

University of Wisconsin--Madison  
Department of History  
Semester II, 1985-86

History 753      Slavery: The Americas, Africa & Europe      Steve J. Stern  
(Comparative World  
History Seminar)

Course Description

Slavery has linked the histories of Africa, Europe, North America, South America, and the Caribbean. Its history--and legacy--is in this sense literally international. At the same time, its wide diffusion across diverse regions, cultures, and historical contexts has complicated the very definition of "slavery," and has made the institution a fruitful and controversial area of research and debate in comparative history.

This graduate seminar on slavery has several purposes: to introduce students to central issues in the historiography of slavery; to study specific case studies drawn from a wide variety of settings; and to develop, in our discussions especially, a comparative approach which actively utilizes insights and findings from "unfamiliar" historical or cultural settings to reinterpret the history of areas in which we specialize.

During the course of the semester, we will discuss readings dealing with the slave experience in the Americas (both North and South, and the Caribbean), Africa, and Europe. Normally, we will discuss not only the "core readings" assigned to the seminar as a whole, but also student review-essays on supplementary readings of direct relevance for the issues raised in the core readings. Our readings will include case studies as well as overarching interpretations, anthropological as well as more conventional historical analyses, older classics as well as recent works.

Proposed Schedule

1. Introduction. January 24.

Organizational session. I suggest that we set up a calendar of review-essays, and that students unfamiliar with the dimensions of the Atlantic slave trade look at Philip D. Curtin, The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census (Madison, 1969), and Herbert S. Klein, The Middle Passage: Comparative Studies in the Atlantic Slave Trade (Princeton, 1978).

UNIT I. THE COMPARATIVE HISTORY OF SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS

2. Origins of Slave Societies. January 31.

Core rdng: Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New York, 1975).

## 2. (cont'd)

## Supplmtry:

Richard S. Dunn, Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the British West Indies, 1624-1713 (Chapel Hill, 1972).

Alexander Marchant, From Barter to Slavery: The Economic Relations of Portuguese and Indians in the Settlement of Brazil, 1500-1580 (Baltimore, 1942).

Stuart Schwartz, "Indian Labor and New World Plantations: European Demands and Indian Responses in Northwestern Brazil," American Historical Review, 83:1 (Feb., 1978), 43-79.

## 3. The Shadow of Slavery. February 7.

Core rdng: Frank Tannenbaum, Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas (New York, 1946).

Marvin Harris, Patterns of Race in the Americas (New York, 1964), 65-94. [Also available in Laura Foner and Eugene D. Genovese, eds., Slavery in the New World: A Reader in Comparative History (Prentice Hall, N.J., 1969), 38-59.]

Winthrop D. Jordan, "American Chiaroscuro...", in Foner and Genovese, eds., Slavery, 189-201.

Eugene D. Genovese, "The Treatment of Slaves in Different Countries...", in Ibid., 202-210.

## Supplmtry:

Carl Degler, Neither Black Nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States (New York, 1971).

Verena Martinez-Alier, Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba: A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society (New York, 1974).

Stanley H. Elkins, Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life (Chicago, 1959).

Ann J. Lane, ed., The Debate Over Slavery: Stanley Elkins and His Critics (Urbana, 1971).

Sidney W. Mintz, "Slavery and Emergent Capitalisms," in Foner and Genovese, eds., Slavery, 27-37.

## 4. The Variety of Slave Settings. February 14.

Core rdng: Franklin W. Knight, Slave Society in Cuba during the Nineteenth Century (Madison, 1970).

## Supplmtry:

- a) Herbert S. Klein, Slavery in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Virginia and Cuba (Chicago, 1967).

## 4. (cont'd)

Manuel Moreno Fraginals, El ingenio: el complejo económico social cubano del azúcar (3 vols., Havana, 1964). An abridged one-volume version is available in English.

Rebecca J. Scott, Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860-1899 (Princeton, 1986).

Francisco A. Scarano, Sugar and Slavery in Puerto Rico: The Plantation Economy of Ponce, 1800-1850 (Madison, 1984).

- b) Frederick P. Bowser, The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650 (Stanford, 1974).  
 Colin Palmer, Slaves of the White God: Blacks in Mexico, 1570-1650 (Cambridge, Ma., 1976).  
 William F. Sharp, Slavery on the Spanish Frontier: The Colombian Chocó, 1680-1810 (Norman, 1976).

## 5. The Master-Slave Relationship: the United States. February 21.

Core rdng: Eugene D. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (New York, 1974).  
 Eugene D. Genovese, The World the Slaveholders Made: Two Essays in Interpretation (New York, 1969), Part II.

## Supplmtry:

- a) Kenneth M. Stamp, The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-bellum South (New York, 1956).  
 Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery (2 vols., Boston, 1974).  
 Paul A. David et al., Reckoning with Slavery: A Critical Study in the Quantitative History of American Negro Slavery (New York, 1976).
- b) Herbert G. Gutman, The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925 (New York, 1976).  
 Lawrence W. Levine, Black Culture and Black Consciousness (New York, 1978).  
 Albert J. Raboteau, Slave Religion: The 'Invisible Institution' in the Antebellum South (New York, 1978).

## 6. The Master-Slave Relationship: Brazil. February 28.

Core rdng: Stanley J. Stein, Vassouras, A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850-1890: The Roles of Planter and Slave in a Changing Plantation Society (Cambridge, Ma., 1957).

## Supplmtry:

- a) Emilia Viotti da Costa, Da senzala à colônia (2nd ed., Sao Paulo, 1982).

## 6. (cont'd)

Warren Dean, Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System, 1820-1920 (Stanford, 1976).

Gilberto Freyre, The Masters and the Slaves (New York, 1946).

Stuart B. Schwartz, "Free Labor in a Slave Economy: The Lavradores de Cana of Colonial Bahia," in Dauril Alden, ed., The Colonial Roots of Modern Brazil (Berkeley, 1973), 147-197.

Stuart B. Schwartz, new book on slavery in Brazil; and article on slavery in Cambridge History of Latin America.

b) C.R. Boxer, The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750 (Berkeley, 1962), esp. 162-225.

A.J.R. Russell-Wood, "Technology and Society: The Impact of Gold Mining on the Institution of Slavery in Portuguese America," Journal of Economic History, XXXVII:1 (March, 1977), 59-83, and the "Comment" on 84-86. See also his article on Minas Gerais in the Cambridge History of Latin America

Francisco Vidal Luna, Minas Gerais: Escravos e senhores (Sao Paulo, 1981).

Amilcar Martins Filho and Robert B. Martins, "Slavery in a Nonexport Economy: Nineteenth-Century Minas Gerais Revisited," Hispanic American Historical Review, 63 (Aug., 1983), 537-568 and subsequent comments by Slenes, Dean, Engerman, Genovese.

## 7. Towards an Afro-American Perspective. March 7.

Core rdng: Peter H. Wood, Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion (New York, 1974).

Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past: A Caribbean Perspective (ISHI Occasional Papers in Social Change, No. 2, Philadelphia, 1976).

## Supplmtry:

Sidney W. Mintz, "Slavery and the Rise of Peasantries," in Michael Craton, ed., Roots and Branches: Current Directions in Slave Studies (Toronto, 1979), 213-253.

Sidney W. Mintz, Caribbean Transformations (Chicago, 1974).

Margaret E. Crahan and Franklin W. Knight, eds., Africa and the Caribbean: The Legacies of a Link (Baltimore, 1981).

Michael Craton, Searching for the Invisible Man: Slaves and Plantation Life in Jamaica (Cambridge, Ma., 1978).

## 8. Flight and Resistance. March 14.

Core rdng: Richard Price, ed., Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas (2nd ed., Baltimore, 1979), 1-30.

Stuart B. Schwartz, "Resistance and Accommodation in Eighteenth-Century Brazil: The Slaves' View of Slavery," Hispanic American Historical Review, 57:1 (Feb., 1977), 69-81.

Richard Price, First-Time: The Historical Vision of an Afro-American People (Baltimore, 1983).

## Supplmtry:

- a) Price, ed., Maroon Societies, Parts I, IV, VI.  
 Richard Price, To Slay the Hydra: Dutch Colonial Perspectives on the Saramaka Wars (Ann Arbor, 1983).  
 Esteban Montejo, Autobiography of a Runaway Slave, Miguel Barnet, ed. (London, 1968), esp. 1-60.  
 Waldemar de Almeida Barbosa, Negros e quilombos em Minas Gerais (Belo Horizonte, 1972).  
 Clive Gammon, "Cradle of Champions," Sports Illustrated (Nov. 24, 1980), 86-100.  
 Patrick J. Carroll, "Mandinga: The Evolution of a Mexican Runaway Slave Community, 1735-1827," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 19 (1977), 488-505.
- b) Price, ed., Maroon Societies, Parts III, V.  
 Barbara Kopytoff, "Jamaican Maroon Political Organization: The Effects of the Treaties," Social and Economic Studies, XXV (June, 1976) 87-105.  
 Barbara Kopytoff, "The Early Political Development of Jamaican Maroon Societies," William & Mary Quarterly, XXXV (April, 1978), 287-307.  
 Barbara Kopytoff, "The Development of Jamaican Maroon Ethnicity," Caribbean Quarterly, XXII (June-September, 1976), 33-50.  
 Lucille Mathurin, The Rebel Woman in the British West Indies During Slavery (Kingston, 1975).  
 Alan Tuelon, "Nanny--Maroon Chieftainess," Caribbean Quarterly, XIX (December, 1973), 20-27.  
 Bryan Edwards, "Observations on the disposition, character, manners, and habits of life, of the Maroon Negroes..." in Edwards, The History... of the West Indies (London, 1807), I:Appendix II, 522-576.  
 Michael Craton, Testing the Chains: Slave Rebellion in the British Caribbean (Ithaca, 1982).
- c) Gerald W. Mullin, Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-Century Virginia (New York, 1972).  
 George Fredrickson and Christopher Lasch, "Resistance to Slavery," Civil War History, 13 (1967), 315-339.

## 8. (cont'd)

Peter Wood, "'I Did the Best I Could for My Day': The Study of Early Black History During the Second Reconstruction, 1960 to 1976," William & Mary Quarterly, 35 (1978), 185-225.

Kenneth W. Porter, The Negro on the Frontier (New York, 1971)

William S. Willis, Jr., "Blacks and the Southern Indians," in Handbook of North American Indians, volume 14.

## 9. From Resistance to Insurrection. March 21.

Core rdng: C.L.R. James, The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution (2nd ed., New York, 1963).

## Supplmtry:

a) Robert Debs Heinl, Written in Blood: the Story of the Haitian People, 1492-1971 (Boston, 1978).

Charles Frostin, Les revoltes blanches à Saint-Domingue aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (Haiti avant 1789) (Paris, 1975).

Thomas O. Hott, The Haitian Revolution, 1789-1804 (Knoxville, 1973).

Price, ed., Maroon Societies, Part II.

Leslie F. Manigat, "The Relationship Between Marronage and Slave Revolts and Revolution in St. Domingue--Haiti," in Vera Rubin and Arthur Tuden, eds., Comparative Perspectives on Slavery in New World Plantation Societies (New York, 1977), 420-473.

b) Eugene D. Genovese, From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the New World (Baton Rouge, 1979).

Orlando Patterson, The Sociology of Slavery (London, 1967).

Stephen B. Oates, The Fires of Jubilee: Nat Turner's Fierce Rebellion (New York, 1975).

F. Roy Johnson, The Nat Turner Slave Insurrection (Murfreesboro, 1966).

## UNIT II. BEYOND THE AMERICAS.

## 10. Slavery and Abolition in Capitalist Civilization. April 4.

Core rdng: David B. Davis, The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823 (Ithaca, 1975).

Peter H. Wood, "Negotiating a Settlement in the Long War of Slavery," Reviews in American History, 3:3 (Sept., 1975), 310-316.

## 10. (cont'd)

## Supplmtry:

- a) Eric Williams, Capitalism and Slavery (Chapel Hill, 1944).  
 Roger Anstey, "'Capitalism and Slavery': A Critique," The Economic History Review, 2nd ser., XXI (1968), 307-320.  
 Roger Anstey, The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760-1810 (London, 1975).  
 Stanley L. Engerman, "The Slave Trade and British Capital Formation in the Eighteenth Century: A Comment on the Williams Thesis," Business History Review, XLVI (Winter, 1972), 430-443.  
 Seymour Drescher, Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition (Pittsburgh, 1977).
- b) Emilia Viotti da Costa, Da senzala à colonial (2nd ed., Sao Paulo, 1982).  
 Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Capitalismo e escravidão no Brasil meridional (São Paulo, 1962).  
 Jacob Gorender, O escravismo colonial (São Paulo, 1978).
- c) Barrington Moore, Jr., Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World (Boston, 1966), 111-155.  
 Eric Foner, Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War (New York, 1970).  
 Eric Foner, "The Causes of the American Civil War: Recent Interpretations and New Directions," Civil War History, 20:3 (Sept., 1974), 197-214.

## 11. Muslim Slavery in Comparative Perspective. April 11.

Core rdng: Frederick Cooper, Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa (New Haven, 1977).

Supplmtry: Frederick Cooper, From Slaves to Squatters: Plantation Labor and Agriculture in Zanzibar and Coastal Kenya, 1890-1925 (New Haven, 1980).  
 Allan G.B. Fisher and Humphrey J. Fisher, Slavery and Muslim Society in Africa (Garden City, New York, 1971).

## 12. The Problematic Meaning of "Slavery": African Perspectives. April 8.

Core rdng: Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, eds., Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives (Madison, 1977), Parts I, II, III, VIII.

## Supplmtry:

Miers and Kopytoff, eds., Slavery, Parts IV-VII.  
 Claude Meillassoux, L'esclavage en Afrique précoloniale (Paris, 1975).

12 (cont'd)

Paul E. Lovejoy, Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa (New York, 1983).

13. Slavery as Social Death. April 25.

Core rdng: Orlando Patterson, Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study (Cambridge, Ma., 1982).

Supplmtry:

- a) David B. Davis, Slavery and Human Progress (New York, 1984).
- b) M.I. Finley, The Ancient Economy (Berkeley, 1973).  
M.I. Finley, "Slavery," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 14 (New York, 1968), 307-313.  
M.I. Finley, ed., Slavery in Classical Antiquity: Views and Controversies (Cambridge, Eng., 1960).  
David B. Davis, The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture (Ithaca, 1966), Part I. See also the critique of Davis by Finley in Foner and Genovese, eds., Slavery, 256-261.  
Perry Anderson, Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism (London, 1974), esp. Part I.

14. Women and Slavery. May 2.

Core rdng: Marcia Wright, ed., Women in Peril: Life Stories of Four Captives (Lusaka, 1984). Available in xerox packet.  
Gerda Lerner, "Women and Slavery," Slavery & Abolition, 4:3 (Dec., 1983), 173-198.

Supplmtry: Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein, eds., Women and Slavery in Africa (Madison, 1983).  
Claire C. Robertson, Sharing the Same Bowl: A Socioeconomic History of Women and Class in Accra, Ghana (Bloomington, 1984??).  
Gerda Lerner, new 1986 book on women and slavery in ancient Mesopotamia.

15. Comparative Slavery and Race Relations: Appeals and Pitfalls Reconsidered. May 9.

Core rdng: Genovese, The World the Slaveholders Made, Part I.

Supplmtry: George M. Fredrickson, White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History (New York, 1981).

### Assignments and Grading

This seminar will emphasize discussion and debate. The most important assignment is to think through the issues, arguments, and implications of the readings, and to contribute your critical thoughts and insights actively and articulately in discussion. Collectively, we will strive for a comparative approach, but one which is also sensitive to the particularities of specific regions and case studies.

About every other week, a team of two students will lead the discussion for about an hour, and I will lead discussion during the second hour. During the weeks in which I lead the entire discussion, students will turn in a brief paragraph indicating their response to the readings two hours before the seminar begins. I will review the student comments as I prepare for discussion.

Students may elect one of three options for writing assignments.

- Option 1: a short critical review of the core reading of a given week (5-8 pages), and a "single-credit" review-essay on supplementary readings and their implications for a given week's core readings (10-15 pages).
- Option 2: a "double-credit" review-essay on a substantial amount of supplementary readings, and their implications for a given week's core readings and topic (20-30 pages).
- Option 3: a research essay on a comparative topic (ca. 40 pages).

The short critical essays are due at the beginning of the seminar sessions in which the work under review will be discussed. The single-credit and double-credit review-essays are due by Tuesday at 3:45 p.m. in 3211 Humanities during the week to whose core reading the essay pertains. All members of the seminar will read the review-essays before the Friday seminar meeting. Research papers are due by Friday, May 11. Those who wish to submit a first draft of research papers must do so by Friday, April 4.

The review-essays should strive to build a sense of connection and implication that allows supplementary readings to enrich our understanding and discussion of core readings and topics. The essays should normally present a succinct explication of the major findings and arguments of the supplementary readings; a critical analysis of the merits and weaknesses of the readings; and a substantive discussion of the implications of the supplementary readings for the topic and core readings of the week. The precise way you weave together these various functions is open, of course, since you are author and critic.

The syllabus lists possible clusters of supplementary readings, but these are points of departure rather than rigid assignments. Normally, about two supplementary books will suffice for the purposes of a "single-credit" review-essay, while a "double-credit" essay will analyze the equivalent of about four major books.

Students working on a review-essay for a particular week may choose to elect a "designated skip" on the core readings of the week before the

Assignments and Grading (cont'd)

review-essay is due. The "designated skip" does not completely liberate the student from the core readings. The student should still read carefully any review-essays submitted during the week "skipped," and will also be expected to skim the core readings. Students who choose a "designated skip" should write me a note confirming the skip two weeks in advance.

Grading will be weighted as follows: 50% written work, 50% class discussion. In Option 1, the review-essay counts one-third, and the short critique one-sixth.