

AS 100.453
Africa and the Atlantic through the Nineteenth Century
The Johns Hopkins University
Fall Semester 1999

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Scope and Purpose

This course explores the relationship between Africa the Atlantic through the nineteenth century. The period covered lies wholly within Africa's precolonial era (most of the continent was colonized only at the end of the nineteenth century). Time constraints prevent us from extending our inquiry into the equally fascinating twentieth century when Africa was colonized by European nations. There is an additional and important restriction in the scope of this course: it is limited to continental Africa and Africans within Africa itself. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries millions of Africans were forcibly taken to the Americas and other destinations as slaves, living their lives there and making key contributions to local economies and cultures. We will not consider these exiled Africans here. Rather, the purpose of this course is to understand how the Atlantic and its economies and societies transformed Africa and the lives of the people who lived there. The focus is on West and West Central Africa, those African regions bordering the Atlantic on its eastern side.

The title of this course implies a study of Africans and their external relations. Emphasis will be placed on commerce in goods, people, and ideas from initial West African contact with Europeans to the time of formal colonization. Because the slave trade is the dominant theme of West Africa's relationship with the Atlantic through the nineteenth century, it figures prominently here. The approach adopted in the readings focuses on the transformation of African economies, societies and cultures as a result of external relationships with the wider Atlantic World. The emphasis is on local African experiences in an international economy and compliments a burgeoning literature on Europe and the Americas in Atlantic perspective. Unfortunately Africa and Africans still remain on the periphery of much of the aforementioned scholarship about the Atlantic. This course is designed to help remedy that historiographical imbalance.

Required Books

Available at the Homewood Bookstore and on Reserve in MSEL

- John Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684-1706* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

- Boubacar Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Recommended Books

Available at the Homewood Bookstore and on Reserve in MSEL

(Recommended books include paperbacks from which we will read several chapters and expensive hardcover books which we will read in their entirety. You may wish to purchase them for your convenience)

- John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- Robert M. Baum, *Shrines of the Slave Trade: Diola Religion and Society in Precolonial Senegambia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- Martin Lynn, *Commerce and Economic Change in West Africa: The Palm Oil Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Required Coursework

1. Attendance, preparation, asking questions, and participation in class discussions, or, in other words, being responsible and engaged. I expect all of these from every single class participant. Failure to meet this standard will lower your final grade by as much as one full letter.

2. Weekly reaction/thought papers. These should be at least one page in length, single spaced, but you may write more if you wish. The paper should record your reaction to the week's assigned reading, a sort of journal of your thoughts. Each paper should also raise two or more questions or issues for the class to deliberate. The purpose of the papers is for the professor to get a sense of how you are thinking critically about the readings and to help you prepare for your participation in the class discussions. These short papers will not be returned to students unless I feel you need to improve the way you prepare them. You can assume, if you do not receive copies of your weekly papers back with comments on how to improve future ones, that you are adequately fulfilling the requirement and that your papers will not adversely impact the rest of your course grade. Weekly papers are due each week in class. On days the professor is absent, you must place your papers in the professor's mail box in the history department (311 Gilman Hall). No late weekly papers will be accepted.

3. Major Coursework Options. There are two options. You must email the professor with your choice of option before September 27. **Option A:** A take-home midterm, a take-home final, and a review of three related books. Both of the take-home examinations will consist of essay answers to questions supplied by the professor. They will cover assigned readings and class discussions. The midterm covers Weeks 1-7 and is due in class on November 1. The final exam covers Weeks 8-14 and is due on December 16 (see the professor for instructions about getting the paper to him in Houston). The combined review of three books must be approximately 15 pages long; the books must be selected from the list provided below in consultation with the professor. In the first third of the review you should summarize the arguments and evidence of the books; in the second two-thirds of the review you should analyze and discuss the arguments of the books for their significance, implications, and contributions to scholarly knowledge on Africa and the Atlantic. The book review is due in class on November 29. **Option B:** A project or alternative

coursework plan negotiated with the professor. **Graduate students** should see the professor to arrange for requirements.

Course Schedule and Assigned Readings

Key to Reading Location Codes

- RB = Required Book. Homewood Bookstore & on reserve in MSEL (not available electronically).
- R = Reserve. On reserve in MSEL (not available electronically or in the bookstore).
- ER = Electronic Reserve.
<http://milton.mse.jhu.edu:8001/library/reserves/electronicreserves.html>.
- PD = Professor's Door. Hanging on the outside of 404 Gilman. Professor's personal photocopy. Sign it out, copy it, and return it promptly to the same door so someone else may use it.

Week 1

13 September

Introduction

Week 2

20 September

Atlantic Encounters and Impressions

- J. Devise in collaboration with S. Labib, "Africa in Inter-Continental Relations," in D.T. Niane, ed., *General History of Africa IV: Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 635-72 [ER].
- Philip D. Curtin, *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), 28-57, 227-58 [R] (there are additional copies of this book in MSEL that may be personally checked out).
- Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 1-41, 53-4, 64-8, 108-22 [R].
- Wyatt MacGaffey, "Dialogues of the Deaf: Europeans on the Atlantic Coast of Africa," in Stuart B. Schwartz, ed., *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 249-67 [ER].
- Wyatt MacGaffey, "The West in Congolese Experience," in Philip D. Curtin, ed., *Africa and the West: Intellectual Responses to European Culture* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972), 49-74 [ER].

Week 3

27 September

Atlantic Trade: Origins and Early Centuries

- John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1-125 [R and PD; also available in Homewood Bookstore].
- David Eltis, "Precolonial Western Africa and the Atlantic Economy," in Barbara L. Solow, ed., *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 97-119 [ER].
- David Eltis, "Europeans and the Rise and Fall of African Slavery in the Americas: An Interpretation," *American Historical Review* 98,5 (1993), 1399-1423 [ER].

Week 4

4 October

Slaving and its Impact: Senegambia I

- Boubacar Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), xi-157 [RB].

Week 5

11 October

Slaving and its Impact: Senegambia II

- Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 158-314 [RB].

Week 6

19 October

Fall Break: No Meeting!

But please begin reading for Week 7.

Week 7

25 October

Slaving and Religious Change in the Kingdom of Kongo

- John Thornton, *The Kongolesse Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684-1706* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), entire book [RB].
- Pier M. Larson, "'Capacities and Modes of Thinking': Intellectual Engagements and Subaltern Hegemony in the Early History of Malagasy Christianity," *American Historical Review* 102,4 (1997), 969-1002 [ER].

Week 8

1 November

The Slave Trade: Social and Demographic Impact I

- Robert W. Harms, *River of Wealth, River of Sorrow: The Central Zaire Basin in the Era of the Slave and Ivory Trade, 1500-1891* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 1-108 [R and PD].
- Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Africa: A Review of the Literature," *Journal of African History* 30 (1989), 365-94 [ER].
- David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman, "Was the Slave Trade Dominated by Men?" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23,2 (1992), 237-57 [ER].

Week 9

8 November

The Slave Trade: Social and Demographic Impact II

- Harms, *River of Wealth, River of Sorrow*, 111-236 [R and PD].
- David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman, "Fluctuations in Age and Sex Ratios in the Transatlantic Slave Trade, 1663-1864," *Economic History Review* 46,2 (1993), 308-23 [ER].
- Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein, "Women's Importance in African Slave Systems," in Robertson and Klein, eds., *Women and Slavery in Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 3-25 [ER].

Week 10

15 November

Enslavement and Cultural Transformation, I

- Pier M. Larson, "Chapter 1: Enslavement and Culture," in Pier M. Larson, *Becoming Merina in Highland Madagascar: History and Memory in the Age of Enslavement, 1770-1822* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, forthcoming), 30-49 [ER].
- Robert M. Baum, *Shrines of the Slave Trade: Diola Religion and Society in Precolonial Senegambia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 1-84 [R and PD; also available in Homewood Bookstore].

Week 11

22 November

Enslavement and Cultural Transformation, II

- Baum, *Shrines of the Slave Trade*, 85-183 [R and PD; also available in Homewood Bookstore].
- Rosalind Shaw, "The Production of Witchcraft/Witchcraft as Production: Memory, Modernity and the Slave Trade in Sierra Leone," *American Ethnologist* 24,4 (1997), 856-76 [ER].

Week 12

29 November

Atlantic Communities & Diasporas

- Robin Law and Kristin Mann, "West Africa in the Atlantic Community: The Case of the Slave Coast," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d series 56,2 (1999), 307-34 [ER].
- Ray Kea, "Modernity, African Narratives, and Social Identity in the Eighteenth Century Atlantic World," article manuscript [ER].
- Pier M. Larson, "Reconsidering Trauma, Identity, and the African Diaspora: Enslavement and Historical Memory in Nineteenth-Century Highland Madagascar," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d series. 56,2 (1999), 335-62 [ER].
- Paul E. Lovejoy, "The African Diaspora: Revisionist Interpretations of Ethnicity, Culture and Religion under Slavery," *Studies in the World History of Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation* II,1 (1997) [print your personal copy from from <http://h-net2.msu.edu/~slavery/essays/esy9701love.html>].

- Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Changing Dimensions of African History: Reappropriating the Diaspora," in Simon McGrath, Charles Jedrej, Kenneth King, and Jack Thompson, eds., *Rethinking African History* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1997), 181-200 [ER].

Week 13

6 December

"Legitimate Trade" and Economic Change I

- Martin Lynn, *Commerce and Economic Change in West Africa: The Palm Oil Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1-101 [R and PD; also available in Homewood Bookstore].
- Robin Law, ed., *From Slave Trade to "Legitimate" Commerce: The Commercial Transition in Nineteenth-century West Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1-56 [R].

Week 14

13 December

"Legitimate Trade" and Economic Change II

- Lynn, *Commerce and Economic Change in West Africa*, 105-190 [R and PD; Also available in Homewood Bookstore].
- Robin Law, ed., *From Slave Trade to "Legitimate" Commerce: The Commercial Transition in Nineteenth-century West Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 195-239 [R].

Review Book List

(You must consult with the professor to select your books; they must have thematic coherence)

- Ray Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Politics in the Seventeenth-Century Gold Coast* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982).
- Pier M. Larson, *Becoming Merina in Highland Madagascar: History and Memory in the Age of Enslavement, 1770-1822* (Portsmouth, NH: forthcoming).
- Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).
- Philip D. Curtin, *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964).
- Colin Newbury, *The Western Slave Coast and its Rulers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961).
- David Northrup, *Trade Without Rulers: Pre-Colonial Economic Development in South-Eastern Nigeria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).
- K. David Patterson, *The Northern Gabon Coast to 1875* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).
- Patrick Manning, *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental and African Slave Trades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

- David Eltis and James Walvin, eds., *The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Origins and Effects in Europe, Africa, and the Americas* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981).
- Phyllis Martin, *The External Trade of the Loango Coast, 1576-1870: The Effects of Changing Commercial Relations on the Vili Kingdom of Loango* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).
- Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).
- John Janzen, *Lemba, 1650-1930: A Drum of Affliction in Africa and the New World* (New York : Garland Pub., 1982).
- K. Y. Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, 1600-1720: A Study of the African Reaction to European Trade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1970).
- K. Onwuka Dike, *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956).
- Philip D. Curtin, *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967).
- Richard Gray and David Birmingham, eds., *Pre-Colonial Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and eastern Africa before 1900* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).
- Sandra Greene, *Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Change on the Upper Slave Coast: A History of the Anlo-Ewe* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1996).
- Robert W. Harms, *Games against Nature: An Eco-cultural history of the Nunu of Equatorial Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
- Jan Hogendorn and Marion Johnson, *The Shell Money of the Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- David Eltis and James Walvin, eds., *The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Origins and Effects in Europe, Africa, and the Americas* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981).
- Robin Law, ed., *From Slave Trade to "Legitimate" Commerce: The Commercial Transition in Nineteenth-century West Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
- Jean Copans, *Les marabouts de l'arachide: la confrérie mouride et les paysans du Sénégal* (Paris: Le Sycomore, 1980).
- Robin Law, *The Slave Coast of West Africa, 1550-1750: The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on an African Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn, eds., *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Academic Press, 1979).
- Suzanne Miers and Richard Roberts, eds., *The End of Slavery in Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).
- Igor Kopytoff and Suzanne Miers, eds., *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977).
- Ibrahim K. Sundiata, *From slaving to Neoslavery: the Bight of Biafra and Fernando Po in the Era of Abolition, 1827-1930* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996).
- Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein, eds., *Women and Slavery in Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).
- Walter Rodney, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545-1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970).

- James Searing, *West African Slavery and Atlantic Commerce: The Senegal River Valley, 1700-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- David Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola: The Mbundu and Their Neighbours under the Influence of the Portuguese, 1483-1790* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966).
- George Brooks, *Yankee Traders, Old Coasters and African Middlemen : A History of American Legitimate Trade With West Africa in the Nineteenth Century* (Brookline, Mass.: Boston University Press, 1970).
- George E. Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society, and Trade in Western Africa, 1000-1630* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993).
- Philip D. Curtin, *The Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).
- Serge Daget, ed. *De la traite à l'esclavage: actes du colloque international sur la traite des noirs, Nantes 1985* 2 vols. (Paris: Société française d'histoire d'outre-mer, 1988).
- Toyin Falola and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds. *Pawnship in Africa: Debt Bondage in Historical Perspective* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994).
- Walter Hawthorne, Walter. *The Interior Past of an Acephalous Society: Institutional Change among the Balanta of Guinea-Bissau, c. 1400-c. 1950* (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1998).
- Joseph E. Inikori and Stanley L. Engerman, eds., *The Atlantic Slave Trade: Effects on Economies, Societies, and Peoples in Africa, the Americas, and Europe* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992).
- Joseph E. Inikori, ed. *Forced Migration: The Impact of the Export Slave Trade on African Societies* (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1982).
- John M. Janzen, *Lemba, 1650-1930: A Drum of Affliction in Africa and the New World* (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1982).
- G.I. Jones, *The Trading States of the Oil Rivers: A Study of Political Development in Eastern Nigeria*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1963).
- Lovejoy, Paul E., ed. 1986. *Africans in Bondage: Studies in Slavery and the Slave Trade*. Madison, Wis.
- Patrick Manning, *Slavery, Colonialism, and Economic Growth in Dahomey, 1640-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

East Africa & the Indian Ocean

- Abdul Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices & Ivory in Zanzibar: Integration of an East African Commercial Empire into the World Economy, 1770-1873* (Athens : Ohio University Press, 1987).
- Allen Isaacman, *Mozambique: The Africanization of a European Institution. The Zambesi Prazos, 1750-1902* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972).
- Edward A. Alpers, *Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa: Changing Patterns of International Trade to the Later Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).
- Marcia Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women Life-Stories from East/Central Africa* (New York: Lilian Barber Press, 1993).
- R.W. Beachey, *The Slave Trade of Eastern Africa* (London: Rex Collings, 1976).
- Clarence-Smith, William Gervase, ed., *The Economics of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Frank Cass, 1989).

- Frederick Cooper, *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).
- Jonathon Glassman, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856-1888* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1995).
- Vijaya Teelock, *Bitter Sugar: Sugar and Slavery in 19th Century Mauritius* (Moka: Mahatma Gandhi Institute, 1998).