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Into the future: A historiographical overview of Atlantic History in the twenty first century

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Abstract:

This article examines developments in the field of Atlantic History within the past two decades and through the prism of slavery studies and a number of close sub-fields. By paying attention to what Atlantic historians have achieved since the turn of the century, it discusses contributions and critiques in equal measure, highlighting the field's place in wider global discussions. While probing a number of methodological challenges that are already being tackled by numerous Atlantic historians, this article also explores the potential obstacles that lay ahead and suggest possible ways to negotiate them successfully. Rather than offering yet another painstaking reconstruction of the birth and growth of Atlantic History, this piece focuses squarely on the field's twenty-first century's saga: past, present and future.

Keywords: Atlantic History; historiography; slavery studies; slave trade; Africa; Europe; Americas

The twenty-first century is already twenty one years old. Though these two decades could seem like a brief bracket of time in many fields of scholarship, for the burgeoning field of Atlantic History, they resemble more of an eternity. These years

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have been truly prolific and groundbreaking for historians of the Atlantic world, as academic discussions and scopes have widened and become more inclusive, comparative and interdisciplinary.

During its first few decades of existence, starting in the middle decades of the twentieth century, Atlantic History was contested, dismissed and praised almost in equal measure by scholars who saw little new in its offering, and by those who beheld it as solution to the methodological problems inherent in colonial and imperial histories.[1] Conceptual and historiographical articles and books discussing its origins and lineages began appearing once the field had achieved some level of consolidation and recognition – each of them posing original questions pertaining to both its contribution and future.[2]

How has the field changed and what has it achieved in the past two decades? What are the main critiques lodged today by those who remain skeptical of its place and role in wider global discussions? What does the future have in store for historians of the Atlantic? These are some of the questions that this essay attempts to answer, while probing a number of methodological challenges that are already being tackled by numerous Atlantic historians. Rather than offering yet another painstaking reconstruction of the birth and growth of Atlantic History, this piece focuses squarely on the field's twenty-first century's saga: past, present and future.

Following the efforts of historians who have repeatedly contributed to these discussions in the past few years, including but not limited to Nicolas Canny, David Armitage, Donna Gabaccia, Alison Games, Edoardo Tortarolo, Jack P. Greene, Philip D. Morgan, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Ben Breen, it will underscore what distinguishes the past twenty years from the founding decades, by exploring a variety

of themes, that include slave trade and slavery studies, the Age of Revolutions, gender, diaspora and colonialism.[3]

There is little doubt that the field of Atlantic History is dominated by decades of scholarship on slavery and related subjects, due to the crucial importance of the slave trade and the rise of slavery in the Americas for the understanding of how Europe, Africa and the Americas were entangled from the fifteenth century onwards. Atlantic History cannot be truly scrutinized and understood without engaging with these works and themes. It is here where some of the best and most innovative contributions have been published over the past two decades, and as such, this essay will pay special attention to these works, while also bringing other particularly relevant themes and works into the discussion.

As a historian of slavery and the slave trade, I will rely on slavery and slavery-related studies to illustrate broader trends within the developments of Atlantic History in the past two decades. By now, the field of Atlantic History has matured to such an extent that it is no longer realistically to write a historiographical review that cover every aspect of it, just as it would be impossible to write a sound and comprehensive review of Medieval European History or one on Twentieth Century Global History. In other words, Atlantic History is now a full-blown field of research in its own right, with multiple, healthy subfields that engage with virtually every aspect of Atlantic peoples and cultures from the fifteenth century until today.

It would not be far-fetched to state that the field of Atlantic History is currently in a moment of ramping up. As indicated before, since the turn of the millennium, historiographical essays exploring every aspect of the discipline's evolution have continued to appear. In 2004 a new journal, *Atlantic Studies*, was launched with the

purpose of publishing cutting-edge trans- and interdisciplinary research on the Atlantic world's history, but also literature and cultural studies, in fact bringing together all these fields into a wide-reaching, comprehensive journal.[4] Just a year earlier, the *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, had also began its life, concentrating mostly on the twentieth century, and focusing on a different set of issues, including international relations and politics, security studies, economics, etc. Up to this day, both have continued to break new ground by setting out research agendas and by re-defining the very chronological and spatial frameworks associated with the history of the Atlantic.[5]

In addition to important field-exploring essays and new journals, Atlantic History has seen an increase in generic handbooks, readers, encyclopedias, etc., of which the *Encyclopaedia of the Atlantic World, 1400–1900*, edited by David Head and published in 2017 by ABC–Clio is the most recent installment. This title joins other remarkable edited volumes, which have laid down the main concepts, terminology, lines of enquiry and overall scope and reach of the discipline. Among them, it is worth noting The *Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World, 1450–1850*, edited by Nicholas Canny and Philip D. Morgan and published by Oxford University Press in 2011, and the *Princeton Companion to Atlantic History*, co-edited by the late Joseph C. Miller, Vincent Brown, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Laurent Dubois and Karen Ordahl Kupperman, and published in 2015 by Princeton University Press. Each of these volumes has helped to synthetize what is becoming a more complicated and populated field, thus facilitating and contributing, perhaps unintentionally, to the acceleration of its expansion.

These volumes can also claim credit for having helped to define some of the sub-fields that have dominated and continue to dominate Atlantic historiography

today. Take, for example, the Age of Revolutions and the Atlantic World. The proliferation of outstanding works in this sub-field has been second to none. New studies on the French, American and Latin American revolutions – which had heavily dominated scholarship of the Age of Revolution in the final decades of the twentieth century – have continued to appear, reflecting the permanence of a Euro-centric approach. But at the same time, new works on Atlantic social movements that took place elsewhere, have re-directed old debates towards new grounds.[6] Notable among them is the new scholarship on slave rebellions in the Americas, and more specifically, the considerable body of research done on the Haitian Revolution and its Atlantic impact.

Back in 1986, when Julius C. Scott defended his groundbreaking Ph.D. dissertation, now finally published as a book under the title *A Common Wind: Afro-American Currents in the Age of the Haitian Revolution*, only a small number of books and articles had paid comprehensive attention to military movements throughout the Atlantic world led by the enslaved, and on occasion by ex-slaves.[7] Ever since, the Haitian Revolution alone has attracted the attention of a myriad of historians who have perused virtually its minute aspects. Inspired by Scott's work, historians like Matt D. Childs, Laurent Dubois, Ada Ferrer, James Alexander Dunn, Anne Eller, and Marco Morel have looked into how ideas and ideologies emanating from this exceptional event had a direct impact on slave societies in Cuba, the wider Caribbean, the United States and Brazil.[8] David Barry Gaspar, David P. Geggus, Doris Garraway, Alejandro E. Gómez, and Julia Gaffield have taken this approach even further by examining the Haitian Revolution's reverberations throughout the wider nineteenth-century Atlantic world.[9] All of these scholars have inexorably concluded that this exceptional revolutionary movement led by former slaves and men

and women of color, many of whom were African-born, had indeed had a profound effect on would-be rebels throughout the western hemisphere. Furthermore, they have almost all agreed that forms of repression within slave societies were often distorted and magnified as a result of the fears created by the stories and graphic images of former slaves killing their masters as they searched for freedom.

The only successful slave rebellion in the Atlantic world is not, however, the only armed movement to receive attention from historians since the turn of the twenty-first century. Although the final three decades of the last century could be considered to be the golden period in the study of slave conspiracies and revolts; innovative and challenging new works have appeared over the past few years. Armed movements in Cuba, for example, have been the subject of books by Matt D. Childs, Michele Reid-Vazquez, Aisha K. Finch and Manuel Barcia.[10] While Childs and Reid-Vazquez paid special attention to the island's free colored population, Finch was able to give gender questions a more central role in the slave resistance narrative, by highlighting the centrality of African-born women in some of the largest nineteenth-century uprisings in Cuba. Barcia's work on the transfers of West African warfare into the Americas, together with Vincent Brown's more recent study on Jamaica's African-led movements in the 1760s, have given weight to the notion first advanced before by Paul E. Lovejoy, John K. Thornton and João José Reis (among others) that the transatlantic transfers of ideas, practices and technologies related to African warfare were real and can be documented – in spite of the limitations and biases associated with government-produced historical sources.[11]

Barcia's and Brown's works, as well as Marjoleine Kars' most recent study on the 1763 slave uprising in Dutch Berbice, have inserted themselves into long-running discussions about the reasons behind slave conspiracies and uprisings in the

Americas.[12] It is no surprise that some of the most dynamic academic disputes in the field of Atlantic History have taken place around this issue. Similarly, to the disagreements provoked by long-existing doubts about the very existence of the Conspiracy of La Escalera (Cuba, 1843–1844), in 2001 Michael P. Johnson suggested that Denmark Vesey's revolt in 1822 Charleston, was nothing but a fabrication imagined by local authorities.[13] Just as discussions around La Escalera were finally being settled, those around Vesey's intensified. Numerous replies to Johnson's article saw some scholars question his methodology and overall approach, while others leapt to his defense, stressing the validity of some of the questions around the canonic history of the movement that he had posed.[14] Although the intensity of the debate eventually waned, the issue, even today, is far from settled.[15]

In recent years, another passionate and bi-lingual discussion occurred around Paul E. Lovejoy's and João José Reis' disagreements over the main forces driving the 1835 African-led uprising in Salvador de Bahia. Notably, this important debate took place not in an American or British journal, but in the Brazilian journal *Topoi*, published by the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro.[16] The argument between Lovejoy and Reis about the relative significance of ethnicity and religion to the 1835 revolt remains open today, having inspired new generations of historians to look even deeper into the characteristics of plots and armed movements led by the enslaved throughout the Americas in the Age of Revolution.[17] This debate also highlighted the extent to which some crucial developments within the field of slave resistance have received less attention than they deserve, precisely because of the language barriers that have obstructed the dialogue among scholars from different backgrounds, and because of the pervading Anglo-Eurocentrism that has dictated scholarly debates for decades.[18]

Another sub-field that has been privileged with numerous truly groundbreaking studies, is that of the transatlantic slave trade. Past debates around approximations of numbers of people trafficked across the ocean, have been clarified by what is perhaps the most comprehensive and useful tool ever designed by and for historians of the Atlantic world: *Voyages, the Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*.[19] Originally put together in 1999 by a group of scholars that included David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein, among others, this ever growing dataset has evolved from its original CD-ROM format, to gain a new online presence, featuring a variety of valuable tools for the examination of the data, which is presented alongside relevant essays, interactive maps, and more recently, graphics. Perhaps more than any other academic effort, this new incarnation, which has been spearheaded by David Eltis, has shaped studies on the transatlantic slave trade over the past two decades.

Studies of the transatlantic slave trade have also created some heated debates in the fields of Atlantic History over the past two decades. Discussions about the actual morbidity and mortality rates, and about the real number of revolts occurred on slave vessels have carried into the twenty-first century with no signs of abating. Equally, a central topic such as the abolition of the slave trade has turned into a truly controversial subject, as historians have begun to challenge old views that presented this historical process as an immaculate enterprise driven only or mostly by humane and moral purposes.[20]

Perhaps the most notable dispute of the past two decades associated with the transatlantic slave trade took place in the pages of the *American Historical Review*, when soon after launching the online version of *Slavevoyages*, David Eltis, Philip D. Morgan and David Richardson, questioned previous assertions about transfers of rice

cultivation knowledge and technology from the Upper Guinea to South Carolina had taken place. What followed was one of the most productive scholarly exchanges of the past two decades, a rice color-coding social and cultural debate, with contributions from S. Max Edelson, Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, and Walter Hawthorne, in addition to those of the authors of the original article. The issues raised during these exchanges have spun off into discussions held by historians who study similar transfers in other parts of the world.[21]

Not surprisingly, the study of the transatlantic slave trade has also engaged with some of the most prevalent issues in the fields of colonial and imperial history. The exchanges of commercial products, for example, as well as the non-passive role of African rulers and traders in it, have been at the center of some of the most innovative works produced in the last twenty-one years.[22] Take for instance, the study of memory. Traumatizing experiences associated with the Middle Passage have, in recent years, taken a more central stage within this historiographical body.[23] From memoires and biographies by former enslaved men and women published for the first time, to magnificent pieces of oral history among the descendants of trafficked Africans, works like those by Paul E. Lovejoy, Ana Lucia Araujo, Mariana P. Candido, and Sandra E. Greene have enriched the field with new narratives that have helped to expose how events that took place hundreds of years ago are still impacting our daily lives today.[24]

The history of the circulation of ideas, knowledge and products has also found a niche within current historiographical trends in Atlantic History. Studies by Judith A. Carney and Richard Nicholas Rosomoff, Walter Hawthorne, Marcy Norton, James H. Sweet, Roquinaldo Ferreira, Robert S. DuPlessis, Zara Anishanslin, Peter C. Mancall, Pablo F. Gómez, and Diana Paton have reframed the ways in which

exchanges throughout the Atlantic world, and beyond, can be examined. By highlighting the important contribution of indigenous peoples of both Africa and the Americas, often as a result of their relationship with the environment, they all have demonstrated that histories that are less Eurocentric can be explored, despite being forced to work with archival sources mostly produced by dominant western powers and actors.[25]

Subjects with a certain appeal, such as 'piracy' and 'disease' have also benefitted from these developments. In recent years scholars such as Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, David Head, James H. Sweet, Dale T. Graden, Tânia Salgado Pimenta, Flávio Gomes, Rana Hogarth, Pablo F. Gómez, Jesse Cromwell, Manuel Barcia, Tim Lockley, and Kalle Kananoja have brought back from oblivion a sizeable cast of quasi-forgotten individuals and groups, whose contribution to the history of the modern Atlantic world was hardly negligible. For example, the study of maritime raiding or piracy in Atlantic waters has moved on from romantic approaches that exaggerated the virtues and shortcomings of a myriad of filibusters, instead focusing on the lives of ordinary men and women who were forced to live this kind of life at sea due to a plethora of different circumstances.[26] Equally, over the past two decades historians have shown that the struggle against deadly diseases was a complicated endeavor that required the contribution of peoples from both sides of the Atlantic. These scholars have challenged old narratives that presented Europeans – especially those representing their governments – as more enlightened, capable and humane, offering instead a more complex picture in which African and American folks often led the way and showed themselves as formidable medical practitioners, colleagues or foes.[27]

Perhaps the most notable development within the field in the past two decades also has to do with another type of Atlantic exchanges and circulation, in this case, of peoples. By focusing on Diaspora and migrations, a new wave of scholars has begun to give Africa, even if belatedly, a more central place within the history of the Atlantic world. While it is true that Europe and the Americas still continue to receive the lion share of academic works, Africa has slowly but steady started to feature more often and more centrally in the work of many historians.

Many of these works have broken new ground in the study of the connections between specific African regions and peoples with the wider Atlantic. The struggle against mainstream Atlantic historians carried out by scholars such as the late Joseph C. Miller, Linda M. Heywood, John K. Thornton, Paul E. Lovejoy and James H. Sweet, among others, who began pioneering this approach decades ago, has now gained a number of new champions.[28] By highlighting the fact that African peoples and cultures shaped events and historical processes that took place all over the Atlantic to a considerable extent, these new studies have emphasized the protagonist role of Africa and the Africans within Atlantic History.

New waves of scholars have not shied away from connecting the personal stories of Atlantic actors to Africa. The examples abound. Walter Hawthorne has stressed Africans' agency throughout the Atlantic world, highlighting how they were able to influence historical processes in ways that had not been reflected in previous historical, mostly Eurocentric, works.[29] Beatriz Mamigonian has painstakingly traced numerous Africans taken to Brazil who had been "liberated" by the Court of Mixed Commission of Rio de Janeiro, showing that their official status as free men and women was more often than not overlooked by those in whose hands they were entrusted.[30] Alex Borucki has brought back into the discussion the impact that

Africans trafficked into the Rio la Plata region had within the Spanish viceroyalty, while Luis Nicolau Parés, Lisa Earl Castillo and Henry B. Lovejoy have produced fresh studies on the transformative cultural transfers associated with West African cultures and religion to Bahia and Cuba during the nineteenth century.[31]

Others like Randy J. Sparks, Rosanne Marion Adderley, Jane G. Landers, Rebecca J. Scott and Jean Hébrard, Toyin Falola, João José Reis, Flávio Gomes and Marcus de Carvalho, have mapped the trajectories of enslaved or formerly enslaved Africans throughout the Atlantic world, revealing the intricacies of their lives, the challenges they faced and the ways in which their actions had a transformative effect within the societies they lived in and beyond.[32] Some of these historical works have attempted to offer a new pathways by using Microhistory to examine a number of issues, while others have brought into the fore the role of women within Atlantic history, revealing the impact of their presence across the three continents bordering the Atlantic ocean.[33] Some of the most remarkable studies focusing on the role of gender within Atlantic societies have been edited collections resulting from transnational collaborations that have brought together historians from a diversity of backgrounds and countries. Notable among them are the works of Pamela Scully, Diana Paton, Kit Candlin and Cassandra Pybus.[34]

All in all, even though the past twenty years have been fruitful and have placed the discipline on more solid footing, the future of Atlantic History will depend on how current and new generations of scholars re-interpret and broaden the field in ways that keep it relevant beyond its own cocoon. As suggested by Alison Games in 2008, the study of the Atlantic "is best approached through interdisciplinary methods."[35] There are excellent signs, however, that such interdisciplinary approaches are happening with the frequent publication of new original studies, many of which

are also comparative. A case in question is the way in which archaeology has, in recent years, turned into a key allied field to explore and explain historical events and processes, notably within the study of slavery and the slave trade, on both sides of the Atlantic.

Whereas Andrew Pearson has provided factual evidence related to the transatlantic slave trade in St Helena by excavating the Liberated Africans cemetery in Rupert Valley, Kenneth G. Kelly and Elhajd Ibrahima Fall have unearthed fascinating evidence from main slave trading factories along the Rio Pongo in West Africa. On the other side of the Atlantic, the archaeological works on the slave barracks of the coffee plantation El Padre, led by Theresa Singleton and the Havana Archaeology Museum team have provided much needed evidence to illustrate important aspects of the daily life of enslaved men, women and children within the estate.[36] In Rio de Janeiro, the former slave market at Cais de Valongo, has also been excavated and turned into an open air museum, with an extensive exhibition of artifacts and structures associated to the market now available to anyone visiting it.[37] Equally, the recent underwater works carried out by a number of archaeologists in places as diverse as Mexico, the United States, Cuba and South Africa, have revealed unsuspected aspects of the ways in which humans were trafficked all over the Atlantic from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries.[38]

For all the dynamism that defines Atlantic History scholarship in the twentieth-first century, multiple challenges remain. The first among them concerns the isolation that has shaped Atlantic historical studies for many years. The need to integrate Atlantic historical narratives within a wider historiographical framework is more urgent now than ever. New connected fields of research have begun pushing the geographical and

cultural boundaries of transnational studies. Prominent among them are the well-established discipline of Global or World History and the emerging field of Oceanic History.[39] Within the latter, a recent book by Kevin Dawson, has already made a groundbreaking contribution to the current state of Atlantic History, by examining the African Diaspora from the point of view of their aquatic cultures.[40] Dialoguing with these fields in years to come will be a necessity if Atlantic History is to remain relevant.

We have already seen the first signs of an emerging awareness among Atlantic historians about the importance of finding valid epistemological interlocutors beyond their own turf. Trevor Burnard's recent book *The Atlantic in World History, 1490–1830*, is a case in point, as are those with almost homonymous titles from 2012 and 2017, by Karen Ordahl Kupperman and Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Eric Seeman.[41]

This vital demand to expand and engage with other geographical and cultural regions is mirrored by the imperative need for more studies that address periods other than the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although the Atlantic historiography of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is not scarce, in their totality they have produced a corpus of knowledge that still arguably lags well behind of those for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[42] More recently, studies on the colonial encounters, dealing with themes as diverse as religion, gender, legal traditions and smuggling, have begun turning the tide, as an increasingly large number of titles published in recent years attest to.[43] In spite of these, there is much to do in order to address the disconnect between Atlantic and Native American historians. Whereas some works have begun to close this gap, much needs to be done.[44]

Even more ostensible chronological limitations have been exposed by the marginalization of studies of the twentieth century. Since this historiographical

drawback was first noted by Donna Gabaccia in the first issue of *Atlantic Studies*, back in 2004, little change has taken place in order to incorporate the twentieth century in the sort of "longer history of the Atlantic" suggested by Gabaccia.[45] A glimmer of hope, however, can be found in new historical studies of the nineteenth century by scholars such as Kevin H. O'Rourke, Mimi Sheller, Jeffrey G. Williamson, Jenny S. Martinez, Claudy Delné, Emma Christopher, and Cindy Ermus. They all have attempted to offer a longer periodization of Atlantic History, exposing how events from previous centuries played a central role in twentieth century Atlantic and wider world developments.[46] In spite of these works and of the existence of the *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, Atlantic histories of the twentieth century continue to be largely isolated from previous periods. This disconnection results from Atlantic History's consolidation and mainstreaming over the past decades and a consequence of the overpowering focus on themes, like slavery and the slave trade, which did not carry into the twentieth century because they were both abolished in the second part of the nineteenth century.

Perhaps the most thought-provoking test of all is related to the persistent failure of different Atlantic historiographies to dialogue with each other. In truth, most Atlantic History books and articles continue to be published in English, by presses and publishers that overwhelmingly use English as their language of choice. In spite of many outstanding works appearing in the past two decades in languages other than English, there has been little decentralization of the intellectual debates. The challenge, therefore, is to find viable ways to integrate historiographical schools and works produced in languages other than English into these discussions.

More to the point, Atlantic historians who publish in English must also challenge the comfortable, easy remedy of translating their works into French,

Portuguese, Spanish or Dutch, among other languages, as if making their own work known to others could solve the problem. Beyond the apparent fact that such a notion carries strident neo-colonial echoes, such a partial measure does little to disseminate the works of scholars publishing in those languages, who often cannot afford translating their works into English and who struggle to find an appropriate publisher. Translation should indeed be an instrument, but without the necessary balance, works published in the Caribbean, Latin America, Africa and non-English-speaking parts of Europe will remain isolated.

A final observation is in order before bringing this review to a conclusion. The Atlantic is still mostly seen and studied from a Global North and overwhelmingly, by using sources created by the West, thus reproducing cacophonic discourses and arguments that permeate its historiography until today. The emergency of ultra-conservative and nationalist narratives over the past few years has added to this predicament by reviving old discourses about western superiority and the supposed merits of European rule over formerly colonized populations throughout the Atlantic and beyond. Atlantic historians will do well to follow a number of trailblazing colleagues who pioneered the integration of Africa and Africans into Atlantic historical studies, many of whom have done so not from North America or the United Kingdom, but precisely from those "'other'" traditions and using languages other than English.

As I conclude, let me return to the theme of slavery and slave trade studies, and invoke a work that is both 35 years old and a visionary road map that points a way forward for Atlantic historians. Although the core part of Julius S. Scott's *The Common Wind* was written in the 1980s, the book was not published until 2018, after

what can only be described as decades of clamoring by Atlantic historians who longed for having the text available to them in a more forthcoming way. In its moment, Scott's work challenged a variety of concepts and approaches that had dominated the field for years. The list of its contributions would be too long to list here in detail but suffice it to say that it was one of the first ever works to wrestle Atlantic history from the hands of those who wrote about grand economic or political issues that were mainly determined by what European and American governments and other powerful actors had done through centuries. Scott brought ordinary people, especially those of African descent, into the Atlantic fold, using multiple sources, ultimately given them their rightful place in the history of the Atlantic.

Thanks to the work of scholars like Scott, Atlantic historians are today in a privileged position, where their publications are widely recognized and cited. Now, it seems to me, it is time to freshen the field by enriching our historiographical outlook, to embrace analytical breakthroughs and fresh contributions that use interdisciplinary methods that do not privilege a region or a language over others. In sum, it is time to merge historical traditions and connections that traverse this vast ocean and that ultimately melt into wider, global currents.

Notes

[1] Historical studies using the Atlantic as a new interpretative and analytical framework to offer new insights into hemispherical concerns began appearing as early as in the mid-1950s with early works by Bernard Bailey, Jacques Godechot and Robert R. Palmer, among others. See, for example, Bailyn, "Communication and Trade," 378–387; Godechot and Palmer, "Le problème de l'Atlantique du XVIIIème au XXième siècle," 175–239.

[2] Perhaps the most comprehensive genealogical study of the field of Atlantic History can be found in Bailyn, *Atlantic History*. See also, Butel, *Histoire de l'Atlantique*.

[3] Canny, "Atlantic History," 399–411; Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," 7–28; Gabaccia, "A long Atlantic in a wider world," 1–27; Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities," 741–757; Tortarolo, "Eighteenth-Century Atlantic History," 369–374; Greene and Morgan, eds., *Atlantic History*; Cañizares-Esguerra, "Some Caveats about the 'Atlantic' Paradigm," 1–4; Cañizares-Esguerra and Breen, "Hybrid Atlantics," 597–609.

[4] *Atlantic Studies* adopted the new subtitle *Global Currents* in 2011 to reflect its commitment to expanding the scope of the discipline and its potential within other fields, such as Global and Imperial studies, as well as the recognition that oceanic flows are not confined.

[5] A third journal specifically focused on the South Atlantic, the *South Atlantic Quarterly* has been published by Duke University Press since 1901. Further, other journals like the *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos*, published since 1955 by the Casa de Colón in Gran Canaria, *Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer*, published by the Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux since 1948 have been publishing works on Atlantic History for several decades.

[6] See, for example, Gould and Onuf, eds., *Empire and Nation*; Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution*; Blanchard, *Under the Flags of Freedom*; Armitage and Subrahmanyam, eds., *The Age of Revolutions in Global Context*; Desan, Hunt and Nelson, eds., *The French Revolution in Global Perspective*; Eastman and Sobrevilla, eds., *The Rise of Constitutional Government in the Iberian Atlantic World*; Echeverri, *Indian and Slave Royalists in the Age of Revolution*.

[7] Scott, *A Common Wind*. Other notable authors who looked into the Atlantic repercussions of slave movements in the Americas at the time, include, but are not limited to, David Barry Gaspar, Emilia Viotti da Costa, Michael Craton, Eugene Genovese, Robert L. Paquette, and John K. Thornton.

[8] Childs, *The 1812 Aponte Rebellion*; Ferrer, *Freedom's Mirror*; Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens*; Dun, *Dangerous Neighbors*; Eller, *We Dream Together*; Morel, *A revolução do Haiti e o Brasil escravista*.

[9] Geggus, ed., *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution*; Garraway, ed., *Tree of Liberty*; Gómez, *Le spectre de la Révolution noire*; Gaffield, *Haitian Connections*.

[10] Reid-Vazquez, *The Year of the Lash*; Barcia, *West African Warfare in Bahia and Cuba*; Finch, *Rethinking Slave Rebellion in Cuba*. See also Childs, *The 1812 Aponte Rebellion*.

[11] Brown, *Tacky's Revolt*.

[12] Kars, *Blood on the River*.

[13] Johnson, "Denmark Vesey and His Co-Conspirators," 915–976; For a concise state of the debates around La Escalera over the years, see Paquette, *Sugar is Made with Blood*.

[14] Among the scholars to get involved in this discussion in the following issue of *The William and Mary Quarterly* 59, no. 1 (2002), were Robert A. Gross, Douglas R. Egerton, Philip D. Morgan, Winthrop Jordan and Robert L. Paquette.

[15] For recent works where this debate is resuscitated see Egerton and Paquette, *The Denmark Vesey Affair*; Kytle and Roberts, *Denmark Vesey's Garden*; Tomlins, *In the Matter of Nat Turner*, 29–31.

[16] For the original article that led to the exchange between Lovejoy and Reis, as well as for the replies and counter-replies, see Lovejoy, "Jihad na África Ocidental," 15–

28; Reis, “Resposta a Paul Lovejoy,” 374–389; Lovejoy, “Jihad, “Era das Revoluções” e história atlântica,” 390–395.

[17] In addition to the previously cited works by Barcia and Brown, see Belmonte Postigo, “No obedecen a nadie, sino cada uno gobierna a su familia,” 813–840; Cuevas Oviedo, “La guerra y las resistencias esclavas en la Revolución neogranadina,” 40–64.

[18] Due to reasons of space, it is impossible to include every debate that has taken place in the past twenty years in this review essay. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning here that there have been others covering a wide range of issues, from natural disasters to the reinterpretation of plantation slavery in the Americas and intra-imperial transatlantic relations. For some notable examples, see: Tomich, *Through the Prism of Slavery*; Rodrigo, *Indians a Catalunya*; Berbel, Marquese and Parron, eds., *Escravidão e Política*; Piqueras, *La esclavitud en las Españas*; Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions*; Fradera, *La nación imperial*; Klooster, *Tussen honger en zwaard*.

[19] https://www.slavevoyages.org

[20] Brown, *Moral Capital*; Christopher, *A Merciless Place*; Huzzey, *Freedom Burning;* Nerin, *Traficants d’ànimes*; Scanlan, *Freedom’s Debtors*; Anderson and Lovejoy, eds., *Liberated Africans and the Abolition of the Slave Trade*; Everill, *Not Made by Slaves*; Belton, “‘A deep interest in your cause’”; Harris, *The Last Slave Ships*; Sanjurjo Ramos, *In the Blood of Our Brothers*.

[21] See, for example, Kelly, “Rice and its consequences in the greater “Atlantic” world,” 273–275; Morrison and Hauser, “Risky business,” 371–392; Maat, “Commodities and anti-commodities,” 335–354.

[22] See, among others, Law, *Ouidah*; Sparks, *Where the Negroes are Masters*; Green, *A Fistful of Shells*.

[23] Three of the most influential works in this field over the past few years are those of Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery*; Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea*; Johnson, *Wicked Flesh*.

[24] Araujo, Candido and Lovejoy, eds., *Crossing Memories*; Greene, *West African Narratives of Slavery*; Araujo, *Slavery in the Age of Memory*.

[25] Landers, "A Nation Divided," 99–116; Funes Monzote, *From Rainforest to Cane Field*; Carney and Rosomoff, *In the Shadow of Slavery*; Hawthorne, *From Africa to Brazil*; Norton, *Profane Pleasures*; Sweet, *Domingos Álvares*; Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*; Millett, *The Maroons of Prospect Bluff*; DuPlessis, *The Material Atlantic*; Anishanslin, *Portrait of a Woman in Silk*; Mancall, *Nature and Culture in the Early Modern Atlantic*; Gómez, *The Experiential Caribbean*; Paton, *The Cultural Politics of Obeah*; Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*.

[26] Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra*; Rediker, *Outlaws of the Atlantic*; Head, *Privateers of the Americas*; Cromwell, *The Smugglers' World*.

[27] Graden, *Disease, Resistance, and Lies*; Salgado and Gomes, eds., *Escravidão, doenças e práticas de cura no Brasil*; Hogarth, *Medicalizing Blackness*; Barcia, *The Yellow Demon of Fever*; Lockley, *Military Medicine and the Making of Race*; Kananoja, *Healing Knowledge in Atlantic Africa*; Fisk, "Black knowledge on the move."

[28] See, for example, Miller, *Way of Death*; Heywood, *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora*; Thornton *Africa and the Africans*; *Warfare in Atlantic Africa*; Shumway, *The Fante and the Transatlantic Slave Trade*; Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery; Jihad in West Africa during the Age of Revolutions*; Sweet, *Recreating Africa*.

[29] Hawthorne, *From Africa to Brazil*; "The Idea of the Atlantic World," 353–366. Other books that have followed Hawthorne's lead in more recent years are Candido, *An African Enslaving Port*; Misevich, *Abolition and the Transformation of Atlantic Commerce*; Anderson, *Abolition in Sierra Leone*; Anderson and Lovejoy, eds., *Liberated Africans*; Domingues da Silva, *The Atlantic Slave Trade.*

[30] Mamigonian, *Africanos livres*.

[31] Castillo, *Entre a oralidade e a escrita*; Borucki, *From Shipmates to Soldiers*; Nicolau Parés, *O rei, o pai, e a morte*; Lovejoy, *Prieto*.

[32] Sparks, *The Two Princes of Calabar*; Adderley, *"New Negroes from Africa"*; Landers, *Atlantic Creoles*; Scott and Hébrard, *Freedom Papers*; Falola, *The African Diaspora*; Reis, Gómes, and de Carvalho, *The Story of Rufino*.

[33] Among these pioneering microhistorical studies see Putnam, "To Study the Fragments/Whole," 615–630; Ferreira, "Atlantic Microhistories," 99–128; Scott, "Microhistory set in Motion," 84–111.

[34] Scully and Paton, eds., *Gender and Slave Emancipation in the Atlantic World*; Candlin and Pybus, eds., *Enterprising Women*; Cowling, *Conceiving Freedom*; Paugh, *The Politics of Reproduction*; Newman, *A Dark Inheritance*; Walker, *Jamaica Ladies*; Oliveira, *Slave Trade and Abolition.*

[35] Games, "Atlantic History and Interdisciplinary Approaches," 189.

[36] Pearson, *Distant Freedom*; Singleton, *Slavery behind the Wall*; Kelly and Fall, "Employing archaeology," 317–335.

[37] See, for example, Viegas, *Cais do Valongo*.

[38] Webster, "Slave Ships and Maritime Archaeology," 6–19. A number of archaeological studies currently underway in Cuba, the United States, Mexico and

South Africa have not yet produced academic papers, being at various stages of development.

[39] Blum, "Introduction: oceanic studies," 151–155; Armitage, Bashford, and Sivasundaram, eds., *Oceanic Histories*; Buchet and Le Bouëdec, eds., *The Sea in History*; Abulafia, *The Boundless Sea*.

[40] Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power*.

[41] Burnard, *The Atlantic in World History*; Kupperman, *The Atlantic in World History*; Cañizares-Esguerra and Seeman, eds., *The Atlantic in Global History*.

[42] Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra*; Goetz, *The Baptism of Early Virginia*; Altman and Wheat, *The Spanish Caribbean & the Atlantic World*; Dodds-Pennock, "Aztecs Abroad?," 787–814; Eltis, Wheat and Borucki, eds., *From the Galleons to the Highlands*; Staller, *Converging on Cannibals*; Coclanis, ed., *The Atlantic Economy*; Kelleher, *The Alliance of Pirates*; Metcalf, *Mapping an Atlantic World*.

[43] Rupert, *Creolization and Contraband*; Morgan and Rushton, *Banishment in the Early Atlantic World*; Pestana, *Protestant Empire*; Gerbner, *Christian Slavery*; Villepastour and Peel, eds., *The Yoruba God of Drumming*; Rugemer, *Slave Law and the Politics of Resistance*; Heinsen, *Mutiny in the Danish Atlantic World*; Bennett, *African Kings and Black Slaves*; Willard, *Engendering Islands*.

[44] See, for example, Rushford, *Bonds of Alliance*; Lipman, *The Saltwater Frontier*; Weaver, *The Red Atlantic*; Miki, *Frontiers of Citizenship*; De la Torre, *The People of the River*.

[45] Gabaccia, "A long Atlantic in a wider world."

[46] O'Rourke and Williamson, *Globalization and History*; Sheller, *Consuming the Caribbean*; Martinez, *The Slave Trade and the Origins of International Human Rights*

Law; Delné, *La Révolution haïtienne*; Christopher, *Freedom in White and Black*; Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*; Ermus, ed., *Environmental Disaster in the Gulf South*.

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