

Crossroads and Exchanges in the Scandinavian Atlantic and Atlantic West Africa: Framing Texts of Eighteenth-Century African Christians

RAY KEA *

Email: kea@ucr.edu

The interconnectedness of Atlantic West Africa and the Scandinavian Atlantic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries exemplifies an entangled or shared history (*histoire croisée*). The present article maintains that in the context of the brutal transatlantic chattel trade this history manifests different historical trajectories as well as the temporality of episodic events and structural duration that are configured in the divergent itineraries of two eighteenth-century African Christians. Their texts and life histories reveal them as purveyors of intertwined Christian and non-Christian cultural codes and discursive fields, in one case according to a plantation-colony itinerary and in the other according to a world-port itinerary. The complex social realities of multiple texts and material cultures did not operate independently of socioeconomic structures intertwined with Atlantic world circuits.

Keywords: Atlantic, West Africa, Pietism, political economy, interconnections, life histories, agency, ideology/religion.

Introduction

There is an axiom that individual lives can illuminate larger macrohistorical issues on the grounds that the layered nature of social biographies or life histories takes in cultural, ideological, material, spatial, and temporal elements. A special issue of the *Journal of World-Systems Research* considers biography a fruitful entry point into macrohistorical sociology, specifically into the historical dynamics of a world-system's macrostructures.¹ Life histories can be likened to events in Fernand Braudel's understanding of the event, episode, or action as one timeline in multiple temporalities.²

In the eighteenth century the Atlantic slave trade and Caribbean sugar production represented new economies of Euro-Atlantic mercantile capitalism—the globalisation

of enslaved African labour, on the one hand, and the industrialisation of plantation sugar production and the proletarianisation of the enslaved labour force, on the other.³ The Scandinavian Atlantic, more specifically the Danish-Norwegian colonial-mercantile formation was a product of the ascendant and globalizing Euro-Atlantic political economy. Throughout the Atlantic basin the horizon and scale of activities expanded and commercial circuits became conduits for political and cultural exchange and new forms of symbolic and ideological representation.⁴ The dynamics of Atlantic West African history created concomitantly waves of forced labour migration to the Americas, new technologies and new outlooks, and distinct regimes of social property relations.⁵

The present article seeks to map and identify the back and forth movements and exchanges between the microlevel of life history experiences and the dynamics of macro-level structures at different spatial scales and within longer and shorter time frames.⁶ The purpose is to link, analytically, agency and structure, on one side, and the political and the personal, on the other. These phenomena and relationships are conceptually subsumed in two categories: “exchanges,” denoting material and social relations and relationships, and “crossroads,” denoting the meeting of two or more roads but also connoting being-in-the-world which entailed, *inter alia*, fame, fortune, poverty, filth, defeat, enslavement, dependence, and other existential conditions.⁷

Primary sources and historiographical works pertaining to the themes of this study refer to multiple existing cultures, settings, and relationships in the Atlantic basin. To analyse agency and structure and the personal and political in this matrix, categories like exchanges and crossroads are methodologically useful as indicators of particular kinds of relations. Exchange signifies spaces of flows, long-distance movements of people, ideas, institutions, goods, and mercantile circuits under historically specific world-system organizational conditions. Crossroad, a category that presupposes a hierarchical societal order, signifies a range of personal and collective possibilities and experiences in a world-system of long-distance interconnection. Linking contingency and structure, crossroad represents a space of places perspective. Within the Atlantic world’s spaces of flows, West African Christians constructed cultural spheres, as manifested in sociolinguistic entanglements (multilingualism and the production of multilingual texts) and personal destinies as revealed in conversion strategies, including collective and individual forms of activity.

The complex and entangled relationship that the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Scandinavian Atlantic had with African historicity is considered in the following discussion with reference to two African Christians who, it is argued, personified the ambiguities of this relationship. Both produced multilingual texts, which were events in their own right. One of the them was a woman, Damma/Marotta/Madlena (d. 1745), originally from Great Popo (western Slave Coast), who was enslaved and later manumitted in the Danish-Norwegian colony of St. Thomas in the West Indies.⁸ The other, Christian Jacob Protten (1715–1769), was an Afro-Dane (or Euro-African), originally from Accra-Osu (eastern Gold Coast). He studied at the University of Copenhagen.⁹ The question is: what history produced these two individuals?¹⁰

From a *longue durée* perspective the histories of the Gold Coast and Slave Coast regions and the social biographies of Damma/Marotta/Madlena and Protten intersect the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century tectonic shifts in geopolitical alignments and configurations of power that polarised the landscapes over much of the Atlantic West Africa macroregion.¹¹ From the thirteenth to the late sixteenth century, long-distance communication and commercial routes, which integrated much of the macroregion including the Gold Coast and the Slave Coast (Bight of Benin), were anchored by two imperial dynastic hegemonies—one based in the Middle and Upper Niger basin (the Mali-Songhai imperium) and the other in the Chad basin (the Kanem-Borno imperium). These hegemonies were economic and commercial fulcrum points of the Atlantic West Africa macroregion. The late sixteenth-century collapse of the Niger-based imperial centre contributed to the emergence of competing subimperial entities, state and nonstate, that fought and struggled to fill the power vacuum. A unipolar geopolitical order gave way to a multipolar world of warfare, social unrest and upheaval, millenarian movements, and economic and political transformations. New scales of network structuring and new hierarchies of labour appeared as a result of organizational changes to secure order and long-distance commercial integration. In addition, social differentiation based on wealth, power, and class was established in terms of social property relations.¹²

The crises accompanying these social and institutional developments created waves of forced migration to the Americas. Historical studies have established that before 1800–1820 the transfer of labour out of Africa was considerably greater than the transfer of labour out of Europe. Between 1580 and 1820 some 8.7 million versus 3 million Europeans crossed the Atlantic to the American colonies.¹³ The *longue durée* social development of the Atlantic West Africa macroregion can be connected to its central role in an ancient multicentric global world-system, a centrality that was not neutralised by the macroregion's ports' interactions with Euro-Atlantic mercantile capitalism and the commercial transactions of royal chartered trading companies.¹⁴ Various institutional complexes emerged in the Gold Coast region, for example, as mercantile- and military-oriented political systems, and in the Slave Coast region the palace and/or the walled city as a site of wealth extraction and distribution, to deal with the macro-region-wide crisis and at the same time to engage with an expanding Euro-Atlantic mercantile capitalism.¹⁵

Two African Christians

The social biographies and texts of Damma/Marotta/Madlena and Protten are indices to wider spatial and organizational contexts, events and thresholds, and historical changes. Damma/Marotta/Madlena, who lived on a sugar plantation in the Danish-Norwegian Caribbean, belonged to a family that was part of the middle strata of Great Popo's propertied classes. Some members of these classes were literate Christians, i.e., followers of Catholicism. Her father, perhaps a broker-interpreter, was a Christian.¹⁶ The emergence of the port's middle strata is traceable to the expansion and development of Atlantic commercial circuits from the mid-sixteenth century onwards. The middle strata comprised

specialised and hierarchically ranked social-occupational groups, such as brokers, interpreters, artisans, priests and priestesses, and lower level officials. Their ranked statuses carried cultural and symbolic values, which in some instances were codified as a power relation through conversion to Christianity, literacy in European languages, and access to powerful patronage networks.¹⁷ The human capital of the middle strata (knowledge, skills, and competencies) enabled Great Popo to function as an important supplier of provisions to slaving ships. Due to its position in the lagoon system it facilitated communication along the coast between trading companies' commercial stations on the eastern Gold Coast and their factory or lodges on the eastern Slave Coast. In the late seventeenth century an expansionist military kingdom (Akwamu) conquered the eastern Gold Coast, including Accra-Osu, and in 1702 its army of five to ten thousand musketeers occupied Great Popo and other Slave Coast ports.¹⁸ Damma/Marotta/Madlena's capture and deportation to the colonies in the Caribbean probably occurred at this time. On the other hand, Protten and his relations lived as high-status, privileged subjects under an oppressive Akwamu suzerainty.

In Great Popo intellectual and religious culture was a rich mix of Catholicism (from the late sixteenth century), *Vodun* (from the sixteenth century), and *Ifa* (pre-fifteenth century) and a range of socio-political ideas regarding the constitutive tension and struggle between social and political forces (Yoruba: *asuwada*; *alasuwada*).¹⁹ The port was on the western edge of the Yoruba-Aja Commonwealth, which one study describes as follows:

The intellectual climate of the region was and still is largely characterised by a dialogic ethos, a constant pursuit to exchange ideas, experience, and material culture. Each city was a locus of intellectual interaction between intellectuals (*babalawo*, herbalists, poets, artists, etc.)... Polyglottism was a common feature among intellectuals, and the Yoruba language ... was the preferred language of intellectual discourse of the entire region, particularly among diviners.²⁰

The political and social imaginary of Great Popo would have been shaped by the translocal communications and intercultural and intellectual connections of the Commonwealth.

Within the context of the Aja-Yoruba Commonwealth and the dense web of shared ritual practices, ideas, beliefs, and institutions with Olukumi (or Yoruba) as a single *lingua franca*, Damma/Marotta/Madlena would have known the concept *asuwada* (or *alusuwada*), whose signification embraced a corpus of ideas concerning the making or creating of human society. It emphasised principles of association and sociality. Society—the material, social, cultural, institutional, and ideological realms of societal life—brings into existence various potentials and constructs: it creates, it destroys and it modifies. Society-making created the free citizen and the non-citizen, literally “thing belonging in cords and deprived of liberty.” *Asuwada* and other doctrines were codified in the meta-languages (rituals; ceremonialism) of *Ifa* and *Vodun*. As a social doctrine *asuwada* advocated a praxis of citizens' political engagement in different forms of collective struggle.²¹

Protten, an Afro-Dane (or Euro-African), studied at the Christiansborg Castle school in Accra-Osu (1722–1727), with a private tutor in Copenhagen (1727–1732), and in the

Faculty of Theology at the University of Copenhagen (1732–1735). He taught for a year in St. Thomas (1743–1744) and, later, at the Christiansborg Castle school. While a student he converted to Moravian Pietism in 1735.²² Through his mother's kin he belonged to a politically and socially distinguished affective (kin) network. The prominence of his ancestral line very likely had its roots in local history as local managers of Great Accra–Portuguese commerce when the sixteenth century Great Accra urban complex was one of the world's leading exporters of gold.²³ Protten's ancestors were among the Accra elites who provided the infrastructure, including human capital and material resources, to support Danish-Norwegian trading establishments along the eastern Gold Coast seaboard.²⁴ This achievement was due to the elites' social and patronage networks, which engaged in information and resource sharing through marriages, alliances, contracts, and so on.²⁵ Protten's patrimony allowed him a culture of privilege and (relative) leisure.

Accra-Osu was the headquarters of Danish-Norwegian commercial transactions in Lower Guinea ports.²⁶ The functionality of Accra-Osu as a trading company headquarters and as a world port owed much to the elaboration of social and spatial divisions of labour in the eastern Gold Coast as a consequence of urbanizing and state-building processes over the *longue durée*. Accra-Osu functioned as a site of entangled spaces.²⁷ Local cultural and ideological mediation of Accra-Osu's entangled spaces was expressed at a societal level in established institutions, ceremonies, and rituals and on a personal level in some of Protten's writings.²⁸ His texts include an extensive correspondence, an autobiographical essay (published in German in a 1741 Moravian newsletter), a diary (*Diarium*), a travel journal (*Reise-Diarium*), poetry, a grammar of the Fanti and Ga languages (published in Copenhagen in 1764), and a Lutheran catechism. He wrote in Danish, Dutch, Dutch Creole, and German as well as two Gold Coast languages—Ga (Accra) and Fanti (Amina).²⁹ He certainly would have known Portuguese Creole (*Neger Portugisisk*) which was a *lingua franca* (*General-Sprog*) in Gold Coast and Slave Coast ports.³⁰

Upper-class Accra ideology codified and theorised distinctions of class, lifestyle, patrimony, and status as grounded in the nature of the universe (fate), the nature of nature (order/disorder), the nature of human nature (rational/irrational), and the nature of society (independence/dependence). A key concept was “crossroad(s),” an idea with multiple and antithetical meanings: opportunity, achievement, affluence, health, prestige, and power, on the one hand, and defeat, loss, failure, poverty, dependence, sickness, tragedy, and disgrace on the other.³¹ This phenomenological view of social existence mediated the junctures of life's conditions as these were experienced by elite households. Protten's agency as a university student and a convert to Moravian Pietism enabled him to acquire cultural, social, and symbolic capital, and thus a cosmopolitan lifestyle in an Atlantic-based world-system. His crossroad experiences in western Africa, in the West Indies, and Northern Europe and his transatlantic travels can be marked as distinct features of early modern flows and places in the Atlantic world-system.

In a diary entry dated 12 May 1743, the Moravian missionary Johann Brückner reported that Christian Protten arrived at the St. Thomas colony from Guinea. He sailed on a Danish-Norwegian slave ship that carried a total of ninety-five enslaved men,

women, and children.³² In 1726 he sailed aboard the slave ship *Christiansborg* with 391 enslaved Africans, arriving in St. Thomas in February 1727 with 207 survivors, before heading to Europe and Copenhagen.³³ Under the auspices of the Moravian church and its leader Count Ludwig Zinzendorf he served as a teacher at the St. Thomas school for Moravian converts (1743–1744), whom he refers to in one of his letters as *liebe Schwartzen* (“beloved Blacks”) and *armen heyden* (“poor heathens”).³⁴ While teaching, Protten met Damma/Marotta/Madlena. At the time she was a “venerated evangelical church elder” of the Moravian congregation, having converted to Moravian Pietism in 1736. In the late 1730s and early 1740s she proved to be instrumental in founding a Moravian congregation in spite of the intransigent and violent opposition of the majority of the island’s plantation owners.³⁵

Pietism was not only a matter of belief but also a language. For Marotta, Pietism was a language of communal or collective protest in which she and her fellow Pietist converts decried and opposed the practices and situations of domination, which was oppressive, alienating, and humiliating. Their quest for spiritual security and solace in a brutal environment can be expressed as “marronage of the soul,” entailing not passivity but *ecclesiogenesis* (“making a church”), that is, Pietist converts engaged in creating, in *asuwada* sense, a new kind of institutional coherence and meaning in the settler colony. In Protten’s case, Pietism was a language of self-realization and personal salvation, which did not countenance overt opposition to or protests against chattel slavery.³⁶ Born out of a plurality of negative circumstances selfhood and personal spiritual redemption were the markers of Protten’s crossroad.

Can it be said that the two Pietists’ texts map the internal dialectics and hybridity of Danish-Norwegian and Gold and Slave Coast interaction and entanglement, bridging temporal, spatial, and social boundaries and cataclysmic historical events? In any case the worldliness of their texts encompasses a conjunction of local, regional, and global elements (cultural, ideological, institutional, and philosophical) in a period that is historiographically defined as a time of transition throughout the Atlantic world.³⁷ The Pietists’ lives and textual practices reveal in different ways the complex links and articulations between exchanges, as material relations and crossroads, as ideological and social relations.

Crossroads

An underlying proposition of the discussion is that micro-histories of individual lives, like the lives of the two Pietists, are able to illuminate and reflect the macro-histories of the Atlantic West African world as well as the entanglements of the Atlantic world, characterised by overlapping layers of ideologies, pursuits, textual practices, and agencies.

Damma/Marotta/Madlena authored and coauthored petitions to the king and queen of the Danish-Norwegian composite state. The petitions were written in Dutch, Dutch Creole, and Aja-Gbe, her mother tongue.³⁸ One of her petitions, written in February 1739, was addressed to the Danish-Norwegian queen on behalf of more than 250 enslaved and freed women converts to Pietism. It was published in a Moravian newsletter

in 1741 in two versions. One version, signed Damma (*Minzu Gnonù en bo ma poppo*), was in her mother tongue, Aja-Gbe. The other version was in Dutch Creole and was signed “Marotta now Madlena of Popo in Africa (*van Poppo uyt Africa*).”³⁹ A translation of the Dutch Creole follows:

“Great Queen! At the time I lived in Popo, I served Lord Mau. Now I have come to the land of the Whites, and they will not allow me to serve the Lord Jesus. Previously, I did not have any reason to serve Him, but now I do. I am very sad in my heart that the Black women of St. Thomas are not allowed to serve Lord Jesus. The Whites do not want to obey Him. Let them do as they wish. But when the poor black brethren and sisters want to serve the Lord Jesus, they are looked upon as maroons. If the Queen thinks it fitting, please pray to the Lord Jesus for us and let her intercede with the King to allow *Baas* Martin to preach the Lord’s word, so that we can come to know the Lord and so that he can baptize us Blacks in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. May the Lord save you and bless you, along with your son and daughter and your whole family. I will pray to the Lord Jesus. In the name of over 250 Black women, who love Lord Jesus, written by Marotta now Madlena of Popo in Africa.”⁴⁰

From an *asuwada* perspective Marotta’s initiative can be read as an effort to resolve the distinction between Christian citizen-subject and Christian non-citizen-subject by creating a political and public space for a church and a school. Marotta/Madlena was involved in a collective struggle with other men and women converts, some of whom were from Slave Coast ports and were also multilingual and literate. In the same month she coauthored with several other converts a petition (in Dutch) that presented grievances to the Danish-Norwegian king on behalf of more than 650 converts to Pietism:

“Merciful King! We hope that Your Majesty will order that we be given permission to continue to learn about our Lord Jesus. We are steadfast in our determination to do so if it pleases God, our Lord, despite all the oppression by those who have come to beat and injure us when the *Baas* [Martin] teaches us about the Savior, by those who burn our books, call our baptism the baptism of dogs, and call the brethren beasts, declaring that Blacks must not be saved and that a baptized Black is no more than kindling wood for the flames of Hell... We desire only to send our souls to Heaven to the Lord Jesus. We used to steal from our masters, run off as maroons, run away to Porto Rico, indulge in laziness, and pilfer provisions from our masters. But now it is otherwise with us, as our masters themselves well know. Many a Black has suffered amputation of feet and hands as punishment for his pursuit of evil. As for ourselves, we would gladly place our heads under the axe in defense of our congregation and for the sake of Lord Jesus, if our masters have killed us, as they say. May the Lord bless our most merciful king thousand times.”⁴¹

The two petitions indicate that the converts, as advanced social actors in an industrializing plantation system, had original organization and strategic capabilities, self-discipline, and moral philosophies.

The collective struggles of Pietist converts in the Danish-Norwegian settler colonies was not part of Protten’s agenda. His autobiographical essay recounts his student life in Copenhagen and his conversion to Pietism.

“We [i.e., Protten and classmate Frederik Svane (1710–1789)] were assigned to the blacksmith trade, because that was to be more profitable in Africa, but we had no desire to do it and gave the pastor [Elias Svane, their tutor] no peace until he permitted us to continue our studies, which we did for the next four years. However, I felt that the Lord wanted to help me in many different ways. He shook and jolted me, he moved me most deeply. But I always crept away and wept. I was still too young, too immature, too give myself up to the Cross. If I had been a student and had had a little freedom, I would have wanted to give myself over to the Lord. I became a student in the year 1732 and as I made my way further in the world the unfettered free life led me to be deceived by fleshly desires. I entered, in a word, into the greatest unhappiness and danger, so that I thought, not only do you fare badly among people, you have no peace with God. I can go on no longer in the world with my heart so restless. Indeed, I found little lasting peace either day or night for two or three years. Then the law pressed me and unfulfilled duties made demands on me. I could not accept the Lord’s grace because I did not know Him yet.”⁴²

In search of inner peace—spiritual security and redemption—Protten joined the Moravian movement in 1735, the moment of his fulfilment. As a schoolmaster at the Christiansborg Castle school Protten wrote in 1757: “The Saviour has given me an open door here. I know that I am not the man through whom the Saviour can do things.” Two years later he expressed feelings of solitude and disappointment, partly because he had no success as a Moravian missionary in Lower Guinea towns.

“As for my inner condition, it is forever changing. Sometimes I hold the Saviour as close as one can hold anything, sometimes there are tears, and not without cause. On those days I sing: Take me anew by the hand that lets nothing fall, and let my soul never out of Your trusting arms. I cry, I laugh, I am quiet, and am still here in this country quite alone, alone.... In body I am still fairly healthy, yet dejected and melancholy, because among so many people I must continually live like a hermit ... the energy has accomplished nothing, but I have been placed between two seats.”⁴³

Protten’s crossroad experiences were internalised as a personal sense of incongruity and anxiety. On the one hand, his experiences can be located objectively in the hierarchical structuration of flows (commodities, enslaved bodies, ideas, and institutions) and places (plantations and world ports) that defined the Atlantic triangular trade. On the other hand, he subjectively externalised his conditions into a bigger and more powerful whole outside of himself, that is the Savior, a Christian figuration. His crossroad experiences entailed a peculiar dialectic between his own powerlessness and the power of the Savior.

Protten’s despair was not due to the sudden loss of his patrimony, that is, his elite position, influence, and privileges, in Accra-Osu society. Given his social status and place of residence, an overarching frame of reference was the movement of captive bodies and commodities into and out of Christiansborg Castle. Protten’s accomplishments as a student, schoolmaster, and Moravian missionary and his apparent alienation represent the separation of his subjective activity (agency) from its objective conditions and its immersion in the substantial totality of the Euro-Atlantic mercantile capitalist world-system. There was another totality in the form of Asante dominion over Accra-Osu and the

eastern Gold Coast and Asante's position in the Asian-African-Mediterranean interregional system.⁴⁴ This conjuncture framed the cosmopolitan itinerary of Protten's crossroad experiences in the Scandinavian Atlantic as well as his engagements with other sectors of the Atlantic world.

Exchanges

How do Damma/Marotta/Madlena and Protten fit into Atlantic world history as historical agents? Do the dynamics of the Atlantic world determine the politics of their textual production? A fundamental theme in master narratives about the early modern Atlantic world concerns the movements of people, ideas, and things in an interdependent world, encompassing Africa, the Americas, and Europe and many islands, from the Canary Islands near West Africa to the Caribbean islands and Bermuda in the North Atlantic. From the fifteenth century onwards, one study asserts, "histories of Europe, the Americas, and Africa became inextricably linked.... Such contact effectively forced all of the societies which border the Atlantic Ocean to confront new—and interrelated—problems."⁴⁵ Through the early modern period the horizon and scale of activities expanded and commercial circuits became conduits for political and cultural exchange in the creation of the Atlantic world. Viewing Atlantic world history from a world-systems perspective, other works analysed the structural features of this history according to an expanding Euro-Atlantic mercantile capitalism as a socioeconomic, socioecological, and geocultural system embedded in cycles of capital accumulation.⁴⁶ A third investigation of Atlantic world history proposes three distinctive phases, ranging from an initial period "characterized by conflict as alien and indigenous people came together" through a second period of "development and integration into the larger Atlantic system" and a third phase featuring revolutions and "a proud sense of independence among Creole cultures."⁴⁷ In this periodization Atlantic/ West Africa is not a site of historical agency.⁴⁸

Still another historiographical perspective emphasises the centrality of slavery in early modernity. Andrew Zimmermann maintains, for example, that "slavery remained an especially important mediator between Africa, Europe, and the Americas, not only in the economics of exploitation but also in politics and culture." Continuing, the author says that "we can ... follow historians of Africa and African diasporic societies in locating [European] modernity in an Atlantic history whose basis is not British industrial society but rather struggles over slavery and other forms of confinement not only in Europe but also in Africa and in the Americas. Both political economy and the analysis of biopolitics have demonstrable origins in Africa and in diasporic African societies."⁴⁹

A recent monograph spells out the status of the Atlantic West African world in the Atlantic world commercial sphere in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: "*Die Küste Westafrikas war eine der wichtigsten Kontaktzonen der Frühen Neuzeit. Zahlreiche europäische Handelskompanien konkurrierten hier um Gold und Sklaven, Handelsrechte und Stützpunkte.*"⁵⁰ The movement of resources to the commercial enclaves of trading companies was connected to wider systemic concerns and

geopolitical (re-)alignments in the Lower Guinea hinterland and beyond.⁵¹ Tons of mass-manufactured trade goods from Europe, tobacco from the Americas, cowries from the Maldives, and textiles from India were transported along urban-dominated military-political and prestige goods networks and were consumed in political capitals, royal palaces, commercial centres, and wealthy and privileged households.⁵² Huge and powerful economic and ideological interests were tied up in Atlantic maritime circuits and coerced transfers of labour into Atlantic settler-colonial plantation economies.

The Scandinavian Atlantic, a social and economic organization predicated on the accumulation of capital through settler colonies and sugar plantations in the Caribbean and commercial stations on the Lower Guinea seaboard, was a product of an ascendant Euro-Atlantic centre that was generated in an expanding mercantile capitalist world-system within which were contending world views, practices, and processes.⁵³ In the sweep of Atlantic history the Scandinavian Atlantic is represented as a periphery in the Euro-Atlantic world-system.⁵⁴ In their dense particularities and logics of interaction the Scandinavian Atlantic and Atlantic West Africa constituted equivalent, entangled, and variegated spaces.⁵⁵ According to different estimates, Danish-Norwegian slaving ships transported between 110,000 and 120,000 captive bodies to the Caribbean.⁵⁶ In contrast to the Swedish trading company, Danish-Norwegian trading companies' commercial transactions in Atlantic West African ports had a continuous presence lasting nearly two centuries. Sweden supplied most of the iron exported to West Africa in the slave trade era while Copenhagen, as the dominant supplier of sugar for Northern Europe, was "an entrepôt for colonial goods."⁵⁷ It has been said that sugar and slaves financed Danish-Norwegian modernization and industrialization and hence they account for, at least in part, the transition from feudalism to capitalism.⁵⁸ The dimensions of the companies' transactions comprised commercial transactions and political negotiations as well as cultural, social, and ideological matters.⁵⁹

The entangled spaces of the Scandinavian Atlantic and Atlantic West Africa and the latter's sites of mediation can be gleaned from Paul Lovejoy's generalizing assessment of transatlantic slave trade dynamics and Western African history. His argument is that West Africa's entangled history incorporated cultural, social, institutional, and ideological features, such as Christian conversion, churches, schools, and literacy in European languages, thus placing West Africa in the mainstream of Atlantic world history.⁶⁰ This interpretive account illustrates the historical agency of Atlantic West African ruling and dominant classes in their global interactions. At the same time, it provides a wider interpretive frame with respect to any assessment of the transactions and negotiations of Danish-Norwegian chartered companies with authority figures and institutions in Lower Guinea world ports.

Conclusion

The conversions and multilingual textual practices of Damma/Marotta/Madlena and Protten are construed in this study as a new manifestation and reworking of long-

established and elaborate cultural-intellectual traditions of Great Popo and Accra-Osu. West Africa's sites of mediation open up the symbolic connection between the texts of Damma/Marotta/Madlena and the texts of Protten. Their texts are not simply a transhistorical source of particular kinds of information but can contribute to other levels of historiography—social and cultural history, shared or entangled history, intellectual history, and so on. Their texts are also indicative of another phenomenon, namely that the two Pietists maintained multiple, contingent identities that resonated at local and translocal levels of interaction. Hence, the texts are considered as inscribed in two intersecting temporalities, the *long durée* of Atlantic West African history and *l'histoire événementielle* of the Scandinavian Atlantic–Atlantic West African encounter, and in multiple cartographies of experience and struggle.

In the context of an imperial and mercantilist Scandinavian Atlantic Damma/Marotta/Madlena was active as a freed and defiant cultural entrepreneur in a plantation-based settler colony, seeking through collective struggle to create a public and institutional space, namely a church and a school on St. Thomas, for alienated and dispossessed Pietist converts. The purpose was to make a liveable society with the right to have a place of worship and a place of learning, which were also spaces of sanctity and sanctuary. The concrete political strategy to achieve this objective was to write petitions to the Danish-Norwegian royal family. Through their petitions St. Thomas's Pietist converts centrally positioned themselves in the Danish-Norwegian colonial-mercantilist enterprise and in the Moravian church's global discourse. One might venture that Damma/Marotta/Madlena sought to create an institutional relationship in order to empower certain ideas, beliefs, and practices among Pietist labourers, thereby activating in some fashion the principles of *asuwada*. Together with her coreligionists, she conceived of her social relationship to a transindividual reality in terms of a church- and school-based Pietist congregation. In this regard, the Pietists' marronage of the soul, a social and political collective effort, was to replace the escaped slaves' marronage of the body, that is, escaping a St. Thomas plantation through flight, a largely individual enterprise.

Protten can be situated as a cultural entrepreneur in the world-port environments of Lower Guinea. As a salaried and propertied employee of Danish-Norwegian trading companies, he was engaged in a personal struggle of righteous redemption. He was not a critic of enslavement and chattel slavery in any direct or confrontational way. Rather, he was a moral critic of his own wayward behaviour and spiritual shortcomings. Expressed in the Christo-centric language of Pietism, his politics of the personal can nevertheless be said to work within the achieved status of his patrimony and matrilineal-kin, whose history and cultural, social, and symbolic capital were linked to commerce, crafts, and governing, on the one hand, and the *Kpele* ceremonialism and modes of thought, on the other. Given this legacy, Protten was committed to a problematic relationship to dominant Danish-Norwegian categories of identity.

Thus we see how through an investigation of the worldliness of the multilingual writings of two West African Pietists, aspects of the entangled histories of the Scandinavian Atlantic and Atlantic West African are made visible.

Bibliography

Unpublished Primary Sources

Unitätsarchiv der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität, Herrnhut, Germany.

Published Primary Sources

- Damma. "Der Aeltestin der Gemeine der Negros in St. Thomas Schreiben am die Königin von Dännemarck, An. 1739," *Büdingische Sammlung einger in die Kirchen-Historie Einschlagender Sonderlich neuerer Schriften*, Das IV. Stück. Büdingen, 485–87, 1741.
- Haagensen, Reimert. *Description of the Island of St. Croix in America in the West Indies*. Edited and translated by Arnold R. Highfield. St. Croix: Virgin Islands Humanities Council, 1995.
- Oldendorp, C. G. A. *History of the Mission of the Evangelical Brethren on the Caribbean Islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John*. Edited and translated by Johann Jakob Bossard, Arnold R. Highfield, and Vladimir Barca. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, 1987 [1777].
- Protten Africanus, Christian Jacob. "Des Mallatten C. J. Protten's Schreiben um die Aufnahme in die Evangel. Mährische Brüder Gemeine," *Büdingische Sammlung. Einiger in die Kirchen-Historie. Einschlagender sonderlich neuerer Schriften*. Das IV. Stück. Büdingen, 417–24, 1741.
- Protten, Christian, Introduction to the Fante and Accra (Ga) Languages. Edited and translated by H.M.J. Trutenau. London: Afro-Presse, 1971.

Secondary Sources

- Amin, Samir. *Global History: A View from the South*. Dakar: CODESRIA, 2013.
- . "Understanding the Political Economy of Contemporary Africa." *Africa Development/ Afrique et Développement* 39:1 (2014): 15–36.
- Anquandah, James. *Rediscovering Ghana's Past*. Accra: Sedco Publishing Limited, 1982.
- Arrighi, Giovanni. "Spatial and Other Fixes of Historical Capitalism." *Journal of World-Systems Research* 10:2 (2004): 527–39.
- Bailyn, Bernard. *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Blackburn, Robin. *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern 1491–1800*. London: Verso, 1998.
- Blakemore, Richard J. "The Changing Fortunes of Atlantic History." *English Historical Review* 131:551 (2016): 851–68.
- Blaut, James. *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1993.
- Brauner, Christine. *Kompagnie, König und Caboceers: Interkulturelle Diplomatie an Gold- und Sklavenküste, 17–18 Jahrhundert*. Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2015.
- Burghartz, Susan, et al. *Sites of Mediations: Connected Histories of Places, Processes, and Objects in Europe and Beyond, 1550–1650*. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Burnard, Trevor, et al. *The Atlantic World: A History, 1400–1888*. Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007.
- Chambers, Douglas B. "The Black Atlantic: Theory, Method, and Practice." In *The Atlantic World 1450–2000*, edited by Toyin Fall and Kevin D. Roberts, 151–73. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008.
- Chouin, Gérard L. F. "Fossés, enceintes et peste noire en Afrique de l'ouest forestière (500–1500 AD): Réflexions sous canopée." *Afrique: Archéologie & Arts* 9 (2013): 43–66.
- Darling, Patrick. "Aerial Archaeology in Africa: The Challenge of a Continent." *Aerial Archaeology Research Group Newsletter* 17 (1998): 9–18.
- Debrunner, Hans. *Presence and Prestige, Africans in Europe: A History of Africans in Europe before 1918*. Basel: Basler Africa Bibliographien, 1979.

- DeCorse, Christopher R. "The Danes on the Gold Coast: Culture Change and the European Presence." *African Archaeological Review* 11 (1993): 149–73.
- . "The Europeans in West Africa: Culture Contact, Continuity, and Change." In *Transformations in Africa: Essays on Africa's Later Past*, edited by Graham Connah, 219–44. London: Leicester University Press, 1998.
- DeCorse, Christopher R. "Postcolonial or Not? West Africa in the Pre-Atlantic and Atlantic Worlds." *Institut français de recherché en Afrique*. IFRA-Nigeria, 2014. ifra-nigeria.org.
- Degn, Christian. *Die Schimmelmanns im atlantischen Dreieckshandel: Gewinn und Gewissen*. Neumünster: Wachholtz Verlag, 2000.
- Diagne, P. "African Political, Economic, and Social Structures during This Period." In *UNESCO General History of Africa V: Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, edited by B. A. Ogot, 23–45. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Dussel, Enrique. "Europe, Modernity, and Eurocentricism." *Nepantla: Views from the South* (2000): 465–78.
- . "World-System and 'Trans'-Modernity." *Nepantla: Views from the South* (2002): 221–44.
- Engerman, Stanley L., and Kenneth L. Sokoloff. "Colonization and Development." *Economic History of Developing Regions* 27: Sup. 1 (2012): S28–S40.
- Fall, Toyin, and Kevin D. Roberts, eds. *The Atlantic World 1450–2000*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008.
- Featherstone, David. "Atlantic Networks, Antagonisms, and the Formation of Subaltern Political Identities." *Social & Cultural Geographies* 6:3 (2005): 387–404.
- Festa, Lynn. "Tropes and Chains: Figures of Exchange in Eighteenth-Century Depictions of the Slave Trade." In *Interpreting Colonialism*, edited by Byron R. Wells and Philip Stewart, 322–44. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2004.
- Fodor, István. "Zur Geschichte des Gã (Accran): Protten (1764) und Oldendorp (1777)." In *Zur Sprachgeschichte in Afrika*, edited by Wilhelm J. G. Möhlig, Franz Rottland, and Bernd Heine, 47–56. Berlin: Reimer, 1977.
- Games, Alison. "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities." *American Historical Review* 111:3 (2006): 741–57.
- Gøbel, Erik. "Danish Shipping Along the Triangular Route, 1671–1802: Voyages and Conditions on Board." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 36:2 (2011): 135–55.
- Green, Toby. *Brokers of Change: Atlantic Commerce and Cultures in Precolonial Western Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Greene, Jack P., and Philip D. Morgan, eds. *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Häberlein Bamberg, Mark. "'Mohren,' ständische Gesellschaft und atlantische Minderheiten und Kulturkontakte in der Frühen Neuzeit." In *Atlantic Understandings: Essays on European and American History in Honor of Hermann Wellenreuther*, edited by Claudia Schnurmann and Hartmut Lehmann, 77–102. Hamburg: LIT Verlag, 2006.
- Harris, Kevan, and Brendan McQuade. "Notes on the Method of World-System Biography." *Journal of World-Systems Research* 21:2 (2015): 276–86.
- Harris, Olivia. "Braudel: Historical Time and the Horror of Discontinuity." *History Workshop Journal* 57 (2004): 161–74.
- Heitmann, Annagret. "'Og indrette Alt alle Parters Tilfredshed.' Discourses of Love and Production in Thomasine Gyllembourg's Montanus den Yngre (1837)." *Samlaren: Tidskrift för svensk litteraturvetenskaplig forskning* Årgang 132 (2011): 5–21.
- Hernæs, Per O. *Slaves, Danes, and African Coast Society: The Danish Slave Trade from West Africa and Afro-Danish Relations on the Eighteenth-Century Gold Coast*. Trondheim: University of Trondheim, 1995.

- Hildebrand, K.-G. "Foreign Markets for Swedish Iron in the 18th Century." *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 6:1 (1958): 3–52.
- Hodgson, Marshall G. S. *Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam, and World History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Horstbøll, Henrik. "Pietism and the Politics of Catechisms: The Case of Denmark and Norway in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 29:2 (2004): 143–60.
- Ipsen, Pernille. "'The Christened Mistress': Euro-African Families in a Slave-Trading Town." *William & Mary Quarterly* 70:2 (2013): 371–98.
- . *Daughters of the Trade: Atlantic Slavers and Interracial Marriage on the Gold Coast*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.
- Jameson, Fredric. *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981.
- Jensen, Lars. "Scandinavia: A Peripheral Center." *KULT: Journal for Nordic Postcolonial Studies at Roskilde University* 6 (2009): 161–79.
- . "Postcolonial Denmark: Beyond the Rot of Colonialism?" *Postcolonial Studies* 18:4 (2015): 440–52.
- Jereven, Morten. "African Economic Growth Recurring: An Economic History Perspective on African Growth Episodes, 1690–2010." *Economic History of Developing Regions* 25:2 (2010): 127–54.
- Jones, Adam. "A Collection of African Art in Seventeenth-Century Germany: Christoph Weickmann's 'Kunst- und Naturkammer.'" *African Arts* 27:2 (1994): 28–43.
- Jónsson, Mar. "Denmark-Norway as a Potential World Power in the Early Seventeenth Century." *Itinerario* 33:2 (2009): 17–27.
- Karras, Alan L. "The Atlantic World as a Unit of Study." In *Atlantic American Societies: From Columbus through Abolition 1492–1888*, edited by Alan L. Karas and J. R. McNeill, 1–15. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Kea, Ray A. "From Catholicism to Moravian Pietism: The World of Marottas/Magdalena, a Woman of Popo and St. Thomas." In *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, vol. 2, edited by Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, 115–38. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.
- Kea, Ray A. "Religion, Texts, and Conversion in the Eighteenth-Century Danish West Indies: Questions of Self-Identity and Self-Determination." In *Migrations and Creative Expressions in Africa and the African Diaspora*, edited by Toyin Falola, Niji Afolabi, and Aderonke Adesolaa Adesanya, 443–69. Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 2008.
- Kea, Ray A. *A Cultural History of Ghana from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century: The Gold Coast in the Age of Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, 2 vols. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2012.
- . "The Local and the Global: Historiographical Reflections on West Africa in the Atlantic Age." In *Power and Landscape in Atlantic West Africa: Archaeological Perspectives*, edited by J. Cameron Monroe and Akinwumi Ogundiran, 339–75. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Kea, Ray A. "Africa in World History, 1400 to 1800." In *Cambridge World History*, vol. 6, *The Construction of a Global World, 1400–1800 CE*. Part 1, *Foundations*, edited by Jerry H. Bentley, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Kea, Ray A. "Global Economies and Historical Change: Rethinking Social Struggles and Transformations in Africa's Zones of Rurality (1500–1800)." In *Race and Rurality in the Global Economy*, edited by Michaeline Cruchlow, Patricia Northover, and Juan Giusti-Cordero. Albany: SUNY Press, 2018.
- Komlosy, Andrea. "Transitions in Global Labor History, 1250–2000: Entanglements, Synchronicities, and Combinations on a Local and a Global Scale." *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 36:2 (2013): 155–90.

- Konadu, Kwasi. *Transatlantic Africa 1440–1888*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Larsen, Carsten U., ed. *Fra Slaveri til Frihed: Det Dansk-Vestindiske Slavesamfund 1672–1848*. Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 2001.
- Law, Robin. *The Slave Coast of West Africa 1550–1750: The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on an African Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Lawuyi, Olatunda Bayo. “Studies on Traditional Religion.” In *Yoruba Historiography*, edited by Toyin Fall. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1991.
- Lawuyi, Olatunda Bayo, and Olufemi Taiwo. “Towards an African Sociological Tradition: A Rejoinder to Akiwowo and Makinde.” *International Sociology* 5:1 (1990): 57–73.
- Lee, Richard E., and Immanuel Wallerstein. *The Longue Durée and World-Systems Analysis*. Albany: SUNY Press, 2012.
- Lindsay, Lisa A. “Extraversion, Creolization, and Dependency in the Atlantic Slave Trade.” *Journal of African History* 55:2 (2014): 135–45.
- Lingner, Björn. “Thorkild Hansen and the Non-White: A Critical Reading of the Slave Trilogy.” *KULT* 13 (2016): 4–94.
- Lovejoy, Paul. “Daily Life in Western Africa during the Era of the ‘Slave Route.’” *Diogenes* 45:3 (1997): 1–19.
- Makinde, M. Akin. “Asuwada Principle: An Analysis of Akiwowo’s Contribution to the Sociology of Knowledge from an African Perspective.” *International Sociology* 3:1 (1988): 61–76.
- Meinig, D. W. *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History*, vol. 1, *Atlantic America, 1492–1800*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986.
- Mintz, Sidney. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Penguin Books, 1986.
- Monroe, J. Cameron. “Urbanism on West Africa’s Slave Coast.” *American Scientist* 99 (2011): 400–9.
- . “Cities, Slavery and Rural Ambivalence in Precolonial Dahomey.” In *The Archaeology of Slavery: A Comparative Approach to Captivity and Coercion*, edited by Lydia Wilson Marshall, 192–214. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2015.
- Moore, Jason A. “The Modern World-System as Environmental History? Ecology and the Rise of Capitalism.” *Theory and Society* 32 (2003): 307–77.
- Morgan, Philip D., and Nicholas Camp, eds. *Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World, 1450–1850*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Müller, Leos, Göran Rydén, and Holger Weiss, eds. *Global Historia från Periferin: Norden 1600–1850*. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2010.
- Naum, Magdalena, and Jonas M. Nordin, eds. *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity: Small Time Agents in a Global Arena*. New York: Springer, 2013.
- Nordin, Jonas M. “The Centre of the World: The Material Construction of Eurocentric Domination and Hybridity in a Scandinavian 17th-Century Context.” *Journal of Material Culture* 18:2 (2013): 189–209.
- Norman, Neil. “West and Central Africa: Historical Archaeology.” In *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*, edited by Claire Smith, 7738–44. New York: Springer, 2014.
- Nováky, György. *Handelskompanier ooh kompanihandel: Svenska Afrikakompaniet 1649–1663: En studie i feudal handel*. Uppsala: Studia Historica Upsaliensia, 1990.
- Ogundiran, Akinwumi. “The End of Prehistory? An Africanist Comment.” *American Historical Review* 118:3 (2013): 788–801.
- . “Towns and States of the West African Forest Belt.” In *The Oxford Handbook of African Archaeology*, edited by Peter Mitchell and Paul Lane, 859–73. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Ozanne, Paul. “Notes on the Early Historic Archaeology of Accra.” *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 6 (1962): 51–70.

- . “Indigenes or Invaders?” *Antiquity* 37 (1963): 229–31.
- . “Ghana.” In *The African Iron Age*, edited by Peter Shinnie, 45–6. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- Parker, Geoffrey. “Crisis and Catastrophe: The Global Crisis of the Seventeenth Century Reconsidered.” *American Historical Review* 113:4 (2008): 1053–79.
- Raphael-Hernandez, Heike. “Black Caribbean Empowerment and Early Eighteenth-Century Moravian Missions Documents.” *Slavery & Abolition* 36:2 (2015): 319–34.
- Ribeiro Da Silva, Filippa. “Dutch Vessels in African Waters: Routes, Commercial Strategies, Trading Practices, and Inter-Continental Trade (c.1590–1674).” *Tijdschrift voor Zeegeschiedenis* 1 (2010): 19–38.
- Rönnbäck, Klas. “Transforming Consumption in the European Periphery: Colonial Commodities in Scandinavia during the Early Modern Era.” Unpublished paper from the 12th European Business History Association Conference, Bergen, Norway, 22 August 2008.
- . 2010. “Balancing the Baltic Trade: Colonial Commodities in the Trade on the Baltic, 1773–1856.” *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 58:3 (2010): 188–202.
- Rossel, Sven H. “Holberg and His Times.” In *Jeppe of the Hill and Other Comedies* by Ludvig Holberg, translated by Gerald A. Argetsinger and Sven H. Rossel, xiii–xxiv. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1990.
- Rudt de Collenberg, Weygo Comte. “Haus- und Hofmohren des 18. Jahrhunderts in Europa.” In *Gesiunde im 18. Jahrhundert*, edited by Gotthardt Frühsorge, Rainer Gruenter, and Beatrix Freifrau Wolff Metternich, 265–307. Hamburg: Felix Miner Verlag, 1995.
- Santiago-Valles, Kelvin. “World-Historical Ties Among ‘Spontaneous’ Slave Rebellions in the Atlantic.” *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* xxviii:1 (2005): 51–83.
- Schwartz, Bill. “C. L. R. James’s American Civilization.” *Atlantic Studies* 2:1 (2005): 15–43.
- Sebro, Louise. *Mellem afrikaner og kreol: etnisk identitet og social navigation i Dansk Vestindien 1730–1770*. Lund: Historiska Institutionen, 2010.
- Sensbach, Jon. *Rebecca’s Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Shilliam, Robbie. “The Atlantic as a Vector of Uneven and Combined Development.” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 22:1 (2009): 69–88.
- Simonsen, Gunvor. “Belonging in Africa: Frederik Svane and Christian Protten on the Gold Coast in the Eighteenth Century.” *Itinerario* 39:1 (2015): 91–115.
- Strickrodt, Silke. *Afro-European Trade in the Atlantic World: The Western Slave Coast*. London: James Curry, 2015.
- Sukkertop, Peter. “Historisk baggrund om sukker- og slavehandels historisk betydning for Danmark i 1700-tallet.” www.lensa.dk/Sukkerogtrekanshandel.htm, n.d.
- Sutton, Angel. “The Seventeenth-Century Slave Trade in the Documents of the English, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, and Prussian Royal Slave Trading Companies.” *Slavery & Abolition* 36:3 (2015): 445–59.
- Tageldin, Shaden M. “The Place of Africa, in Theory: Pan-Africanism, Postcolonialism, Beyond.” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 27:3 (2014): 302–23.
- Thiaw, Ibrahima, and François Richard. “An Archaeological Perspective on West Africa and the Post-1500 Atlantic World.” In *Oxford Handbook of African Archaeology*, edited by Peter Mitchell and Paul Lane, 983–97. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Thornton, John. “Precolonial African Industry and the Atlantic Trade, 1500–1800.” *African Economic History* 19 (1990): 1–19.
- Thornton, John K. *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- . *A Cultural History of the Atlantic World, 1250–1820*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Global Transformations: Anthropology and the Modern World*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003.
- Vilkama, Rosa, Ritva Kylli, and Anna-Kaisa Salmi. "Sugar Consumption, Dental Health, and Foodways in Late Medieval Iin Hamina and Early Modern Oulu, Northern Finland." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 41:1 (2016): 2–31.
- Vollmand, Christian. *Sukker, Slaver og Skæbner*. Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 2007.
- Walther, Olivier J., Allen M. Howard, and Denis Retaillé. "West African Spatial Patterns of Economic Activities: Combining the 'Spatial Factor' and 'Mobile Space' Approaches." *African Studies* 74:3 (2015): 1–20.
- Weiss, Holger. "The Danish Gold Coast as a Multinational and Entangled Space, c.1700–1850." In *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity: Small Time Agents in a Global Arena*, edited by Magdalena Naum and Jonas M. Nordin, 243–60. New York: Springer, 2013.
- Weiss, Holger. "The Entangled Spaces of Oddena, Oguuaa, and Osu: A Survey of Three Early Modern African Atlantic Towns, ca. 1650–1850." In *Portals of Globalisation, Places of Creolisation: Nordic Possessions in the Atlantic World during the Era of the Slave Trade*, edited by Holger Weiss, 22–67. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Weiss, Holger, ed. *Ports of Globalization, Places of Creolization: Nordic Possessions in the Atlantic World during the Era of the Slave Trade*. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Wilks, Ivor. "The Northern Factor in Ashanti History: Begho and the Mande." *Journal of African History* 2:1 (1961): 25–34.
- . *Akwamu 1640–1750: A Study of the Rise and Fall of a West African Empire*. Trondheim: Norwegian University of Science and Technology, 2001.
- Willard, Alice Louise. *Rivers of Gold, Oceans of Sand: The Songhay in the West African World-System*. Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1999.
- Yai, Olabiya. "In Praise of Metonymy: The Concepts of 'Tradition' and 'Creativity' in the Transmission of Yoruba Artistry over Time and Space." *Research in African Literatures* 24:4 (1993): 29–37.
- Yerxa, Donald A., ed. *Recent Themes in the History of Africa and the Atlantic World: Historians in Conversation*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2008.
- Zimmerman, Andrew. "Africa in Imperial and Transnational History: Multi-Sited Historiography and the Necessity of Theory." *The Journal of African History* 54:3 (2013): 331–40.

Notes

- * Ray Kea is professor emeritus and has taught African history at the University of California at Riverside (1991–2013), Carleton and St. Olaf Colleges (1980 and 1991), and Johns Hopkins University (1971–1980). Earlier, he taught at Mawuli and Tema Secondary Schools in Ghana (1960–1968). In 1967, he received his MA degree from the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana and his PhD in 1974 from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- 1 Harris and McQuade, "Notes on the Method."
- 2 Braudel relates that events are dust but each event, however brief, lights up a corner of the landscape and sometimes even deeper layers of history: the intermittent flare of events illuminates every sector of history—political, economic, social-cultural, and geographic—that are tied to other time frames. Lee and Wallerstein, *The Longue Durée*; Harris "Braudel."
- 3 Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model*; Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*.
- 4 Sutton, "The Seventeenth-Century Slave Trade"; Nordin, "The Centre of the World"; Shilliam, "The Atlantic as a Vector"; Festa, "Tropes and Chains."

- 5 The space of the Atlantic West Africa macroregion encompassed the largely forested agrarian belt, stretching over 2,000 kilometres from present-day Sierra Leone to present-day Cameroon and extending 200 to 300 kilometres inland from the Atlantic seaboard. Over the *longue durée* the agrarian belt, with its urbanised landscapes, was marked by its passage through different noncapitalist epochs, characterised by interdependent modes of production or various synchronic systems and forms of social labour. For archaeological studies see Ogundiran, "Towns and States"; Chouin, "Fossés"; Darling, "Aerial Archaeology in Africa"; Kea, "Africa in World History"; Thornton, *Africa and Africans*.
- 6 Spatial scales and multiple temporalities connote what Fredric Jameson calls "multi-synchronicity," that is, "the coexistence of various synchronic systems or modes of production, each with its own dynamic, or time-scheme." Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 97. In addition, within a multi-synchronicity, conceptual frame events, structures, and institutions are to be interpreted at political, cultural-linguistic, regional, and macroregional levels of analysis. See also Walther, Howard, and Rettaillé, "West African Spatial Patterns."
- 7 As part of Gã metaphorical and figurative vocabulary, "crossroads" (*gbe nta*; *gbente*) is a foundational category dateable to the late fifteenth- or mid-sixteenth-century world of Great Accra. See Kea, *A Cultural History of Ghana*.
- 8 During her lifetime Damma (her birth name) identified herself with different names, including Marotta and Madlena, which was her chosen name after converting to Pietism. Sebro, *Mellem afrikaner og kreol*; Kea, "From Catholicism."
- 9 After leaving university Protten was an intrepid transatlantic traveller from the early 1740s to the mid-1760s. Simonsen, "Belonging in Africa"; Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival*, 162–71, 209–12; Debrunner, *Presence and Prestige*, 82–3, 109, 110.
- 10 Their immediate history (*l'histoire événementielle*) and their politics of textual production can be located in an eighteenth-century Atlantic world division of labour between rural and urban areas oriented towards long-distance trade: concretely, the emergence of a particular kind of countryside, the plantation, and a particular kind of city, the world port. Santiago-Valles, "World-Historical Ties." Their *longue durée* history has a different spatiality. See below.
- 11 Regions and subregions of Atlantic West Africa are understood in a material and conceptual sense as ecosystems, cultural ecologies, and resource bases supporting varied ways of life tied to linguistic uses and as formations functioning according to the systemic logics of dominant and subordinate modes of production or synchronic systems (tributary, household/kin, slave holding, etc.). A working proposition is that the Atlantic West African core zone had world-historical connections to a global (world-) system that predated the emergence of a globalising Euro-Atlantic merchant capitalism. From 1500 onwards this core macroregion was connected in different ways to two totalities. Samir Amin postulates an ancient Afro-Eurasian tributary-trade world-system. Enrique Dussel proposes an ancient African-Asian-Mediterranean interregional system, and Marshall Hodgson argues for an Afro-Asian Oikumenic Zone or Configuration. Amin, *Global History*; Dussel, "World-System; Dussel, "Europe, Modernity"; Hodgson, *Rethinking World History*.
- 12 Kea, "Global Economies"; Kea, "Africa in World History"; Willard, "Rivers of Gold"; Diagne, "African Political"; Wilks, "The Northern Factor."
- 13 Chambers, "The Black Atlantic"; Engerman and Sokoloff, "Colonization and Development."
- 14 Kea, "The Local and the Global"; Kea, "Africa in World History."
- 15 Monroe, "Cities"; Monroe "Urbanism"; Norman, "West and Central"; Kea, *A Cultural History of Ghana*; Kea, "Africa in World History."

- 16 Kea, "From Catholicism."
- 17 Kea, "From Catholicism."
- 18 Strickrodt, *Afro-European Trade*; Monroe, "Urbanism"; Wilks, *Akwamu*; Law, *The Slave Coast*.
- 19 Kea, "From Catholicism."
- 20 Yai, "In Praise of Metonymy." The Commonwealth was also a site traversed by warfare, trade routes, dislocations and displacements, and enslavement. Its roots/routes were embedded in urban life.
- 21 Yai, "In Praise of Metonymy"; Lawuyi, "Studies on Traditional Religion," 43–9; Lawuyi and Taiwo, "Towards an African Sociological Tradition"; Makinde, "Asuwada Principle."
- 22 After leaving university Protten was an intrepid transatlantic traveller from the early 1740s to the mid-1760s. Simonsen, "Belonging in Africa"; Debrunner, *Presence and Prestige*, 82–3, 109, 110.
- 23 Anquandah, *Rediscovering Ghana's Past*, ch. 9; Ozanne, "Ghana," 45–6; Ozanne, "Notes." Protten's father was a Danish soldier employed by the Danish-Norwegian West India and Guinea Company at Christiansborg Castle. For Protten's maternal kin, his father's access to the transnational company's resources was a form of material, social, and symbolic capital.
- 24 From the late fifteenth century through the sixteenth the pattern of settlement in the southeast Gold Coast changes, "from one of small and medium-sized villages, usually ... with an irregular layout, to one of towns, from one-half to seven miles long, very orderly in the placing of compounds and middens. In this context the town emerges as a site of transformation. Kea, "Africa in World History," ch. 1, 243–268; Ozanne, "Indigenes or Invaders?," 229–31.
- 25 Kea, "Africa in World History," ch. 1 and 3.
- 26 Simonsen, "Belonging in Africa"; Hernæs, *Slaves, Danes*.
- 27 Weiss, "The Entangled Spaces"; Weiss, "The Danish Gold Coast"; Thiaw and Richard, "An Archaeological Perspective"; Ipsen, "The Christened Mistress"; Kea, "Africa in World History."
- 28 Kea, "Africa in World History"; Sebro, *Mellem afrikaner og kreol*.
- 29 Protten, "Des Mallatten C. J. Protten Schreiben," 417–24. Protten signed his essay "Christian Jacob Protten, Africanus." Also Simonsen, "Belonging in Africa"; Fodor, "Zur Geschichte des Gã."
- 30 Kea, "From Catholicism"; Protten 1971, 5. Presumably, Damma/Marotta/Madlena learned the language in Great Popo.
- 31 Kea, "Africa in World History"; Kea, *A Cultural History of Ghana*.
- 32 *Unitätsarchiv*, R.15.B.b.3. Diarium aus St. Thomas Ao 1743 Johann Brückner, entries dd. 12, 13, and 29 May; Simonsen, "Belonging in Africa"; Debrunner, *Presence and Prestige*, 82–3; Fodor, "Zur Geschichte des Gã."
- 33 The enslaved included 109 men, 65 women, 23 boys, and 16 girls. Simonsen, "Belonging in Africa," 95.
- 34 *Unitätsarchiv*, R.15.B.a.12. Brief von Christian Protten, St. Thomas, 3 Aug. 1743 an St. Thomas Geschwister.
- 35 Kea, "Religion, Texts, and Conversion"; Sebro, *Mellem afrikaner og kreol*; Kea, "From Catholicism." For an overview of Pietism as converts' instrument of resistance against plantation owners, see Raphael-Hernandez, "Black Caribbean." In the Scandinavian Atlantic context "empowerment" did not mean that enslaved and freed converts could resolve the ambiguous relationship between the Christian subject and the subject of Christendom. See, for example, Horstbøll, "Pietism"; Haagensen, *Description*.
- 36 Simonsen, "Belonging in Africa"; Sebro, *Mellem afrikaner og kreol*; Kea, "Religion, Texts, and Conversion"; Damma, "Der Aeltestin der Gemeine"; Christian Jacob Protten Africanus, "Des Mallatten."
- 37 Konadu, *Transatlantic Africa*; Yerxa, *Recent Themes*; Bailyn, *Atlantic History*. The transition period was also a time of crisis. See Parker, "Crisis and Catastrophe." For the crisis in the Atlantic West African macroregion see above.
- 38 Sebro, *Mellem afrikaner og kreol*; Kea, "From Catholicism."

- 39 Dama, "Der Aeltestin."
- 40 Sebro, *Mellem afrikaner og kreol*; Kea, "From Catholicism"; Degn, *Die Schimmelmanns*, 52.
- 41 Quoted in Oldendorp, *History of the Mission*, 365.
- 42 Quoted in Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival*, 165, 167. See Protten, 1741.
- 43 Quoted in Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival*, 208. Also Simonsen, "Belonging in Africa."
- 44 For Protten's awareness of these totalities, albeit with respect to commodity exchanges and language uses, see Trutenau 1971. See also Kea, "Africa in World History"; Kea, *A Cultural History of Ghana*.
- 45 Karras, "The Atlantic World," 1; Blake-more, "The Changing Fortunes"; Thornton, *A Cultural History*; Morgan and Camp, *Oxford Handbook*; Greene and Morgan, *Atlantic History*; Fall and Roberts, *The Atlantic World*; Burnard et al., *The Atlantic World*; Games, "Atlantic History"; Bailyn, *Atlantic History*; Featherstone, "Atlantic Networks"; Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*; Meinig, *The Shaping of America*.
- 46 Komlosy, "Transitions"; Arrighi, "Spatial and Other Fixes"; Moore, "The Modern World-System."
- 47 Bailyn, *Atlantic History*, 91–2.
- 48 For a *longue durée* perspective of the West African past see DeCorse, "Postcolonial or Not?"
- 49 Zimmerman, "Africa in Imperial and Transnational History," 338. For an insightful overview see Trouillot, *Global Transformations*. C. L. R. James pays tribute to the "tremendous role" played by enslaved Africans and their descendants "in the transformation of Western civilization from feudalism to capitalism." Cited in Schwartz, "C. L. R. James's American Civilization."
- 50 "The west coast of Africa was one of the most important contact zones of the early modern period. Numerous European trading companies competed here for gold and slaves, trading rights, and establishments" (my translation). Brauner, *Kompagnie*; Weiss, *Ports of Globalization*, 39; Sutton, "The Seventeenth-Century Slave Trade"; Lindsay, "Extraversion"; Green, *Brokers of Change*; Ribeiro Da Silva, "Dutch Vessels"; Degn, *Die Schimmelmanns*. For an account of the African side see Thornton, "Precolonial African Industry"; DeCorse, "The Europeans"; Yerxa, *Recent Themes*.
- 51 The "wider systemic concerns" refer to the collapse of the dynastic imperial (Mali-Songhay) systems that were hegemonic in the West African interior and the western/southern Sahara from the thirteenth to the late sixteenth century. The subsequent disarticulation of long-distance commercial networks (in the seventeenth century) had widespread ramifications in places like Lower Guinea, e.g., the emergence in the Gold Coast region of military centralism as a form of political organisation. Non-Africanist studies tend to view trading company activity in Lower (and Upper) Guinea in terms of European colonisation on the grounds that West Africa lacked an autonomous, dynamic history and that Africans were not the subjects of their own histories. A case in point is Jensen, "Postcolonial Denmark."
- 52 Lovejoy, "Daily Life"; Norman, "West and Central Africa"; Kea, *A Cultural History of Ghana*; Monroe, "Urbanism."
- 53 Naum and Nordin, *Scandinavian Colonialism*; Müller, Rydén, and Weiss, *Global Historia*; Vollmand, *Sukker*; Larsen, *Fra Slaveri til Frihed*; Nováky, *Handelskompagnier*; Degn, *Die Schimmelmanns*.
- 54 For Scandinavia as periphery/peripheral centre see Müller, Rydén, and Weiss, *Global Historia*; Jensen, "Scandinavia: A Peripheral Center." A prevailing Eurocentric fantasy characterises Africa as a "slave continent" (*Afrika som slavekontinent*), as economically and politically backward (*et økonomisk og politisk tilbagestående kontinent*), and as the only continent that is still not integrated into today's globalisation (*Den dag i dag er Afrika som klodens eneste kontinent ikke integreret i vor tids økonomiske globalisering*). See Sukkertop,

- “Historisk baggrund.” On Africa’s economic history and integration in the global system see: Amin, “Understanding the Political Economy”; Jereven, “African Economic Growth.” A related Eurocentric master narrative constructs Africa as a colonised space from the time of Portuguese ventures into African waters onward: in other words proclaiming that there is no history of Africa, there is only the history of Europeans in Africa. For a (mythical) Danish colony established on the Gold Coast in 1658, see Jensen, “Postcolonial Denmark.” Also Lingner, “Thorkild Hansen.” For decolonising perspectives on Africa see Tageldin, “The Place of Africa”; Ogundiran, “The End of Prehistory?”
- 55 Entanglements involved trading companies’ commercial goals, social and cultural interchanges, including intermarriage and Christian proselytising, and the creation of an African diaspora in northern Europe and in the Americas. Ipsen, *Daughters of the Trade*; Häberlein Bamberg, “‘Mohren’”; Rudt de Collenberg, “Haus- und Hofmohren”; Jones, “A Collection of African Art”; Degn, *Die Schimmelmanns*.
- 56 Vollmand, *Sukker*; Gøbel “Danish Shipping”; Degn, *Die Schimmelmanns*.
- 57 Rosa Vilkama et al., “Sugar Consumption”; Rönnbäck, “Balancing the Baltic Trade”; Rönnbäck, “Transforming Consumption”; Rossel, “Holberg,” xvii, xviii; Hildebrand, “Foreign Markets”; Degn, *Die Schimmelmanns*.
- 58 A literary perspective on the transition brings attention to the emergence of an appropriate vocabulary and discourse: *Regnskab, Formue, Capital, Renter, Rigdom, Omkostninger*, and *Beregninger*. In Nyhavn and Frederiksstaden (Copenhagen) there were *palæer, købmandsgårde, pakhuse og sukkeraffinaderier*. Heitmann, “‘Og indrette Alt.’” Also Degn, *Die Schimmelmanns*.
- 59 Ipsen, *Daughters of the Trade*; Gøbel, “Danish Shipping”; Jónsson, “Denmark-Norway”; DeCorse, “The Danes on the Gold Coast”; Nováky, *Handelskompanier*.
- 60 Lovejoy, “Daily Life.” This interpretive purview draws attention to the functionality of cultural, ideological, and institutional elements as sites of (global) mediation. For an in depth study of “sites of mediation” see Burghartz et al., “Sites of Mediation.”