United Nations Security Council voted to impose an embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa, and in 1980 it called for Mandela's release. In 1986, the international community, including the UK and US, imposed economic



Africa's apartheid policy. In 1955, he helped draft the Freedom Charter—a document demanding racial equality for Black South Africans.

Mandela was arrested a number of times, and in 1964 he was sentenced to life in prison at Robben Island, where he would remain for 18 years. Following his release in 1990, he went on to become South Africa's first Black head of state in 1994. After his death in 2013, more than 100,000 mourners lined up to pay their respects as his body lay in state.

sanctions on South Africa in an attempt to force an end to apartheid. Citizens around the world also joined the protest.

Democracy in South Africa

F. W. de Klerk was elected leader of the NP and president of South Africa in 1989. He surprised the country by moving quickly to bring the apartheid system to an end. On February 11, 1990, Nelson Mandela was released and began working with de Klerk toward a peaceful transition to democracy.

On April 27, 1994, millions of South Africans lined up to exercise their newly won right to vote in South Africa's first fully democratic election. Mandela was elected as president, becoming head of the Government of National Unity (GNU), in which minority parties were represented.

A 1985 anti-apartheid poster

from San Francisco, CA, where longshore workers refused to unload ships carrying South African cargo.



WE DON'T WANT WAR, WE WANT WAR, WE WANT JUSTICE THE MAU MAU UPRISING (1952)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Kenya, East Africa

BEFORE

1902 European settlers are given the rights to any lands in Kenya seen to be unoccupied, regardless of African ownership.

1913 Leases of 999 years on land given to Europeans creates a monopoly on land use.

1932–1934 The Kenya Land Commission fails to redress African complaints about land displacement.

AFTER

1956 Britain grants representation to Kenyans in the Legislative Council.

1963 Kenya holds national elections and becomes an independent country.

2011 Mau Mau survivors file a lawsuit against the British for torture and abuse in detention camps. Britain admits to the crimes, paying compensation to the 5,228 victims.

Rules imposed by the British **reduce native Kenyans**, including the Kikuyu people, **to poverty**.

The Kikuyu are **forced onto reservations** and become wage workers on **lands they once owned**.

Poverty and discontent leads to a **swelling of radical resistance** that culminates in the Mau Mau uprising.

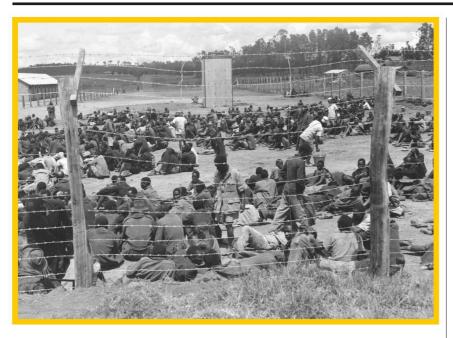
> The British government grants Kenya **greater land rights** and **more political autonomy**.

s most of Africa became divided among European powers, Britain formally claimed Kenya in 1895 and declared it a Crown colony in 1920. During this period, European settlers moved to Kenya and seized fertile lands in the Great Rift Valley area and the highlands, displacing the local communities that owned and farmed these regions. The most affected were the Kikuyu people, the largest ethnic group in Kenya.

Despite Kenyan requests for land reforms, land redistribution, and political representation, no real changes were undertaken. The lack of reforms led to the emergence of a radical group, the Kenyan Land and

We could no longer accept that a *mzungu* (European) was better than an African. **Bildad Kaggia** Kenyan politician (1921–2005)

See also: Europeans arrive in Africa 94–95 • The scramble for Africa 222–223 • Ethiopia defies colonialism 226–227 • The Maji Maji uprising 236–237 • The Women's War of 1929 252 • The Year of Africa 274–275



Mau Mau suspects detained in a prison camp in Kenya in 1952. Mau Mau veterans later gave accounts of torture and abuse suffered at the hands of British soldiers in such camps.

Freedom Army (KLFA), made up mostly of Kikuyu, Kamba, Embu, and Meru peoples. In the late 1940s, the KLFA, known to the British as the Mau Mau, began a militant fight for land rights and freedom.

For land and freedom

To ensure loyalty among members, the Mau Mau administered oaths of allegiance that bound its members to their cause. Under the direction of rebel leader Dedan Kimathi, the Mau Mau was divided into forest armies that carried out guerrilla attacks. From their forest locations, they ambushed white-owned farms and government loyalists.

In response to the unrest, the colonial government declared a state of emergency in Kenya in October 1952, arresting several alleged Mau Mau leaders. They also began to spread propaganda in Kenya and abroad that cast the Mau Mau as violent savages who were irrationally filled with bestial impulses. By 1953, British military operations expanded, including air attacks on suspected Mau Mau camps, leading to mass arrests, detention, and the murder of Mau Mau supporters.

By 1955, an estimated 11,000 Mau Mau had been killed, 1,090 convicts hanged, and over 80,000 Kenyans detained in camps, while 1,819 Kenyans loyal to the British government and 32 Europeans had died at the hands of the Mau Mau. The state of emergency lasted until 1960, although the Mau Mau were considered defeated with the capture of Kimathi, on October 21, 1956.

Mau Mau's legacy

The uprising compelled the British government to undertake some political and land reforms that

Kenyan nationalists had been clamoring for. In 1956, Kikuyu land holdings were expanded and earlier laws that allowed only European farmers to grow coffee— Kenya's major cash crop—were revoked. Britain increased the number of local seats available to Kenyan members of the Legislative Council and committed to a transition to self-government based on majority rule. In December 1963, Kenya became independent with the nationalist leader of the Kenva African Union (KAU), Jomo Kenyatta, as its first president.

Now on friendly terms with Britain, the Kenyatta government upheld the ban on the Mau Mau in Kenya. When the ban was finally lifted in 2003, they became recognized officially as nationalist heroes and architects of the country's independence. From then on, accounts of illegal detention, castration, and sexual abuse by British soldiers and settlers began to emerge.



Kikuyu people gather in the Ruring'u Stadium in Nyeri, Kenya, in 1963, in a symbolic gesture of surrender after the end of the Mau Mau uprising.

WHY SHOULD OUR CHILDREN HAVE TO TRAVEL SO FAR TO SCHOOL? BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION (1954)



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION United States

BEFORE

1868 The Equal Protection Clause in the Fourteenth Amendment to the US Constitution states that all individuals must be treated equally by law.

1896 The US Supreme Court rules that racial segregation and the doctrine of "separate but equal" are constitutional.

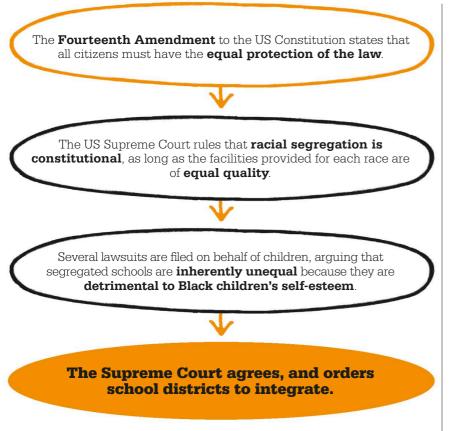
AFTER

1960 Six-year-old Ruby Nell Bridges is the first Black American student to integrate a formerly all-white elementary school in the US South.

1964 The Civil Rights Act ends segregation in public places and prohibits employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

n 1954, the US Supreme Court ruled that racial segregation of children in public schools was unconstitutional. The case, known as *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, established the precedent that the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court decision endorsing the doctrine of "separate but equal" was unconstitutional and that segregation of white and Black people was an affront to the civil rights of Black Americans.

Prior to the Supreme Court's decision, many states across the US had mandatory segregation laws requiring Black and white Americans to use segregated public facilities, such as restrooms and **See also:** Jim Crow 216–221 • The lynching of Emmett Till 268–269 • The Montgomery bus boycott 270–271 • The rise of Black feminism 276–281 • The March on Washington 282–285



train cars, and children to attend separate public schools, as long as they were equal in quality—which often they were not.

Mounting pressures

The case leading up to the 1954 Supreme Court decision began in 1950, when Oliver Brown filed a lawsuit against the Board of Education in Topeka, Kansas, where his eight-year-old daughter, Linda Brown, had been denied the right to enroll in an all-white elementary school just seven blocks from their home. Instead, she was forced to attend a segregated all-Black elementary school several miles away, walking past the white school in order to catch her bus. Brown's lawyers argued that even if the segregated school was equal in standards, such racial discrimination was detrimental to the emotional and psychological development of Black American children.

Brown was one of 18 Black parents in Topeka, Kansas, who had challenged the legality of the "separate but equal" ruling. Around the same time, four similar cases had arisen in public schools elsewhere in the US: *Briggs v. Elliot* in Clarendon County, South Carolina in 1949; a case in Prince Edward County, Virginia, in 1951; *Bolling v. Sharpe* in Washington, D.C., in 1951; and a case in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1952. The Supreme Court decided to consolidate all of these cases into one class action—*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*.

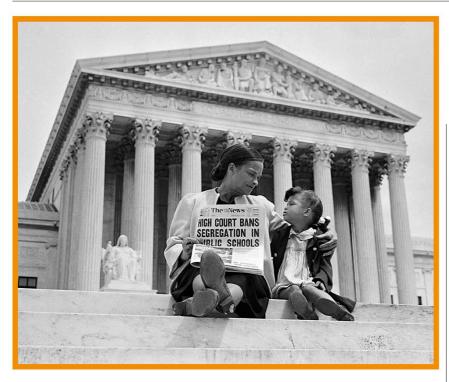
The case

Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) Legal Defense and Educational Fund, served as chief attorney for the plaintiffs. Marshall had also been the lead attorney on the Briggs v. Elliot case in South Carolina. George E. C. Hayes and James M. Nabrit, attorneys for the Bolling v. Sharpe case, also served as counsel. Together they argued that racially segregated public schools were not and could not be made equal and that such a system therefore deprived Black children of their right to equal protection under the law. They further argued that segregated schools were in direct violation of the Equal Protection Clause in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. which stated that all individuals should be treated equally by law. »

In the field of public education, the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Chief Justice Earl Warren US Supreme Court, 1954

99

266 BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION



Marshall and his cocounsels drew on sociological evidence to prove the harmful effects of segregation. Psychologist Kenneth Clark, for example, cited an experiment called the doll test that he had designed with his wife and fellow psychologist Mamie Clark to test the racial perceptions of children aged between three and seven. On being presented with two dolls that were completely identical except for their skin color, the majority of the Black children (10 out of 16) preferred the white doll and assigned it positive characteristics. Eleven of the children held negative perceptions about the Black doll. The Clarks

Thurgood Marshall



Black American lawyer and Civil Rights activist Thurgood Marshall led the plaintiff's case in *Brown v. Board of Education*. An associate of prominent Black lawyer Charles Hamilton Houston, he believed that law could be used as an instrument of social change.

Born Thoroughgood Marshall in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1908, the son of a railroad porter and an elementary school teacher, Marshall legally changed his first name to Thurgood as a child. After graduating with honors from the all-Black Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, he Sitting on the steps of the Supreme Court and holding a newspaper whose headline declares that the Court has banned segregation in public schools, Nettie Hunt explains the significance of the ban to her daughter Nikie.

concluded from these findings that prejudice, discrimination, and segregation created a feeling of inferiority among Black children, affecting their self-esteem.

Final ruling

On May 17, 1954, the US Supreme Court issued their final ruling in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case. The nine judges were unanimous segregation of America's public schools was unconstitutional and separate educational facilities were inherently unequal.

The ruling was a great victory for Black American children and their parents, but Southern white Americans immediately protested. The resistance was so widespread that the Supreme Court issued a second decision in 1955, known as *Brown II*, ordering school districts to integrate "with all deliberate speed." One problem was that the Supreme Court had never

attended Howard University's law school (where he was taught by Hamilton Houston), having been rejected from the all-white University of Maryland. In 1936, as a qualified lawyer, he cited the Fourteenth Amendment to win *Murray v. Pearson*, which forced the University of Maryland to admit Black student Donald Murray to study law.

In 1967, six years after Brown v. Board of Education, Marshall became the first Black American Supreme Court Justice. He died in Bethesda, Maryland, in 1993, at the age of 84.



specified how schools should be integrated and provided no guidance on how local school districts were supposed to enforce new integration mandates.

As a result, the legal victory in Brown v. Board of Education did not immediately transform the country. Many school districts remained segregated for years after the ruling, despite the NAACP's attempts to register Black students in segregated all-white schools in cities throughout the South.

Fresh conflicts

In 1957, a group of nine Black students nicknamed the Little Rock Nine were officially enrolled at the previously all-white Central High School in Little Rock. Arkansas. On September 4, the first day of classes, Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus ordered the Arkansas National Guard to prevent the Little Rock Nine from entering the high school He stated that he refused to force "his people to integrate against their will." The Little Rock School District condemned Governor Faubus's actions and called for a citywide prayer service. President Dwight D. Eisenhower attempted to de-escalate the crisis

by meeting with the governor and encouraging him to uphold the Supreme Court's ruling.

On September 23, after continued resistance from Governor Faubus, President Eisenhower federalized Arkansas's National Guard in order to escort the Black students into the school building. The crisis in Little Rock polarized Americans, with some in favor of the integration efforts and others, mostly Southern white people, vehemently opposed.

Given the weight of resistance to integrating school systems across the South. change was slow. Some schools introduced entrance exams for Black students in order to limit eligibility. In 1960, Ruby Bridges became the first Black American child to desegregate an all-white elementary school in New Orleans. Louisiana. She had passed the school's entrance exam for Black students along with four others, and her mother, unlike the other more fearful parents, was determined that Ruby would take up her place. For an entire year, Ruby was the only pupil in her

class, because white parents refused to allow their children to be taught alongside her.

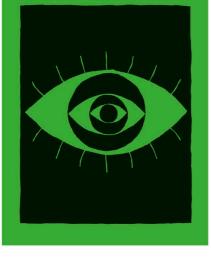
Catalyst of change

Despite resistance, the ruling in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka spurred on-and drew national attention to-the burgeoning civil rights movement and its fight to desegregate other areas of life, including public facilities and institutions of higher education. The case set a legal precedent that would be used to overturn other laws enforcing segregation in public settings. In 1964, the Civil Rights Act was passed, one of the most significant legislative achievements of the civil rights movement. The law ended segregation in public places and banned employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

Marshals escort Ruby Bridges

from school to protect her from white protesters. The six-year-old was told to keep her eyes forward to avoid seeing the ugly anger of the jeering crowds.





LET THE PEOPLE SEE THE LYNCHING OF EMMETT TILL (1955)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION United States

BEFORE **1865** The American Civil War ends and slavery is abolished

in the US.

1865 The Ku Klux Klan is founded in Tennessee.

1877 Jim Crow laws begin to promote segregation and limited rights for Black Americans.

1919 Lynchings of Black Americans increase, with 97 attacks during the bloody "Red Summer."

AFTER

1963 A bomb explosion in a Black church in Birmingham, Alabama, sparks outrage across the country.

1964 The Civil Rights Act bans forms of racial discrimination and segregation.

2020 The Justice Department closes the Emmett Till case with no charges made.

t is thought that the term "lynching" is derived from Charles Lynch, an American who led vigilante attacks on British loyalists following the American Revolution (1775–1783). Lynching is a punishment in which a mob takes the law into their own hands and kills an accused offender, often torturing them first.

Accusations and terror

In 1865, slavery was abolished, but Black Americans continued to face hostility from white Americans. Following the formation of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) the same year and the introduction of Jim Crow laws, lynching became a method of

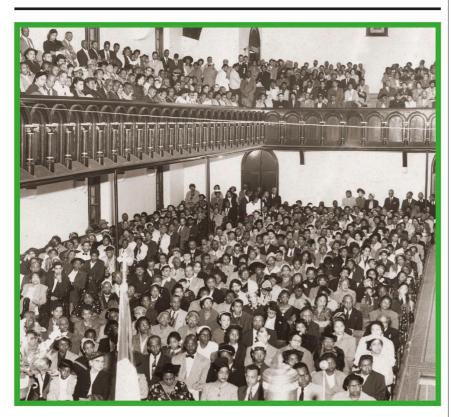
And the fact that it happened to a child, that makes all the difference in the world. **Mamie Till Mobley**

Interview, 1996

terrorizing Black people. Mobs accused Black Americans of criminal activities before torturing and executing them, often by hanging. Many white Americans treated lynchings as entertainment. Between 1882 and 1968, there were more than 4,700 lynchings, in which 3,446 (around 73 percent) of the victims were Black. These included the Newberry Six lynchings of 1916, when six Black Americans were rounded up and hanged for simply knowing a Black man who was accused of a crime.

In 1955, 14-year-old Emmett Till was lynched while staying with family in Mississippi. He was accused of flirting with a white woman, Carolyn Bryant, in a store where she worked as a cashier. Till was originally from Chicago and may not have fully grasped the strict segregation or the extent of the racism that still existed in the Southern states. Carolyn's husband, Roy Bryant, and his half-brother, J. W. Milam, abducted Till from his great uncle's home; proceeded to beat. torture. and shoot him: and then dumped his body in the Tallahatchie River. Till's body was recovered after three days, and could only be identified by a ring.

See also: The golden age of Reconstruction 210–213 = Jim Crow 216–221 = The Montgomery bus boycott 270–271 = The Black Power movement 288–289



His mother, Mamie Till Mobley, decided to keep the casket open for the funeral and on display for five days, to show the cruelty inflicted on her son. Media coverage sparked nationwide outrage.

Injustice ignites a cause

Less than two weeks after Till's funeral, Bryant and Milam went on trial for his murder. In under an hour, they were acquitted of all charges by an all-male, all-white jury. Months later they admitted their guilt. This injustice, after so many others, galvanized the American civil rights movement, and in 1964, the Civil Rights Act made it illegal to discriminate based on race. The FBI reopened Till's case twice, in 2004 and then in 2018, after Carolyn Bryant had admitted in 2017 that A Black American community gathers at Sharp Street Church in Baltimore, Maryland, to protest over the death of Emmett Till in 1955.

Till had not, in fact, touched or harassed her. The case has now been officially closed.

As of February 2021, the US has no anti-lynching laws. There have been 12 reported lynchings since that of Emmett Till, of which 11 of the victims were Black. In 2020, the murder of Ahmaud Arbery, an innocent Black man who was chased down and shot by a white mob, was declared a lynching. There has also been a rise in hangings of Black people, whether by suicide or foul play, leading many to believe that America's lynching legacy is still very much alive.



Mamie Till Mobley

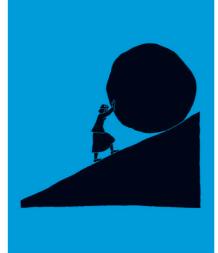
Born in Mississippi in 1921, Mamie Till Mobley spent her life seeking justice for her son's murder. Emmett Till was her only child, and after she separated from his father, Louis, the two moved to Chicago's South Side.

After Till's death, Mamie was determined to show the world the brutality that he had suffered. His body was displayed at Roberts Temple Church of God in Chicago, with 50,000 people visiting. The media coverage of this brought the attention of the whole nation to the racial violence that was taking place in the South. Mamie gave speeches to crowds of people across the country, inspiring support for racial justice. Her actions helped spur on the civil rights movement, which was gaining momentum.

Mamie continued to protest and campaign, even writing to the president asking for help in finding justice for her son.

She died in Chicago in 2003. Her memoir, published a year later, describes how she turned a tragedy into action.

Key work



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION United States

BEFORE

1953 In June, Black residents in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, stage an eight-day boycott of racially segregated city buses.

1955 On March 2, Black teenager Claudette Colvin is arrested for refusing to give up her seat to a white passenger on a bus in Montgomery.

AFTER

1957 The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and other church ministers form the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to help coordinate protests against racial segregation.

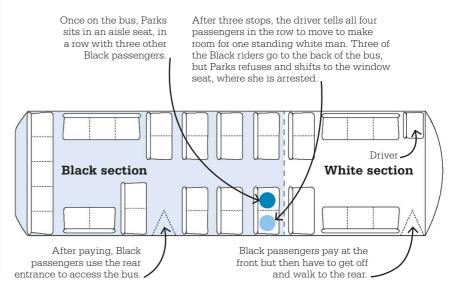
1963 In Bristol, UK, Black campaigners boycott bus services run by the Bristol Omnibus Company after it bars Black people from work as bus drivers or bus conductors.

THE MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT (1955)

hroughout the American South in the 1950s, racial segregation enforced white supremacy and degraded Black Americans. This included the segregation of people on public transportation. In the city of Montgomery, Alabama, white officials passed laws mandating separate seating for Black and white passengers on city buses and deputized drivers to enforce the law. White people sat toward the front of the bus, but if that section filled, Black passengers had to give up their seats to white passengers. To do this, while paying the same fare as a white person, was humiliating for Black American riders, who often refused to move when told.

On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks, a Black seamstress on her way home from work, was arrested for refusing to vacate her seat on a city bus. Parks was not the first person to be arrested, but her

The Rosa Parks bus incident



See also: Jim Crow 216–221 **•** The Harlem Renaissance 242–245 **•** The Jazz Age 246–249 **•** Black combatants in World War II 254–257 **•** *Brown v. Board of Education* 264–267 **•** The Black Power movement 288–289

Rosa Parks



activism and respect within the Black community provided Black groups with a useful figurehead as they looked to end bus segregation through positive action.

Backing a boycott

Jo Ann Robinson, a leader of the Women's Political Council (WPC), a Montgomery Black civil rights group, distributed a series of leaflets across the city. These urged riders to stay off buses on Monday, December 5—the date of Rosa Parks's trial. On the day, most Black people refused to ride the buses. prompting local Black leaders to support the boycott. They set up the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) to coordinate the boycott, negotiate with city officials, and organize a carpool for Black commuters. Martin Luther King, Jr., then pastor at Montgomery's Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, was elected president of the organization.

Around 75 percent of bus riders in Montgomery were Black, and without their fares the bus company lost revenue, as did the Born Rosa Louis McCauley in Tuskegee, Alabama, in 1913, Parks moved to Pine Level. Alabama, a town outside Montgomery, after her parents separated. There, she lived with her maternal grandparents. In 1932, she married Raymond Parks, an activist with the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). but did not become active in Black politics until the early 1940s. She then joined the Montgomery chapter of the NAACP and became its secretary. In this role, Parks helped organize

city-center stores that served Black shoppers. Knowing the economic damage this caused, the MIA negotiated with city officials and white businessmen throughout the winter, but its demands—including first-come, first-served seating on buses and even-handed treatment for Black passengers—were consistently rebuffed. In January 1956, the home of Martin Luther King, Jr., was bombed, and in March King was jailed for violating a 1921 Alabama statute that barred boycotts against businesses.

Black riders continued to refuse to use the buses, and in May the MIA took its antisegregation case to the Alabama federal court. In June 1956, the court ruled that segregation on the state's buses was unconstitutional, a decision upheld by the US Supreme Court. The 13-month bus boycott finally ended on December 20.

Foundations for activism

The boycott was arguably the first successful large-scale, nonviolent protest by Black Americans during voter registration drives, and was herself finally registered to vote in April 1945.

After the bus boycott, Parks moved to Detroit, Michigan, where she worked for the Michigan Congressman John Conyers, Jr., from 1965 to 1988. She also founded the Rosa and Raymond Parks Institute for Self Development to encourage students to study American and civil rights history. Before Parks died in 2005, she received the Presidential Medal of Freedom (1996) and the Congressional Gold Medal (1999).

the early civil rights movement. The heroism of so many working Black people served as an inspiration for young activists of the early 1960s, who would go on to utilize nonviolent civil disobedience to defy racial segregation. The boycott also pushed Martin Luther King, Jr., into the national spotlight, bringing greater attention to civil rights issues and establishing him as an influential leader of the Black fight for fairness and equality.



A group of Black Americans use an organized carpool as an alternative way to travel during the Montgomery boycott. Across the street, a city bus stands empty.



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION **Ghana**

BEFORE **1874** Britain officially declares the Gold Coast a crown colony.

1945 Nkrumah attends the Fifth Pan-African Congress, held in Manchester, UK.

1946 Limited constitutional reform frustrates the Gold Coast's educated elite.

1948 Ghanaian protesters are fired upon by British troops. Widespread riots erupt.

AFTER

1960 Ghana becomes a republic, with the CPP the only political party.

1966 Nkrumah is overthrown in a coup led by the army and police leaders. Three further coups follow over 10 years.

1981 Military leader Jerry Rawlings overthrows the government for a second time, establishing a stable democracy.

GHANA IS FREE FOREVER! GHANA DEGLARES INDEPENDENCE (1957)

he British had dominated the coast of West Africa for about 150 years before Ghana became independent on March 6, 1957. Independence was largely achieved by the politician Kwame Nkrumah, though it was followed by military coups and failed democracies. However, Ghana's independence did inspire similar movements across the continent.

Ghana was the first West African country to win independence, driven by its nationalist movements which began to emerge around 1918, fueled by the annexation of the land. At the beginning of the 19th century, Ghana was not a cohesive state but a number of autonomous kingdoms. In 1874, the Gold Coast colony was established by Britain. What began as a 62-mile- (100-km-) wide strip of coastline expanded to include all of present day Ghana by

Kwame Nkrumah is carried by

government officials celebrating Ghana's independence. The country's national symbol is an eagle, to signify a protector keeping watch over Ghana.



See also: The Ghana Empire 52–57 • The birth of the Asante Empire 148–151 • Pan-Africanism 232–235 • The Year of Africa 274–275



Our independence is meaningless unless it is linked up to the total liberation of the African continent! **Kwame Nkrumah**

1918. This included the territory of the Asante people, who had fought against the British in four wars.

By the mid-20th century, weakened by World War II, European powers were finding it increasingly difficult to maintain control of their colonies. India became independent in 1947, and to compensate for its economic loss, Britain looked to tighten its grip on Africa.

In January 1948, Ghanaians boycotted imported goods from Europe with inflated prices. In February, a group of unarmed, poverty-stricken veterans, who had fought for Britain in World War II, marched to the British governor with a list of grievances, including unpaid wages, inflated prices, and the high cost of living. When British troops opened fire on the protesters, killing three veterans, riots broke out across the territory.

The CPP

When Kwame Nkrumah supported the ex-servicemen's protest, the British jailed him, along with a host of other nationalist leaders. This led to further demonstrations. During his time in prison, Nkrumah formed the Convention People's Party (CPP) in 1949, which campaigned with "Self-Government Now!" as its slogan. The party was effective in mass mobilization, linking economic hardship to its struggle for political independence.

The movement was nonviolent, focusing on strikes and boycotts. Nevertheless, Nkrumah was jailed again. When an election was held for the Gold Coast's new legislative assembly in 1951, Nkrumah ran for election from his cell. The CPP won 34 of the 38 seats, and Nkrumah was released to lead the Gold Coast's new administration. After winning general elections in 1954 and 1956, the CPP achieved recognition of their country, renamed Ghana, as an independent member of the Commonwealth and the UN.

Cracks in the regime

Nkrumah's Independence Day speech was full of hope, not just for Ghana's future but for Africa as a whole. However, cracks soon began to appear in his new regime. The main opposition party, the Ghana Congress Party (GCP), recruited a number of dissidents from the CPP, disillusioned with Nkrumah's authoritarian, messianic attitude. Nkrumah responded by founding a republic in 1960, with the CPP as Ghana's only political party.

By 1966, corruption, huge foreign debt, and declining living standards had left Nkrumah's dream of pan-African socialism in tatters. On February 24, Nkrumah was deposed by the National Liberation Council, led by army general Joseph Ankrah. Many coups and decades later, Ghana would finally become a stable democracy in 1981.



Kwame Nkrumah

Born in 1909, Kwame Nkrumah was a radical politician and the architect of Ghana's independence. After studying in the US and Britain, Nkrumah returned to the Gold Coast ready to fight for the colony's right to self-governance.

Nkrumah also had grander plans. He believed that in achieving independence, Ghana might inspire other African colonies to do the same. Nkrumah yearned to create a pan-African socialist state, with himself at its helm. He even dreamed of inspiring Black Americans to achieve racial emancipation.

However, Nkrumah's autocratic tendencies alarmed Ghanaians. After he outlawed opposition parties in 1960, there were several attempts to assassinate him. When he was ousted, his entourage abandoned him, and he moved to Guinea, where he lived out his exile. Nkrumah died of cancer in 1972 and was buried in his hometown of Nkroful.

Key works

1963 Africa Must Unite**1968** Handbook ofRevolutionary Warfare**1968** Dark Days in Ghana



THIS IS A NEW DAY IN AFRICA THE YEAR OF AFRICA (1960)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Africa

BEFORE

1918 US president Woodrow Wilson sets out his Fourteen Points, promoting free trade, democracy, and selfdetermination for colonies as vital to peace after the clash of empires in World War I.

1945 Within weeks of World War II ending, the fifth Pan-African Congress, held in Manchester, UK, demands the independence of African, Asian, and West Indian colonies.

1947 The 20th century's most populous colony, India, breaks from Britain.

AFTER

1976 The Seychelles becomes the last British African territory to declare independence.

1977 Djibouti secedes from France and is the final African colony to gain autonomy from a European power. uring the unprecedented year of 1960, 17 African colonies became independent nations. It was a decisive and momentous reversal of a historic trend. There had been a great deal of intervention in African affairs for much of the 13 centuries before 1960, first by Arabs through the trans-Saharan slave trade, and later by Europeans through the transatlantic slave trade.

Crowds gather in the streets of

Nouakchott, Mauritania, to celebrate the country's independence from France in November 1960. Mauritania became a member of the United Nations in 1961. When the last official slave ship sailed from Africa in 1866, it was hoped that foreign interference would end. However, in place of the slave trade, the leading European nations divvied up the whole of Africa at the Berlin Conference in Germany in 1884–1885. By 1908, Africa was a patchwork of 50 colonies, providing direct access to its abundant raw materials.

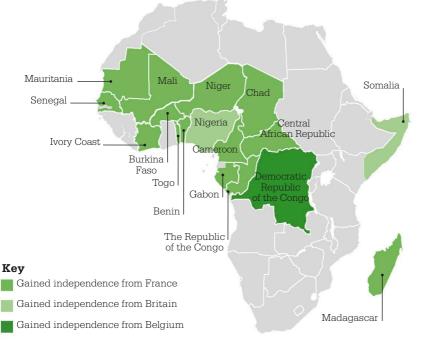
The birth of a dream

Despite their fierce resistance, African nations were unable to throw out the Europeans, but at the first Pan-African Congress, held in London in 1900, the dream



See also: The trans-Saharan slave trade 60–61 • The birth of the Atlantic slave trade 116–121 • The scramble for Africa 222–223 • Pan-Africanism 232–235 • Ghana declares independence 272–273 • "Zik" and independent Nigeria 286–287

After World War II, European nations and the US felt pressure to fulfill the promises they had made to secure African support. The 17 African nations that gained independence in 1960 gave hope to other Africans still fighting for autonomy.



of independent Black nations was first articulated. The first African colony to achieve this was Egypt, which gained independence from Britain in 1922.

In 1941, the United States and Britain agreed the wartime Atlantic Charter, which supported the selfdetermination of all people. British prime minister Winston Churchill attempted to argue that this did not apply to Britain's colonies. However, India broke away from Britain in 1947. Later, in 1957, Pan-Africanist president Kwame Nkrumah led Ghana to independence from Britain.

The year of independence

The avalanche of 1960 was really precipitated by President de Gaulle's 1958 French constitution. It gave France's colonies a path to independence, which French Guinea immediately took. The majority of countries waited a little longer.

The British government predicted what was about to happen. The head of information in the Colonial Office, Owen Morris, declared that "1960 will be a year of Africa." In a cascade, 14 French colonies asserted their independence: Cameroon, Togo, Madagascar, Benin, Niger, Burkina Faso (at the time Upper Volta), Ivory Coast, Chad, Central African Republic, Republic of the

Somali women wave their national flag during a ceremony celebrating the anniversary of Somalia's independence. British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland territories were unified in 1960.

Congo, Gabon, Senegal, Mali, and Mauritania. At a stroke, the French Empire was broken.

The British were not all that far behind. Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, on a visit to South Africa in February, spoke of "the wind of change" blowing through the continent. Two British colonies, Somalia and Nigeria, joined the 14 French ones in July and October. The Belgian Congo gained independence in June, becoming the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).

For Pan-Africanists everywhere, the future seemed bright. In December, the United Nations stated the necessity of bringing colonialism to an end. Yet many problems still lay ahead. White minority rule did not end in Rhodesia and South Africa until 1979 and 1994 respectively. And African self-determination would all too often be characterized by military coups, brutal regimes, and long dictatorships. But for now there was unbridled hope. It was a time when Kwame Nkrumah could say, as he did on September 23, 1960, "This is a new day in Africa."



NOGENDER JUSTICE WITHOUT JUSTICE WITHOUT RACIAL JUSTICE THE RISE OF BLACK FEMINISM (1960s–1970s)



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religion, national origin, or sex.

1985 *The Heart of the Race.*

a collection of testimonies

by Black women in Britain,

2013 The Black Lives Matter

by Black queer women Opal

Tometi, Alicia Garza, and

Patrisse Khan-Cullors

movement is formed in the US

is published in the UK.

AFTER

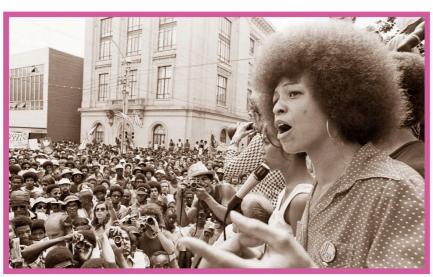
IN CONTEXT Mainstream feminism is chiefly concerned with LOCATIONS white women and white men having equal rights. United States, UK, worldwide BEFORE 1851 Sojourner Truth insists Black women need their **own** on Black women's equality in a form of feminism because they are subjected to speech at the Women's Rights race-based oppression as well as gender-based Convention in Akron. Ohio. oppression. **1920** The Nineteenth Amendment to the US Constitution grants voting rights to some women. There is no gender justice 1964 In the US, the Civil without racial justice. Rights Act bans employment discrimination based on race,

n the second half of the 20th century, women in many parts of the world began to increase their analysis and exposure of the ways in which men and the patriarchal system controlled women in both public and private spheres. They published feminist literature, set up consciousnessraising groups, and organized political protests to demand change. To begin with, the largely white Women's Liberation movement focused on gender, without acknowledging the particular struggles faced by Black women and women of color, or the ways in which white Western women benefited from a white supremacist structure.

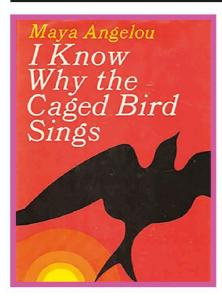
Black power

In parallel with the Women's Liberation movement, the Black Power movement was taking hold in the US and the UK. Black power organizations promoted Black pride and self-reliance, demanding Black control of health care, housing, and education serving Black people. Initially, they reinforced traditional gender roles, calling for women members to stand behind rather than alongside their Black brothers.

Marxist and feminist Angela Davis addresses a Black power rally in Raleigh, North Carolina, in 1974. Davis's radicalism alienated many white feminists.



See also: Abolitionism in the Americas 172–179 Pan-Africanism 232–235 • The March on Washington 282-285 • The Black Power movement 288-289



Although such attitudes were later challenged—and the leaders of the British Black Panthers included a woman. Althea Jones-Lecointe. in the early 1970s-gender justice was secondary to the Black Power cause. It was men who continued to dominate the agenda setting and decision making.

Unique experiences

The dual oppression of being both Black and a woman was not being addressed by either the feminist movement or the Black power organizations. Similarly, Indigenous women in newly independent nations in Africa and Asia found themselves subjugated by the men in their organizations, even when they had fought shoulder to shoulder during liberation struggles. White, often middle-class feminists in the US and Europe often stereotyped these women as poor, illiterate, and vulnerable, and tried to impose their own brand of feminism on them without considering their particular needs and circumstances. Some

Maya Angelou's I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings (1969) describes the racial and sexual brutality the author experienced as a Black American girl growing up in the Deep South.

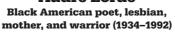
Black feminists, such as American activist Angela Davis, recognized this as a new kind of imperialism.

Womanism

White feminists' disregard for racial issues, alongside Black women's perception of gender struggles as divisive and anti-men, stopped many Black women from identifying as feminists. In recognition of this. in 1979. Black American writer and poet Alice Walker coined the term "womanist" to describe a Black feminist or feminist of color who rejected the gender segregation promoted by many white feminists.

In 1989, American feminist scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the word "intersectionality" to describe how one person can experience overlapping layers of oppression. The term has since been used to describe how different aspects of identity, such as race, sexuality, class, wealth, disability, and religion, interact. »

The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. Audre Lorde Black American poet, lesbian,





Alice Walker

The youngest of eight children. Alice Walker was born in Eatonton, Georgia, in 1944. After attending the town's only high school available to Black students, she studied at Spelman College in Atlanta, and Sarah Lawrence College in Bronxville, New York state. While at Spelman, she met Martin Luther King, Jr., who persuaded her to join the civil rights movement.

After graduation, Walker became a writer-in-residence at various higher education institutions. and in 1970 published her first novel, The Third Life of Grange Copeland. Walker has since published short stories, essays, poetry, and novels, including The Color Purple, which won the Pulitzer Prize in 1982. Set in the Deep South in the 1930s and '40s, the novel follows a young Black woman grappling with a patriarchal and white supremacist society.

Key works

1981 You Can't Keep a Good Woman Down **1982** The Color Purple 1983 In Search of Our Mother's Gardens

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Wage inequality

Equal pay is a feminist issue, but

Black women suffer a double penalty for being female and for being Black. In 2018, the US Census Bureau reported that, on average, Black women earned 62 cents for every dollar a white man made, while white women earned 79 cents. In the US, almost 80 percent of Black mothers are the primary wage earners for their families. Without the pay gap, they could pay more for childcare.



Black feminist organizations began to emerge in the 1970s. In 1974, the Combahee River Collective, a Black feminist lesbian socialist organization, was formed in Boston, Massachusetts, in reaction to the fact that the civil rights and white feminist movements had both failed to address the specific needs of Black women.

Black women rise

Prominent Black feminist thinkers and activists began to emerge in the US, including writers Angela Davis, Audre Lorde, and Maya Angelou, and Black Liberation Army member Assata Shakur. They offered foundational contributions to critical race theory-the belief that legal institutions are inherently racist, designed to further white people's interests and compound the marginalization of Black people. It attempted to provide a framework for abolition of this injustice by focusing on mutual aid rather than incarceration and punishment.

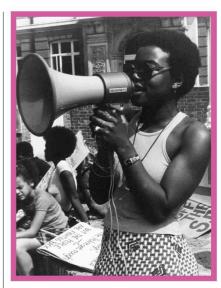
In 1981, Black American writer and activist bell hooks published *Ain't I a Woman? Black Women and Feminism*, its title a reference to Black abolitionist and suffragist

The Combahee River Collective

Formed in 1974 in Boston, Massachusetts, the Combahee River Collective began as an offshoot of the National Black Feminist Organization. Its aim was to address the multiple discriminations that Black women faced.

In 1977, the collective released the Combahee River Collective Statement, setting out the impact of overlapping systems of oppression on Black women. These included racism, sexism, imperialism, and capitalism. The 3,800-word document used the term "identity politics"—the political pursuit of a group's particular interests—for the first time.

The statement became a cornerstone of Black women's consciousness-raising events, including retreats organized by the collective. The collective disbanded in 1980, but its statement is still upheld as one of the clearest and most powerful explanations of multiple forms of systemic oppression.



Black British feminist Olive Morris campaigns outside Brixton Library in London, in 1978. A key member of the British Black Panther movement, she later cofounded OWAAD.

Sojourner Truth's "Ain't I a Woman?" speech at the Women's Rights Convention in Akron, Ohio, in 1851. The book explores how the legacy of slavery and white-led, middle-class movements for women's suffrage still affected Black women's lives in the 1970s. It was seminal to the school of Black feminist thought.

In the UK, West Indian activist Claudia Jones campaigned against racism in employment, education, and housing. Deported from the US for communism and anti-racism activities, the Trinidadian-born journalist had arrived in the UK in 1956. In 1958, she founded the West Indian Gazette, the UK's first campaigning Black newspaper. The same year, she organized a celebration of Caribbean culture in the Camden area of London to raise funds to pay the legal fees of young Black people caught up in the Notting Hill riots—white attacks over five nights on Black people and businesses in the

neighborhood. The celebration went on to become the Notting Hill Carnival, one of Britain's biggest annual festivals.

The 1970s saw the emergence of the Black Women's movement in Britain, which held marches, strikes, sit-ins, and other demonstrations. Grassroots groups included the Brixton Black Women's Group and the Organization for Women of Africa and African Descent (OWAAD), later changed to African and Asian Descent in recognition of the racism experienced by Asian women living in Britain.

OWAAD placed issues relating specifically to Black women, often matters of survival, at the top of its agenda: fair wages for work done outside the home, such as cleaning, where Black women's rights were often unprotected; and the provision of government recognized childcare facilities for Black women workers. OWAAD also campaigned against medical testing on Black women, police brutality, and perverse use of immigration law.

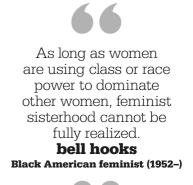
The period saw Black activists and campaigners such as Olive Morris, Beverley Bryan, and Stella Dadzie rise to prominence in the UK. Meanwhile, in continental Europe, Afrofeminism took hold, which sought to contextualize the experiences of Black women living in countries with colonial histories. Groups such as the Pan-African Mwasi-Collectif, currently active in France, and the Cruel Ironies Collective, in the Netherlands, sprang out of the Afrofeminism movement of the 1970s.

New needs

Black women's organizations did not always make lesbians welcome, as was demonstrated at the 1981 OWAAD conference, where plans for a lesbian workshop were met with hostility and insults. Black lesbian feminists began to carve out distinct spaces for themselves. In the UK, the Black Lesbian Group was formed in 1982, the Black Lesbian Support Network in 1983, and Zami I, the first national Black lesbian conference, was held in London in 1985.

In the US, Salsa Soul Sisters, formed in 1974, was one of the first explicitly multicultural lesbian organizations. Aimed at Black American and Latina women, it arose out of tensions between Black



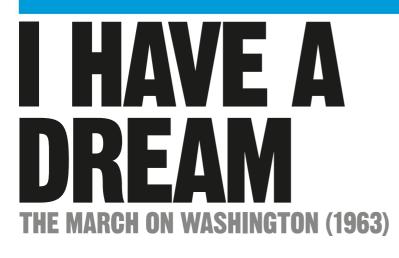


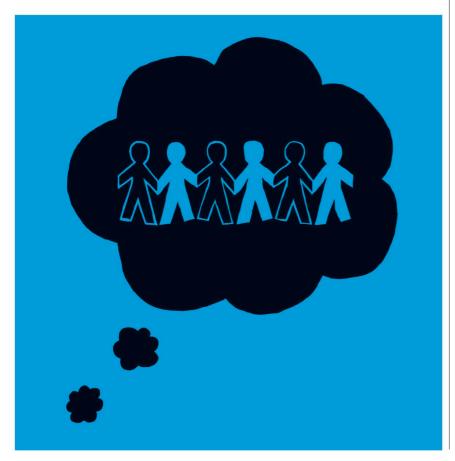
lesbians and heterosexual Black feminists as well as white members of the LGBTQ+ community.

Black feminists continue to fight for the specific rights and interests of Black women, exposing ongoing injustices such as lower earnings and poorer health outcomes. Writers such as Reni Eddo-Lodge in the UK, who published Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People About Race, in 2017, continue to expose structural racism Black women and the oppression they face do not fit neatly into mainstream political and social movements. They are expected to leave essential parts of themselves at the door and get behind either gender justice or racial justice. Black feminist scholars and organizations are seeking to create frameworks for understanding Black women in their entirety. From as far back as enslavement right through to today, Black women have resisted a reductive path to freedom.

British writer Reni Eddo-Lodge (left) and Brazilian feminist and philosopher Djamila Ribeiro share a platform at the WOW (Women of the World) Festival in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 2018.

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IN CONTEXT

LOCATION United States

BEFORE

1948 The US spearheads the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but it has little immediate impact on Black Americans.

1955 Rosa Parks is arrested for refusing to give up her bus seat to a white passenger in Montgomery, Alabama.

1960 In North Carolina, Black students begin a sit-in to demand desegregation at a Woolworth lunch counter.

AFTER

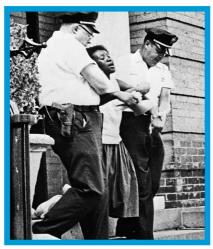
1964 The Civil Rights Act guarantees equal employment rights for all, bans segregation in all public places, and outlaws discrimination in voter qualification tests.

1965 President Lyndon B. Johnson signs the Voting Rights Act, which bans all discriminatory practices that prevent American citizens from exercising their right to vote.

1968 The Fair Housing Act bans discrimination in the sale, rental, and financing of homes in the US.

n August 28, 1963, some 250,000 Americans, including white and Black civil rights campaigners, religious leaders, and celebrities, assembled in front of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., to join a march to proclaim the rights of Black Americans to jobs and freedom.

See also: Jim Crow 216–221 • *Brown v. Board of Education* 264–267 • The Black Power movement 288–289 • Global antiracism campaigns 306–313



For the "crime" of protesting against racial segregation in a library reserved for white people in Albany, New York, a Black woman is arrested in 1962 and carried out by police officers.

In the years leading up to the march, discriminatory Jim Crow laws had continued to severely limit economic and political opportunities for Black Americans. Despite some judicial victories, such as the 1954 Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* that segregation in schools was unconstitutional, most Black children still attended segregated schools and Black people throughout the US remained victims of segregation, poverty, and racially motivated killings.

Little had changed

US government statistics for 1959 had shown that 54.9 percent of Black Americans lived in poverty, compared with 20 percent of the population as a whole. Segregated schools still persisted because the federal government had few mechanisms to enforce the law if school districts and municipalities refused to integrate. Lynching had declined by the late 1950s, but violence against Black people had not disappeared. Few could forget the death of 14-year-old Emmett Till—beaten, maimed, and shot by two white men in 1955 for allegedly offending a white woman in a grocery store. Herbert Lee, an activist with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), was gunned down by a Mississippi state legislator in September 1961. In May 1963, police attacked children during a civil rights demonstration in Birmingham, Alabama. In July, six weeks before the march, Medgar Evers, an NAACP official, was assassinated in Jackson, Mississippi, Such events fueled public anger as the day of the march approached.

Making it happen

The two principal organizers of the march were civil rights activists Bayard Rustin and A. (Asa) Philip Randolph, who was also a veteran trade unionist. By 1963, theirs and other strident voices from the Black community were beginning to be heard on Capitol Hill. »

We are not a mob. We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom.

A. Philip Randolph Speech at the March on Washington



Bayard Rustin

Born in 1912 in West Chester, Pennsylvania, Rustin was brought up by his maternal grandparents, whose political and religious convictions shaped his later activism. In 1936, while a student in New York City, he briefly joined the Young Communist League. In the 1940s, committed to nonviolence, he joined the Fellowship of Reconciliation, cofounded the Congress of Racial Equality, and studied Gandhi's teachings in India.

Rustin's pacifism led him to be a conscientious objector. He was imprisoned during World War II for his refusal to serve in the US Armed Forces. From 1953 to 1965, he was executive secretary of the War Resisters League. From the mid-1950s, Rustin was a close associate of Martin Luther King, Jr., and a chief strategist for the March on Washington. In the 1970s and 1980s, he worked as a human rights and gay rights advocate. Rustin died in 1987.

Key works

 Internacial Primer Down the Line I Must Resist: Bayard Rustin's Life in Letters

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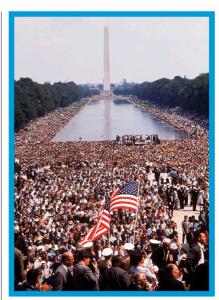
Anger increases among Black Americans, who face **disproportionate** poverty and continuing segregation In 1963, civil rights leaders organize for a **mass march** to highlight the need for effective civil rights legislation. The **assassination** of activist Medgar Evers and police attacks on young civil rights demonstrators in Alabama further **increase** public anger. A quarter of a million **people** join the march, calling for justice and equality for Black Americans. The powerful protest greatly influences **public opinion** and the passing of the **Civil Rights Act** in 1964.

In March 1963, Attorney General Robert Kennedy had discussed race relations with Black American writer James Baldwin and other prominent Black writers and thinkers. On June 11. President John F. Kennedy declared that he would press for new civil rights legislation. Eleven days later, however, Kennedy summoned civil rights leaders in a bid to dissuade them from leading a march that he felt could end in violence, Randolph, Rustin, and other leaders refused to capitulate. The president finally endorsed the march, and his brother Robert liaised with its organizers to help ensure it was a peaceful event.

Powerful voices

The huge gathering was supported and sponsored by all of the country's major civil rights organizations, including the Congress of Racial Equality, the NAACP, the National Urban League, the Negro American Labor Council, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). They set out 10 demands, which included the desegregation of school districts, a national minimum wage, and fair employment and housing policies. Rustin was the chief organizer and deputy to Randolph, who was the director of the march.

In the lead-up to the main event, celebrated performers, such as Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, and gospel singer Mahalia Jackson, entertained the crowds. Odetta, who helped inspire the folk music revival of the late '50s and '60s, sang a striking Black American spiritual. Its refrain, "And before I'd be a slave, I'd be buried in my grave, And go home to my Lord and be free," resonated with her audience. In the afternoon, Randolph introduced a succession of speakers. They



A vast crowd of demonstrators line the Mall in Washington, D.C., as Martin Luther King, Jr., and other key speakers deliver their powerful rhetoric from the Lincoln Memorial.

included Black and white civil rights and union activists, as well as Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish religious leaders, and just two women—American-born French entertainer Josephine Baker and journalist Daisy Bates. Some were relative newcomers to the struggle for Black equality. Others had opposed racism for decades. Two speakers—John Lewis of SNCC and Martin Luther King, Jr., from the SCLC—electrified the audience.

Lewis's speech was a stinging indictment of contemporary party politics and critical of the Civil Rights Bill being debated in Congress, which he deemed too weak. He declared that it offered neither protections for civil rights workers jailed throughout the South for their activism nor assistance to the nation's poorest Black workers. Lewis encouraged the audience to participate fully in the political revolution sweeping the nation

and vowed to continue his peaceful protest if a robust civil rights bill were not passed.

A vision of hope

Martin Luther King, Jr., was the last speaker of the day. For years he had addressed smaller gatherings and delivered earlier versions of his "I Have A Dream" speech, but this occasion would be the one that everyone remembered. King noted that, despite the abolition of slavery a century earlier, Black people in the US were still shackled by economic and political oppression and denied equal opportunities and their constitutional rights.

In northern cities, Black Americans suffered in isolated, segregated ghettos. In the South, they chafed under Jim Crow laws which prevented them from participating in electoral politics. King declared that the only avenue left for them was direct, nonviolent demonstrations. His speech offered no policy statements or suggestions, but it did urge audience members to recommit to political activism when they returned home. Most crucially, it offered a vision of hope for what the US could be—a country in which people of all races, cultures, and religions could participate equally and benefit from the ongoing democratic experiment.

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom was the pinnacle of the civil rights movement in the United States. The quarter of a million marchers, white and Black, had collectively declared that barriers to Black Americans' full participation in electoral politics and equal economic opportunities must be removed. They also proved that nonviolent demonstrations on a huge scale can be a powerful weapon in the fight for social justice.

Still a dream

Most Black Americans today have full voting rights but continue to struggle in other ways. Despite an increase in the number of Black millionaires and billionaires, in 2019 Black people represented 12.2 percent of the American population but 23.8 percent of those living in poverty. The Black American median household income still trails significantly behind that of other ethnicities. In 2018, Black Americans made up 33 percent of the prison population—nearly triple





Born in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1925, in a prominent Black Baptist home, King studied theology at Boston University. In 1955, he became a pastor in Montgomery, Alabama, and led a year-long mass action that ended racial segregation on the city's buses. In 1957, he cofounded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), an association of Black ministers committed to social justice. The same year, the SCLC and other Black civil rights groups organized the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom, calling for enforcement of the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education



Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. **Martin Luther King, Jr.**

Speech at the March on Washington



their 12 percent share of the general population. At the end of 2020, Black people were also twice as likely as whites to be killed by police.

King's dream remains elusive and Black people have yet to achieve all the goals sought by the speakers at the March on Washington. However, the event had a huge impact on the nation and its politicians, influencing members of Congress to back the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act the following year, helping give Black Americans more equality in the land they call home.

decision. A vocal anti-poverty and anti-war advocate, King was awarded the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize for his antiracist activism. He was assassinated in 1968 while backing the rights of striking sanitation workers in Memphis, Tennessee.

Key works

1958 Stride Toward Freedom
1959 The Measure of a Man
1963 Letter from A
Birmingham Jail
1964 Why We Can't Wait



INDEPENDENCE HAS COME "ZIK" AND INDEPENDENT NIGERIA (1963)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Nigeria

BEFORE

c. 1861–1914 Britain's colonial presence in West Africa expands, and Northern and Southern Nigeria amalgamate.

1958 The first All-African People's Conference takes place in Ghana.

1960 Nigeria gains independence from Britain.

AFTER

1966 Interethnic struggles lead to killings and military coups; Nigeria's first republic collapses.

1970 The Biafran separatists surrender, ending the civil war.

2002 The African Union is formed—an alliance of 53 African states.

2009 Islamist terrorist group Boko Haram launches a jihad in Nigeria, killing thousands, and kidnapping 274 schoolgirls from Chibok in 2014. n 1963, Nigeria was declared a republic, and Dr. Benjamin Nnamdi Azikiwe ("Zik") became president. He was one of the most outstanding African nationalists and statesmen of the 20th century.

Pointing to Abraham Lincoln as a source of inspiration, Azikiwe's primary goal was to promote racial emancipation. Throughout his career, he called for the educated African elite to seek social justice and better conditions for all underprivileged people of African descent everywhere. Unity among



The British divided Nigeria into three distinct ethnic regions in 1939, in the hope that this would help to ease tensions between the country's major groups. Africans, he insisted, was essential to improving their socioeconomic and political development.

Rise to power

A far-reaching political realignment in the early 1950s polarized Nigerian politics into three major ethnicbased political parties—the Action Group (AG) in the west, the Northern People Congress (NPC), and the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons (NCNC) in the east. The formation of political parties along ethnic lines would thwart Azikiwe's vision of Pan-African unity and influence Nigeria's postcolonial political trajectories.

In October 1960, on the eve of Nigeria's independence, Azikiwe's NCNC (which had now changed its name to the National Council of Nigerian Citizens) forged a coalition with the leading party, the NPC. This guaranteed Azikiwe's appointment as senate leader. He became the first Indigenous governor-general of the country from 1960 to 1963, and served as the first president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria from 1963 to 1966.

Life in independent Nigeria was a mixed bag of progress and decay. Despite its divisive politics,

See also: The scramble for Africa 222–223 ■ Pan-Africanism 232–235 ■ The Women's War of 1929 252 ■ The Year of Africa 274–275

its leaders were eager to improve socioeconomic conditions. The discovery of oil in 1956—and profits from its commercial productionallowed for infrastructural development, and new roads, hospitals, and schools were built at a furious pace. In 1963, there were 5,148 students enrolled in college, compared with 1,395 in 1960. The economic growth of 6 percent in 1964 outpaced the expected growth of 4 percent. However, incremental progress did not satisfy the high expectations of the people, and interethnic competition for power among the ruling elite intensified.

Civil war and aftermath

Political instability led to a military coup on January 15, 1966, swiftly followed by a countercoup, and pogroms of the Igbo people. Nigeria plunged into economic and political collapse. Civil war erupted when three states of the Eastern Region, populated mainly by the Igbo people, declared secession under the name of the Republic of Biafra. These areas were populated mainly by the Igbo people. The government declared war, fearing that secession would cut its access to the vital oil revenues in the southeast.

As a champion of African unity and a nonviolent approach to politics and change, Azikiwe was opposed to the war. but traveled extensively in a bid to win support from other African countries to help his fellow Igbo people. Before it ended in 1970, the war would claim more than a million lives. Famine in the secessionist enclave caused by a federal blockade, was responsible for most of these deaths. Media coverage prompted international aid. but Azikiwe realized that a Biafran victory was now impossible, and switched to support the federal side in 1969, determined to play an active part in shaping politics after the war.

President Nnamdi Azikiwe saluting at a military parade in Lagos, Nigeria, in 1964. His presidency came to an end with the collapse of the first republic in 1966.





Nnamdi Azikiwe

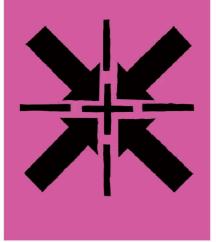
Born to Igbo parents in 1904, Nnamdi Azikiwe was predicted by fortune-tellers to have a great future. From an early age, he knew the value of Western education in the neocolonial world. In the US, he earned degrees in political science and anthropology, exploring African experiences of European colonialism.

In 1934, Azikiwe became editor of the *African Morning Post*, a newspaper in Ghana. Returning to Nigeria in 1937, he founded a string of newspapers to fight colonial subjugation and stimulate nationalism. He joined the Nigerian Youth Movement and went on to found the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons in 1944. He inspired activists who formed the "Zikist Movement" in 1946, and his political stature eventually led him to the presidency.

From 1966, Nigeria was ruled by military regimes until 1979. After two failed bids for the presidency, Azikiwe retired in 1983. Revered as a founding father of Nigeria and "the Great Zik of Africa," he died in 1996.

Key works

1937 *Renascent Africa* **1970** *My Odyssey*



A NEW SOCIETY MUST BE BORN THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT (1966–1974)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION United States

BEFORE

1954 "Black Power" first appears in print as the title of a work by Black American Richard Wright. In 1966, Black activist Stokely Carmichael adopts it as a rallying cry.

1962 "Naturally 62," a fashion show in Harlem, New York City, featuring exclusively Black models, triggers the rise of the Black is Beautiful movement.

AFTER

1976 Black American writer Alex Haley publishes *Roots*, which excites great interest in Black American history.

1977 Andrew Young becomes the first Black American to serve as Ambassador to the United Nations.

1984 Jesse Jackson's bid for the presidential nomination attracts more Black Americans into politics.

he American civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s removed many legal barriers to Black American equality. By the mid-1960s, Black people could vote in states that, for generations, had denied them that right. They had also defeated Jim Crow. state. and local laws that legalized racial segregation, but institutionalized racism remained. Equal economic and educational opportunities were still out of reach for millions of Black Americans, who experienced police brutality, discriminatory bank lending policies, deteriorating schools, and high unemployment in overcrowded

... the Black man should control the politics and the politicians in his own community. Malcolm X "The Ballot or the Bullet," 1964 urban ghettos. During the Black Power movement from 1966 to 1974, thousands of Black Americans, many of them of college age, sought to dismantle systemic racism and create political, economic, and social power of their own "by any means necessary."

Politics and culture

Politically, Black Power groups were influenced by Muslim minister and human rights activist Malcolm X, whose nationalist ideas maintained that Black people's history, culture, and largely all-Black communities, made them a nation within the US.

Despite their common ideology, Black Power groups were local and decentralized. Organization US, in California, sought to promote African cultural values, including the study of African history and languages. Others, such as the Republic of New Africa, wanted to create an independent Black republic in the "subjugated lands" of the American South. The initial aim of the Black Panther Party was to protect Black communities in the San Francisco Bay area from police brutality but, before its decline in the 1970s, it became a more militant and revolutionary Marxist group.

DECOLONIZATION AND DIASPORAS 289

See also: Jim Crow 216–221 **•** The Harlem Renaissance 242–245 **•** *Brown v. Board of Education* 264–267 **•** The Montgomery bus boycott 270–271

Socially, Black Power activists argued that Black American culture should be used as tools for Black liberation and to help Black people work through and replace feelings of inferiority engendered by centuries of crude stereotypes in the white media. Black artists responded enthusiastically.

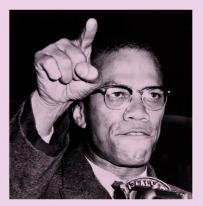
In 1968, James Brown—dubbed the Godfather of Soul—released "Say It Loud, 'I'm Black and I'm Proud,'" which became the anthem of the Black Power movement. Douglas Q. Barnett founded Black Arts West in Seattle, Washington, in 1969 and, for close to 11 years, staged theatrical performances that focused on Black identity and politics. Like many other Black visual artists, Barkley Hendricks challenged the Western aesthetic. Noting the absence of Black figures in Western portraiture, he created powerful, large-scale paintings of Black friends in works such as his 1973 "Birth of Cool."

New empowerment

The Black Power movement redefined what it meant to be a person of African descent in the US and elsewhere, where white people dictated popular culture and taste. No longer were Black people "Negro" or "Colored" isolated, powerless, and defined by slavery and white racism. The empowering movement made them a self-defined people connected to a larger African diaspora. ■

With their Black Power salute at the 1968 Olympic Games, 200-meter gold medallist Tommie Smith and bronze medallist John Carlos make a stand against racial injustice.





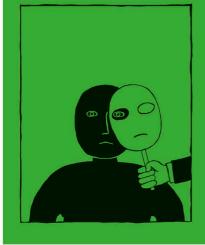
Malcolm X

Born in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1925. Malcolm Little was the son of Louise, a Grenadian American activist, and Earl, an itinerant preacher and active member of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Incarcerated after years of petty crime and drug abuse, he joined the Nation of Islam (NOI). changing his name to Malcolm X. In the late 1950s. he became the NOI's national spokesperson but split with the organization and formed Muslim Mosque. Inc. in 1964 the year he also embraced Sunni Islam, after making a pilgrimage to Mecca and taking the name el Hajj Malik el-Shabazz. He founded the Organization of Afro-American Unity the following year.

On February 21, 1965, Malcolm X was assassinated in New York City, but his ideas about Black nationalism lived on, providing an ideological framework for Black Power activists. Three NOI members were convicted of his murder.

Key works

1964 "The Ballot or the Bullet" **1965** The Autobiography of Malcolm X with Alex Haley



DENYING RACE MEANS DENYING REALITY COLOR-BLIND POLICIES IN FRANCE (1978)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION France

BEFORE.

1790 The national motto of France becomes *Liberté*, *égalité*, *fraternité* ("Liberty, equality, fraternity").

1940s Millions of immigrants arrive in France to fill job vacancies between the late 1940s and 1970s.

AFTER

1983 The first national antiracism demonstration in France is held.

2010 Face coverings are banned in public places.

2016 Black Lives Matter protests erupt throughout France after a Black citizen, Adama Traoré, dies while in police custody.

2018 The French National Assembly votes to remove the word "race" from the Constitution of France.

Color-blind policies—those that **do not take race into account**—aim to ensure **equality and integration** among a country's citizens.

However, **failure to acknowledge race** makes it more difficult for governments to address **systemic racial discrimination**.

Denying the existence of race means denying the reality of racial discrimination.

n 1978, the French National Assembly passed a law banning the collection of personal data that revealed citizens' racial and ethnic origins. As a result, French state policy rejects any references to racial, ethnic, or religious minorities. This color-blind policy is rooted in the French Republican ideals of universalism, in which citizens are expected to identify with the nation regardless of ethnic or religious identities. It is also based on the French principle of *laïcité* (secularism), which prohibits bringing religion into public affairs.

Policy of assimilation

With the largest population of Black people (roughly 1.8 million), non-white minorities, Muslim people, and Jewish people in Europe, France is undeniably a multiracial and multicultural society. During the French Industrial Revolution (1810–1870), thousands of North African migrant workers were enlisted to fill necessary job vacancies. In the years between World War I and World War II, nearly 3 million people, or 6 percent of the population, arrived as immigrants.

In order to deal with its rapidly changing demographic, the French government adopted a strict policy of assimilation and color-blind legislation. They believed that removing references to specific ethnic or religious identities would help to create equality. In 2004, a ban of "conspicuous" religious **See also:** Louisiana's Code Noir 166–167 • Black movements in France 250–251 • Black combatants in World War II 254–257 • Global antiracism campaigns 306–313 • The African diaspora today 314–315



Protesters burned buildings and cars during the 2005 riots. A national state of emergency was declared on November 8.

symbols such as Islamic veils at state schools was introduced, and in 2011, full-face veils were banned in public places.

Calls for change

Despite efforts by France to disengage with "identity politics," racial discrimination abounds in the country and has had a significant impact on minorities.

A large number of France's minorities are segregated into public housing complexes in poverty-stricken *banlieues* ("suburbs") that surround French cities. The police frequently monitor the *banlieues* and, according to a 2016 study by independent public authority Defender of the Rights, young Black and Arab people are 20 times more likely to be stopped by police than any other group.

Sibeth Ndiaye, a French government spokesperson, delivers a statement in May 2020, urging the government to collect race-based data to help inform its response to the COVID-19 pandemic.

The 2005 French riots

Beginning on October 27 in the Clichy-sous-Bois *banlieue* ("suburb") of Paris, the 2005 French riots occurred over a three-week period. On the evening of the 27th, police were called to investigate a possible break-in at a construction site, where they happened upon a group of teenagers. Chased by the police, three of the teenagers ran and hid in an electrical substation to avoid interrogation. Two of the teens were electrocuted and died; the third was seriously burned.

The clear contradiction between color-blind policies and lived reality has caused outrage among Black people in France. In 1983, the 1990s, 2005, 2016, and 2020, riots erupted in response to racial discrimination and police brutality.

A major impact of France's color-blind policy has been the erasure of minority groups from the national conversation. France has significant problems of racism, discrimination, and social and

The incident ignited rising tensions already present between minority youth in the banlieues and the police, who teens often felt unfairly targeted by. Initially confined to the Paris area, the riots then spread, affecting all 15 of France's large urban areas. The riots were responsible for the death of one person and caused losses of €200 million (\$248 million) in damaged property. Close to 2,900 rioters were arrested. Many saw France's racial and discrimination issues as the root cause of the unrest.

economic inequality, but limited tools to measure and correct them. Ultimately, a color-blind policy, as Black French activist and writer Rokhaya Diallo states, "deprives scholars and activists of a powerful tool to study the implications of racism." Minority groups within France are calling for the government to rethink its policies as the country continues to grow more diverse and racial discrimination increases.





I CAME, I SAW, I CONQUERED, I C

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION United States

BEFORE

1870s The term "drag" is first used in the UK to refer to male actors playing women—their long skirts drag on the floor.

1920s Drag balls are held in Harlem in New York City.

1969 The Stonewall Riots begin in New York City, when police clash with the city's LGBTQ+ community.

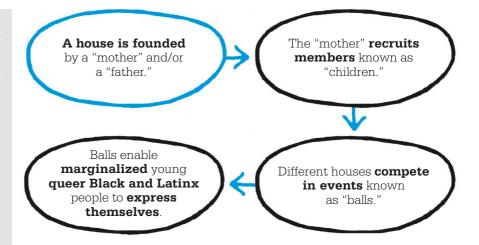
1970s Drag balls become more inclusive and expand to include the Latinx community.

1972 Crystal LaBeija founds New York City's first house, the House of LaBeija.

AFTER

1990 Madonna's *Vogue* music video is released, featuring dancers and dance moves from New York's ballroom scene.

2018 *Pose*, a TV show based on 1980s ball culture, first airs.



amily is not defined by blood, according to Hector Xtravaganza, original member of New York ball culture's House of Xtravaganza: "Family are those with whom you share your good, bad, and ugly, and still love one another in the end." A chosen family and the house you create with them are among the central themes of ball culture, also known as the ballroom scene or ballroom culture Ball culture came out of a need for solidarity among young gueer Black and Latinx people in the US, who had been excluded from their own communities and

from mainstream white gay scenes in 1980s New York. The ballroom scene offered a safe, understanding space for these young people.

Urban roots

Harlem's roaring Black nightlife in the 1920s and 1930s was a place of experimentation. Black men would dress up in women's clothing and women would dress up in menswear in lavish drag balls, where white people were invited to watch.

As drag balls evolved in the 1970s and 1980s, they became less orientated toward spectators and more focused on supporting gay **See also:** The Harlem Renaissance 242–245 = The Jazz Age 246–249 = The rise of Black feminism 276–281 = Global antiracism campaigns 306–313

Jennie Livingston's documentary Paris Is Burning (1991) drew attention to ball culture, but critics accused her of profiting from a community made up mostly of poor Black and Latinx people.

and trans communities. Racial segregation in US cities meant that Black and Latinx communities were overlooked, and LGBTQ+ people often faced discrimination and violence from their own highly patriarchal and heteronormative communities. Rejected by their families and the emerging white gay scene, they found recognition and identity in the ballroom.

Strike a pose

The 1980s defined ball culture, as prominent houses were established in New York and other US cities. They distinguished themselves by hosting competitions, or "balls." Participants compete on a runway, and are given categories based on gender and sexual identities, body presentation and fashion, and "voguing"—a style of dance that mimics the poses held by models.



Houses not only practice and compete, but often live together, too. Each "family" is led by a "mother," typically a feminine-presenting Butch Queen or Femme Queen, and a "father," typically a masculinepresenting Butch Queen or Butch (a masculine-presenting woman). As the global AIDS epidemic spread in the 1980s, health workers used the house system to distribute health and educational resources. In 1986, the House of Latex was created to offer HIV testing and education to the ballroom community.

New York City's ball culture has since expanded to include communities around the world, offering safe spaces for young LGBTO+ people of color to thrive openly as themselves in a world that has not yet accepted them.



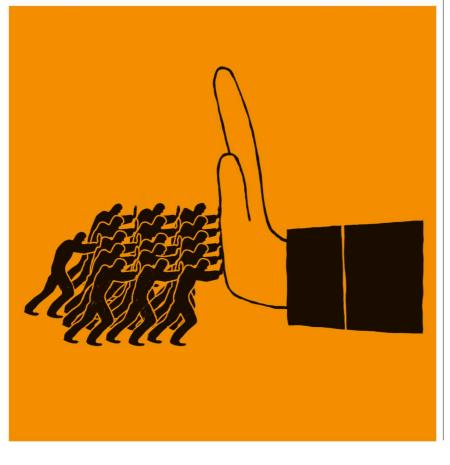
Drag queen Shea Couleé, a former *RuPaul's Drag Race* contestant, joins supporters of 2019 US presidential candidate Elizabeth Warren.

Modern drag

Drag is a vital part of ball culture, enabling people to express their identity through performance and experimentation. Modern drag artists use drag clothing and makeup to transform themselves from male to female or female to male. Drag queens and kings typically use extravagant signifiers of a range of genders, and drag shows often include lip-syncing, live singing, dance, and audience participation. Dating back to the 19th century, drag performance is now a visible part of pop culture. One example is *RuPaul's Drag Race*, a contest to find "America's next drag superstar," which was first aired on US TV in 2009. RuPaul, a Black drag queen, began her career on the ballroom circuit.

Modern drag has clear links with ball culture, with shows often using the balls' category format and queens performing dance moves derived from voguing. Modern drag's prevalence in mainstream culture has fueled LGBTQ+ activism and sparked important conversations about gender.

ENOUGH IS ENOUGH THE BRIXTON UPRISINGS (1981)



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION London, UK

BEFORE

1948 The former troopship *Empire Windrush* brings 492 Black migrants from the Caribbean to the UK. Most of them settle in Brixton, London.

1980 An uprising occurs in the St. Paul's district in Bristol, sparked by a police raid on a café popular with Black youths.

AFTER

1999 The Macpherson Report into the racially motivated murder of Black Londoner Stephen Lawrence accuses the police of "institutional racism."

2020 Marchers in cities around the world protest in support of the Black Lives Matter movement and against police racism.

y 1981, the approximately half a million Black West Indians who had migrated to Britain between 1948 and the 1960s had been settled for several decades. They had steady jobs, fulfilled their responsibilities as parents, and had little trouble with the police. Over that time, they had endured racial prejudice, poor housing, restricted job opportunities, and sometimes violence. For the most part, however. these new Britons, living in London and other British cities. weathered any economic or political storm.

The Black children who reached adulthood in the late 1970s—a period of prolonged British economic

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See also: The Rastafari movement 253 = The Windrush migration 258–259 = The police assault on Rodney King 298 = The Macpherson Report 299 = Global antiracism campaigns 306–313



and industrial decline—faced a very different prospect. By 1980, a nationwide recession was biting deep into the British inner-city districts in which they had grown up. Nearly 50 percent of Black men aged 16-24 were unemployed. Some had drifted into crime and were responsible for a growing share of the robberies, burglaries, and drugrelated offenses committed on the streets. Young Black men were now coming into conflict with a police force intent on tackling the high crime rate. This started a chain of events that in April 1981 culminated in a weekend of unprecedented rioting in Brixton—a district in the London borough of Lambeth that was the center of Britain's Black Caribbean community.

Acting on suspicion

From the outset, tackling the crime that developed in some parts of inner-city Black communities posed a particular challenge to the UK's still all-white police forces. With no contacts within those communities and no intelligence to go on, the police decided to cast a wide net **An overturned police van** burns on a rock-strewn Brixton street on the second day of the uprising, April 11, 1981. More than 100 police vehicles were damaged over three days.

that caught innocent and guilty alike. They did this by stopping and searching any Black person on the street simply on suspicion, under the provisions of a law that dated back to the Vagrancy Act of 1824.

The use of this suspect person law—or "sus"—alienated many Black people, who believed that prejudiced officers were using it to harass them unfairly. As a result, Black pressure groups sprang up, such as the Scrap Sus Campaign, founded in 1977 in the south London district of Lewisham by a group of mothers. They were angry at the way their children were repeatedly stopped by the force that served London-the Metropolitan Police (the Met). The mothers were represented by local activist Mavis Best, who visited police stations on their behalf, demanding the release of their sons in the cells. She also petitioned



members of the UK parliament to abolish the sus law, assisted by Paul Boateng, a young Black solicitor and future UK Member of Parliament (MP) for the Labour Party (see box, page 297).

On January 19, 1981, the Scrap Sus Campaign won its battle with the Metropolitan Police. In Parliament, William Whitelaw, the Home Secretary in the Conservative government, announced his aim to repeal the sus law in a new Criminal Attempts Bill. The Met, however, »

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was not about to accept defeat so readily and carried on its strategy of stop and search while the old law remained in place.

Brixton explodes

On Monday, April 6, in a last defiant use of sus. the Met chose Brixton as the place to start a massive escalation of stop and search. As if to provoke the Black residents further, the Met named the operation "Swamp 81" after the assertion by UK prime minister Margaret Thatcher that Britain's white population did not want to be "swamped by people with a different culture." The operation was meant to halt the sharp rise in street crime in Brixton, and over the next few days around 950 individuals were stopped. This resulted in little more than 100 arrests and even fewer charges. most unconnected to street crime.

In the eyes of the Black community, the police had stopped hundreds of Black people for no reason. Black youths retaliated on Friday, April 10, with a ferocious three-day counterattack. They overpowered the police with bricks, rocks, and Molotov cocktails, chased them out of local streets, and rampaged freely around the district, setting vehicles on fire, burning down buildings, and looting shops. The police only regained control in the early hours of Monday, April 13, as the rioters tired and gradually disappeared into the side streets.

Change begins

After the worst rioting in Britain for a century, it was clear that the Met's last-ditch effort to prove the efficacy of sus had failed. The clashes left hundreds of police and dozens of others injured; more than 200 police and private vehicles destroyed; and around 150 properties damaged, burned, or looted. It had taken roughly 7,000 police to quell an estimated 1,000 rioters who joined in the violence, about 250 of whom were arrested.

A shocked William Whitelaw visited the area on Sunday, April 12. Brixton people jeered him from the **Black artist Denzil Forrester**, born in Grenada in 1956, painted *Brixton Blue* in 2019. It reflects the experiences of the Brixton Black community in the early 1980s, including its vibrant music scene and the heavy police presence.

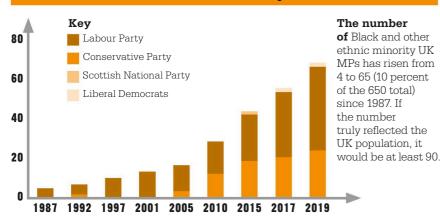
sidelines. For one of the young rioters, Alex Wheatle, who would later become a successful novelist, the trouble was effectively summed up in the Home Secretary's name. "William *White Law*. That was what the government was all about. White. Law."

Whitelaw never publicly criticized the police action up to, during, and after the riots, but he was aware that sus was the key problem. On July 27, 1981, his Criminal Attempts Bill became law, abolishing sus and ensuring that the policing of Britain's Black population would never be the same again. He also immediately set up an inquiry into the Brixton riots, headed by a judge, Lord Scarman.

In his report, published on November 25, Scarman called Swamp 81 "a serious mistake" and made recommendations aimed at increasing the local accountability of the police force. Scarman suggested the creation of liaison

For the first time, Black people like myself became leaders of councils, politicians, and community activists. Alex Wheatle British novelist (1963-)

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Number of Black and minority ethnic UK MPs

committees and advisory boards to allow the public greater input into the conduct of police operations. He also called for more action on the recruitment of Black officers and the training of white officers so they could better understand the multiracial areas they policed.

Although the recommendations in the report were only patchily implemented by Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government, some important changes were made enshrined in the Police and Criminal Evidence Act of 1984. These required police officers to exercise "reasonable suspicion" of finding something incriminating before approaching a person, and to follow stricter codes of behavior in stopping, searching, questioning, detaining, and arresting individuals.

New Black voices

The Brixton uprising was not the only one in 1981. Violence broke out in other British cities, such as Liverpool and Manchester. Different events triggered each conflagration, but all were fueled by the longstanding resentment of police stopand-search tactics. Nor did the tensions between the police and Black communities end with the abolition of sus. Serious rioting broke out again in 1985 in Brixton and Tottenham, north London, and in Leeds in 1987.

The Scarman report had far from solved racial discrimination issues, but it did initiate a wider debate, which continues today, about the impact of racial disadvantage. Politicians and community leaders, Black and white, now strove to find the best ways to improve conditions in Brixton and other urban areas and provide equal educational and employment opportunities for disaffected Black youths.

In particular, the Brixton uprising provided the platform on which a rising generation of Black Labour Party politicians built their reputations. In the days following the events in Brixton, Paul Boateng, a Black civil rights lawyer, appeared on news programs arguing the rioters' case against sus. Six years later, he was among the first three Black candidates elected to the UK parliament since the 19th century. For the first time since the arrival of the Empire Windrush in 1948, Black people finally had a direct say in the making of the laws of their land, a power which had previously been held only in white hands.

Black political trailblazers

When the Brixton uprisings took place, there were no Black UK MPs. In 1983, an activist group in the Labour Party, the Black Sections, aimed to increase minority ethnic representation in the party and in Parliament. Three Black members—Paul Boateng, Diane Abbott, and Bernie Grant won parliamentary seats in the 1987 general election.

Boateng (1951–) and Abbott (1953–) were British born. Boateng became the first Black UK Cabinet member in 2002. Abbott was a civil liberties officer and television researcher before her election as the first Black woman MP. Grant (1944–2000), born in British Guiana, moved to England in 1963, and in 1985 became leader of Haringey Council in north London.

John Stewart, the mixedrace son of a plantation owner, became the first Black Conservative MP in 1832. The second, Adam Afriyie, the son of an English mother and a Ghanaian father, was elected 173 years later, in 2005.



Bernie Grant, Paul Boateng, and Diane Abbott—and Keith Vaz, the first MP of Asian heritage since the 1920s—pose with Neil Kinnock, leader of the Labour Party, at the party's Brighton conference in 1987.



WE ARE NOT SURE THE POLICE ARE THERE TO PROTECT US THE POLICE ASSAULT ON RODNEY KING (1991)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Los Angeles, California

BEFORE

1946 Black army sergeant Isaac Woodard is blinded after being maimed by a sheriff in a South Carolina police cell. The sheriff is acquitted by an all-white jury.

1967 Black taxi driver John Smith has his ribs broken by police after they stop him on a Newark street in New Jersey. The attack prompts four days of rioting. The arresting officers are not charged.

AFTER

2009 Oscar Grant, a Black man, is shot dead by police on a Bay Area Rapid Transit platform in Oakland, California. The offending officer is sentenced to two years.

2020 George Floyd is suffocated by a police officer kneeling on his neck in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The killing sparks global outrage. t has often been the case in the United States that the police have used excessive force against unarmed Black suspects. But it was not widely known just how extreme this was until the early hours of March 3, 1991.

From a balcony in Los Angeles, an amateur cameraman filmed four officers mercilessly clubbing 25-year-old Rodney King on the ground. The footage was shown to shocked TV audiences around the world. For the first time, viewers saw with brutal clarity what frequently happened to Black Americans in police custody.

Trial and riots

After the officers pulled King over for speeding, they shot him twice with a stun gun and kicked and beat him more than 50 times for 81 seconds. He suffered broken bones, several fractures to the skull, wounds to his forehead, various bruises, and brain damage for which he was awarded \$3.8 million (£2.7 million) in compensation. The recording foreshadowed the era of the smartphone, which led to bystanders regularly recording police excesses. However, this open scrutiny did not change the way the police behaved, as the killing of Black security guard George Floyd showed a generation later. Nor did the tape improve the justice system. The four officers were acquitted by a predominantly white jury in April 1992, prompting six days of rioting in Los Angeles.

King did not support the riots, asking, "Can we all get along?" With police brutality ongoing, it's a question that still hangs in the air.

It is no longer possible ... to regard the King beating as an aberration. **Tom Bradley**

Mayor of Los Angeles (1973–1993)

See also: The Brixton uprisings 294–297 $\,$ ***** The Macpherson Report 299 $\,$ ***** Global antiracism campaigns 306–313



ZERO TOLERANCE OF RACISM THE MACPHERSON REPORT (1999)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION London, UK

BEFORE

1959 Antiguan carpenter Kelso Cochrane is stabbed by a white gang in London. Police insist the motive is robbery and never find the killers.

1965 Britain's Labour government passes the Race Relations Act, the first legislation in the UK to outlaw racial discrimination.

1967 In the book *Black Power*, civil rights activist Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture) coins the term "institutional racism" to describe anti-Black attitudes and practices.

AFTER

2005 Black student Anthony Walker is killed by two racially abusive white youths near Liverpool. Police trace the suspects immediately and they are jailed for life within the year. he racist murder of a young Black British man in 1993 fundamentally changed the pattern of race relations in the UK. In April 1993, Stephen Lawrence was waiting for a bus in Eltham, in southeast London, when he was stabbed to death by a gang of five white youths who were heard shouting racist language. Despite wide circulation of the names of the five men, and a campaign by the *Daily Mail* newspaper, London's Metropolitan Police did not bring a single suspect to justice.

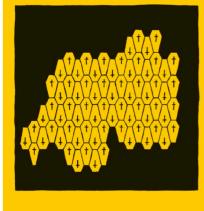
A landmark inquiry

The Labour government at the time set up the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, headed by retired judge, William Macpherson. In his landmark report in 1999, he attributed the police's failures to institutional racism within the force. His definition of institutional racism was: "The collective failure of an organization to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their color, culture, or ethnic origin." REMEMBLA 13 02/4.9

Doreen and Neville Lawrence were treated with disrespect by police during the investigation that followed their son's death. They continue to campaign for justice for Stephen.

Macpherson's recommendations were almost fully implemented and led to the conviction of two of the gang, Gary Dobson and David Norris, in 2012. Macpherson also ranged beyond the murder. He intended that all institutions be measured by the yardstick of institutional racism, and despite various ideological objections to his report, it established the framework within which UK race relations have operated ever since.

See also: The Brixton uprisings 294–297 • The police assault on Rodney King 298 • Global antiracism campaigns 306–313



IN CONTEXT

LOCATION **Rwanda**

BEFORE

1959 A violent Hutu revolution causes Rwanda to transition from a Belgian colony with a Tutsi monarchy to a Hutu-dominated republic.

1990 Government forces and the rebel group Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) clash in a large-scale civil war that ends in 1994.

AFTER

1996 The First Congo War breaks out when the Rwandan government invades Zaire (now known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo) to pursue rebel groups in exile.

1994–2015 The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, established by the UN Security Council, convicts 61 people for their roles in the genocide, including the first conviction for rape as a weapon of war.

WE WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT TOMORROW WE WILL BE KILLED THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE (1994)

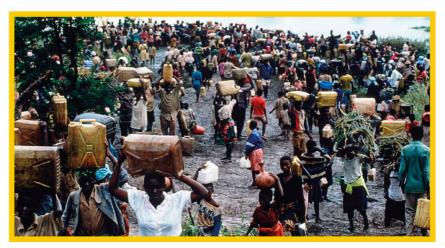
ver 100 days in 1994, around 800,000 people in Rwanda were killed by Hutu extremists. The victims were mainly members of the minority Tutsi community and some Hutu moderates who had refused to participate in the genocide.

Racial tensions

In precolonial Rwanda, the Twa were pygmy hunter-gatherers who first settled in the area. In the 5th century, Hutu farmers began to arrive, followed by Tutsi cattle herders. The population formed clans and eventually a number of smaller kingdoms. In 1899, Rwanda was colonized by the German Empire, which favored the Tutsi people. When Belgium took over Rwanda in 1918, racial identification cards were issued and the Tutsis were given preferential treatment, including privileged access to education and employment.

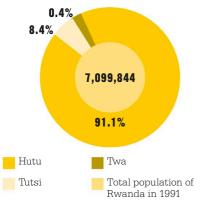
In 1959, the Hutu people rebelled and overthrew the Tutsi monarchy, forcing over 300,000 Tutsis into exile. A group of Tutsi refugees in Uganda formed a rebel

Hutu refugees after the genocide included government officials and militiamen who used Zaire's refugee camps to launch attacks on Rwanda.



See also: Europeans arrive in Africa 94–95 • The manikongo succession 110–111 • The creation of "race" 154–157 • The scramble for Africa 222–223 • The Year of Africa 274–275

In the 1991 census, Tutsis made up 8.4 percent of the Rwandan population. In the 1994 genocide, 77 percent of the Tutsi population and around 33 percent of the Twa people were killed.



group that became known as the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), which invaded Rwanda in 1990. A peace deal was agreed in 1993; however, many Hutu people, including government officials, believed that Rwanda's Tutsi minority could still pose a threat. They formed militia groups and began training them to prepare to wipe out the Tutsi people.

The immediate trigger to genocide was the downing of a plane carrying Rwandan president Juvénal Habyarimana—a Hutu—on April 6, 1994. The plane was shot down by a missile, killing everyone on board. A crisis committee headed by Théoneste Bagosora immediately took power and launched large-scale massacres that began within a few hours of Habyarimana's death.

The stained-glass installation

in the Kigali Genocide Memorial in Rwanda is known as the "Window of Hope." It commemorates the victims of the Rwandan genocide. Hutu leaders organized militia groups known as the *Interahamwe* ("those who work together") and the *Impuzamugambi* ("those who have the same goal"). Lists of "traitors" to be killed were handed out to the militia groups, and stateowned radio stations broadcast hate propaganda to incite ordinary citizens to take part in the genocide.

One day after Habyarimana's plane was shot down, 10 Belgian UN peacekeepers were killed. Most foreign troops were withdrawn and the UN was criticized by the world's press for its inaction and for failing to prevent the genocide.

Aftermath

After 100 days, the RPF defeated the Rwandan government forces. Around two million Hutu people took refuge in neighboring Zaire (now known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo). The leader of the RPF, Paul Kagame, became the country's leader and allegedly ordered revenge killings of tens of thousands of Hutu people. ■

The international community failed Rwanda, and that must leave us always with a sense of bitter regret and abiding sorrow. **Kofi Annan UN Secretary-General, 2004**





AFRICAN RENAISSANCE IS AROUND THE CORNER THE AFRICAN ECONOMIC BOOM (2000-)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Africa

BEFORE **1960** In the "Year of Africa," 17 African countries declare independence.

1971 The Nigerian government nationalizes the oil industry, which by the end of the decade accounts for 93 percent of the value of Nigeria's exports.

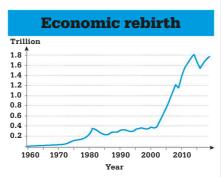
1980s African economies perform poorly in Africa's so-called "lost decade."

AFTER

2002 The African Union (AU), consisting of 53 African states, is launched to drive economic growth, peace, and cooperation across the continent.

2020 A report from the World Meteorological Organization warns that climate change could affect Africa's crop yields and shrink the economy by 2.25–12 percent by 2050.

he 1980s was a turbulent decade for Africa. Many of its countries had gained their independence over the past two decades and were struggling to build modern states after years of debilitating colonialism. Until the 1990s, much of the continent was wracked by oil-price crashes and other natural resource crises. interethnic conflict, breakdowns in public infrastructure. disease. food shortages, and the erosion of human rights. Thousands of trained professionals fled the continent for opportunities elsewhere. Despite



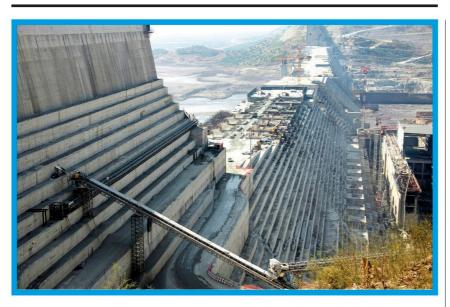
In sub-Saharan Africa, the total value of goods and services produced, known as GDP, or gross domestic product, rose slowly after 1960, fluctuated in the 1980s and 1990s, and then took off in the 21st century.

the internal and external efforts to address the problem of development, the seeming intractability of the challenges led some analysts to call Africa "the hopeless continent."

Africa rising

The African economic tide began to turn during the 1990s. Militarv and other autocratic leaderships that had brought poor governance, lack of accountability, abuse of power, and violence began to yield to more democratic forms of government. In the 20 years after 1990, the number of democracies in Africa more than doubled, bringing relative stability and freedom from totalitarian control of social and political life. At the same time, the number of conflicts—mainly civil wars—that had drained Africa of people and resources since the 1960s decreased.

Between 2000 and 2008, African GDP rose by an average of nearly 5 percent a year—double that of the 1980s and 1990s. A steep rise in the price of commodities such as oil and minerals boosted Africa's export earnings, and new freedoms encouraged entrepreneurial initiatives in telecommunications, tourism, banking, and other sectors. This was matched by concerted **See also:** The scramble for Africa 222–223 ■ Pan-Africanism 232–235 ■ The Year of Africa 274–275 ■ The African diaspora today 314–315



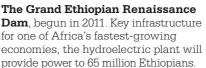
government efforts toward economic development, including the privatization of state-owned enterprises, reduced corporate taxes, and improved legal systems.

A bright future

The disparate histories, cultures, and peoples of Africa have made the path toward growth and development uneven, with some countries rich in natural resources, such as Nigeria and South Africa,

Poverty is down, opportunities are up, and stability has improved. Confidence is back. **Pascal Lamy**

Director-General, World Trade Organization, 2013



faring better than others. By 2019, Africa had six of the world's ten fastest-growing economies and annual GDP growth of 6 percent.

As well as political stability, Africa's growth is underpinned by a vital human resource—a population of almost 1.4 billion that is also the world's youngest, with half being under the age of 25. Such a youthful population is likely to help drive he rapid industrialization and urbanization taking place. Although agriculture is still the biggest sector, accounting for 14-15% of GDP, new technologies are growing along with global media access. These are fueling growth in industries such as banking, tourism, movies, and music, helping shift Africa's focus from an economy based solely on the exploitation of its natural resources.

Nairobi, Kenya

Kenya is one of the six largest economies in Africa, and its capital, Nairobi, is East Africa's economic powerhouse. The city was founded in 1899 as a colonial rail hub and soon took over from the port of Mombasa as the government center of what was then British East Africa.

Kenya won independence in 1963, and since then the population of Nairobi has grown from around 360,000 to 5 million and is projected to reach 6 million by 2030. Many people in the city work in industries that process goods farmed by the more than 40 percent of Kenyans still employed in agriculture.

Nairobi is East Africa's banking core and the African base for global companies such as Google and IBM. When economic conditions improved after 2000, the city embraced digital technologies, becoming the center of what is known as "Silicon Savannah." Since 2010, innovation initiatives have led to hundreds of tech startups and a surge of new technology hubs across Africa.



The high-rise corporate buildings in Nairobi's business district reflect the city's importance as a banking and commercial center.



YES, WE CAN! THE ELECTION OF BARACK OBAMA (2008)

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION United States

BEFORE

1968 Shirley Chisholm is the first Black woman to be elected to Congress.

1972 Chisholm runs for the presidency; she is the first Black woman to do so.

AFTER

2013 The Black Lives Matter movement is born after white American George Zimmerman is cleared of murdering Black American teen Trayvon Martin.

2015 Black employment rises, but Black Americans are still far less likely to be employed than white Americans.

2021 Kamala Harris is the first Black American, the first Asian American, and the first woman to be sworn in as US vice president.

n November 4, 2008, after a two-year campaign, Illinois senator and Democratic nominee Barack Obama was elected to become the 44th president of the United States of America—and the first Black American president in the nation's history.

When Obama entered politics, he was working as an attorney and a lecturer at the University of Chicago Law School, Illinois. In 1996, he was elected to the Illinois Senate, where he passed legislation on health care, criminal justice reform, and welfare, before being elected to the US Senate in 2004. That year, his keynote speech at the Democratic National Convention earned him international acclaim. He spoke of his personal journey how the dreams of his parents and grandparents, and their faith in a generous America, had brought

Barack Obama is sworn in as the 44th president at the US Capitol in Washington, D.C., with his wife and two daughters by his side. About 1.8 million people attended the 2009 inauguration.



See also: The golden age of Reconstruction 210–213 **•** The March on Washington 282–285 **•** The Black Power movement 288–289 **•** Global antiracism campaigns 306–313

Barack Obama



him there—and the theme of unity—the idea that Americans are "all connected as one people."

In February 2007, Obama announced he was running for the presidency in 2008. His charismatic speeches and promises to change the political system struck a chord with minority ethnic and younger voters, and led him to claim the Democratic Party nomination over Hillary Clinton. Obama selected experienced senator Joe Biden to be his running mate.

We did not come to fear the future. We came here to shape it. Barack Obama Speech to a joint session of Congress on health care reform, 2009



Born in Hawaii in 1961 to a Kenyan father and an American mother, Barack Obama spent his childhood years in Indonesia and Hawaii before moving to the mainland US, where he attended college in New York City. After working in corporate research, then as a community organizer in Chicago, he went to Harvard Law School.

Obama met his future wife, Michelle Robinson, at the Chicago law firm where they both worked. In 1996, he began his career in politics as an Illinois senator, then won a seat in the US Senate in 2004. He served two terms as

Obama's anti-war statements resonated with many who opposed President George W. Bush's decision to wage war in Iraq and Afghanistan, and his plans for affordable health care appealed to poorer voters. This strong campaign led to Obama securing 53 percent of the popular vote. In January 2009, he took the presidential oath.

Serving president

During Obama's two terms in office, he attempted to reverse many of the policies that Bush's administration had made. The executive orders Obama signed included banning the excessive interrogation methods that US intelligence agencies had resorted to in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, and restoring relations with Russia, which had deteriorated over Bush's presidency. He also reformed health care with the Affordable Care Act of 2010. which aimed to reduce the cost of health insurance to cover medical treatment. However, he was criticized for his failure to close the Guantanamo Bay detention camppresident, during which time he won the Nobel Peace Prize for international diplomacy.

Since leaving office in 2017, Obama has founded the Obama Foundation, a nonprofit body that offers support to people around the world in the form of mentoring, education, and job opportunities.

Key works

1995 Dreams From My Father **2006** The Audacity of Hope **2020** A Promised Land



The health care reforms dubbed "Obamacare" were designed to make health care affordable to more people. The number of Americans with health insurance rose by more than 10 percent.

despite global controversy over the treatment of its detainees—and for being slow to improve the economy and unemployment rates.

When Obama made his Farewell Address in January 2017, he asked the audience to believe "not in my ability to bring about change—but in yours." He closed with the words he first used in 2008: "Yes, we can."

BLACK BLACK LIVES MATTER GLOBAL ANTIRACISM CAMPAIGNS (2013)



IN CONTEXT

LOCATIONS United States, worldwide

BEFORE

1998 Former British army paratrooper Christopher Alder lies unaided for 10 minutes before dying in custody.

2006 Elderly Black American Kathryn Johnston is killed by three undercover Atlanta policemen, one of whom plants marijuana in her house.

2008 Angolan Jimmy Mubenga dies on a plane on a Heathrow runway in London, UK, as three immigration officers restrain him.

2010 A Seattle police officer shoots dead John T. Williams, a First Nations woodcarver holding a piece of wood and a closed pocket knife, but is never charged.

AFTER

2014 The revised Death in Custody Reporting Act comes into force, requiring US states to report deaths in their prisons and correctional facilities. At the end of 2020, no federal data has been published.

2020 In the US, Europe, and elsewhere, BLM supporters attack and topple statues of figures who supported slavery, oppressive colonialism, or other forms of racism.

2021 Derek Chauvin, a white former Minneapolis police officer, is found guilty of the murder of George Floyd.



n 2013, a jury in Florida acquitted vigilante George Zimmerman of second-degree murder and manslaughter for the fatal shooting of unarmed Black American Trayvon Martin, 17, the previous year. The decision sparked protests in more than 100 US cities. To express their outrage, community organizers Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi used #BlackLivesMatter as a social media hashtag, prompting the launch of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) network.

#BlackLivesMatter soon became an international rallying cry that mobilized millions of people to campaign against anti-Black racism and police brutality in the US and around the world.

Mounting anger

Zimmerman's acquittal was nothing new to Black Americans. During the 19th and 20th centuries, they had protested against many lynchings and other crimes against them to little effect. The Civil Rights Act and Voting Rights Act of the 1960s had reduced some disparities between Black and white US voters but Black Americans still faced considerable racial discrimination **Thousands of people** took to the streets of New York City and marched to Harlem in sweltering heat in the largest of many protests across the US against the acquittal of George Zimmerman.

in the criminal justice system and knew their lives were treated as less valuable.

Black communities in Europe faced similar problems. In the UK, a public inquiry had concluded in 1999 that London's Metropolitan Police Service was institutionally racist. In a 2004 German survey of ethnic groups, Black people reported far more instances of discrimination than any other group. In France, a 2012 study revealed that women of sub-Saharan origins were five times more at risk of untimely death than other native French women.

Ferguson fuels BLM fervor

#BlackLivesMatter began its transformation from a social media hashtag to a social and political movement during the summer of 2014. Two widely televised deaths prompted massive protests from coast to coast. On July 17 in Staten Island, New York, police officers confronted 43-year-old Black

DECOLONIZATION AND DIASPORAS 309

See also: Jim Crow 216–221 *■ Brown v. Board of Education* 264–267 *■* The lynching of Emmett Till 268–269 *■* The Montgomery bus boycott 270–271



I continue to be surprised at how little Black lives matter. ... Stop giving up on Black life ... Black people, I love you, I love us. Our lives matter. **Alicia Garza**

A Love Letter to Black People, 2013

American Eric Garner and accused him of illegally selling cigarettes. Garner denied any wrongdoing, but the officers arrested him and pinned him to the ground. One of them put Garner in a choke hold. Videorecorded evidence showed Garner desperately telling officers, "I can't breathe" 11 times before he lost consciousness and died. Three weeks later, on August 9, the city of Ferguson, Missouri, attracted national attention for a similar incident—the killing of 18-year-old Black American Michael Brown by a Missouri state police officer. The officer fired 12 shots, hitting Brown 6 times and fatally wounding him. Some witnesses claimed that Brown had raised his hands to show that they were empty and called out. "Don't shoot!" His death. compounded by indignation that his body was left in the middle of the street for more than four hours. ignited the city's Black community. Subsequent protests and riots lasted most of the month, as the police deployed curfews, riot squads, and tear gas to control the unrest

BLM founders organized the Black Life Matters Ride to Ferguson, the group's first in-person protest. »

As Ferguson erupts in protest against the death of Michael Brown, Edward Crawford, Jr., returns a tear gas canister fired by police who were trying to disperse the demonstration.





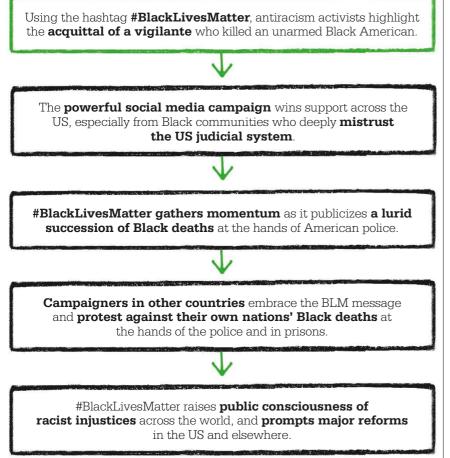
Alicia Garza

Born in 1981 in California, Garza was a mere 12 years old when she launched her first campaign, advocating for contraceptives to be available in school nurses' offices within her school district. Throughout her adolescence. she pursued social justice issues, including those affecting trans and gueer Black people; she herself identifies as queer. Garza graduated in 2002 from the University of California, San Diego, then interned with the School of Unity and Liberation. a social-justice training program which taught her skills she would later employ in grassroots community organizing.

In 2018, five years after she cofounded Black Lives Matter, Garza launched the Black Futures Lab, which aims to encourage legislators and advocacy organizations to advance local, state, and federal-level policies to strengthen Black communities. Garza also directs special projects at the National Domestic Workers Alliance.

Key work

2020 The Purpose of Power



More than 500 BLM members from across the US took part, reflecting the spread of the movement in its first year. "Hands up, don't shoot," and Eric Garner's last words, "I can't breathe!," became the protesters' rallying cries.

BLM goes global

For 10 months from August 2014 to the end of spring 2015, mass protests increased as more Black people, including Tamir Rice, Laquan McDonald, Walter Scott, and Freddie Gray, died at the hands of American police. Their deaths fueled increasing public criticism of the police's excessive use of force against Black Americans. One of the first international Black Lives Matter solidarity marches took place in November 2014 in Oxford, UK, to protest against the killing of Michael Brown a few months earlier. By March 2016, the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter had appeared on Twitter almost 11.8 million times.

Different countries took up the Black Lives Matter cry referencing their own experiences. In July and September 2015, BLM activists shut down streets in Toronto, Canada, to protest against the deaths of two Black men, Andrew Loku and Jermaine Carby, both shot by the police. In August 2015, Black Lives Matter activists blocked roads in three UK cities and halted traffic outside London's Heathrow Airport in an antiracism protest that also commemorated the fifth anniversary of the death of Mark Duggan, shot and killed by police in Tottenham, London, in 2011. In Australia, it was the case of Aboriginal woman Julieka Ivanna Dhu, who died in police custody in 2014, that sparked a BLM rally in Melbourne in 2016, attended by 3,500 people, to protest against the mistreatment of Aboriginal Australians.

The use of stop and search

In Britain, issues raised by Black Lives Matter prompted serious soulsearching—not just about instances of undue force to arrest or detain Black people, but also the disproportionate use of stop and search under Section 60 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994. The *Guardian* newspaper reported that young Black males in London were 19 times more likely to be stopped and searched than other members of the public. In 2020, those stopped in London included two prominent figures—Black Olympic athlete Bianca Williams and Black Labour Party politician Dawn

We understood Ferguson was not an aberration, but in fact, a clear point of reference for what was happening to Black communities everywhere. Black Lives Matter



San Francisco 49ers Eli Harold (58), Colin Kaepernick (7), and Eric Reid (35) kneel in 2016 before their game against the Dallas Cowboys.

Butler. This raised further public allegations of anti-Black racism. Similarly, in the US the New York City Police Department conducted more than 5 million pedestrian stops from 2002–2019—85% of which involved Black or Latinx people.

The George Floyd killing

In May 2020, the death of unarmed Black American George Floyd at the hands of the police, when he was thought to be buying cigarettes with a counterfeit \$20 bill, sparked media attention and worldwide condemnation of police brutality.

Graphic footage captured on a cell phone revealed Minneapolis Police Department officer Derek Chauvin kneeling on Floyd's neck for almost nine minutes as Floyd protested "I can't breathe!" Chauvin's colleagues stood guard and did not intervene. BLM protests spread nationwide and across the world to more than 60 countries, from Cape Town, South Africa, to Tokyo, Japan, despite restrictions imposed during the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic. In the US, up to 26 million people took part in demonstrations-the country's largest protest ever. Over

Taking a knee

In August 2016, Colin Kaepernick, a National Football League (NFL) quarterback for the San Francisco 49ers, sat during the American national anthem to protest against police brutality affecting Black men and women. Kaepernick declared that he would not stand up to show pride in a flag for a country that oppresses Black people and other ethnic minorities.

Although some condemned the action as unpatriotic, others supported Kaepernick's stand against racism. On the advice of

the 13 days that followed Floyd's death, #BlackLivesMatter was tweeted 47.8 million times—just under 3.7 million times per day.

Despite the outcry, Floyd's death was not the last such incident of 2020. In August, footage posted on social media showed police in Kenosha, Wisconsin, shooting Black American Jacob Blake seven times as he tried to enter a car where his three young sons were sitting. The shots paralyzed Blake but did not kill him Millions of people were now eager to show their support for BLM, including Olympic athletes and many other international sportsmen and sportswomen who began to wear BLM shirts and take a knee

Legal and social legacy

By highlighting and raising public awareness of injustices against Black people, BLM and other Black civil rights activists have influenced a number of policing and criminal justice reforms in the US. After Floyd's killing in 2020, President Donald Trump signed the Executive Order on Safe Policing for Safe Communities which, among other measures, bans choke holds unless former Green Beret Nate Boyer, Kaepernick knelt on one knee during the anthem the following week and did so for the rest of the season.

Kaepernick's protest gained momentum as other professional, college, and high school athletes followed his lead. In September 2017, more than 200 NFL players took a knee to protest against President Donald Trump's call for them to be fired. By 2021, athletes at major sports events worldwide were taking a knee in solidarity with the Black Lives Matter battle against racism.

There's a lot of oil on the floor waiting for a spark ... this was an explosion that was waiting to happen. **Gary Younge** Interview for the New Economics Foundation, 2020



"deadly force is required by law." Critics, however, say this does not go far enough, and should ban choke holds outright. A number of US states and districts also introduced police reforms in 2020, many also banning choke holds and several requiring the use of body cameras, and prohibiting or limiting the use of tear gas.

Louisville, Kentucky, brought in Breonna's Law to end "no knock" warrants after Breonna Taylor, an unarmed Black American woman, was shot at least five times when »

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police forced entry into her home in March 2020, without announcing who they were, to investigate alleged drug dealing (they had the wrong house). Her boyfriend, believing they were being robbed, exchanged shots with the police, and Breonna was killed.

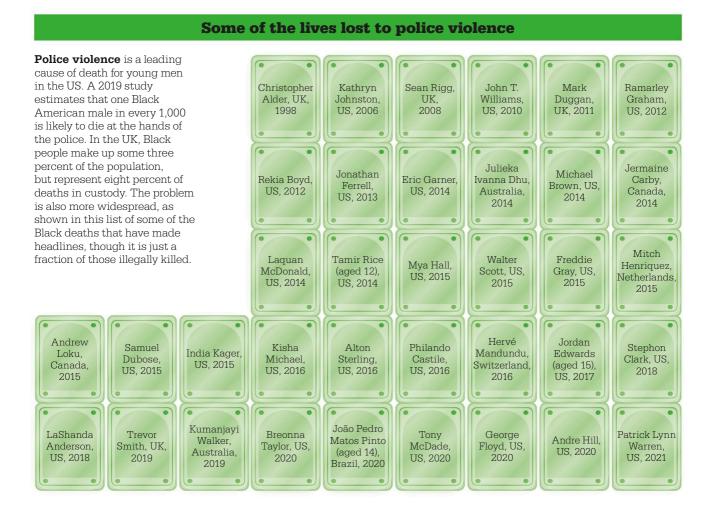
BLM v. the police

In December 2014, US police officers had responded to mounting criticism from BLM activists, with #BlueLivesMatter. Launched after the killing of two New York Police officers, it called for anyone convicted of killing a police officer to face harsher hate crime statutes. Public opinion and sympathies in the US were becoming increasingly polarized. Right-wing, law-and-order proponents were largely uncritical of police actions against Black people, but increasing numbers of BLM supporters were demanding social justice, and an end to racial bias and the police's use of excessive force.

During BLM demonstrations in 2020, many protesters advocated for police defunding. The major premise of this proposed reform is that cities should redirect the money into communities to fund services that would help to counter the root causes of crime. As a result, major cities in states such as California, Minnesota, and Texas have started to cut police budgets. The New York Police Department's budget was reduced by \$1 billion to be reallocated to other of the city's agencies involved with education, mental health, and homelessness.

Grassroots organization

BLM's 40 chapters in the US, UK, and Canada are affiliated with the nonprofit Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation. Its chapters mostly function independently, with local grassroots rather than national leaders, regularly holding rallies to proclaim its aims. While some older



Black civil rights activists argue that decentralization and reliance solely on local grassroots organizing has often led to disorder and confused messaging, BLM counters with its belief in egalitarianism and its desire for everyone involved to step up and become leaders.

The BLM movement has also deflected criticism from those who declare #AllLivesMatter. It points out that BLM simply demands equality and a level playing field for vulnerable people. The BLM mission statement asserts that its goal is to affirm and support Black men and women wherever they are on the gender spectrum and in any circumstance—queer, trans, disabled, undocumented, or with a criminal record—making a conscious effort to work for those whom society has marginalized.

A global awakening

BLM's protests have caused many to examine their own racial biases and embrace Black causes. In the US in 2020, Walmart, Disney, and Facebook were among hundreds of companies that supported BLM through public statements and

If one of the central demands of the movement is to stop killing us, and they're still killing us, we don't get to stop either.

Brittany Packnett "Black Lives Matter: birth of a movement," Wesley Lowery, 2017



A statue of Leopold II of Belgium, vandalized in a 2020 BLM protest in Ghent, is removed. Atrocities marked his rule of the Congo Free State (now the Democratic Republic of Congo).

donations to Black organizations. Many also pledged to examine their own racial bias and correct leadership and salary inequities, fostering a more diverse and representational corporate culture.

In the wake of attacks on public monuments to Black oppressors in the US and around the world, some countries are taking statues down. Some US cities have removed Confederate flags and monuments to those who supported Black slavery. In 2020, the US Congress agreed that 10 US Army bases named after Confederate military leaders should be renamed.

The BLM movement has prompted a national and global awakening to issues that have afflicted Black people for centuries. Protests that began in America are now compelling other countries to examine their own race issues and work toward change.

Black Trans Lives Matter

Integral to the BLM movement has been a bid to ensure that Black members of the LGBTO+ community are included in the fight against discrimination. #BlackTransLivesMatter seeks to highlight disproportionate violence against Black trans people—which especially impacts Black trans women and the disrespect often shown by the media. In 2020, statistics for England and Wales revealed that trans people are more than twice as likely to be victims of crime than other members of the population. Transrespect.org reported 350 trans people murdered across the world in 2019–2020. most of them in Brazil (152), Mexico (57), and the US (28); 79 percent of the US victims were Black. In June 2020, the murders of two Black trans women. Riah Milton and Dominique "Rem'mie" Fells, sparked Black Trans Lives Matter rallies across the US and the UK.



Drag entertainer Brenda Continental Milan performs in front of a photo of Chynal Lindsey, a trans woman who was murdered in 2019.



OUR ANCESTORS LIVE WITH US THE AFRICAN DIASPORA TODAY

IN CONTEXT

LOCATION Worldwide

BEFORE

650–1600 The trans-Saharan slave trade dispatches around 5,000 Africans a year to slave markets in North Africa, the Middle East, and Europe.

1510 The transatlantic slave trade between Africa and the Americas begins.

17th century Maroon communities of African freedom seekers emerge in the Caribbean and Brazil.

2003 The African Union (AU) recognizes the African Diaspora as the sixth region of the AU.

AFTER

2100 According to the UN, Africa's population is projected to increase to 4.2 billion (from around 800 million in 2000). Almost two-fifths of the world's population will be African. he African diaspora—people of African descent dispersed through the world—consists of about 170 million people. Both a modern and historical phenomenon, it is defined as people who have migrated out of Africa, particularly to the Americas, Europe, and Asia.

Africa's exodus

Today, migration within Africa exceeds that to countries outside the continent, but the diaspora still has a significant effect on the continent. Various forces—both voluntary and imposed—have driven and continue to drive this migration, from climate change, enslavement, and war to a search for economic and educational opportunities or greater political freedom. The largest African dispersals resulted from the trans-Saharan, Indian Ocean, and transatlantic slave trades, involving the transportation of an estimated 25–30 million Africans. The

Dancers at the Carnival in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, dance the samba. The samba was created by Brazil's African communities and is now a major symbol of Brazilian culture.



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See also: The trans-Saharan slave trade 60–61 = The birth of the Atlantic slave trade 116–121 = The Jamaican Maroons 146–147 = The Garifuna 162–163 = Brazil's Black movements 240–241 = Black movements in France 250–251

Modern migration from Africa has positive and negative effects on the continent. For example, the loss of people can cause a brain drain or, if the migrants are mainly male, a gender imbalance. Countries that receive migrants benefit from their skills, knowledge, and tax revenues.



countries with the highest percentages of people of African descent are those that received large numbers of enslaved people during the transatlantic slave trade, such as the US, Brazil, and countries in the Caribbean, along with those that colonized large parts of Africa, such as Britain and France.

Members of the diaspora often possess a racial, ethnic, or religious identity that transcends geographic boundaries. They are highly aware of their dispersal and may share a sense of oppression and alienation, and possibly resistance, in the countries they live in. They may also express an emotional attachment to the idea of Africa as a homeland and articulate a desire to return there.

Reinventing identities

Transplanted Africans and their descendants created new lives that blended African traditions with European and Indigenous cultures to create a new identity unique to their location. This process is often referred to as creolization Enslaved Africans and their descendants created vibrant and varied cultures throughout the Americas and Europe. Their food, language, religion, music, dance, and art all display African influences. New World religions such as Vodou in Haiti and Santería in Cuba borrow from Indigenous West African religions that existed long before the Christian and Islamic colonization of the continent. Diasporic foods and recipes have strong African roots. Dishes such as black-eved peas. gumbo, and jambalaya in the southern US have been created by adapting traditional African foods and cooking methods.

In almost every aspect of African diasporic life, connections can be drawn back to the African continent. And just as Africa helps shape the African diaspora, so the African diaspora takes African cultures to the rest of the world.

Effects on Africa

Emigration from African countries since 2000 has grown faster than from any other part of the world. This has harmful and beneficial effects on Africa. On the one hand, some of Africa's brightest talents in academia, technology, sports, and health care leave the continent. On the other, remittances-the money sent home by members of the diaspora—make a significant contribution to Africa's wealth. Nigerians alone send more than \$21 billion to Nigeria annually.

Members of the African diaspora have also been influential in the political development of Africa. The work of people such as Black American writer W.E.B. Du Bois and Caribbean writers and thinkers C.L.R. James, Frantz Fanon, Aimé Césaire, George Padmore, and Walter Rodney spurred on the African decolonization movement.

Africa is our center of gravity, our cultural and spiritual mother and father, our beating heart, no matter where we live on the face of this earth. John Henrik Clarke

Black American historian (1915–1998)



DIRECTORY



here is a vast array of influential Black people and movements who pushed boundaries and paved the way for future generations. Although it is impossible to include all of their names and stories in the main articles of this book, some of their contributions are highlighted here. Among them are activists who fought and continue to fight for greater equality for Black people, as well as renowned scientists, politicians, writers, astronauts, and sportspeople. From acclaimed novelist Alexandre Dumas to world-famous boxer Muhammad Ali, their achievements made history. Black movements, including religions, philosophies, ideologies, and labor strikes, continue to have an influence across the globe, celebrating the rich cultural heritage of Black people of all nationalities.

PEOPLE

BEACHY HEAD LADY c. 200–c. 245 CE

One of the first African women known to live in England, Beachy Head Lady got her name when her skeleton was discovered in 1953 at Beachy Head, Eastbourne, on the south coast. Forensic analysis later identified her as being of sub-Saharan origin. Given the excellent condition of her remains and the prestige of Roman Eastbourne in the 3rd century, she may have been of high status—perhaps the daughter of a wealthy trader. She died around the age of 20, of unknown causes. See also: The Romans reach Africa 38–39 Blackamoors in Tudor England 104–107

YASUKE c. 1579

The first foreign-born samurai warrior in Japan, Yasuke allegedly came from Mozambique and arrived in Kyoto with an Italian Jesuit in 1579. Despite people's initial shock at his tall stature and differing skin color, Yasuke soon became a fluent Japanese speaker and was made a samurai by Oda Nobunaga, a powerful daimyo (feudal lord) battling to unify Japan. After Nobunaga was betrayed, Yasuke is said to have lived the rest of his life in exile.

See also: Ming China trades with East Africa 102–103

DIDO ELIZABETH BELLE 1761–1804

Black British heiress Dido Elizabeth Belle is best known from a portrait of her and her cousin, Lady Elizabeth Murray. Born to a naval officer father and a formerly enslaved mother in the West Indies, Belle was taken to Britain and raised in Kenwood House by her great-uncle, Lord Mansfield, the Lord Chief Justice whose 1772 ruling decreed that enslavers could not forcibly send an enslaved person out of the country. Belle remained at Kenwood House until Mansfield's death in 1793, and then married a steward, John Davinier, with whom she had three sons. **See also:** Abolitionism in Europe 168–171

DANIEL COKER 1780–1846

In 1816, Daniel Coker helped found the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the first independent Black denomination in the US. Born Isaac Wright, he had attended school despite being enslaved, before guitting Maryland for New York and changing his name. Ordained a minister, he purchased his freedom, spoke out against slavery, and urged Black Methodists to set up their own church. He left the US in 1820 with 84 other Black Americans for Liberia. Settling in the British colony of Sierra Leone, he established a church in Freetown and remained its spiritual leader until his death

See also: Abolitionism in the Americas 172–179 • The founding of Sierra Leone 182–183 • The settlement of Liberia 200–201

NANA ASMA'U 1793–1864

A poet, Quranic scholar, and pioneering educator, Asma'u was the daughter of Usman dan Fodio, founder of the Sokoto caliphate in northern Nigeria. Educated from a young age, she became an expert in classical literature and languages, and a prolific writer. After her father was exiled, her half-brother became caliph, with Asma'u advising him on key issues. In 1830, she created a community of women teachers who taught women literature and religion in their homes, particularly in poorer, rural areas.

See also: The Fulani conquest 196–197

ALEXANDRE DUMAS 1802–1870

One of the best-known writers in French history, Alexandre Dumas was the son of a Black general in Napoleon's army and the grandson of an enslaved woman from Saint-Domingue (Haiti). He wrote many plays, novels, and short stories before finding international fame and fortune with two adventure novels. The Count of Monte Cristo and The Three Musketeers. His works have since been translated into more than 100 languages and adapted for countless films. See also: The Haitian Revolution 184-189

MARY SEACOLE 1805–1881

Born in Jamaica, Mary Seacole learned traditional medicine from her healer mother. As a teenager, she discovered European medicine in Britain, before settling in Jamaica. After her husband's death in 1844, she went to Panama to nurse during a cholera epidemic, returning to Jamaica in 1853 to care for yellow fever victims. When the Crimean War broke out that year, she set up the British Hotel for sick soldiers. Her 1857 autobiography, *The Wonderful* Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands, became a best seller. **See also:** The Jamaican Maroons 146–147

MACHADO DE ASSIS 1839–1908

One of Brazil's most influential writers, Machado de Assis worked as a printer's apprentice, and wrote in his spare time, going on to have his poems, novels, and short stories published. His 1881 novel *Memórias Póstumas de Brás Cubas* (The Posthumous Memoirs of Brás Cubas) was seen as a revolutionary literary work, cementing his reputation. In 1896, he became the first president of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, a position he held until his death. **See also:** The ending of slavery in Brazil 224–225

GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER 1864–1943

One of the most prominent Black scientists of the 20th century, Black American agricultural scientist and inventor George Washington Carver was born into slavery and was later taken in by a Black family who taught him about medicinal herbs. The first Black American to earn a Bachelor of Science degree, he went on to the Tuskegee Institute, where he developed hundreds of products using peanuts, sweet potatoes, and soybeans, as well as pioneering crop rotation ideas. In later life, Carver traveled to the South to promote racial harmony and also to India to discuss nutrition with Mahatma Gandhi among others. **See also:** Abolitionism in the Americas 172–179

ARTHUR WHARTON 1865–1930

English Football League player Arthur Wharton was one of the world's first Black professional soccer players. Moving from Ghana to the UK as a teenager, he first trained as a missionary in Darlington before trying and excelling at multiple sports. He became the fastest man in Britain in 1886, after winning the Amateur Athletics Association national 100 yards, and later became a goalkeeper for many soccer teams including Darlington Football Club and Sheffield United.

MADAM C. J. WALKER 1867–1919

Reputedly America's first Black millionairess, Madam C. J. Walker was an entrepreneur, activist, and philanthropist. Born Sarah Breedlove to formerly enslaved parents who became sharecroppers in Louisiana, she was orphaned at the age of seven, moved to Missouri as a single parent, and moved again to Denver, Colorado in 1905. There she launched her homemade line of hair and straightening products for Black women, known as "Madam Walker's Wonderful Hair Grower."

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Employing more than 40,000 staff, she donated much of her wealth to the YMCA, the NAACP, and other organizations campaigning against lynching and supporting Black American people.

See also: Black Wall Street 238–239

- The Harlem Renaissance 242–245
- The lynching of Emmett Till 268–269

SAMUEL COLERIDGE-TAYLOR 1875–1912

British composer, conductor, and political activist Samuel Coleridge-Taylor was one of the most talented classical musicians of the late 19th century. Born to a Sierra Leonean father and British mother he learned the violin from a young age and enrolled at London's Royal College of Music at the age of 15. Honing his craft, Samuel incorporated poetry into his arrangements as well as seeking inspiration from traditional African music. His unique and original sound earned him praise, and he was even invited to the White House by President Theodore Roosevelt. Despite this, composers were paid very little at the time. His financial struggles are thought to have contributed to his ill health. and he died of pneumonia aged just 37. See also: The founding of Sierra Leone 182–183

DR. HAROLD MOODY 1882–1947

One of the founders of the UK's first civil rights movement, Dr. Harold Moody was a Jamaican-born British doctor and activist. He arrived in the UK in 1904, enrolling at King's College London to study medicine. Repeatedly refused employment due to racial discrimination, Moody opened his own medical practice in Peckham, South London. In 1931, he founded the League of Coloured Peoples, which fought to improve racial equality not only in the UK but worldwide.

See also: The Jamaican Maroons 146–147 • The Windrush migration 258–259

PAUL ROBESON 1898–1976

The son of a formerly enslaved man who became a preacher, Paul Robeson was an American singer. actor, and civil rights activist. An elite football player at Rutgers University, he also obtained a law degree from Columbia University. Thwarted by racism at his law firm, he switched to the stage, and in 1928. his rendition of "Ol' Man River" earned him international acclaim. Robeson became a well-known activist in the struggle against racism and fascism, and insisted on playing dignified roles in theater and film Denied work for his views in the US, he toured widely overseas, but fell ill and returned to the US in 1963. See also: The Harlem Renaissance 242–245 • The Jazz Age 246–249 The March on Washington 282-285

CHARITY ADAMS EARLEY 1918–2002

During World War II, Adams became the first Black officer of the American Women's Army Auxiliary Corps and was put in charge of a battalion of over 800 Black women. She had been studying for a master's in psychology when she decided to enlist. After becoming the first Black female lieutenant colonel in the US Army, Adams left the military in 1946, completed her master's, got married, had two children, and served as the dean of Tennessee A&I College and Georgia State, two HBCUs (Historically Black Colleges and Universities).

See also: Black combatants in World War II 254–257 • The rise of Black feminism 276–281

JACKIE ROBINSON 1919–1972

Born in Georgia, Jackie Robinson was a star athlete at school. excelling in basketball, baseball, track and field, and football. He became a semi-professional football player, and served as a lieutenant in World War II. In 1944, he was charged for refusing to give up his seat on a segregated bus but was later acquitted. In 1947, Robinson became the first Black athlete to play Major League Baseball. By the time he retired, he had set a league record and was the highest-paid athlete in his team's history. He also served on the board of the NAACP until 1967, lobbying for racial integration in sports. See also: The Montgomery bus boycott 270-271

STORMÉ DELARVERIE 1920–2014

Pioneering activist Stormé DeLarverie was born to a white American father and Black American mother, and grew up in Louisiana before her family moved to California. She later performed in a traveling drag troupe and is said to have thrown the first punch in New York's 1969 Stonewall uprising, a catalyst for the gay rights movement. A founder of the Stonewall Veterans' Association, she continued to work as a singer and bouncer, fighting against racism and homophobia into old age. **See also:** The rise of Black feminism 276–281 • Ball culture in the United States 292–293

SERETSE KHAMA 1921–1980

Grandson of a chieftain, and later the first president of the Republic of Botswana (formerly Bechuanaland), Seretse Khama sparked controversy with his interracial marriage to Ruth Williams in the UK in 1948. After South Africa denied him entry and Britain withheld his chieftainship. Khama renounced his children's claims to the title in 1956, returned to his native land, and founded the Bechuanaland Democratic Party. On the arrival of independence, Khama was elected the new republic's first president in 1966 He introduced free universal education and strengthened the economy, and was reelected twice. See also: The gold rush in Botswana 214 The Year of Africa 274 - 275

MARIE MAYNARD DALY 1921–2003

Born in Corona, New York, to a West Indian father and American mother, Daly made history as the first Black woman to receive a PhD in Chemistry in the US and was one of the first researchers to discover that high blood cholesterol can lead to heart disease or stroke. Her father had always wanted to become a chemist but lacked the money to do so, and so Daly carried on the dream by graduating from Queens College with a degree in chemistry, then pursuing a master's in chemistry at New York University before finally getting her historymaking PhD at Columbia University.

AMILCAR CABRAL 1924–1973

Nationalist and pan-African revolutionary Amilcar Cabral was raised in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, where he witnessed drought and famine. Moving to Lisbon to study agronomy, he fought against Portugal's fascist dictatorship before returning home to work as an agronomist and founding the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC). After a strike by Bissau dockworkers, he established a military arm with Angola and Mozambique, waging war against the Portuguese in 1963. Before being assassinated, Cabral wrote extensively on agriculture and politics, and is regarded as one of Africa's most original thinkers. See also: Pan-Africanism 232–235 The Year of Africa 274–275

NICOMEDES SANTA CRUZ 1925–1992

One of the most important Afro-Latin thinkers and Peruvian poets of the 20th century, Nicomedes Santa Cruz was born in Lima and began writing poetry at a young age. Speaking out about racism and discrimination, and celebrating Black culture, history, and folk traditions, he published numerous books, short stories, essays, poetry, articles, and albums. Following the rise of a conservative military regime in Peru, he moved to Spain, where he wrote his best-known work, *La decima en el Peru*, in 1982. **See also:** Brazil's Black movements 240–241

FRANTZ FANON 1925–1961

Revered thinker Frantz Fanon was born and raised in Martinique, served in the Free French Army during World War II, and stayed on in France to study psychiatry and medicine. Working in Algeria led him to become interested in the physical and psychological effects of colonialism, and he took part in the Algerian liberation movement. Two books, Black Skin, White Masks and The Wretched of the *Earth*. are key texts on racism and colonization, combining Negritude philosophy, existentialism, and psychoanalysis. Fanon's vision of the "African Revolution" called for the total liberation of Africa, and of all those living under colonial systems.

See also: Black movements in France 250–251 • The Year of Africa 274–275

ALTHEA GIBSON 1927–2003

Born in South Carolina before moving to New York City as a child, tennis star Althea Gibson became the first Black American to win the French Open in 1956 and the first Black person to win Wimbledon in 1957. Gibson originally showed a

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talent for tennis as a child and continued playing while at the HBCU Florida A&M University on an athletic scholarship. Still a student, she became the first Black American to play at the US Open in 1950 and went on to win numerous international competitions in the US, Jamaica, France, Italy, and the UK. In 1971, she was elected to the International Tennis Hall of Fame.

CHINUA ACHEBE 1930–2013

Known as the founding father of African fiction, Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe began writing at a young age. His first book, Things Fall Apart (1958), was so successful that it was translated into 45 languages. During the Biafran War (1967–1970), Achebe produced poetry and short stories exploring politics and society. In 1994, he fled Nigeria's repressive regime and moved to the United States, where he became a professor. By the time of his death, he had won more than 30 awards and honorary degrees. See also: "Zik" and independent Nigeria 286-287

TONI MORRISON 1931–2019

The first Black American woman to win the Nobel Prize in Literature, Toni Morrison was born in Ohio and worked as a college lecturer and book editor before her third novel, *Songs of Solomon*, earned such acclaim that she became a full-time writer. Her 1987 novel *Beloved* became a best seller, won a Pulitzer Prize, and was made into a film starring Oprah Winfrey. Appointed a professor at Princeton University in 1989, Morrison also received the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2012. **See also:** The rise of Black

feminism 276–281

MILDRED LOVING 1939–2008

Born Mildred Delores Jeter and raised in a multicultural area in Virginia. Mildred was of Black American and Native American descent. Her marriage to her white husband Richard Loving broke Virginia's Racial Integrity Act of 1924 and they were ordered to leave the state. They relocated to Washington, D.C., but in 1963, after Mildred wrote to Attorney General Robert Kennedy, they challenged Virginia's ban on interracial marriages. The Supreme Court's ruling in 1967 ended the ban in all states, allowing the Lovings to live as a married couple in Virginia. Loving Day on June 12 honors their triumph.

See also: Jim Crow 216–221 • The March on Washington 282–285

WANGARI MAATHAI 1940–2011

Kenyan founder of the Green Belt Movement and recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, Wangari Maathai studied biology in the US, Germany, and Nairobi, and became the first female professor in Kenya. Active in the National Council of Women and several other grassroots organizations, she founded the Green Belt Movement in 1977, encouraging women to grow and plant tree seedlings as a way of countering the deforestation that threatened farmers' land and livelihoods. It has since planted more than 50 million trees, and in 2004 Maathai became the first Black African female Nobel Laureate, in recognition of her advocacy for democracy, human rights, and environmental conservation.

MUHAMMAD ALI 1942–2016

Born Cassius Clay, Jr., in Louisville, Kentucky, this Black American boxer, nicknamed "The Greatest," began boxing as a child, won an Olympic gold medal in boxing in 1960, and took the world heavyweight champion title in 1964. He then joined the Black Nationalist group the Nation of Islam, and announced that he would now be known by the name Muhammad Ali. He famously resisted being drafted into the Vietnam War, a crime for which he was convicted but later successfully appealed to the Supreme Court in 1967. See also: The Black Power movement 288-289

BENEDITA DA SILVA 1942–

The first Afro-Brazilian woman to be elected into Brazil's congress, Benedita da Silva was born in Rio de Janeiro. A member of the *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (Workers' Party), she was the first Black woman to join Rio's city council, in 1982. She was elected to congress in 1991, and to the senate in 1994. In 2002, she became the first Black woman to serve as the governor of Rio de Janeiro, and in 2004 she became State Secretary for Social Services. Throughout her career, she has campaigned to improve recognition and representation of Afro-Brazilian women and Black Brazilian history. **See also:** Brazil's slave resistance camps 136–139 • The ending of slavery in Brazil 224–225 • Brazil's Black movements 240–241

DARCUS HOWE 1943–2017

Black British activist Darcus Howe was born in Trinidad. moved to Britain at the age of 18, and began his career as a reporter flagging up stories on race-related issues and politics. He became editor of Race Today magazine in the 1970s, and made searching documentaries from the 1980s onward. He was heavily involved in campaigning for Black rights, both as a member of the British Black Panthers and by helping to organize the 1981 Black People's March after 13 young Black Londoners died in the New Cross fire, a suspected arson attack by racists.

See also: The Windrush migration 258–259 • The Black Power movement 288–289 • The Brixton uprisings 294–297 • The Macpherson Report 299 • Global antiracism campaigns 306–313

MARSHA P. JOHNSON 1945–1992

A prominent figure in LGBTQ+ activism, Marsha P. Johnson was a Black American activist, drag queen, and performance artist. The "P" in her name stood for "Pay It No Mind," her rejection of gender binaries. A leading figure in the 1969 Stonewall rebellion against the brutality of the New York Police Department, Marsha helped organize gay liberation marches (later known as Pride) and founded STAR (Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries) with Sylvia Rivera. After her disappearance in 1992, her death was ruled suicide, but in 2012 was reopened by the NYPD as a possible murder case. **See also:** Ball culture in the United States 292–293

IKA HÜGEL-MARSHALL 1947–

Best known for her autobiography, Invisible Woman, Ika Hügel-Marshall is an antiracism activist, editor, and writer. The daughter of a Bavarian woman and a Black American father stationed in Germany during World War II, Hügel-Marshall suffered a difficult childhood when her father returned to the US and her mother married a Nazi officer. Sent to an orphanage where she suffered immense abuse, Hügel-Marshall pursued education and later worked at a children's home. Becoming involved in the activism in the Afro-German community, she helped found ADEFRA as a cultural and political forum for Black women in Germany. See also: Black combatants in World War II 254-257 • The rise of Black feminism 276–281 • Global antiracism campaigns 306-313

LINTON KWESI JOHNSON 1952–

The father of dub poetry, British activist and poet Linton Kwesi Johnson was born in Jamaica, came to London in 1963, and joined the British Black Panthers while still at school. After the success of his debut *Voices of the Living and* the Dead (1974), he went on to blend music and verse and released the records as a form of "dub poetry," pioneering the genre. His work explores politics, race relations, his Caribbean heritage, life in Britain, police brutality, and more.

See also: The Windrush migration 258–259 • The Brixton uprisings 294–297 • The Macpherson Report 299

OPRAH WINFREY 1954–

Media executive, talk show host, and actress Oprah Winfrey was born into humble beginnings in Mississippi and went on to become the first Black American billionaire in the US in 2003 While she was still at college, at the age of 19, she became the youngest and first Black American news anchor for a local CBS TV station. Later. she became the star of her own hit talk show The Oprah Winfrey Show. Winfrey was popular for her personal approach, and the show, which ran for 25 years, became the highestrated TV talk show in the US. Winfrey expanded it into a business empire, launching a TV channel, OWN, in 2011. In 2013, she received the Presidential Medal of Freedom from President Obama for her philanthropic work and for increasing the prospects of young women. See also: The Black Power movement 288-289

MAE C. JEMISON 1956–

NASA astronaut, doctor, and engineer Mae C. Jemison entered the NASA astronaut program in 1987, and was selected for her first

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mission in 1992, becoming the first Black American woman to travel to space. Since leaving NASA, she has launched several initiatives, such as an international space camp for youth called The Earth We Share and the 100 Year Starship project to make space travel beyond our solar system possible within the next 100 years. Jemison has earned many awards and honorary degrees, and has been inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame and the International Space Hall of Fame.

MAY AYIM 1960–1996

Activist, educator, writer, and poet May Avim was born to a German mother and Ghanaian father and raised by a foster family. Ayim became active in feminist and Afro-German movements in her early twenties, and started the Initiative for Black People in Germany. Her poetry collections and other works explored her African heritage and the Black German community, giving a voice to marginalized Germans, particularly those raised within the foster care system, and influenced writers in the Afro-German movement worldwide. Diagnosed with multiple sclerosis, she died from suicide at the age of 36.

JEAN-MICHEL BASQUIAT 1960–1988

Known within the art world as "Basquiat," Jean-Michel was an American artist born to a Haitian father and an American-born Puerto Rican mother in New York City. He loved art from a young age, and was a junior member of the Brooklyn Museum of Art at the age of 6. He first became well known due to his graffiti work with fellow artist Al Diaz under the tag SAMO and his experimental band Gray, which played all over New York City. His biggest breakthrough as a gallery artist came in the 1980s when, at the age of 22, he became the youngest artist to exhibit at the Whitney Biennial. His expressionistic works mixed graffiti with abstract painting and often alluded to Black American historical figures.

TARANA BURKE 1973–

Founder of the Me Too movement Tarana Burke is an activist and community organizer. After college, she worked with a youth leadership program, where she met young women of color who, like her, were sexual abuse survivors. Inspired to launch initiatives for women of color. she founded JustBe. Inc in 2007, to empower and support young Black girls. A year later, she created the Me Too movement, a campaign to help survivors feel "empowerment through empathy." During the Hollywood allegations of abuse in 2017, her #MeToo hashtaq went viral, and she became the face of the movement against sexual violence.

See also: The rise of Black feminism 276–281 • Global antiracism campaigns 306–313

CHIMAMANDA NGOZI ADICHIE 1977–

Nigerian author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie published her first novel, *Purple Hibiscus*, in 2003, to critical acclaim. Her next book. Half of a Yellow Sun (2006), was an international best seller, and was later adapted for film. Other publications include the awardwinning Americanah and short story collection The Thing Around Your Neck. Her 2012 TED talk "We Should All Be Feminists" sparked a worldwide conversation on feminism. which Adichie later published as the book. Dear Ijeawele, or A Feminist Manifesto in Fifteen Suggestions. See also: The rise of Black feminism 276–281 = "Zik" and independent Nigeria 286-287

MOVEMENTS

SANTERÍA c. 1600–

Originating in Cuba, Santería ("the way of the saints") is an Afro-Caribbean religion based on Yoruba spiritual beliefs that were transported to the New World on slave ships and influenced by Roman Catholicism, an import of colonialism. It promises power and wisdom for its followers who may face hardship in life. Santería rituals include dancing, drumming, and the practice of communicating and eating with spirits: during the bembé ceremony, orishas mortal spirits—are invited by dancing and singing to join the community. Once practiced secretly, Santería has now developed a wider respect and has spread to the Americas and beyond, with up to 100 million believers worldwide. See also: The birth of the Atlantic slave trade 116–121 . Life on the

plantations 122–129

BOMBA c. 1600–

Originating in Puerto Rico, Bomba is a traditional dance and musical performance that was originally performed by enslaved people on sugar plantations. With satirical lyrics, many enslaved people used Bomba as a form of self-expression and liberation. It usually opens with the woman dancer calling to the drummer, who answers by playing a rhythm to which she then dances. Though both men and women dance in Bomba, they often do not dance together. Becoming popular in the 19th century, it remains a dance that many Puerto Ricans practice today, in homage to their African ancestors See also: The birth of the Atlantic slave trade 116–121 • Life on the plantations 122–129

CANDOMBLÉ c. 1800–

Rooted in Yoruba, Fon, and Bantu spiritual beliefs and influenced by Catholicism, Candomblé ("dance in honor of the gods") is a religion that originated among enslaved African communities in Brazil. Its followers believe in a powerful God called Oludumaré, who is served by lesser deities called *orixas*—each person has their own orixa, which controls their destiny and protects them. Like Santería, Candomblé is an oral tradition, with no holv scriptures, and dance and music are central rituals. Followers faced hostility until the 1970s. Today, Candomblé has more than two million followers across the world. See also: Brazil's slave resistance camps 136-139

HBCUs 1837–

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) are nationally recognized higher education establishments in the US that are open to all races but exist for the mission of enabling Black Americans to access higher education. Chevney University of Pennsylvania, established in 1837 as the Institute for Colored Youth, remains the oldest historically Black school. At a time when segregation barred Black Americans from other universities. HBCUs became safe havens for activist movements. with alumni such as Martin Luther King, Jr., Oprah Winfrey, and Toni Morrison. See also: Jim Crow 216–221 Brown v Board of Education 264– 267 • The March on Washington 282-285

THE ATLANTA WASHERWOMEN'S STRIKE 1881

In July 1881, 20 Black laundresses in Atlanta, Georgia, formed a trade union seeking higher pay and autonomy over how their work was organized, and called a strike. Within three weeks. 20 strikers became 3,000. The movement earned solidarity from white laundresses, as well as other domestic workers. Despite facing fines and arrests, the strike continued until they received higher wages, recognizing the importance of their work and improving the rights of Black domestic workers for years to come. See also: The Women's War of 1929 252 • The March on Washington 282-285

AFROCUBANISMO 1920s–1930s

Rejecting Eurocentric fashion and art trends, Afrocubanismo focused on stylized depictions of Black culture and African-influenced expressions in music, dance, the visual arts. and literature. challenging ideas around cultural and racial superiority in Cuba. Many Black artists used the movement to change perceptions of Black people in art, and Black working-class culture became a legitimized form of national expression within Cuban society. Though the movement went into decline toward the end of the 1930s, it pioneered the globalization of national culture and continues to dominate Cuban culture today. See also: The Harlem Renaissance 242-245

NOIRISME c. 1930-

Emerging in Haiti in 1934 when American military occupation ended, Noirisme promoted a return to Haitian culture and respect for African legacies. Its followers, Noiristes, opposed the minority mixed-heritage ruling class and advocated for more political control by the oppressed Black majority. Their influence helped replace President Élie Lescot with Noiriste Dumarsais Estimé in 1946, leading to more opportunities for Black people in Haitian politics, culture, and society until totalitarian rule took hold from the 1960s to the 1980s See also: The slave rebellion in Hispaniola 130–131 • The Haitian Revolution 184–189 The Harlem Renaissance 242-245

R&B 1947–

Rhythm and blues (R&B) embraces multiple styles of popular music that originated in Black American communities. The term was coined in 1947 in the popular music magazine *Billboard* and referred to mainly blues-based music that derived from soul or gospel and adapted the form using upbeat melodies and lyrics with a soulful tone. Large bands accompanied by vocalists were an early hallmark, and many major musicians were later influenced by R&B. such as Elvis Preslev and The Rolling Stones. Today R&B continues to adapt and combines funk, hip-hop, and pop. See also: The Jazz Age 246–249

AFRICANA STUDIES c. 1960–

Also known as Black Studies. Africana Studies refers to the multidisciplinary approach in the US to learning about the experiences of Black peoples in Africa and the diaspora. During the civil rights movement of the 1960s, mass protests on campuses challenged the lack of Black staff in university faculties and the Eurocentrism of their curricula. Demands to better serve Black students led to the introduction of Africana Studies departments, and later. Ethnic Studies and Women's Studies departments. With class, gender, race, and sexuality as focal points. Africana Studies set the blueprint for many higher education establishments in the way it combined humanities with social science subjects.

See also: Brown v. Board of Education 264–267 • The March on Washington 282–285 • The Black Power movement 288–289 • The African diaspora today 314–315

THE NATURAL HAIR MOVEMENT 1960s-

Focused on encouraging women of African origin to wear and celebrate their natural Afrotextured hair, the natural hair movement is a global campaign. In place of Eurocentric beauty ideals and damaging practices such as hair straightening and relaxing, it promotes natural hairstyles such as braids, locs, and plaits. The movement arose during the civil rights and Black power era, when many Black Americans wore their natural Afro hair as a symbol of defiance and cultural independence, and it continues to challenge discrimination and stigmas around natural hair. See also: The Rastafari movement 253 The Black Power movement. 288-289

THE BLACK ARTS MOVEMENT 1965–1975

Founded by poet Imamu Amiri Baraka, the Black Arts Movement was established when he opened the Black Arts Repertory in Harlem and had a huge impact in New York. The movement was politically committed, inspired by African independence movements and the civil rights movement, and spread both nationally and internationally.

Black artists and academics came

together to discuss and produce

radical art, drama, music, and poetry, celebrating Black culture and history and focusing on Black identity and liberation. Key members such as Gil Scott-Heron, James Baldwin, and Maya Angelou went on to achieve huge success. **See also:** The Harlem Renaissance 242–245 = The Year of Africa 274– 275 = The March on Washington 282–285 = The Black Power movement 288–289

KWANZAA 1966–

Held from December 26 to January 1. Kwanzaa is a Black American celebration of life. Founded by Dr. Maulana Karenga as a noncommercial alternative to Christmas. Kwanzaa comes from kwanza, the Swahili word for "first," and welcomes the first harvest into the home, often with a banquet. There are seven core principles for Kwanzaa—Collective Work. Cooperative Economics, Creativity, Faith, Purpose, Self-Determination, and Unity. Its seven symbols are seven candles, a candle holder, corn, crops, place mats, the unity cup, and gifts. Other forms of celebration during Kwanzaa include music, storytelling, and dancing. See also: The rise of Swahili citystates 62-63

THE THIRD WORLD WOMEN'S ALLIANCE 1968-c. 1980

A women's liberation alliance set up for the purpose of supporting poor and Black women, the Third World Women's Alliance was founded by Black American feminist and activist Frances M. Beal. Initially called the Black Women's Liberation Movement, it was born out of the civil rights movement and insisted that women's liberation could not be achieved without confronting race and class. It challenged issues such as infant mortality, sterilization abuse, wage and welfare exploitation, and US foreign policy that affected the lives of people in developing countries. **See also:** The rise of Black feminism 276–281

BLAXPLOITATION 1970s

In the 1970s, several films starring Black actors were released that became known as Blaxploitation films—a combination of the words "Black" and "exploitation." The films often represented Black characters in stereotypical roles such as pimps, sex workers, and hustlers and were criticized for this—but they are also sometimes praised for casting Black actors in lead roles, which was rare in Hollywood at the time. More than 200 of these films were released in the 1970s, and films such as *Shaft*, Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song, Super Fly, and Coffy were some of the most popular. Some filmmakers today, such as Spike Lee with *Do the Right Thing*, have paid homage to Blaxploitation films, as have many hip-hop artists. See also: The Black Power movement 288-289

BLACK PHILOSOPHY 1980s-

Widely known as Africana philosophy, Black philosophy was recognized by professional bodies such as the American Philosophical Association from the 1980s onward. Today, Black philosophy encapsulates African, Black American, and Afro-Caribbean philosophy, and exists to offer meaningful reflections on individual and collective experiences of people of the African continent and diaspora. By both critiquing European dominance and philosophy and affirming the empowerment of Black people worldwide, the ultimate goal is the liberation of Black people from oppression. See also: The March on Washington 282–285 • The Black Power movement 288–289 • The African diaspora today 314–315

RAP 1980s-

Rap is a musical style in which rhyming speech is spoken, rather than sung, over an instrumental accompaniment. Its roots lie in the Griot tradition, a blend of poetry, story-telling, music, and chanting that originated in West Africa. This in turn influenced Jamaican "toasting" during the mid-20th century, which was later developed into rap by Caribbean immigrants in the US, specifically in New York City in the 1970s and 1980s. On sound systems played at block parties, deejays would mix records and use digital samples while speaking over the hip-hop beat. Often discussing political themes and critiquing the state, rap continued to develop thanks to the mainstream success of artists such as Run-D M C and Grandmaster Flash.

See also: The Jazz Age 246–249 The African diaspora today 314–315

CRITICAL RACE THEORY 1989–

Coined by American legal scholar Derrick Bell, Critical Race Theory refers to an intellectual movement that argues race is socially constructed; has no biological grounding: and was invented to oppress, subjugate, and exploit people of color. Highlighting racism's historic roots, such as slavery and segregation, critical race theorists believe that institutional racism exists to uphold economic, political, and social inequalities between white and non-white people, and continues to impact the lives of Black people. See also: The creation of "race" 154–157 The Rastafari movement. 253 The Black Power movement. 288-289

AFROFUTURISM 1993–

Coined in 1993, Afrofuturism refers to an ideology pioneered by activists, artists, musicians, and academics that seeks to reconstruct the notion of "Blackness" culturally. Its primary goal involves imagining a society free from the oppression that harms Black people. It both looks to the future through the lens of science fiction, as explored in films such as Black Panther. and examines the past in order to better the lives of Black people in the present. It encourages Black empowerment in society through art and technology. With Black liberation at its core. Afrofuturism has seen a revival in social movements such as Stonewall and Black Lives Matter. See also: The Black Power movement 288-289

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- 20 Alan Morris, Canadian-born anthropologist
- 22 Toby Wilkinson, British Egyptologist
- 24 Herodotus, ancient Greek writer and geographer30 Translation of *Ta Sety*, ancient Egyptian name
- for Nubia **32** Jan Vansina, Belgian historian
- 34 R. Bosworth Smith, British author
- 36 Alexander Pope, English poet
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Dorling Kindersley would like to thank Lucy Sienkowska for editorial assistance; Ankita Das for design assistance; Vijay Khandwal for CTS assistance; Dr. Harvey Kwiyani, Shaykh Ibrahim Mogra (Mogra Faith & Culture Consultancy), Arike Oke (Managing Director, Black Cultural Archives), and Dr. Jonathan Ward for authenticity reading; Dr. Fiona Coward and Karl Lutchmayer for additional consultancy; Oliver Drake for proofreading; Helen Peters for indexing; Priyanka Sharma and Saloni Singh for jackets assistance; Neha Singh for administrative assistance; and the DK Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion team and Product and Content Working Group for their advice and guidance.

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