

West Africa in the nineteenth century

Further reading list

For **west African jihadist movements**:

The best introduction remains:

- M. Last, 'Reform in West Africa: the *jihad* movements of the nineteenth century'; R. A. Adeleye & C. C. Stewart, 'The Sokoto Caliphate in the nineteenth century'; and L. Brenner & R. Cohen, 'Borno in the nineteenth century', in J. F. A. Ajayi and M. Crowder (eds.), *History of West Africa*, Volume 2 (2nd edition, Longman, London, 1987)

See also:

- M. Hiskett, *The Sword of Truth: the life and times of Shehu Usman dan Fodio* (New York, 1973)
- M. Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate* (Longman, London, 1977) remains the standard work
- P. B. Clarke, *West Africa and Islam: A study of religious development from the 8th to the 20th century* (Edward Arnold, London, 1982)
- B. O. Oloruntimehin, *The Segu Tukolor Empire* (Humanities Press, New York, 1972) for the military, diplomatic and political history of the empire
- R. Roberts, *Warriors, Merchants and Slaves: The State and the Economy in the Middle Niger Valley, 1700-1914* (Stanford UP, Stanford, 1987)



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- Djata, *The Bamana Empire by the Niger: Kingdom, Jihad and Colonization, 1712-1920* (Markus, Wiener, Princeton, 1997)

For **Samori's empire**, see:

- Y. Person, 'The Atlantic coast and the southern savannas, 1800-1880', pp.287-91, in J. F. A. Ajayi and M. Crowder (eds.), *History of West Africa*, Volume 2 (2nd edition, Longman, London, 1987)

For more detail (in French) see: Yves Person, *Samori: Une révolution Dyula* (IFAN, Dakar, 3 volumes, 1968, 1970, 1975) – vol. I for background, origins of Samori and his rise to power; vol II for the empire at its height in the 1880s and early 90s; vol III for defeat by French and conclusion.

For insight into the lives and times of masters and slaves from the ancient kingdoms of Sudan to the twentieth century, see:

- S. Barnes, A. M. A. Halim and M. I. Nugud, *Slavery in the Sudan. History, Documents and Commentary* (Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2013)

The ending of the Atlantic slave trade

Further reading list

For the **ending of the Atlantic slave trade** see:

- E. Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill NC, 1944)

The classic work that challenged the orthodoxy of British humanitarianism and laid down the argument for the economic imperative in British abolition of the slave trade.

This view was critically tested in the 1970s and 80s by:

- R. Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760-1810* (Macmillan, London, 1975)
- S. Drescher, *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1977; 2nd edition, 2010)
- B. L. Solow and S. L. Engerman (eds.), *British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery: the Legacy of Eric Williams* (CUP, Cambridge, 1987)
- J.M. Almeida, *Reimagining the Transatlantic, 1780-1890* (Routledge, London and New York, 2013)

Looks beyond the normal boundaries of Britain's relationship with the Caribbean and north America and brings in the non-Anglophone regions of Latin-America.

See also:

- D. Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (OUP, Oxford, 1987)

Among numerous other works on **abolition**, see:

- D. Eltis & J. Walvin (eds.), *The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Origins and Effects in Europe, Africa, and the Americas* (UWP, Madison, 1981)
- J. Walvin, *Black Ivory: A History of British Slavery* (Fontana Press, London, 1992)
- R. Huzzey, *Freedom Burning: Anti-Slavery and Empire in Victorian Britain* (Cornell UP, Ithaca and London, 2012)

Links the politics of anti-slavery ideology to the wider history of British racism and imperialism in the nineteenth century.

For a gripping account of the **role of humanitarians**, see:

- A. Hochschild, *Bury the Chains: The British Struggle to Abolish Slavery* (Pan Macmillan, London and Houghton Mifflin, New York, 2005)
- L. Fenton, 'I Was Transformed'. *Frederick Douglass, An American Slave in Victorian Britain* (Amberley, Stroud, UK, 2017)

Offers an insight into a brief period in the life of this important African American who became very influential in the United States and Britain in the mid-nineteenth century.

For the **role of resistance**, see:

- J. H. Bracey, A. Meier & E. Rudwick (eds.), *American Slavery: the Question of Resistance* (Belmont, Cal., 1970)
- R. Price, *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas* (Baltimore, Md., 1979)
- M. Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca, 1982)
- Hochschild, *Bury the Chains: The British Struggle to Abolish Slavery* (Pan Macmillan, London and Houghton Mifflin, New York, 2005).

Although concerned mainly with the abolition movement in Britain, Hochschild pays close attention to the issue of slave resistance, especially in the Caribbean, in a section entitled 'War and Revolution', pp. 241-96.

- C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (Allison & Busby, London, first published 1938, Vintage Books 1963, Penguin Books, 2001)

Still the classic on the Haitian revolution, the only successful slave revolt.

- Junius P. Rodriguez, ed. *Encyclopedia of Slave Resistance and Rebellion*. (Greenwood, Westport, Ct., 2006).

For Gustavus Vassa/**Olaudah Equiano**, see:

- P. Edwards (ed.), *The Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa the African* (Heinemann, London, 1967)
- V. Carretta (ed.), *The Interesting Narrative and other writings* (Penguin, 2003)

and

- V. Carretta, *Equiano the African: Biography of a Self-Made Man* (University of Georgia Press, Athens, 2005) in which he questions the veracity of Equiano's life history, especially his origins. This in turn is critically reviewed by David Dabydeen, *The Guardian*, 3 December 2005, in which he argues that Carretta's book only adds to Equiano's stature.

A concise and effective summary of the main arguments and literature can be found in:

- B. Carey, 'Special Feature Introduction: Olaudah Equiano - African or American?' in K.L. Hope (ed) *1650-1850: Ideas, Aesthetics and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era: Volume 17. Professional & Vocational* (AMS Print Inc., New York, 2010 – accessible at http://www.brycchancarey.com/Carey_1650-1850_2008.pdf)

For the development of **West African commerce**, see:

- L. Denzer, 'Abolition and reform in West Africa', in J. F. A. Ajayi and M. Crowder (eds.), *History of West Africa*, Volume 2 (2nd edition, Longman, London, 1987)

Christian missions, new states and precolonial ‘nationalism’

Further reading list

For a good introduction to [Christian missionaries in Africa](#), see:

- N. A. Etherington, ‘Missionary Enterprise: Precolonial’, in K. Shillington (ed.), *Encyclopedia of African History, Volume 2* (Fitzroy Dearborn, New York, 2005), pp.987-89

See also:

- R. Gray, *Black Christians and White Missionaries* (Yale UP, New Haven, 1990)
- A. Hastings, *The Church in Africa, 1450-1950* (OUP, Oxford, 1995)
- G. Moorhouse, *The Missionaries* (Eyre Methuen, London, 1973)

A very readable and sympathetic account of the nineteenth-century missionaries.

For [Samuel Ajayi Crowther](#), see:

- J. F. A. Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891; the Making of a New Elite* (Northwestern University Press, Evanston, 1965)
- J. F. A. Ajayi, *A Patriot to the Core: Samuel Ajayi Crowther* (Anglican Diocese of Ibadan, Ibadan, 1992)
- S. A. Crowther, *Journal of an Expedition up the Niger in 1841* (2nd edition, Frank Cass, London, 1970)

In his own words, this remarkable man’s account of his exploratory expedition up the Niger to assess its mission possibilities.

For **Edward Blyden**, see:

- H. R. Lynch, *Edward Wilmot Blyden: Pan-Negro Patriot, 1832-1912* (OUP, Oxford, 1970)
- T. Adeleke, *UnAfrican Americans: Nineteenth-Century Black Nationalists and the Civilizing Mission* (University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, 1998)

For **James Africanus Horton**, see:

- J. A. Horton, *West African Countries and Peoples: A Vindication of the African Race* (modern edition, Edinburgh UP, Edinburgh, 1969)
- D. Nichol, *Africanus Horton: Tjhe Dawn of Nationalism in Modern Africa* (Longman, London, 1969)
- C. Fyfe, *Africanus Horton: West African Scientist and Patriot* (OUP, Oxford and New York, 1972)

For other studies regarding **Christianity and missions** in pre-colonial Africa, see:

- J. Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684-1706* (CUP, Cambridge and New York, 1998)
- P. S. Landau, *The Realm of the Word: Language, Gender and Christianity in a Southern African Kingdom* (James Currey, London, 1995) – on Khama III's kingdom in present-day Botswana.
- K. Shillington, *Luka Jantjie: Resistance Hero of the South African Frontier* (Aldridge Press, London; Palgrave, New York and Wits UP, Johannesburg, 2011)
- H. Bredekamp and R. Ross (eds.), *Missions and Christianity in South African History* (Wits UP, Johannesburg, 1995)

For **Sierra Leone and Liberia**, see:

- J. A. D. A., Alie, *A New History of Sierra Leone* (St Martin's Press, New York, 1990)
- S. Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution* (BBC Books, 2005)

A gripping history of the people who founded the colony of Sierra Leone.

- T. Shick, *Behold the Promised Land: A History of the Afro-American Settlers in Nineteenth-Century Liberia* (Johns Hopkins UP, Baltimore, 1977)
- K. Lowther, *The African American Odyssey of John Kizell: A South Carolina Slave Returns to Fight the Slave Trade in His African Homeland* (University of S. Carolina Press, 2011)

A fascinating biography of one of the founders of Freetown, Sierra Leone.

Central and east Africa in the nineteenth century

Further reading list

For **western and central Africa**, see:

- R. Gray and D. Birmingham (eds.), *Pre-colonial African Trade. Essays on trade in east and central Africa before 1900* (OUP, London, 1970)
- D. Birmingham and P. M. Martin (eds.), *History of Central Africa, Volume I* (Longman, Harlow, 1983)
- A.D. Roberts, *A History of Zambia* (Heinemann, London, 1976)
- D. Roberts, *A History of the Bemba: Political growth and change in north-eastern Zambia before 1900* (Longman, London, 1973)
- T. Q. Reece, *The Rainbow and the Kings: A History of the Luba Empire to 1891* (UCLA, Berkeley, 1981)

For the **Great Lakes** region, see:

- J.-P. Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa: Two Thousand Years of History* (translated by Scott Straus from the original French edition (2000), Zone Books, New York, 2003)
- R. J. Reid, *Political Power in Pre-colonial Buganda* (James Currey, Oxford and Ohio UP, Athens, 2002)

- S. Doyle, *Crisis and Decline in Bunyoro: Population and Environment in Western Uganda, 1860-1955* (James Currey, Oxford 2006)
- R. J. Reid, *Warfare in Pre-Colonial Eastern Africa: The Patterns and Meanings of State-Level Conflict in the Nineteenth Century* (James Currey, Oxford, 2007)
- J. Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda: The Nyiginga Kingdom* (UWP, Madison, 2004)
- J.-P. Chrétien, *Burundi: L'histoire retrouvée* (Karthala, Paris, 1993)
- S. R. A. Karugire, *A History of the Kingdom of Nkore in Western Uganda to 1896* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1971)
- M. S. M. Kiwanuka, *A History of Buganda: from the foundation of the kingdom to 1900* (Longman, London, 1971)

For east Africa and the slave trade, see:

- B. A. Ogot (ed.), *Kenya Before 1900: eight regional studies* (EAPH, Nairobi, 1976)
- E. A. Alpers, *Ivory and Slaves: Changing pattern of International trade in East Central Africa to the Later nineteenth Century* (UCLA, Berkeley and Heinemann, London, 1975)
- Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices and Ivory in Zanzibar. Integration of an East African Commercial Empire into the World Economy, 1770-1873* (James Currey, London, 1987)
- F. Cooper, *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa* (Heinemann, Oxford, 1997)
- P. M. Larson, *History and Memory in the Age of Enslavement: Becoming Merina in Highland Madagascar, 1770-1822* (James Currey, Oxford and Heinemann, Portsmouth NH, 2000)

The impact of the east African slave trade on Madagascar during the period of the rise of the Merina kingdom.

For **Madagascar**, with particular reference to the **Menalamba revolt** (discussed in Additional Debate for chapter 17, p.262):

- H. Deschamps, *Histoire de Madagascar* (Berger-Levrault, Paris, 1972)
- B. A. Gow, *Madagascar and the Protestant Impact. The Work of the British Missions, 1818-95* (Longman, London and Africana Publishing Co., New York, 1979)
- S. Ellis, *The Rising of the Red Shawls. A Revolt in Madagascar, 1895-1899* (CUP, Cambridge, 1985)
- G. Campbell, "Missionaries, Fanompoana and the Menalamba Revolt in late nineteenth century Madagascar", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.15, No.1 (1988), pp. 54-73
- G. Campbell, "The Adoption of Autarky in Imperial Madagascar, 1820-1835", *Journal of African History*, XXVIII, 3 (1987), pp. 395-411
- G. Campbell, "Slavery and Fanompoana: The Structure of Forced Labour in Imerina (Madagascar), 1790-1861", *Journal of African History*, XXIX, 2 (1988), pp. 463-86
- G. Campbell, *An Economic History of Imperial Madagascar: the Rise and Fall of an Island Empire* (CUP, Cambridge, 2005)

See also:

- M. Brown, *History of Madagascar* (Markus Weiner, Princeton, 2000)
- S. Randrianja and S. Ellis, *Madagascar. A Short History* (Hurst & Co., London, 2009)

Preindustrial southern Africa in the nineteenth century

Further reading list

For the *mfecane* debate and related issues, (in chronological order), see:

- J. D. Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath* (Longman, London, 1966)
- L. Thompson and M. Wilson (eds.) *The Oxford History of South Africa, Volume 1* (OUP, Oxford, 1969)
- Smith, 'The trade of Delagoa Bay as a factor in Nguni politics, 1750-1835', L. Thompson (ed.), *African Societies in southern Africa* (Heinemann, London, 1969)
- L. Thompson, *Survival in Two Worlds: Moshoeshoe of Lesotho, 1786-1870* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1975)
- R. K. Rasmussen, *Migrant Kingdom: Mzilikazi's Ndebele in South Africa* (David Philip, Cape Town, 1978)
- J. Guy, *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom: the Civil War in Zululand, 1879-1884* (Longman, London, 1979), especially his introductory chapter on the formation and working of the Zulu kingdom.
- W. Lye and C. Murray, *Transformations on the Highveld* (David Philip, Cape Town, 1980)

- J. Guy, 'Cattle-Keeping in Zululand', in S. Marks and A. Atmore (eds.), *Economy and Society in Pre-industrial South Africa* (Longman, London, 1980)
- J. Guy, 'Production and Exchange in the Zulu Kingdom' in J. B. Peires, *Before and After Shaka* (Grahamstown, 1981)
- J. B. Peires (ed.), *Before and After Shaka: Papers in Nguni history* (Rhodes University, Grahamstown, 1981), see especially Peires' 'Introduction' to this collection.
- N. Parsons, *A New History of Southern Africa* (Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1982)
- P. Bonner, *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires: the evolution and dissolution of the nineteenth-century Swazi state* (CUP, Cambridge and Ravan Johannesburg, 1983)
- P. Delius, *The Land Belongs To Us: the Pedi polity, the Boers and the British in the Nineteenth-century Transvaal* (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1983)
- P. Maylam, *History of the African Peoples of South Africa* (David Philip, Cape Town, 1986)
- J. Cobbing, 'The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo', *Journal of African History*, 29 (1988), pp. 487-519
- J. B. Wright, 'Political mythology and the making of Natal's Mfecane', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 23 (1989)
- E. Eldridge, 'Sources of conflict in southern Africa, ca.1800-30: the "Mfecane" reconsidered', *Journal of African History*, 33 (1992)
- A. Hamilton, 'The character and objects of Chaka: a reconsideration of the making of Shaka as "Mfecane Motor"', *Journal of African History*, 33 (1992)

- J. D. Omer-Cooper, 'Has the Mfecane a Future? A Response to the Cobbing Critique', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 19 (1993), pp.273-94
- J. B. Peires, 'Paradigm Deleted: the Materialist Interpretation of the Mfecane', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 19 (1993), pp. 295-313
- Hamilton (ed.), *The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in Southern African History* (Wits UP, Johannesburg and University of Natal Press Pietermaritzburg, 1995)
- N. Etherington, *The Great Treks: The Transformation of Southern Africa, 1815-1854* (Longman, Harlow, 2001)
- J. Wright, 'Turbulent times: political Transformations in the North and East, 1760s-1830s', in C. Hamilton, B. K. Mbenga and R. Ross (eds), *The Cambridge History of South Africa, Volume I. From Early Times to 1885* (CUP, Cambridge, 2010), pp 211-252

For the **Cape Colony**, see:

- R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840* (2nd edition, Maskew Millar Longman, Cape Town, 1989)
- N. Worden and C. C. Crais (eds.), *Breaking the Chains: Slavery and its Legacy in the Nineteenth Century Cape Colony* (Wits UP, Johannesburg, 1994)
- T. Keegan, *Colonial South Africa and the Origins of the Racial Order* (David Philip, Cape Town, 1996)
- J. E. Mason, *Social Death and Resurrection: Slavery and Emancipation in South Africa* (University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville, 2003)

See also:

- L. Thompson and M. Wilson (eds.), *The Oxford History of South Africa* (OUP, Oxford, 1969)

- S. Marks and A. Atmore (eds.), *Economy and Society in Pre-industrial South Africa* (Longman, London, 1980)

Includes Martin Legassick's ground-breaking article, 'The frontier tradition in South African historiography'.

- J. B. Peires, *The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of their Independence* (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1981)
- M Wallace, *A History of Namibia: From the Beginning to 1990* (Hurst, London; and Jacana, South Africa, 2011), especially Chapter 2 for this period.
- D. Denoon and B. Nyeko, *Southern Africa since 1800* (2nd edition, Longman, London, 1984)
- R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa* (CUP, Cambridge, 1999)
- M. Legassick and R. Ross, 'From Slave Economy to Settler Capitalism: the Cape Colony and its Extensions, 1800-1854'

and

- N. Etherington, P. Harries and B. K. Mbenga, 'From Colonial Hegemonies to Imperial Conquest, 1840-1880'

both in:

- C. Hamilton, B. K. Mbenga, R. Ross (eds.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa, Volume I, From Early Times to 1885* (CUP, Cambridge, 2010), pp 253-391

North and northeast Africa in the nineteenth century

Further reading list

For an introduction to the **Maghrib** in this period, see:

- UNESCO *General History of Africa Volume VI*: J. E. Ade Ajayi (ed.), *Africa in the Nineteenth Century until the 1880s* (UNESCO, Paris, 1989; ABRIDGED: James Currey, Oxford and UC Press, Berkeley, 1998): Chapter 17: 'New trends in the Maghrib: Algeria, Tunisia and Libya' by M. H. Cherif; 'Morocco from the beginning of the nineteenth century to 1880' by A. Laroui; and 'New patterns of European intervention in the Maghrib' by N. Ivanov.

For **Algeria**, see:

- J. Ruedy, *Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation* (Indiana UP, Bloomington, 2005) for the best recent introduction.

See also:

- L. Valensi, *On the Eve of Colonialism: North Africa before the French Conquest* (Holmes and Meier, London, 1977)
- R. Danziger, *Abd al-Qadir and the Algerians: resistance to the French and internal consolidation* (Holmes and Meier, London, 1977)

For an introduction to **Egypt**, see:

- M. W. Daly, *The Cambridge History of Egypt, Volume II, from 1517* (CUP, Cambridge, 1998)

For **Napoleon** in Egypt, see:

- P. Strathern, *Napoleon in Egypt* (Jonathan Cape, London, 2007, Vintage Books, 2008)

For **Muhammad Ali**, see:

- A.L. Al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt in the reign of Muhammad Ali* (CUP, Cambridge, 1984)

The best biography of its subject.

- K. M. Cumo, *The Pasha's Peasants: Land, Society and Economy in Lower Egypt* (CUP, Cambridge, 1992)

For the impact of Muhammad Ali's reforms.

And for **Urabi's** national movement, see:

- A.Schölch, *Egypt for the Egyptians: the socio-political crisis in Egypt, 1878-1882* (Ithaca Press, Oxford, 1981)
- J. R. I. Cole, *Colonialism and revolution in the Middle East: social and cultural origins of Egypt's Urabi movement* (Princeton UP, Princeton, 1993)

For an introduction to **Sudan**, see:

- P. M. Holt and M. W. Daly, *A History of the Sudan, from the coming of Islam to the present day* (Longman, Harlow, 2000)

And for **Mahdism**, see:

- P. M. Holt, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan, 1881-1898: a study of its origins, development and overthrow* (Clarendon, Oxford, 1970, 2nd edition, 1977)
- F. Nicoll, *The Mahdi of Sudan and the death of General Gordon* (Sutton Publishing, Stroud, 2004)

A well-balanced rendering of both principal characters, with a particularly good account of the Mahdi's origins ('The Boat-BUILDER's son') and youth.

For an introduction to **Ethiopia**, see:

- B. Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1815-1974* (James Currey, Oxford, 2001)

For **Tewodros**, see:

- Sven Rubenson, *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence* (Tsehai, Addis Ababa, 2003)
- P. Marsden, *The Barefoot Emperor: An Ethiopian Tragedy* (Harper Perennial, New York, 2008)

And for **Menelik**, see:

- R. H. K. Darkwah, *Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire, 1813-89* (Heinemann, London, 1975)
- H. G. Marcus, *The life and times of Menelik II: Ethiopia, 1844-1913* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1975)