

“A whey dem say fe demself?”¹
African/Black people’s auto/biographies as pedagogical tools

Ynonne Brown
Harriet Tubman Institute
York University
yvonnebrown08@sympatico.ca

Abstract

One of the major pedagogical challenges, for teachers at all levels and in all disciplines of the education system, is to acknowledge Africa’s presence in the evolution of world civilizations. Knowledge about the existence and evolution of African civilizations before European contact have been suppressed, distorted or erased from textbooks. Furthermore, only relatively recently have a number of historiographies on such topics as the internal, trans-Sahara and trans-Atlantic slave trades and slavery have begun to be produced in academia. Moreover, scholars have been slow to recognize the central role of Africa in disciplines such as economics, art, literature, science and music in the global currents of intellectual and philosophical thought. Hopefully, the voice, agency and self-representation of African/Black people have steadily emerged from the shadows in various forms of life writing, in addition to original research and publications across disciplines.

This paper and accompanying workshop for teacher educators is this author’s initiative to bring a historical consciousness to both a curricular and pedagogical need for engagement with the scholarship produced by African-descended peoples. My thesis is that various genres of life writing - memoirs, autobiographies and biographies - can enhance the learning and teaching about Africa and African descended peoples in such a way as to bring about a holistic understanding of the historical and institutional bases for their contemporary human condition, locally and globally.

Teacher educators who prepare language arts and social studies teachers for the public school system will find texts at various reading levels among the resources. Teachers of the humanities and social sciences at the tertiary level will have the opportunity to explore ways in which auto/biographies may enhance their learning and teaching.

1. Introduction: Towards a Historical Consciousness of Africa and Its Diasporas

In terms of consciousness, ideology, and even language, the imperial experience invented a referent (empire) and a culture (that of colonialism) that became the conditions of possibility for metropolitan

and colonial subjects and cultures alike. And if both colonizer and colonized assumed an imperial identity in the nineteenth century – in either affiliation or resistance – we can perhaps assume that both metropolitan and colonial subjects understood that, within the hermeneutical circle established by the imperium, England and its colonies existed under the same theoretical and political schema, even as they invoke their differences in the name of biology and tradition. And thus if the reconstructive agency of postcolonialism is to have any effect in its attempts to displace colonial institutions from their hegemonic positions in both the metropolis and the former colonies, it has to begin by recognizing the force and totality of empire. (Gikandi, 1996, p. 191)

“Historical consciousness evokes the past as a mirror of experience within which life in the present is reflected, and its temporal features revealed. Stated succinctly, history is the mirror of past actuality into which the present peers in order to learn something about its future. Historical consciousness should be conceptualized as an operation of human intellection rendering present actuality...”(Seixas, 2004, p.76)

Having a sense of historical consciousness predisposes educators and informed citizens to examine contemporary clichés, stereotypes and misinformation about a group of people, in the light of past epochs that have brought the group to their present social and economic location. With regards to Africa and its peoples, several questions would arise that interrogate the past, in order to understand the present status of the group and hopefully enable healing and informed action. Here are a few examples of questions: How did people of African descent come to be called Negro, black, nigger, kaffir and various other degrading names, specific to time and place in their contact with the Ottoman and Western European empires? How is it that journalists, historians, economists, etc., can speak and write in common sense ways of German East Africa, the Belgian Congo, French West Africa, Spanish Guinea, Portuguese Angola and Namibia, British East Africa and so on? Why was the so-called European civilizing mission carried out so savagely? Autobiographies, auto-ethnographies, and slave narratives are some of the ways that persons of African descent grapple with these questions and more. They constitute a kind of history of the body and from the body.

In attempting to disseminate the life writings of peoples of African descent as pedagogical tools I have designed three integrated components: 1) this paper entitled “*A whey dem say fe demself*”; 2) an accompanying bibliography-in-progress of auto/biographies of African/Black people; and 3) a grade 8 multidisciplinary unit that uses the narratives of African/Black people to implement social studies and English learning outcomes of the Ontario provincial curriculum (Compliments of Jeff Gunn social studies and English teacher.)

These auto/biographies complement and draw on the scholarly and artistic productions that give voice to the subjugated histories and cultural knowledge of Africa and its old and new world diasporas. The perspectives are multidisciplinary and multinational and cover several disciplines– literature, education, religious studies, social work, sociology, slave narrative, musical, political science, law, and testimonial. Each auto/biography in its own way illustrates the human condition of people who have been defined as African and/or black, in lowercase no less. In particular, these works taken as a whole demonstrate a peoples’ struggle to understand how their civilizations were

destroyed and how they were dispossessed of their land and resources, even their personhood. Each expresses personal efforts to understand and overcome the profound sense of loss and the legacies of slavery; to articulate how the painful individual and collective memories of generations have haunted the spirit; and to chronicle the protracted struggle for substantive citizenship, on the continent and in the Old and New World Diasporas. African/Black people have recorded their words in both written and oral traditions. They have written in all the colonial languages as well as indigenous languages.

In reading the auto/biographies of African/Black people, participants will encounter life histories of the historical material conditions of traditional African societies having a variety of governance structures and kingdoms, trade routes and migrations, slavery and servitude, colonialism, memory, and the struggle for healing, restitution and full citizenship. This selection of life writing attempts to present the voices and self-representation of individuals negotiating environmental, institutional, legal and economic existence at different historical epochs of Africa in world history (the bibliography on this can be obtained from the author, yvonnebrown08@sympatico.ca).

This collection in English, attempts to include works from a variety of locales and periods. It is by no means exhaustive. Africa in world history has a long past captured in the simplified periodization that follows:

1. The millennia long existence and evolution of African civilizations and trade and cultural connections to India, China, Europe and the Americas (Davidson, 1974; Diop, 1974, 1986; Mokhtar, 1981).
2. Trans-Sahara Arab Islamic slave trade from the 9th to the 20th century (Lovejoy, 2011; Levtzion & Pouwels, 2000).
3. Trans-Atlantic European slave trade to the Americas 15th to 19th century (Blackburn, 1997; Walvin, 2001; Williams, 1944).
4. French and American Revolutions 18th century; Age of European Enlightenment (Eze, 1997).
5. Abolition of the transatlantic slave trade and plantation slavery in the British Territories that heralded the debate about freedom and the modernity-slavery couplet by 19th century philosophers (Davis, 1984; Hochschild, 2005).
6. European Scramble for Africa and 19th century conquest and colonization of Africa; changing boundaries and dividing ethnic groups (Pakenham, 1991).
7. First and Second World Wars (1914 – 1918 and 1939 to 1945 respectively) when Africa/Black people as British subject - not citizens - were mobilized to fight with the Allies for the mother countries (Howe, 2002).
8. Anti-colonial and nationalist consciousness raising that resulted in Africa and the Caribbean, influenced by disgruntled African/Black service men, returning from service to European empires; rise of pan-African and African liberation movements; spread of Garveyism, Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and the New Negro and New African movements in the US and Africa respectively (Lewis, 1987; Rodney, 1972).
9. 1950s and 60s violent and sometimes peaceful liberation and political decolonization throughout Africa and the Caribbean, concomitantly with violent civil and voting rights struggles for racial desegregation in the United States of America; anti-apartheid struggles in South Africa (Ayittey, 2005, 1998).

10. Post-colonial era and some fifty years of independence and economic betrayals of the promises of self government by “big men” dictators in Africa and virulent party politics in the Caribbean, overshadowed by United States domination of the Caribbean Basin, structural adjustments in countries in Africa and the Caribbean of the 1980s; the economic transformation of countries in Asia, such as Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore - the Asian Tigers (Meredith, 2005; Hochschild, 1998; Kapuscinski, 2001; Moore 2005).
11. New World Order of the 90s into the 21st century – End of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the dismantling of the Soviet and US puppet regimes in parts of Africa; fall of Apartheid in South Africa and preponderances of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions; Civil wars in Congo-Zaire, Somalia, Rwanda, Uganda; the formation of the European Common Market; globalization of capital and the World Wide Web; the election of a Black man to be president of the United States of America.

The global significance of the African diasporas began somewhere around the ninth century with the internal slave trade when African chiefs and Islamic conquest acquired prisoners of war as human commodities that could be traded to acquire wealth, prestige, power and enhance religious supremacy in some parts of the continent. Historians have termed this movement, carried out mostly by Arab and African traders, the trans-Sahara slave trade. These slave routes traversed from East and Central Africa to Arabia, India, parts of today’s Middle East and Europe. Islam and Islamic law and ideas were diffused along these trade routes. Later came the transatlantic slave trade in African bodies – both captive and free - and the spread of Christianity.

The transatlantic slave trade, carried out by nations of Western Europe between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, extended the trade in enslaved African bodies to North, Central and South America, and the Caribbean. The use of enslaved Africans in this part of the globe, to clear and work appropriated indigenous land for silver and gold mines, and to establish huge plantations greatly expanded merchant and commodity capital and laid the foundation for industrial capital. Investment in commodity capital created the mass production and consumption of commodities such as sugar, cotton, indigo, coffee, and lumber to build vessels for the carrying trade and the Navies of various competing empires, thus building a stock of maritime capital for Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, and Germany, to name a few. The chain of events such as the American War of Independence, the French and Haitian Revolutions and the successive abolition of the slave trade that followed, trained European capitalists’ eyes on vast territories on the African continent, which in their philosophical construction was *terra nullius*.

At the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 the European empires and Belgium decided how they would divide and share up the continent. The nineteenth century scramble for the continent saw the deluge of some fourteen European countries divide the landmass and the peoples among themselves and further displaced people from their ancestral lands, and appropriated native people as bodies of captive cheap labour, and their natural resources plundered. The following excerpt illustrates the massive undertaking that the Scramble for Africa was.

At the time of the conference, only the coastal areas of Africa were colonized by the European powers. At the Berlin Conference the European colonial powers scrambled to gain control over the interior of the continent. The conference lasted until February 26, 1885 - a three-month period where colonial powers haggled over geometric boundaries in the interior of the continent, disregarding the cultural and linguistic boundaries already established by the indigenous African population.

Following the conference, the give and take continued. **By 1914**, the conference participants had fully divided Africa among themselves into fifty countries.

Major colonial holdings included:

- **Great Britain** desired a Cape-to-Cairo collection of colonies and almost succeeded though their control of Egypt, Sudan (Anglo-Egyptian Sudan), Uganda, Kenya (British East Africa), South Africa, and Zambia (Northern Rhodesia?), Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and Botswana. The British also controlled Nigeria and Ghana (Gold Coast).
- **France** took much of western Africa, from Mauritania to Chad (French West Africa) and Gabon and the Republic of Congo (French Equatorial Africa).
- **Belgium and King Leopold II** controlled the Democratic Republic of Congo (Belgian Congo).
- **Portugal** took Mozambique in the east and Angola in the west.
- **Italy's** holdings were Somalia (Italian Somaliland) and a portion of Ethiopia.
- **Germany** took Namibia (German Southwest Africa) and Tanzania (German East Africa).
- **Spain** claimed the smallest territory - Equatorial Guinea (Rio Muni).

By 1902, 90% of all the land that makes up Africa was under European control. The large part of the [Sahara](#) was French, while after the quelling of the [Mahdi rebellion](#) and the ending of the [Fashoda crisis](#), the Sudan remained firmly under joint British–Egyptian rulership.

The Boer republics were conquered by the United Kingdom in the [Boer war](#) from 1899 to 1902. [Morocco](#) was divided between the French and Spanish in 1911, and [Libya](#) was conquered by Italy in 1912. The official British annexation of Egypt in 1914 ended the colonial division of Africa. By this point, all of Africa, with the exceptions of Liberia and Ethiopia, was under European rule.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlin_Conference_%281884%29

de Blij, H.J. and Peter O. Muller *Geography: Realms, Regions, and Concepts*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1997. Page 340. (Retrieved 30 December 2010
<http://geography.about.com/cs/politicalgeog/a/berlinconferenc.htm>)

With this brief description of the historical background of the African Diasporas, it is understandable that the victims of these trades have found ways to record the events of their lives in the collective memory through their oral traditions, in carvings and statues,

in sculptures, paintings, dances, plays, theatre, films, dub, music, and in various forms of life writing, such as slave narratives, auto/biographies, diaries, poems, songs and auto-ethnographies.

2. Why Auto/Biographies as Pedagogical Tools

All living human beings begin their autobiography in their genes. Who they are and who they become depend on their parents' origin in specific time and place and the experiences of their growth and development. From the time of their birth they begin to encode their autobiography through what they learn from the interaction with parents, family, school, community, village, nation and the world. We learn early to tell stories of our lives and later some are compelled to write and publish them. Cognition, memory, and the imagination enable the interpretation of the world and the history in which we are born. Autobiographical memory as a primary data source, as also archival and topographical sources, has its weaknesses and its strengths. It is beyond the scope of this project to go into them but I can recommend a number of authors in the literature: Butterfield 1974; Nabokov 1947 rev. ed., 1966; Olney 1998, 1980, 1972; in addition to the large body of psychological and psychiatric literature on the subject. Narrative inquiry and auto-ethnography are two research methods in qualitative inquiry that are gaining respect in educational research.

The autobiographer or memoirist tells her story for a **purpose or motive** and the reader has to figure out the purpose. Sometimes the author declares why she is telling her story. The format may be chronological or it may be thematic. The text usually includes the author's account of a **selection** and interpretation of personal experiences, events, issues, discoveries, emotions, crises, people, place(s), family and particular time(s) and eras. Some autobiographies are simple but interesting narration of a life and times. Others go further to analyze and explain **motives and consequences** to self and others. Some auto/biographers emphasize a discipline or a career such as, a literary biography, a political biography and so on.

For all the weakness of human memory, it is the capacity that makes us fully human with all our warts. Olney reminds us of how memory recalls origins, returns us by way of recollection, imagination and invention to the human beginning, at which point one can see unfolding, as by an inner necessity, the course of the life of an individual, of a nation, of humankind. Through the operation of memory we are able to look forward, look at, and look back (Olney 1998, 97).

For ethical and political reasons the writer cannot tell all; therefore, readers have to be alert to the gaps in the story and speculate and infer why certain germane things are left out. In this instance the curious reader might go further and find the answers in historical or other texts or interview people who know the autobiographer.

Although the genre is non-fiction, the writer usually employs the elements of fiction in the telling or the writing. For example the use of imagery, metaphors, aphorism, characterization of people, dialogues and peculiar manners of speech, plot, suspense and punch lines, descriptions of setting and so on to create pathos and vicarious experiences for readers. Memoirs inform, inspire and even entertain and transport the reader to another time and place. As a pedagogical tool auto/biographies engage the cognitive and

affective parts of the brain and therefore involve the whole body at the level of the head, eyes, lips, tongue, heart, gut, spine, skin, smell, hearing, feeling and imagination.

There are three aims of this developing project on African/Black people's auto/biographies as pedagogical tools:

1. to inform the reader of the cultural legacies of traditional African civilizations
2. to preserve individual and collective memories of imperialism, colonization racialized chattel slavery, segregation and Apartheid and their aftermath; and
3. to explain why the contemporary struggles for substantive citizenship continue, locally and globally.

It can be generalized that the historical fate of enslaved and dispossessed Africans between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries were made and remade by the application of conceptual, institutional, and material practices involving, what I playfully call the big Cs – crown, conquest, colonization, contact, capture/captivity, court, chartered companies, chattel, currency, contracts, concubinage, commerce, communications, commodities, capitalism, Christianity/church, civilization, coercion, culture, consumer, and colour - to name a few. This vocabulary just listed can be used to paint the big picture of territorial expansion, demographic flows, capital formation, and the evolution of the enabling technologies created to facilitate and buttress the interlocking economic and social processes. In these autobiographies and biographies the reader can discern, explicitly or implicitly, how these processes operate in interlocking ways. Evident in these works also is the ways in which individuals and groups, resist, accommodate, benefit from, and exploit their condition. For most of these subjects, surviving and thriving and/or masking and perishing from historical traumas are at the heart of the narratives. Of note also is the constant state of displacement from homelands and the resultant Africa/Black bodies engaging in never-ending emigration, immigration and exile.

Through these creative non-fiction works the educator/reader/learner is invited to a kind of educational innovation in which these auto/biographies can usefully serve to explain and teach how past events animate the contemporary human condition of African/Black people in their various diasporas and the place of continent of Africa, with its 54-55 countries and its vast human and physical resources, in the global social and economic apparatuses of governance and economies.

3. “Mek dem say whey dem have fe say”²: Pedagogical Strategies

The implications of teaching and learning from a historically conscious perspective are many. When we ground teaching and learning in historical conscious, in addition to applying the physiological, anthropological and sociological concepts that define the social composition and relations of classrooms, we are empowered to lead students to ask questions of historical geneses to contemporary lives by adding a historical dimension. In so doing we are enabled to see the bodies in our classrooms as both the subjects and products of historical processes into which they were born. Our classrooms can then be perceived as a confluence of streams of history, memory, and narrative linking indigenous dispossession and displacements, colonies, dynasties and empires. We can appreciate that various autobiographies come together and are being

performed in personality traits, in self-representations, in social locations within historically constructed hierarchies of ethnicity, race, class, gender, disabilities and sexual orientations. The best we can hope for in teaching from this perspective is that the curricula that we provide and the teaching strategies we employ will be embedded in an epistemic base that honours the difficult legacies of these histories. One should be prepared to deal with the affect that accompanies the daily realities of people, such as African/Black, whose memories are repressed by imposed subjugated statuses. I argue that by including a variety of auto/biographies in our course outlines and syllabuses we can help to make historical and intercultural links and provide models of voice, self-representation and agency for all our students.

The contemporary student-centered and critical-thinking approaches to teaching and learning require us to educate students. In practice this means to set the learning conditions in such a way as to bring out students abilities as autonomous learners who will develop healthy self-concepts. The teaching learning conditions could be captured in the following simplified sketch.

- ✓ Learners and their embodied histories;
- ✓ Content/subject matter/discipline/syllabus;
- ✓ Methods/behavioural objectives/goals
- ✓ Process/student engagement/cognition/affect/creativity
- ✓ Product/performance/paper/test/questions
- ✓ Evaluation/feedback/grading.

To elaborate on the nature of the task of educating from a historical perspective, the following quote from Simon Gikandi, a Kenyan scholar studying in a British university, reminds us that we as teachers have learned and taught from the imperial knowledge paradigms of western civilization, and instructs us how we need to proceed to understand and critique knowledge constructed about Africa. African/Black Auto/biographers have had to do the kind of deconstruction that Gikandi authorizes in order to understand their identity formation and their subject positions. The pedagogical task is complex.

Since we cannot operate outside of the colonial episteme and its institutions, our challenge is not to transcend it but to inhabit its central categories, to understand the histories and functions of these categories, to come to terms with their effects, and to deconstruct their authority. But another consideration make the deconstruction of imperial epistemologies imperative: while the age of empire is considered the high point of the rationalization of the world, the thematization of the Western narrative of history, and the privileging of European cultural traditions, the search for a countervailing tradition within this hegemonic realm is concurrent with its imposition. In other words, even when the culture of colonialism appears to be absolute and its totality unquestionable, its narratives have to contend with the colonized locality as not simply a space of transgression and resistance but one in which metropolitan identities are made and remade” (Gikandi, 1996, p. 46).

Some pedagogical strategies:

- Autobiographical writing exercise can be used as a workshop icebreaker or lesson

hook. These are some prompts: Ask participants to begin by recording the year in which they were born. Write down as many events that they know of that were happening in their family, community, city, province/state, nation and the world during that year. Move on to writing down the first memory of self-consciousness within the family, a memory of first school experience, how did your family build your self-concept.

- Introduction to issues and themes by individual reading of selected excerpts from auto/biographies.
- Small group sharing of themes and issues identified in individual reading.
- Large Group sharing of small group synthesis of themes and issues.
- Course assignment in which each discipline may choose to use selected African/Black people's auto/biography to fulfill or demonstrate certain leaning objectives peculiar to that discipline. The assignment may be to write a critical book review or to compare an auto/biography with another genre such as historiography, fiction, anthropology, sociology or film dealing with similar themes and issues in the same time and place.
- Learners may also choose graphic or performative recreation of their understandings of the themes illuminated in the auto/biographies – flow-charts or semantic maps, video, one-act play, and dance, for example.
- Can extend the learning beyond the classroom to engage in community dialogues over cooperative radio programs or in community immigrant groups for example.
- Understanding theoretical constructs such as autobiographical memory, slavery and trauma, the body in pain, narratology.
- Understanding and permitting research methods involved in the following related research terminology: narrative inquiry, auto-ethnography, creative non-fiction, life writing, autobiography, biography and memoir.
- Design modules or whole courses using Africa/Black peoples' auto/biographies.
- A world map showing the countries of Africa and the global migration of African peoples posted prominently in the classroom is a must to get acquainted with a part of the world that we tend to know very little about. Pointing to the geographic location/s of the auto/biographies may help to give some spatial relationships to the various western and eastern empires, continent and colonies

Conclusion

The foregoing exposition has highlighted how Africa has been variously constructed as the Dark Continent, the land of savages and backward people, to whom Europeans brought the light of civilization by trade, enslavement and forced servitude. Further by historical irony and falsehoods the facts of how Europeans underdeveloped Africa by displacing and dispossessing people of their land, plundering the resources of the indigenous peoples and destroying their cultures were presented as progress. Bates, Davidson, Diop, and Eze are some of the scholars who have engaged in what Davidson calls "the reinstallation of Africa's peoples within the culture of the world." Eze is particularly instructive on the part that so-called Enlightenment philosophers played in locating Africa and Africans at the bottom of a racialized hierarchy characterizing the people as having no history, who have never created anything worthwhile and whose

ideas are infantile. The various slave trades and their accompanying ideologies have left legacies of imposed inferiority status on African peoples on the continent and anywhere else they have migrated to. The institution of education is being called upon to engage in some aspects of what Boesak calls redemptive justice.

To paraphrase Gikandi, cited earlier, I conclude that since in Canada, in public schools, we cannot for the most part, teach outside of the diversity and multicultural policy frameworks of education, which despite the rhetoric of inclusion and equality, remains largely Eurocentric, we can interrogate how the educational discourse came to be dominated by pervasive anthropological concepts and constructs of culture, multiculturalism and a preoccupation with comparative civilizations. I have proposed a historical consciousness standpoint as a useful and practical beginning. I have developed and presented a professional development project in which I have demonstrated how the study of African/Black peoples' auto/biographies can be included in all social science and humanities disciplines and can provide plausible answers to how Africa and Africans came to be omitted from western knowledge regimes. I hope that in so doing we can be prepared to welcome the return of the repressed memories of Africa and its people.

References

- Arnold, E. (2011) *Working with families of African Caribbean origins*. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Ayittey, G.N. (2005). *Africa unchained: The blueprint for Africa's future*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ayittey, G.N. (1998). *Africa in chaos*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bakare-Yusuf, B. (1999). The Economy of Violence: Black Bodies and the Unspeakable Terror. In Janet Price and Margrit Shildrick (Eds.), *Feminist theory and the body: A reader*. New York: Routledge. pp. 311-323.
- Baker, L.D. (1998). *From savage to negro: Anthropology and the construction of race, 1896- 1954*. Berkley: California: University of California Press.
- Bates, R.H., Mudimbe, V. Y., & O'Barr, J. (Eds.). (1993). *Africa and the disciplines: The contributions of research in Africa to the social sciences and humanities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Blackburn, R. (1997). *The making of New World slavery: From the baroque to the modern 1492-1800*. London, New York: Verso.
- Boesak, W. (1995). *God's wrathful children: Political oppression & Christian ethics*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerddmans Publishing.
- Brown, Y. (forthcoming). When moral reasoning confronts institutional entrenchment: A case study of the exclusion of Africa at a world class university (book chapter forthcoming, Africa World Press).
- Brown, Y. (2008). Ghosts in the Canadian multicultural machine: A tale of the absent presence of black people. *Journal of Black Studies*, 38(3), 374-387.
- Brown, Y. (2007). A journey to multiple sites of memory to find and locate the black self in the New World African and British diasporas. In Divine, D. (Ed.), *Multiple Lenses: Voices Multiple Lenses: Voices from the Diaspora Located in Canada*. London: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Brown, Y. (2005). *Bodies, memories, and empire: Life stories about growing up in Jamaica 1943 – 1965*. Doctoral Dissertation, The University of British Columbia, Vancouver BC.
- Butterfield, S. (1974). *Black Autobiography in America*. Amherst: University of

- Massachusetts Press.
- Carter, D.M. (2010). *Navigating the African Diaspora: The anthropology of invisibility*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press.
- Davidson, B. (1974). *Africa in History*. Paladin (St Albans).
- Davidson, B. (1994). *The search for Africa: History, culture, politics*. New York: Random House.
- Davis, D.B. (1984). *Slavery and human progress*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Diop, C.A. (1974). *The African origin of civilization: Myth or reality*. Chicago, Illinois: Lawrence Hill Books.
- Diop, C.A. (1986). *Precolonial Black Africa*. Chicago, Illinois: Lawrence Hill Books.
- Elkins, C. (2005). *Imperial reckoning: The untold story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.
- Eze, E. (Ed.). (1997). *Race and the enlightenment: A reader*. Cambridge: Mass, Blackwell Publishers.
- Ferguson, J. (2006). *Global shadows: Africa in the neoliberal world order*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- French, H.W. (2005). *A continent for the taking: The tragedy and hope of Africa*. Vintage Books.
- Gikandi, S. (1996). *Maps of Englishness: Writing identity in the culture of colonialism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Gilman, S.L. (1992). Black bodies, white bodies: Towards an iconography of female sexuality in late nineteenth century art, medicine and literature. In James Donald and Ali Rattansi (Eds.), *'Race', Culture & Difference*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Hickling, F. (2007). *Psychohistoriography: A post-colonial psychoanalytic and psychotherapeutic model*. Mona, Jamaica: University of the West Indies, CARIMENSA.
- Hochschild, A. (2005). *Bury the chains*. New York: Houghton Mifflin.
- Hochschild, A. (1998). *King Leopold's ghost*. New York: Houghton Mifflin.
- Howe, G. (2002). *Race, war and nationalism*. Oxford: James Curry.
- Isichei, E. (1995). *A History of Christianity in Africa from antiquity to the present*. Grand Rapids: Michigan: William B. Erdmans Publishing Company.
- Kapuscinski, R. (2001). *The shadow of the sun*. New York: Alfred Knopf.
- James, Carl et al. (2010). *Race & well-being: The lives, hopes, and activism of African Canadians*. Black Point, Nova scotia: Fernwood Publishing.
- Levtzion, N. & Randall L.P. (Eds.). (2000). *The history of Islam in Africa*. Athens Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- Lewis, R. (1987). *Marcus Garvey: Anti-colonial champion*. London: Karia Press.
- Lovejoy, P.E. (2011). *Transformation of slavery: A history of slavery in Africa* (3rd ed.). Cambridge of University Press.
- Mathieu, Sarah-Jane. (2010). *North of the color line: Migration and black resistance, 1870- 1955*. Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press.
- McClintock,. (1995). *Imperial leather: Race gender and sexuality in the colonial contest*. New York: Routledge.
- Meredith, M. (2005). *The fate of Africa*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Mintz, S. (1985). *Sweetness and power: The place of sugar in modern history*. New York: Viking Press.
- Mokhtar, G. (Ed.). (1981). *Ancient Civilizations of Africa*. UNESCO General History of Africa Vol. 2. London: Heinemann.
- Moore, D.S. (2005). *Suffering for territory*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Nabokov, V. (1947; rev. ed.1966). *Speak, memory: An autobiography revisited*. New York: Random House.
- Olney, J. (1998). *Memory and narrative: The weave of life-writing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

- Olney, J. (Ed.). (1980). *Autobiography: Essays theoretical and critical*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Olney, J. (1972). *Metaphors of self: The meaning of autobiography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Pack O.R. Captain J. (1982). *Nelson's blood: The story of naval rum*. Annapolis, Maryland: Alan Sutton Publishing Limited.
- Pajaczkowska, C. & Young, L. (1992). Racism, representation, psychoanalysis. In James Donald & Ali Rattansi (Eds.), *'Race', culture & difference*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Pakenham, T. (1991). *The scramble for Africa: White man's conquest of the dark continent from 1876 to 1912*. New York: Avon Books.
- Rodney, W. (1972). *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press.
- Said, E.W. (1993). *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Alfred Knopf.
- Seixas, P. (Ed.). (2004). *Theorizing historical consciousness*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Spurr, D. (1993). *The rhetoric of empire: Colonial discourse in journalism, travel writing, and imperial administration*. Durham & London: Duke University Press.
- Stoler, A.L. (1996). *Race and the education of desire: Foucault's history of sexuality and the colonial order of things*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Trouillot, M.R. (1995). *Silencing the past: Power and the production of history*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Walvin, J. (2001). *Black ivory: Slavery in the British Empire*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Williams, E. (1944). *Capitalism and slavery*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Young, R. (1990). *White mythologies: Writing history and the west*. New York: Routledge.

Endnotes

¹ This is in Jamaican Patois translated thus: "What do they say for themselves?" An arbiter usually asks of oppressed persons being spoken for. I am compelled to ask these questions when my self-study finds African/Black people are being spoken for or spoken of by Africanists as opposed to African scholars.

² Jamaica Patois meaning "Allow them to say what they have to say." An arbiter usually commands when an oppressed or downtrodden person is being spoken for or constantly being interrupted while speaking. This is a command that teachers should be prepared to give to make space for the expression of multiple voices in the classroom.