Salau does not simply reinforce the argument made by Paul Lovejoy that the Sokoto Caliphate was a slave society.[2] He also demonstrates the nature of the slavery, its peculiarities, and its similarities to other plantation slave societies in East Africa and the New World.

The first six chapters of the book analyze the origins and authorizing idioms of jihad and enslavement, as well as the development, consolidation, and typologies of plantation slavery in the Sokoto caliphate. In these chapters, Salau explicates the ways in which emirs and aristocrats maintained their power, the prestige of the caliphate, and its ability to generate revenue by employing techniques of labor management and agricultural production comparable to the modern capitalist techniques of plantation superintendence which scholars of the United States and New World slavery have studied with remarkable rigor. Here, Salau's work follows the arc of current scholarship on plantation slavery and moves away from a dichotomous approach that posits African slave systems as fundamentally different from chattel slavery in the New World.

The first six chapters also show how the emir of Kano, the caliphate's most economically viable state, exploited the surpluses of plantation agricultural production, how he leveraged plantations to consolidate his power vis-à-vis that of ambitious landowning aristocrat, and how the resistance of enslaved people both complicated and spurred innovations in labor control.

The last chapter is a comparative one, juxtaposing caliphate plantation slavery with similar institutions in East Africa and the Americas. This comparison has immense historiographical significance. Salau's analysis makes the case that caliphal slavery had more in common with the East African and New World iterations than has been explicitly recognized by scholars. A small quibble with this comparison might be the recency of the caliphate and its slavery system relative to East African and New World slaveries. This small point does not take anything away from a carefully crafted, well-researched, and rigorously analyzed study of an African Islamic slave system.

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RECONFIGURING SLAVERY IN WEST AFRICA

Reconfiguring Slavery: West African Trajectories, 2nd edition.
Edited by Benedetta Rossi.

Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016. Pp. 256. £85.00, hardcover (ISBN: 978-1-846-31199-4); £19.99, paperback (ISBN: 978-1-781-38305-6); £19.99 e-book (ISBN: 978-1-846-31564-0).
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KEYWORDS: West Africa, slavery, abolition, regional.

Several years have passed since the initial 2009 publication of Benedetta Rossi's edited volume *Reconfiguring Slavery: West African Trajectories*. Although it is entitled

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[2] P. Lovejoy, 'Plantations in the economy of the Sokoto Caliphate', *The Journal of African History*, 19:3 (1978), 341–68.

Reconfiguring Slavery, Rossi's emphasis is on trajectories: not only where the enslavement has been practiced in West Africa, but how those practices have moved, changed, and ceased. These are questions that of necessity focus on emancipation. In 2001, Henry Louis Gates wondered about 'the apparent willingness of so many African societies' to participate 'in bartering what, to us here appear to be their brothers and sisters, for a mess of pottage'.[1] This interpretative model — the 'black betrayal' paradigm, as Bayo Holsey describes it — has served as an important role in 'reduc[ing] Africans to slave raiders' and forged 'the very origins of the European notion of a corporate African identity'.[2] Scholars such as Suzannie Miers, Igor Kopytoff, Ugo Nwokeji, Akosua Perbi, Gwendolyn Midlo-Hall, and Walter Hawthorne have complicated and particularized how scholars imagine the ethnic, social, cultural, and economic identities and statuses of enslaved Africans.[3] Rossi's edited volume engages this project of particularization, especially as it relates to emancipations of enslaved peoples throughout West Africa.

Now available in its second, paperback edition, Rossi's volume promises — as it did in its first printing — to imagine slavery and emancipation 'not as a unified reality, but as a fragmented phenomenon that requires qualification' (xiii). Each context of abolition generates qualifying questions, such as: Emancipated from what? Liberty to be where? And bondage from whom? As Martin Klein concludes in his contribution: '[I]f the term slavery has any precise meaning, it no longer exists for most of West Africa' (39–40). Might the same be said for its abolition?

When first released, Rossi's volume found itself riding a tide of interest in abolition studies. Seymour Drescher's tome, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery,* also published in 2009, offered up a global history of abolitions from the early modern period through the twentieth century.[4] While Drescher places less emphasis on the local, his volume highlights the important argument that slave systems are resilient, resistant to change, and their dismantlement requires concerted, persistent action. For all the strength of Drescher's work, Rossi's volume cuts against the vast reaches of that metanarrative to find complexities in its cracks and crevices. Indeed, this volume is founded on the premise that the simple term slavery has 'lost interpretative value' (5).

Just as African 'slaveries' have never functioned as a single-dimensional analytical category, neither has 'emancipation', 'liberty', or 'bondage'. The volume's treatment of slave emancipation also illuminates increased scholarly attention to the challenges to slave freedoms throughout West Africa. As chapters by Alice Bellagamba and Jean

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[1] H. L. Gates Jr., 'Preface', in D. Eltis and P. Morgan (eds.), special issue 'New Perspectives on the Transatlantic Slave Trade', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 58:1 (2001), 3.

[2] B. Holsey, *Routes of Remembrance: Refashioning the Slave Trade in Ghana* (Chicago, 2008), 122–3. See also S. Diouf, *Fighting the Slave Trade: West African Strategies* (Athens, OH, 2003), xiv.

[3] S. Miers and I. Kopytoff, *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison, 1977); G. U. Nwokeji, *The Slave Trade and Culture in the Bight of Biafra: An African Society in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge, 2010); A. A. Perbi, *A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana: From the 15th to the 19th Centuries* (Accra, 2004); G. Midlo-Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2007); W. Hawthorne, *From Africa to Brazil: Culture, Identity, and an Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600–1830* (Cambridge, 2010).

[4] S. Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery* (Cambridge, 2009).

Schmitz discuss, the lines between slavery and emancipation blur in Senegambia. Bellagamba points to situational factors, such as proximity between masters and enslaved people, and a general lack of resources, which means that the burden typically falls upon the formerly enslaved to renegotiate their relationship with their former masters. In some settlements in the twentieth century, the descendants of some enslaved people opted to ally with the descendants of the former master, leading to a relationship 'better conceived as a form of family heritage to whose continuity both sides commit' (64). Jean Schmitz analyzes slave emancipation in the Senegal River valley, revealing a host of emancipations generated variously by Islamic land dispersal and clientage, Islamic conversion, and French assimilationist policies. Those processes highlight exactly how much the term 'emancipation' elides the complexities of contexts where a number of cultural and social systems intersect (85–106).

In her chapter, Christine Hardung highlights how *GannunKeebe* (Fulfulde: former slaves and slave descendants) have utilized ancestral knowledge in order to maintain peaceful relationships with former Beninese masters, an argument that engages with Holsey's work on slavery and memory-making in twentieth-century Ghana. Eric Hahonou argues that in Niger and Benin, while former slaves have come to dominate political office, they have also perpetuated old patron-client relationships that once defined slave society. Klein's chapter argues that slave descendants in the Sahara and the Sudan, while legally free, have chosen to continue working within the social structures of slave-master relationships. Similarly, Olivier Leservoisier maintains that while slavery was legally abolished in Mauritania in 1981, ex-slaves 'reproduce the hierarchical foundations of society as a precondition for their own social mobility' (141).

The field has experienced several exciting developments since the publication of Rossi's first edition. The ongoing digital history efforts of Henry Lovejoy et al.'s Liberated Africans Project has provided access to tens of thousands of emancipation records in Sierra Leone, Brazil, and Cuba.[5] Since the publication of this volume, various other studies, such as those by Alessandra Brivio on the nineteenth-century emancipation of enslaved women in the Gold Coast, Christine Whyte on abolition movements in early twentieth-century Abyssinia and Sierra Leone, and Ann McDougall on slave labor in Saharan salt mines have illuminated the varieties of emancipations in the African continent.[6]

Rossi's volume offers readers a probing look at the uneven contours of the *terrae* of slave scholarship; indeed, one of the contributions of this volume is to demonstrate exactly how uneven are the contours of studies of enslavement and emancipation. This book accentuates, emphasizes, and casts in sharp focus the necessity of incorporating local, regional, and transoceanic dynamics in our study of slavery and emancipation. Rossi's volume has made — and will continue to make — an important and useful contribution to scholarship on African slaveries.

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[5] H. B. Lovejoy et al., The Liberated Africans Project, (https://liberatedafricans.org).

[6] A. Brivio, '"I am a slave not a wife": slave women in post-proclamation Gold Coast (Ghana)', *Gender & History*, 29:1 (2017), 31–47; C. Whyte, '"Everyone knows that laws bring the greatest benefits to mankind": the global and local origins of anti-slavery in Abyssinia, 1880–1942', *Slavery & Abolition*, 35:4 (2014), 652–69; A. McDougall, 'Colonial labour, Tawdenni and "l'enfer du sel": the struggle from slave to free labour in a Saharan salt mine', *Labor History*, 58:2 (2017), 185–200.

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SCHOOLS AND COLONIALISM IN FRENCH WEST AFRICA

Contesting French West Africa: Battles over Schools and the Colonial Order, 1900–1950.
By Harry Gamble.

Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2017. Pp. 378. $50.00, hardcover (ISBN: 978-0-8032-9549-0).
doi:10.1017/S0021853720000407

KEY WORDS: West Africa, education, colonial, race, citizenship.

Harry Gamble's *Contesting French West Africa* presents an overview of policies of, and reactions to, French colonial schooling. It focuses especially on the period between 1903, when colonial officials implemented plans to shift education away from missionaries, and the first years of the Fourth Republic, founded in1946. Over eight chronological chapters focusing on specific moments of 'struggles over education, the colonial order, and the shape of the future', Gamble demonstrates how debates over education can be used to understand mechanisms of colonial rule, notions of citizenship, and the discourses and practices of the 'civilising mission' (9). The book aims to foreground the voices and perspectives of African elites, and it considers the differentiated impact of and responses to colonial schooling in various urban and rural locations throughout French West Africa (FWA), with an emphasis on Senegal's Four Communes.

Gamble argues that 'rather than becoming marginal to the new colonial order, the Four Communes actually served as dynamic urban nodes, radiating out into interior regions' and that they are therefore key case studies for tensions over education policies and colonial control (20). Chapters One and Two analyse how contests over rights, citizenship, and schooling are linked by focusing on the *originaires* between the late nineteenth century and the early 1920s and their responses to the 'bifurcated approach to schooling' and covert racial segregation (25). These two chapters both present an overview of key dates and important actors, such as William Ponty and Blaise Diagne, and demonstrate how citizenship laws were refracted through school policies and racialised understandings of 'subjects' and 'citizens'. Chapters Three and Four investigate how colonial administrators in Paris and FWA sought to manage the colony through education after the First World War, with an increasing emphasis on the interior through an extended network of rural schools. The *originaires*' increasingly vocal demands made colonial officials anxious about West African's teachers, who they saw as 'moving beyond their assigned roles' and at risk of being 'uprooted' (*déracinés*). In an effort to suppress these perceived dangers, officials depicted the interior as a placid 'Afrique paysanne', a trope that they used to justify adapted schooling and the oppression of rural populations, including forced labour (99). Considering the received wisdom that presumes that French had always been the sole