



A Modern Scramble: Envisioning Colonialism in Africa using Maps and Literary Critique

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Introduction

Africa remains something of a mystery for the average American student because our curricula do not normally include substantial units focusing on the history, culture or geography of the continent. In this curricular unit, I will attempt a focus on developing lessons and activities to enlighten and enliven the imaginations of students who may not otherwise be exposed to Africa, its countries, its geography, and its stories using both maps and literature. Hopefully through this, students might regard the continent more vividly. Literature has always been a method through which we can learn about and acknowledge the realities of people we have never seen, cannot imagine empathizing with, or even regard with ignorant views. Perhaps an even more visceral and impactful (while unfortunately less-utilized) method is through the use of maps. In a map we can see history, voyage and adventure, surveying and documenting. We can see the work that was done to record a place at a particular time in history. If we strive to deepen and constantly evolve our perspectives, maps must be a part of that intellectual growth, helping us wrap our mind around things that exist in the world even though we may not be able to see them. I will attempt to apply this to the many American students who have never seen the shores or deserts or splendor of Africa.

In this unit, we will endeavor to expose students to certain areas and histories of Africa using maps and mapmaking, as well as immersing ourselves in stories of Africa. The unit will focus on the Scramble for Africa – the imperial colonization of the continent by European nations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and it will be enhanced by famous European literature of the time period as well as contrasting critique. We will start by talking about maps, their use and their value. We will then immerse ourselves in the Africa that Joseph Conrad created in his notorious novella *Heart of Darkness*. We will also analyze its relevance and appropriateness for modern syntheses of African culture and history, using an essay by the famed Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe. We will conclude by looking at a final map of the Congo, the country explored by Conrad and many European colonizers.

Maps are not simply graphic documents that help one get from point A to point B. They certainly accomplish that goal, but maps are also so much more. They are living documents, constantly changing with added knowledge and, indeed, perspective. They are records of our history as a human race, for better or worse. They are existential and philosophical; we may explore ourselves in exploring them. Where we have been,

where we are going and why, can all be analyzed and reflected upon at various levels (personal and global) on a map.

The hope is, by the time students have absorbed this information, both their knowledge and appreciation of the African continent as a place just as real and strange and wonderful as their everyday lives will be impacted. And, ultimately, students will be able to discern for themselves where to find the most accurate descriptions of history, whether textual, graphic, or both.

Rationale and Background

This unit is apt for history classes, English classes, and specialized history classes like African-American History, the class for which it is specifically intended. My school is in downtown New Haven, CT, and is approximately comprised of 50% students who identify as African-American, 40% Latinx or Hispanic, 10% white or Asian-American/Pacific Islander.

Student experience with maps will likely vary from none to little, if estimating from my own experience as a teacher. An introduction to maps and map-making will lead into the strategic overviews of the Scramble for Africa. Students in my African-American Studies class will have already covered early African history and the Atlantic Slave Trade, as well as the American Civil War, placing them historically just in time for the late-1800s European scramble to colonize the continent. Opening with a series of maps of Africa and the Congo and creating some maps of our own (details in the “Classroom Activities” section below), we will then journey down the Congo River with Joseph Conrad in his controversial novel *Heart of Darkness*, as well as scrutinize the aforementioned literary critique of that work. Hopefully, throughout, we will be able to begin visualizing Africa as a continent full of different countries, differing histories, periods of both struggle and success. I want to encourage my students to strive to dig deeper into learning more about life in other parts of the world, thereby allowing the continent to exist more vividly in their imaginations. I’d like my students to “get to know” parts of Africa so they might empathize appropriately with other world citizens.

For varying perspectives and more sophisticated understandings, it is important to intermingle various media, hence the fundamental understandings and use of maps along with literary critique.

On the Use of Maps

We will put maps to use in this unit as part of our exploration of Africa and the Scramble for Africa. History is often taught through theory, reading, film, discussion. These are all apt and effective, but there are particular advantages to using maps:

Maps are immersive.

Reading about the colonization of Africa could be effective. However, a lot of history students read about a lot of things. Much more may remain in their memory were they to incorporate graphic elements, as we will do

with maps. Students can almost literally jump into the history, following expeditions, battles, even human ambition, down the rivers and across the borders of an effective map. Paired with text, maps offer a way to graphically synthesize concepts and theories for students. This can be helpful for everyone, and especially those who are more visual learners.

Maps tell a story from a different angle.

Maps aren't simply documents that help get us from one geographic location to another. They also tell stories and are historic, philosophical documentations of human journeys in all their forms. Through maps, we can follow Dante into hell, Frodo into Mordor, and Bill Bryson around England. These stories – *The Inferno*, *The Lord of the Rings*, and *Notes from a Small Island*, respectively – are rooted in and dependent upon prose. However, without the accompanying maps, we might not all have been with the authors, literally and figuratively, on the same page. Maps help us visualize the space and connections in our stories or histories using an entirely different media, thereby expanding our perspective nearly automatically.

Maps promote common understanding.

If we mostly share a common understanding of Mordor, or of England, it's certainly not because we've all been there. England is far away, Mordor is fictional (as far as most of us can tell). And yet when we imagine those places we imagine the same thing because of maps. The graphic and interactive nature of maps, when used in the right way, can limit the effectiveness of those who would seek to hide or whitewash or sugar-coat information. When we can all see it on a map, it makes it harder to misrepresent reality, as important today as ever! It is important to note, however, that maps themselves can (and have at times throughout history) be used to mislead or misrepresent information as well, so another takeaway will be ensuring the source of our information is valid, an important lesson to repeat at every opportunity.

Students will have an overview of maps and map-reading and will work with interactive online maps of both contemporary locales as well as the Scramble for Africa. This is detailed in the "Classroom Activities" section below.

Overview of the Scramble for Africa

Why are borders of African countries cast in such straight lines? The countries of Europe are curved and roundabout over rivers and mountain ranges, complicated by political, cultural and historical divides. Whereas Africa has been divided up for centuries by colonization as imperialist powers scrambled to claim control over areas of vast resources.

In 2007, the British journalist Tim Butcher set out to reproduce Henry Morton Stanley's notorious nineteenth century route to map the Congo River. In his book *Blood River: A Journey to Africa's Broken Heart*, Butcher gives a perhaps overly succinct summation of the history of Africa up to and including the European scramble for land and resources, and beyond:

After Africa's early tribal history came the period of exploitation by outsiders, starting with centuries of slavery and moving on to the Scramble for Africa, when the white man staked the black man's continent in a few hectic years at the end of the nineteenth century to launch the

colonial era.¹

While we will explore it in more depth, Butcher begins to inspire the notion that the Scramble was related to Africa's preceding history, and then the cause of its subsequent history:

Then came independence in the late 1950s and 1960s when the Winds of Change swept away regimes that some white leaders had boasted would stand forever. And it finished with the post-independence age of economic decay, war, coup and crisis, with African leaders manipulated and occasionally murdered, by foreign powers, and dictatorships clinging to power in a continent teeming with rebels, loyalists and insurgents.²

This quote can work as a quick overview for students, both placing the Scramble in a mental timeline and contextualizing it as one of a number of continent-wide injustices throughout its history before we move on to more particular details, as follows.

During the 1870s, European powers only controlled about 10% of the continent of Africa, so there seems to have been plenty of opportunity for the ambitious colonist. And while European powers warred upon African armies attempting to resist the control of their lands being taken over, they decided not to war with each other over the continent. Thirteen countries and the USA met in 1885 in Berlin to spread out a map and divide up the continent amongst themselves. No African representation was present. This "Treaty of Berlin" also established the "Principle of Effective Occupation" among imperialists, an honor-among-thieves principle making it merely necessary to demonstrate control over a portion of the land in order to claim it as annexed territory. And so, staking their countries' respective flag in the ground, nearly 90% of the African continent was controlled by one or another European nation by 1914.³

African resources were seen in the late nineteenth century as necessary and desirable for fueling the burgeoning industrial revolution. Some of the more notorious explorers of modern history were commissioned to infiltrate and map out trade routes through the depths of the continent. Henry Stanley is famous for having done as much on behalf of King Leopold of Belgium along the Congo River (in pursuit of Mr. Livingston, of course, but also for troves of rubber and ivory).⁴ Cecil Rhodes was also a primary "explorer" in the Scramble. Notably the namesake of Oxford's Rhodes Scholarship, as well as Zimbabwe's former name, Rhodesia, he mined large portions of that country after founding De Beers in 1888. Iron, coal, copper, led, and of course diamonds - Africa was a literal treasure trove amass with hunters.⁵

All of this led to the aforementioned conference in Berlin of 1884 and 1885, when Otto von Bismarck (the new Chancellor of Germany) called a meeting of countries with interest in asserting sovereign power over the territories of Africa. "His intention was to establish the principles upon which European sovereignty could be extended over Africa in a manner that contained the rivalries."⁶ The biggest concern about impediments or geo-political misunderstandings were regarding each other, as opposed to any concerns for the sovereignty of the people they were colonizing. The nations, nevertheless, met. Without a representative, Africa was left to endure the consequences of colonization by a culture that deemed the people of the continent inferior. Jules Ferry, the French premier at the time of the Berlin conference, summed up Europe's regard for the people of Africa: "The superior races have a right vis-à-vis the inferior races."⁷

It is important to explore the role maps played in the Scramble for Africa. Certainly, at the conference at Berlin, the European representatives literally divided up Africa on a map. But the *importance* of doing so is also rooted in map usage and evolution. Mapping was actually a big part of what drove European designs on

exploring Africa. King Leopold of Belgium, a notorious colonizer, didn't necessarily set out to explore the Congo River until he became enamored with Henry Morton Stanley's map of it.^{8>} In the centuries before the Scramble for Africa, Europeans adopted the map as a both organizational and existential way of keeping an exploding new world of discovery in order. The use of maps gave rise to what they would even begin to consider nation-states.⁹ Before that, sovereign territoriality was seen as over *people* more than land.¹⁰ By the time African conquest came to pass, mapping would be seen as gospel, so by the time the Treaty of Berlin met to counsel, mapping out annexed territory was all each respective country felt they needed to claim African land as their own. The fever was for sovereign dominance of land and resources, necessitating the sharp, dark lines of boundary we are familiar with still today, but also influenced by them.

Maps and activities related to the Scramble for Africa will kick off this curricular unit in the classroom, and can be found in the "Classroom Activities" section below.

Immersive reading: *Heart of Darkness*

Heart of Darkness by Joseph Conrad is a widely taught work of literature. Its use of imagery, symbols and metaphor, as well as its complex language and adventurous subject matter have allowed it to stand the test of time, having been first published in 1899. Note that this is *amidst* the years of the Scramble for Africa, and many regard the novella as an insight into the colonial period, perhaps even a critique. As a class, we will work with an overview of the history of the book. We will not read through the entirety; this will not be a novel study. The reason for incorporating this book is to both immerse ourselves in a story that is widely considered a classic view into the colonial period from the perspective of the colonizer, as well as thoroughly critique the work and the colonial enterprise itself (explored further in the Chinua Achebe section below).

Through Conrad's novel, we journey with Marlow, an ivory merchant sailing into the Congo on behalf of Belgium in search of a lost colonial administrator named Kurtz, presumed insane at best, dead at worst. The two are the only characters worthy to be named. The power of *listening* is constantly referenced, as is the theme of darkness, harkening to both the unknown, the depth of the jungle, and the depth of human nature. We are confronted, through Marlow's narration and Kurtz's descent into mental and physical ruin, with the many horrors to be faced when colonizing and suppressing entire populations.

However, these horrors could simply be chalked up to being in the jungle and encountering what Conrad referred to as savages. As a class, we will have to ask many questions of the text which include: Does Conrad condemn colonization, sensationalize it, or somewhere in between?

Critical Analysis of *Heart of Darkness* by Chinua Achebe

Once students are familiar with the substance of *Heart of Darkness* (explored in more detail in the "Classroom Activities" section) and have had the opportunity to analyze it themselves - both for intellectual value and as perhaps (which at this point will be up to them) as sensationalizing colonialism and even a narrative promoting a dominant race - we will explore criticisms of the work as the latter.

Chinua Achebe, the beloved Nigerian author of *Things Fall Apart*, did not take as kindly or reverently to *Heart of Darkness* as he imagines the common modern English professor or high school teacher would. He argues that Conrad paints Africa and Africans as “the other.” In his essay, Achebe mentions a student in Yonkers who was enamored with his most famous work *Things Fall Apart* (1958) and sums up the American othering of Africa succinctly: “The young fellow from Yonkers, perhaps partly on account of his age, but I believe also for much deeper and more serious reasons, is obviously unaware that the life of his own tribesmen in Yonkers, New York, is full of odd customs and superstitions and, like everybody else in his culture, imagines that he needs a trip to Africa to encounter those things.”¹¹ Achebe decides that it is beyond ignorance or youthful naivete; that the Western perception of Africa is based on a *desire* to hold Africa as a colonial playground, “as a foil to Europe, as a place of negations at once remote and vaguely familiar, in comparison with which Europe’s own state of spiritual grace will be manifest.”¹² Achebe goes on to argue that *Heart of Darkness* fulfills – perhaps even originates in the modern period – that very desire. There are many books that do this, but he argues that Conrad’s work stands out due to its permanent place in world literature and continued high regard, as well as incidence of teaching by academics.

We will explore and analyze Achebe’s essay further in the “Classroom Activities” section below.

Classroom Activities

The activities for this unit will center around three main foci: maps, literature, and literary criticism. From this, we will work to accomplish the purpose of this unit: to explore African spaces and stories and bring it to a more vivid, foundational place in students’ minds.

The first thing we will do is explore the value of maps by looking at them. We will view maps of Africa of course, as well as the Scramble for Africa. But we will start with maps of our home town: New Haven, by doing a simple map activity.

Maps of New Haven (or any city)

This would be a good introductory activity for exploration of maps in any classroom, and can adapt easily by using a simple online map of any district in which it is taught. It is worth noting to students that maps have not always been used throughout history to portray places and things as they are. Maps have been used as readily as social media to cloud reality for a purpose by those with or seeking power. There is even an entire book written on the subject entitled *How to Lie with Maps*. The book’s author, Mark Monmonier, describes “an era of increasing skepticism about the nature of knowledge,” with the idea that maps are as likely a medium as any for misinformation.¹³ Monmonier goes on to explain how maps can be used to manipulate rather than educate in fields such as advertising, town planning, even the waging of wars to throw off enemies. After pointing out to students they must check the validity of their sources when using maps just as surely as when using any textual evidence, it will be time to decide where to find an accurate map of our city.

Google maps is as widely accepted as accurate as it is readily available online, so that’s where we’ll start. It’s also quite easily accessible by googling the name of the city and clicking the “Maps” tab.

Here, we can encourage students to describe what they notice about the map. A likely first answer will be the

shape of the city, or the labeling of landmarks and neighborhoods. What else do they notice? How about when we switch to satellite view? It may even be fun to have students volunteer to point out their own neighborhood and street view.

Mapping Our Neighborhood

Students will then be asked to draw a map of the layout of their own neighborhood or their route to school. After creating and sharing our own maps, we will hopefully have an increased appreciation for their visceral quality as media through which to share and gain information. Once this appreciation is reflected on as a class – through questioning how it felt to draw them, what they think of the accuracy of theirs and others, and if they increased their own understanding of their neighborhoods through drawing and observing them – we will then be ready to look at established maps of Africa and the Scramble for Africa.

A Map of Africa

As a class, we will view several maps of Africa, and with the vastness of the internet available (hopefully in any and every district), Google will once again be a resource. There are many good maps online but ones we will use for these purposes will be those we can gauge the accuracy and validity of simply based on the source. Students will identify labeled places and landmarks, as well as keys and legends. More information on the use of Google Maps is located in the “Teacher Resources” section below.

Interactive Online Maps of the Scramble for Africa

After having some fun exploring maps, students will hearken back to our overview of the Scramble for Africa. We will not only use maps to apply that knowledge, but to enhance it. We will use the interactive online maps below to explore graphically the routes of conquest, as well as the descriptions on the webpages to analyze the history and its implications further.

The Map Archive: Scramble for Africa

Huge, colorful maps containing trade zones and routes, as well as European occupations. Good map fundamentals to teach and learn through this map include color choices and advantage of vivid colors, as well as using map legends and cartouches. This can be found by copy and pasting the following url:
<https://www.themaparchive.com/the-scramble-for-africa/>.

St. John’s College: The Scramble for Africa

This map is best for matching narrative. There is a succinct explanation of the Scramble for Africa accompanied by an actual published atlas map of Africa in 1917. In it, we see not African nations, but territories cut up and assigned to European imperial states, with names like “Belgian Congo,” “German East Africa,” and “Northern Rhodesia,” all in a *published, widely-used map*. This can be found by copy and pasting the following url:
https://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/library/library_exhibitions/schoolresources/exploration/scramble_for_africa.

esri: The Scramble for Africa: Then and Now

This is an amazing example of maps meeting modern online tech, interactive and even fun to use. It takes us through both descriptions and maps of: pre-Colonial Africa, African pre-Berlin Conference and post-said conference, Colonial Africa and European claims, sources of natural resource production, economics and

border changes into and after the world wars, and even modern geo-political scrambles for Africa. This can be found by copy and pasting the following url:

<https://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapJournal/index.html?appid=07278c2bb1254949ad277e26d55a074d>

Further Analyzing *Heart of Darkness*

Once we have analyzed these maps and enhanced our understanding of the time period, we will then dive into the narrative and meaning in *Heart of Darkness*. Again, we will not dwell too long or attempt a novel study of such an old, and indeed controversial, novella. We will do an overview of the plot and important events, as well as use experts to get a foundational understanding of the text *and* to have insights into what it may have actually been like to be traveling down the Congo River at that time. This will at least be accomplished through the perspective of the colonizer, the narrator Marlow.

Marlow tells a story of adventure during the Belgian colonization of the Congo. He is a narrator, safe and sound in on the Thames River telling other well-to-do folks the dramatic story of his exploits. He traveled to find Kurtz, an agent for the Belgian trading company who is lost down the Congo River and believed possibly dead. Kurtz has enhanced the company's profits through ivory. Marlow experiences drastic misadventures searching up the river, deep into the Congo to find Kurtz. He sees enslaved Africans working for the company, natives he calls savages attacking their steamboat with arrows, and intrigue between the other European employees of the company, all in search for Kurtz. When Kurtz is found, he is very ill and appears to be dying. He has established himself as a god among the natives, and having unfulfilled plans to "civilize" them.

Conrad's novel is regarded both as critical of colonialism, and also as a racist account, depicting Congolese natives as savage and Europeans as greatly advanced. Through experts and quotes, we will first allow students to draw their own conclusions as to which side the book leans more heavily. We will ask the following questions:

Does it the book actually look at imperialism with a critical eye?

Is Marlowe the hero or the villain?

Was Conrad saying there were no winners?

Who was Conrad really portraying as "savage" - Congolese natives, or the imperialists brutalizing them?

With Kurtz's famous final words, "The horror," was Conrad critiquing colonialism, or is this simply the narcissism of individuals who feel entitled to perpetrate human atrocity?

Note: a teacher will need to be familiar with, or familiarize themselves with, the substance of the novella.

Critical Analysis using Achebe's Essay

"Irrational hate can endanger the life of the community" - Chinua Achebe¹⁴

Once students have developed their own ideas about the value of the novella as an immersive experience into the Scramble for Africa, a critique on colonialism, a racist account of African natives and the perception of the continent, or some combination, we will analyze Achebe's critique as a work of racism.

Citing many possible counterpoints, Achebe addresses the notion that one might consider the opinions of the

native “savages” in the book, the narrator Marlow’s, and not Conrad himself. However, why then does the author work so hard to put a buffer between himself and the action of the story with not one but actually *two* narrators (if one considers the mystery man telling his tale on the Thames)? Another argument of course is that the book is actually a *criticism* of colonialism and the Scramble for Africa. Why then, Achebe asserts, are the African characters in *Heart of Darkness* consistently compared to animals?¹⁵

Ultimately, Achebe dispenses with any possible remaining doubt as to his assertion: “The point of my observations should be quite clear by now, namely that Joseph Conrad was a thoroughgoing racist.”¹⁶ The natives, Kurtz’s mistress for example, are only celebrated if it is already established they are in their proper place (as subservient, learned yet savage, the “other” to the civilized white European colonizer). Therefore, even if the novel is a broad criticism of colonialism, even if its primary focus is the mental degeneration of a single white man more than its portrayal of Africans as savage, it is just that portrayal – that othering – that makes the book stand out as racist and inappropriate for celebration. Achebe argues that it’s high time to regard the work as racist as it is literary.¹⁷

There is of course the argument (used commonly as of late in the proposed renaming of colleges and removal of confederate statues in the U.S.) that art and hallmarks of history should not be removed or undone since they are themselves a marker for history. Achebe addresses this, proposing that he is “talking about a book which parades in the most vulgar fashion prejudices and insults from which a section of mankind has suffered untold agonies and atrocities in the past and continues to do so in many ways and many places today.”¹⁸ The argument to preserve history is a strong one. However, that must always be compared to the *harm* it does. If a statue, or a name, or a book is so offensive to a people that it harms them, allows their subjugation to persist physically or mentally, then what is the most appropriate course of action? This is worth asking students.

The purpose of this, and ultimately of combining map study with literary study, will be for the students to come to a conclusion about perception. The hope is they will ask themselves if they should accept what they are told or shown about a certain place or people. Many have been told of the greatness of Conrad’s work, yet some prominent writers and intellectuals like Achebe disagree. Many have been fooled by maps, yet many have broadened their understanding of both people and places through them. The hope is that students will search out truth, rather than rely only on what they are given.

A Map of the Congo

Once our literary overview and critique are done, and students have come to some conclusions about the value of mapping and literature in determining the impact of historical events, we’ll logically conclude by exploring a map of the Congo and the Congo River. We’ll use our knowledge of maps and of the conquest during the Scramble for Africa to analyze the value of looking at an actual map of the area. Students can comment and explore, and a good assessment of knowledge and progress can be sharing their thoughts and views of what they expected it to look like versus what they’ve found on the map. We will explore the maps of the Congo and Congo River as can be viewed in Google Maps.

Model Scramble for Africa: A Role-Playing Game for Students

An additional fun possibility for this unit is an immersive, role-playing colonization game. Through this, students can add another immersive, interactive dimension to their learning. Much like a standard role-playing game like “Dungeons and Dragons,” students would use cards and dice to “experience” either colonizing or being colonized during the Scramble for Africa.

Maps

Students will start with a map of different tasks in the colonial period of the Scramble. Students will be in groups and each group will choose one of the tasks. Each group’s tasks will then play out on individual maps based on the locale of their task.

Tasks

One group will be tasked with the ivory trade. They will be in charge of hunting down ivory for delivery to market. They will need to find the best routes through different parts of Africa to find ivory and extract it safely.

Another group will be in charge of territory. They will attend the Conference of Berlin and be tasked with advocating for more land and territory for their country.

A final group will be in charge of defense. Many African tribes and nations attempted to defend their home with force against the invading Europeans. This group will gather resources and attempt to defend against attacks.

There can be several invading colonizers and several African states depending on the size of the class and number of groups.

Game cards

Some of the game’s outcome will depend on strategy, some will depend on chance. There will be a stack of cards with different actions and consequences that each group will have to choose from based on their assigned task. Some examples will be: “Your ship was attacked by hippos; ship and crew are lost.” “You have murdered a white imperialist; you have saved your village, but this means more will be coming.” “You have lost 16 tons of ivory to pirates.”

This can go in many directions and can look different in every classroom based on the effort of the teacher and involvement of the students. The hope is it will be yet another dimension to immerse students in the attempt to visualize Africa and its history in their imaginations.

Teacher Resources

Many wonderful, interactive maps of Africa, the Congo, the Congo River, American locales and more can be found on Google Maps. I encourage teachers to both explore this themselves, and trust students – who are sometimes far more technologically inclined – to give a hand in finding the appropriate maps for the places we explore in this unit.

For an available text of *Heart of Darkness*, Project Gutenberg is a great resource. This can be found by copy and pasting the following url: <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/219/219-h/219-h.htm>

Appendix on Implementing District Standards

New Haven Public Schools has been developing a curriculum centered around a dedicated course in African-American and Latinx Studies. I have been teaching this course for a number of years, and the district is committing to a curriculum for it now that the state of Connecticut will be requiring it in public schools. It is my hope that this unit can contribute to the standards that are developed by the state and district for this class.

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End Notes

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⁸ Butcher, 45

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¹² Achebe, 15

¹³ Monmonier, Mark, *How to Lie With Maps* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2018) page 3.

¹⁴ Achebe, 22

¹⁵ Achebe, 17 - 20

¹⁶ Achebe, 21

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¹⁸ Achebe, 22

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