

# WORLD HISTORY bulletin

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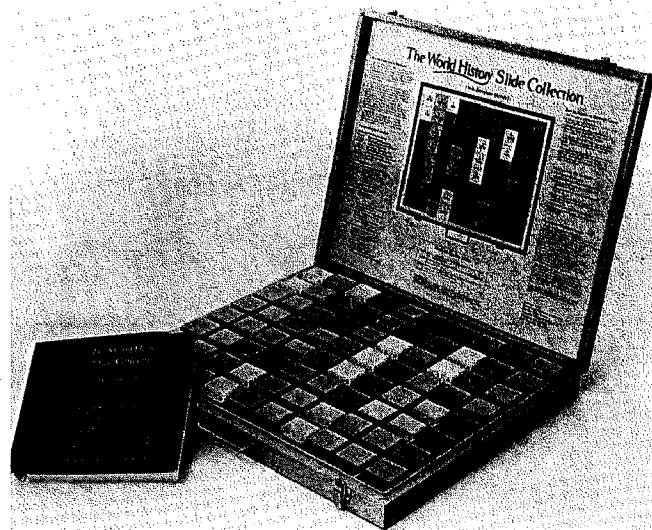
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Announcing

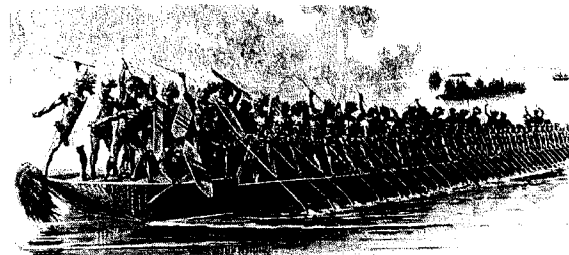
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# WORLD HISTORY BULLETIN

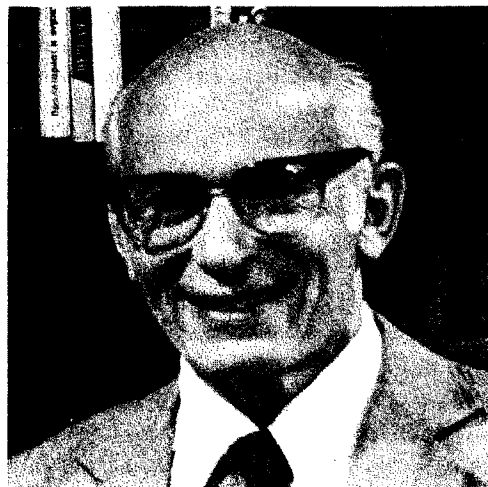
## Newsletter of the World History Association

### Message from the President

We are a young organization, only five years in existence. Yet in those short five years we have gained more than 500 members, published a steadily enlarging Bulletin, become an affiliate society of the American Historical Association, and already have an extremely active regional organization, the Rocky Mountain World History Association. These are impressive dynamics. Each and every one of us can take pride in our accomplishments thus far.

With a solid base underfoot, we must now move on to the next phase. We need to reach out to those many colleagues in world history who are as yet unaware of the WHA and of the services it can provide. Indeed the many

are steadily becoming more numerous. More colleges and universities are now offering courses in world history than ever before, and the trend is likely to continue. At the secondary level it is estimated that a million and a half students are enrolled in world history courses each year. Whether at the college level or secondary level, those who face the daunting challenge of teaching world history need to know that an organization exists devoted to the promotion of world history -- an organization that addresses their concerns, keeps them informed of new approaches and new materials, and provides opportunities for the exchange of ideas through conferences and publications.



*Arnold Schrier*

Continued on page 2

### WHA AT THE AHA

Cincinnati, 28-29 December 1988

#### 28 December 1988

12 noon - 2:00 p.m.

WHA Executive Council meeting  
Ivory A Clarion Hotel

2:30 - 4:30 p.m.

WHA Panel: "The Place of United States History in World History"  
North 208 Convention Center

5:00 - 6:00 p.m.

WHA Business Meeting  
Bronze A Clarion Hotel

6:00 - 7:00 p.m.

WHA Reception  
Bronze A Clarion Hotel

#### 29 December 1988

9:30 - 11:30 a.m.

WHA Panel: "Civilizations and the Training of Young Minds: Lessons from China, Greece and the Ottoman Empire"  
Losantiville Room Clarion Hotel

2:30 - 4:30 p.m.

WHA Panel: "Incorporating Women into World History"  
North 200 Convention Center

*Continued from page 1*

One way to reach out to our colleagues is through a concerted effort to expand our membership. At its December 1987 meeting, the Executive Council committed itself to the goal of doubling our membership in three years. An organized campaign will soon get under way. In the meantime I urge everyone to seek to enroll a colleague as a new member of the WHA.

Another form of reaching out is through the launching of a new serial, the Journal of World History. Devoted to the publication of in-depth articles and book reviews on all aspects of teaching and research in world history, the Journal will be a valuable complement to the WHA Bulletin. Negotiations are currently in progress at the University of Hawaii for the sponsorship of the Journal and the prospective editor is Jerry Bentley of the History Department there. We can look for the first issue around 1990 or shortly thereafter. Jerry Bentley is currently soliciting suitable articles. If any of you have a completed or soon-to-be completed article, please let him know.

Finally, a third form of reaching out is through the formation of more regional organizations. Ultimately our goal should be to have a regional organization in every section of the country so that everyone with an interest in world history will have ready access to fruitful exchanges of ideas. Since its inception in 1984, the Rocky Mountain World History Association has had very successful annual spring meetings. Recently a Georgia World History Association has been formed with the intention of expanding it into a Southeast Regional Conference of the WHA. These are promising developments. But vast and populous regions of the country are without organizations of their own. They are needed. The WHA stands ready to assist any way it can in the formation of other regional associations.

The reaching-out phase is my agenda for the two years I will be in office.

Arnold Schrier

## World History Graduate Program \* University of Hawaii

### Introduction

*Craig Lockard*

*University of Wisconsin-Green Bay*

World history has been virtually nonexistent as a graduate history field in this country. It is not hard to identify some of the reasons for this state of affairs. Graduate programs in history mirror undergraduate ones, in that Eurocentrism and Americocentrism, not to mention increasing narrow specialization, have long been fashionable. For some decades, the history discipline has been increasing compartmentalized into regional specializations, of which United States and West European history receive far and away the most attention. Normally, 75 to 90% of historians in a department specialize in one of these two regional areas, which most Americans would view as the conventional "mainstream of civilization", to utilize the title of a long popular Western civilizations textbook. Only three other regional specializations enjoy even modest respectability: East Asian, South Asian, Southeast Asian or Canadian history. Many universities are astonishingly parochial. For example, one large branch of the University of Texas employs 30 historians: 20 Americanists (7 on Texas history), 8 Europeanists, and 2 Latin Americanists. That department offers no courses on the world south of Sicily or east of the Bosphorus. A university is unlikely to view world history as very important if it does not even offer a course on China or India.

The 1960's and early 1970's was an era hospitable to program innovation in which the U.S. enjoyed a remarkable intellectual renaissance in history. Some nontraditional spe-

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\* These papers were presented at a World History Association's session of the American Historical Association's Conference in Washington, D.C., December 28, 1987.

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### WORLD HISTORY BULLETIN

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cializations of history grew rapidly, among them ethnic and woman's history and several Third World areas, including Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America. Many schools launched freshman level World History or Western Civilizations courses; indeed, my first academic position fresh out of high school was to teach sections of required World Civilizations at a midsize East Coast university. The writings of globalists like McNeill, Stavrianos, and Hogsden began reaching a wider audience. Alas, the tide of interest in many of these specializations as teaching fields soon subsided and many a world history or Western civilization requirement was dropped. World History was a major victim of the return to more conventional concerns; charts in the 1980-81 AHA Guide to Departments of History showed 70 fields of history and where they were offered. Included were such specializations in U.S. history as labor, urban, and business history. World and comparative history failed to make the list.

Fortunately, world history has made a significant comeback as a teaching field in the 1980's, due in part to the efforts of the World History Association. But world history never became established at the graduate level, in part because history departments were not structured for inter-regional scholarship or training. Until recently, only one major university made a serious attempt to mount a coherent doctoral program in world history. That program was developed at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in the mid-1960's. The program was disbanded in the mid-70's. An MA-level program in comparative world history partly inspired by the Madison model was developed at the University of California-Santa Cruz in the early 1980's; it also ultimately failed to flourish and has since been heavily modified and somewhat "deglobalized." Hence, the track record for graduate programs in world history has not been encouraging. Despite this checkered history, the University of Hawaii has now established a Ph.D. program in world history and many of us in the world history movement are watching the experiment with some excitement. The purpose of this panel is to assess the possibilities and prospects of world history as a graduate field of study in general and the situation of the new program at Hawaii in particular. Hence, Professor Bentley was invited to present the intellectual underpinnings and mechanics of the program. We also invited discussion comments from David Sweet, a Latin Americanist and graduate of the Comparative World History Program at Wisconsin and one of the cofounders of the Santa Cruz Program. As a graduate of both Hawaii and Wisconsin, I will also offer some comments.

## Graduate Education and Research in World History

*Jerry H. Bentley*  
*University of Hawaii*

About two years ago, Professor Philip D. Curtin offered a set of reflections on graduate education in history. Alongside specialized research, which of course has reigned supreme in

graduate education during this century, Curtin urged the cultivation of a broader perspective among emerging professional historians. As a practical means to this end, he briefly sketched the graduate program instituted during his term as chair in the Department of History at the University of Utopia. All the Utopian graduate students prepare four fields, chosen from at least two of the world's major cultural regions -- the West, East Asia, Africa, Latin America, Southeast Asia, etc. Students in Utopia also devote one-quarter of their programs to the study of some theme or problem from a global point of view. Finally, they reflect on the broader significance of their dissertation projects and write essays on the global context of their research. As a result of this program, Utopian graduates not only acquire the specialized research skills expected of all professional historians, but also develop an appreciation for the relationship between the general and the specific -- a sensitivity to the broader historical context that lends meaning and significance to the discoveries of specialized local research.<sup>1</sup>

When Professor Curtin's article appeared in print, the Department of History at the University of Hawaii had just instituted a new Ph.D. field in world history. Now, the claims of travel agents notwithstanding, Hawaii is not Utopia. Yet the Ph.D. field in world history now offered in Hawaii closely resembles the graduate program available at Curtin's University of Utopia. By way of developing this point, I would like first to outline the conception of world history that serves as a foundation for the new field, then to sketch for you the main features of the Ph.D. field in world history, and finally to mention some of the results that graduate education in world history might offer to the discipline of history as a whole.

### The Nature of World History

In academic circles today, the terms "world history" and "global history" generally bring to mind an introductory survey course on the world's major civilizations -- and rightly so. Educators have increasingly come to believe that courses in American history and Western civilization do not constitute an adequate foundation for responsible citizenship in the contemporary world. In these latter days, it seems only prudent to familiarize students with the various traditions of civilization and to encourage in them the development of a capacity to empathize with the foreign.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, in view of the fact that instruction in history has implications extending far beyond the academy, it strikes me that the historian's most important business is to develop for undergraduate students a broad and ecumenical vision of the past.

For the purposes of graduate education and research, however, world history means something different from what it does in an introductory course. At the post-graduate level, the purpose of world history is not to survey the major civilizations, not to lay a foundation for responsible citizenship, but rather to develop and apply analytical approaches appropriate for some of the problems that historians have recently begun to

study. As a field of research, world history arose rather spontaneously, it seems to me, out of the recognition that a national orientation is an inadequate vehicle for much of the historian's business. In order to arrive at a satisfactory understanding of certain historical forces and phenomena, historians have found it necessary to cross traditionally recognized boundaries in carrying out their analyses. Let's explore these points in more detail.

Scholars of the nineteenth century who fashioned history into a professional discipline were entranced by the development and the capacities of the strong, centralized national state. When conducting historical analysis, they naturally concentrated on problems of national politics -- matters of statecraft, diplomacy, constitutions, institutions, and the like. They produced numerous works of genuine power that stand the test of a century's time as monuments to scholarship, as works that served by their very examples to define the discipline of history. To cite but one example, Leopold von Ranke's German History in the Age of the Reformation will command the respect of professional historians probably forever. It bears mention also that the nineteenth-century scholars selected a useful focus for their work: the national state ranks as one of the most dynamic of all human institutions, and the effort to understand the world's development cannot afford to neglect such a powerful force in history.

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**"During the present century, historians have vastly expanded the boundaries of their disciplines."**

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During the present century, historians have vastly expanded the boundaries of their discipline. They have adapted new methods of analysis to the needs of historical scholarship; they have turned their attention to topics previously neglected; and they have sought new ways to conceive and to explain human development through time. Especially since World War II, historians have increasingly become aware of some inherent limitations of national-oriented historiography. A large number of powerful historical forces simply do not respect national boundary lines, but work their effects on a regional, continental, or even global scale. As a result, they do not lend themselves to successful analysis within a national framework, but call naturally for a broader angle of vision. These influences include -- to name some of the most prominent -- infectious and contagious diseases, climatic changes, technological developments, population movements, economic fluctuations, long-distance commerce, religious faiths, ideas, and ideals. During the past several decades, historians have undertaken to analyze these influences in increasingly systematic and serious fashion. The result is world history -- historical analysis undertaken not from the viewpoint of national states, but rather from that of the global community.

World history of this sort has developed under two general analytical rubrics. In the first place, scholars have devoted their talents to the comparative analysis of processes that work their influences in all parts of the world, or at least in several of its major regions. Some of the themes recently explored by comparative analysts include feudalism, imperial rule, racial

segregation and discrimination, market-oriented economic development, the effects of social and political change on religious faiths, and rebellion and revolution.<sup>3</sup> During the course of all this work, the methods and purposes of comparative analysis have become increasingly sophisticated. Comparative analysts naturally concentrate their attention on experiences that are to some degree similar, hence comparable. But they do not engage in a naive, simple-minded search for regularity or uniformity across national and cultural boundary lines. Indeed, some scholars place special emphasis on differences between various experiences, the better to highlight nuances and to understand the particularities of historical developments. Others shift the focus somewhat and undertake comparative study in order to illuminate large-scale processes that work their effects across traditionally recognized boundaries.<sup>4</sup> In all cases, a sophisticated comparative analysis has the potential to place local developments in a meaningful context, one that can lead to more accurate and sensitive interpretation of the local developments themselves.

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**"Like comparative analysis, the investigation of cross-cultural contacts has become increasingly sophisticated in recent decades. . ."**

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In the second place, alongside comparative analysis, world historians have devoted their attention to the results of encounters between peoples of different civilizations or cultural regions. Some of the themes recently explored by analysts of cross-cultural contacts include long-distance trade, transfers of technology, efforts to spread ideas and values, the cultural effects of foreign conquest, and exchanges of plants, animals, and microorganisms across cultural and even biological boundary lines.<sup>5</sup> Like comparative analysis, the investigation of cross-cultural contacts has become increasingly sophisticated in recent decades, thanks largely to the efforts of cultural anthropologists and ethnohistorians. The time has long passed when scholars depended upon the categories of Western "impact" and non-Western "response" to frame their understanding of cross-cultural contacts. Recent studies of these contacts have underscored instead the accommodations made by all parties involved in cross-cultural encounter, since all found themselves confronted by new situations and new demands. Analysis of cross-cultural encounters has served to advance the understanding of history's dynamics, since cross-cultural contact ranks as one of the most effective agents of change in all human experience.

### **The Ph.D. Field in World History at the University of Hawaii**

During the past several decades, as a substantial body of serious literature emerged, scholars began to think about formal instruction in world history at an advanced level. A Ph.D. program in comparative world history came into being as early as the mid-1960's at the University of Wisconsin, and somewhat later the faculty of the University of California at Santa Cruz instituted an M.A. program along similar lines. On the recommendation of a faculty committee at the Univer-

sity of Hawaii, a new Ph.D. field in world history won endorsement in 1984, and it became available to graduate students in the fall term of 1985.

All students preparing the field in world history in Hawaii take two seminars. The first (HIST 609) is an introductory reading seminar that deals with the most important themes, theories, methods, and literature of world history as a field of research. During the early weeks of the term, the seminar examines the classic literature of world history, including works of Wells, Spengler, Toynbee, and McNeill. Discussion of these works serves two main purposes: it helps the seminar to account for the development in this century of a broad-gauged perspective on the past; and it introduces the seminar to themes of perennial importance that resonate even in the most recent literature on world history. During the remaining and larger part of the term, the seminar concentrates on several analytical and interpretative approaches especially prominent in contemporary research in world history. Reading and discussion focus on the five categories of literature that strike me as the most influential in recent work on global history. The first category includes studies that compare historical experience across the boundary lines of civilizations or cultural regions. The second and third categories include studies inspired by the two major interpretative schools -- those of the modernization theorists and the world-systems theorists -- that have so far emerged and that help to organize much of the thinking about world history. The last two categories represent the major new directions beyond modernization and world-systems analysis that world history currently takes. One of these deals with the material and biological foundations of history and takes inspiration from ecologists, demographers, and geographers. The other deals with the cultural dimension of the human experience and takes inspiration from cultural anthropologists and ethnohistorians. Members of the seminar evaluate all these approaches for the possibilities and limitations they hold for global history. The seminar thus offers a historiographical orientation to contemporary world history, and it prepares the members for further reading or research on themes significant for the field.

The second seminar (HIST 610) has enough built-in flexibility that it can take the form of either a reading or a research seminar, or even a combination of the two. In any case, it always concentrates attention intensively on a single theme or issue important for the understanding of history in global terms. The first time it was offered, for example, the seminar concentrated on the methodology of comparative history. Members of the seminar read theoretical and methodological works by historians and sociologists, then each wrote a research paper undertaking comparative study of some issue of global import. The second time it was offered, the seminar dealt with a different theme -- the cultural results of encounters between peoples of different civilizations. Common readings focused on sixteenth-century encounters between Spaniards and Indians in Central America, experiences that have generated a large literature and that suggest ways of thinking about encounters in other locales. Written work then consisted of research papers on the results of cross-cultural encounters in parts of the world of special interest to seminar members.

During the spring semester of 1988, Professor Philip Curtin will offer the seminar, which will focus on yet another theme, "The World and the West: The Revolution of Modernization." Future versions of this seminar might deal with themes like feudalism, decolonization, long-distance trade, comparative colonial experiences, or other topics of global significance -- depending upon the interests of seminar members and of faculty available to teach the course.

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### **"A pair of seminars by themselves does not constitute a Ph.D. program."**

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A pair of seminars by themselves does not constitute a Ph.D. program. At the University of Hawaii, the Ph.D. in history requires preparation of four fields, selected from various subdivisions of American, Asian, European, and Pacific history, with the field of world history also available as an option. While preparing the more traditional fields divided along geographical, chronological, and topical lines, candidates acquire the specialized research skills and detailed understanding of issues universally expected of professional historians. Instruction in matters of this sort I consider crucially important for advanced students in history. During the past century, the discipline of history has developed, refined, and in some cases perhaps even perfected techniques of investigation and analysis that have deepened knowledge and improved understanding of the past. Indeed, the credibility of the discipline rests largely on historians' respect for accuracy and their insistence on fair evaluation of all relevant evidence. In whatever new directions historians take their discipline, they certainly will want to honor and preserve the high standards of scholarship observed by professional researchers. World historians in particular absolutely must respect established standards, or run the risk of discrediting a venture of great intellectual potential. For this reason, in Hawaii as in Utopia, Ph.D. candidates complete programs that equip them with the full range of research techniques and analytical skills properly expected of all professional historians.

### **Opportunities Offered by Graduate Education and Research in World History**

But the discipline of history also stands in need of development along new lines, and graduate education in world history can serve a useful function by encouraging a timely and responsible shift in historical consciousness. In establishing the Ph.D. field in world history, the Department of History in Hawaii articulated three specific goals for the new field.

In the first place, we hope the Ph.D. field in world history will work an indirect but nonetheless important influence on instruction in introductory survey courses. Now, the purposes of the Ph.D. field and of basic research in world history of course differ considerably from those of the introductory course. Furthermore, I wish to point out that a successful introductory course by no means depends upon formal instruction in world history -- as witness the numerous autodidacts who by dint of their own broad reading and creative thinking have instituted courses of genuine sophistication in



world history.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, it stands to reason that -- particularly for beginning instructors -- exposure to the research literature on world history would prove useful in the effort to organize a coherent survey of the world's major civilizations. After all, at the level of both the introductory course and professional research, many of the same basic themes guide contemporary thinking about world history. Acquaintance with the advanced literature on genuine global themes -- comparative study of processes that take effect across cultural boundary lines and analysis of contacts between peoples of different civilizations -- at the very least has the potential to suggest some useful interpretative frameworks for beginning instructors designing courses in world history.

Quite apart from this indirect influence on the undergraduate curriculum, the Department of History in Hawaii hopes the Ph.D. field will contribute in more immediate fashion to the development of world history as a field of research and scholarship, as a recognized subdiscipline of the broader field of history. Preparation of the field in world history accounts for only about one-quarter of a candidate's formal Ph.D. curriculum, but it has the potential to integrate the candidate's entire program in especially significant fashion by suggesting global perspectives as the context for basic research. Already it has encouraged one candidate to frame his dissertation research in such a way as to shed light on global themes.

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**"The thesis argues that Americans fought against the environment, while Vietnamese cooperated with the world of nature."**

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The dissertation, now nearing completion, deals with the war in Vietnam, more specifically with the different approaches taken by American and Vietnamese strategists toward the world of nature. The thesis argues that Americans fought against the environment, while Vietnamese cooperated with the world of nature. The thesis has immediate significance for the effort to explain the course of the war in Vietnam, but it also has broader implications for those interested in global themes -- such as conflicts between peoples of different civilizations, or attitudes toward the natural world held by peoples of different civilizations. Perhaps more importantly, the project has the potential also to register advances in the subdiscipline of world history itself. It deals with issues -- ecology and environment -- that do not figure prominently in studies inspired by modernization and world-systems theories. Due to its capacity to suggest new perspectives for basic research, then, graduate education holds considerable promise for the effort to develop and consolidate world history as a sub-field of the broader discipline of history.

Finally, from a more general point of view, the Department of History in Hawaii hopes the Ph.D. field in world history will contribute to the larger scholarly effort now underway to stretch the boundaries of the discipline of history. During the past several decades, historians have learned to profit from the work of sociologists and anthropologists, to adapt techniques of quantification to the needs of historical scholarship, to investigate hitherto neglected topics like the historical experiences of peasants and minorities, to invent

methods of analyzing orally transmitted evidence. The *Annales* school and the new social historians have worked an especially deep influence on contemporary scholarship, both within the discipline of history and beyond.

The emergence of world history strikes me as a development roughly parallel to the others just mentioned. At its best, historical scholarship always consists of a dialogue between past and present. Parties to the conversation must respect each other's interests and values, must listen carefully and refrain from temptations to distort the other's intentions.

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**"At its best, historical scholarship always consists of a dialogue between past and present."**

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But the conversation itself must necessarily advance -- investigate new directions, explore new ideas, reformulate problems along new lines -- or run the risk of collapsing into a boring rehearsal of worn-out lines. To me, world history represents an effort to advance the colloquy between past and present. More specifically, it represents an effort to develop a vision of the past that is appropriate for the world of the late twentieth century and beyond. Given the interdependence of the contemporary world and the intermingling of peoples within it, such a vision will inevitably emerge in any case. In all the world of scholarship, though, historians are those most sensitive to the influence of tradition, to the vagaries of change through time, and to the necessity of understanding human experiences in their proper contexts. In my opinion, then, it becomes an intellectual imperative for historians to stretch the boundaries of their discipline and frame a fresh vision of the past -- one that deals responsibly with the reality of the past while also addressing issues placed on the agenda by the complicated and interdependent world of the present. This goal both defines the task and suggests the promise of graduate education and research in world history.

#### END NOTES

1. Philip D. Curtin, "World Historical Studies in a Crowded World," *Perspectives: American Historical Association Newsletter*, vol. 24, no. 1 (January 1986), pp. 19-21. See also a similar appeal for graduate education in world history by Craig A. Lockard, "The Promotion of Graduate Study and Research in World History," *World History Bulletin*, vol. 2, no. 2 (Fall 1984), pp. 6-7.
2. The most effective spokesman for introductory courses on world civilizations is William H. McNeill. See his *Mythistory and Other Essays* (Chicago, 1986) for a collection of pertinent writings. See also L.S. Stavrianos, "The Teaching of World History," *Journal of Modern History*, 31 (1959), pp. 110-17; and the essays of Kevin Reilly et al., "What is an Attainable Global Perspective for Undergraduates in History?," *The History Teacher*, 18 (1985), pp. 501-35.
3. This list is by no means complete, but mentions only some of the most prominent themes recently studied by comparative analysts. For one example of a work dealing with each of the themes, see, respectively: Rushton Coulborn,



ed., Feudalism in History (Princeton, 1956); Michael E. Doyle, Empires (Ithaca, 1986); George M. Fredrickson, White Supremacy (New York, 1981); E.L. Jones, The European Miracle (Cambridge, 1981); Clifford Geertz, Islam Observed (Chicago, 1971); Michael Adas, Prophets of Rebellion (Cambridge, 1987); and Theda Skocpol, State and Social Revolutions (Cambridge, 1979).

4. A large scholarly literature deals with the methods and purposes of comparative analysis. For present purposes, see especially the following items: Raymond Grew, "The Case for Comparing Histories," American Historical Review, 85 (1980), pp. 763-78; Alette Olin Hill et al., "Marc Bloch and Comparative History," American Historical Review, 85 (1980), pp. 828-57; and Theda Skocpol and Margaret Somers, "The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 2 (1980), pp. 174-97.

5. Again, this list is by no means complete, but rather mentions the most prominent themes recently studied by analysts of cross-cultural contacts. For one example of a work dealing with each of the themes, see, respectively: Philip D. Curtin, Cross-Cultural Trade in World History (Cambridge, 1984); Daniel R. Headrick, The Tentacles of Progress (New York, 1987); Greg Dening, Islands and Beaches (Honolulu, 1980); Nancy M. Farriss, Maya Society under Colonial Rule (Princeton, 1984); and William H. McNeill, Plagues and Peoples (New York, 1976). On the last theme, I cannot resist mentioning also two contributions of Alfred W. Crosby: The Columbian Exchange (Westport, Conn., 1972); and Ecological Imperialism (Cambridge, 1985).

6. See the sampler of syllabi collected by Kevin Reilly, ed., World History: Selected Reading Lists and Course Outlines from American Colleges and Universities (New York, 1985).

### **Comments on Jerry H. Bentley's Description of the Graduate Program in World History at the University of Hawaii (AHA Meeting, Washington, 12/28/87)**

*By David G. Sweet, with assistance from Edmund Burke III  
University of California at Santa Cruz*

Perhaps the best argument for a program in world history is that it represents a long-overdue recognition by members of our profession that in the end history is all of one piece -- that it is the whole story or humanity, seen in the context of humanity's changing relationship to nature. This includes an acknowledgement that all parts of that story are of importance to the whole, and that they can have full meaning only when seen somehow in relation to the whole. To "do" history, then, is pretty much what we always thought -- to choose important and insufficiently studied topics, research them thoroughly and imaginatively, and write about them clearly. But to understand history is to see the monographic pieces of it ever more clearly in relation to the world-wide whole.

Implicit in that recognition, I believe, is a startling and refreshing assertion of the lasting importance of the work we

do, and of every serious contribution to a practical understanding of human experience which can inform the common struggle to establish and maintain a viable way of life for everybody on this planet. Our work on any part of the world's history is important because it is useful to participants in the continuing process of the transformation of the world. If this is true, then we all need to learn to write not so much for "the profession" as it exists in the late 20th-century United States, as for the whole world in the present and the future.

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**"...we all need to learn to write ... for the whole world ...."**

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We American historians have mostly not been trained to think of ourselves in this way, and we are inclined to be suspicious of those who do. Such talk sounds idealistic and unprofessional, if not downright subversive. We expect each other to work in a soberer spirit, without any such lofty pretensions, and to be satisfied if we achieve a measure of respectability among our peers. But the sooner we can learn to understand our work as a series of modest but useful contributions to the construction of a useable world history, the sooner we will begin to acknowledge the responsibility that we share as members of a vanguard in humanity's pursuit of a knowledge of human experience which can be of use to all. To understand that, I think, will be to see the beginning of an end to the esoteric, apologetic, ethnocentric and irrelevant pedantry of so much historical work today, about which most of us unceasingly complain.

One barrier that stands in our way is the fragmentation of our profession. The breakdown of history into "fields," like the creation of the so-called "disciplines" in social science, was a convenient device the logic for which is perhaps to be found in the administration of university departments, or in the psychology of practitioners for whom the illusion of "expertise" weighs more heavily than the pursuit of useful knowledge. But it was not determined for us by humanity's needs or by reality; and I think that it has contributed very little to the development of generally useful understanding of human experience. As "experts" in Russian or French or Japanese or Mexican history, or in economic or diplomatic or working-class history, we talk mostly to ourselves, set our own standards for excellence and importance, answer to no one but ourselves, and very often cannot see the forest for the trees. Professor Bentley rightly acknowledges the scholarly achievements of the 19th-century practitioners of "history as past politics" in their fascination with the rise of the national state; but he is perhaps too charitable in overlooking the positive handicaps to the general progress of knowledge which have been erected by the professional and parochial study of history since that time.

These handicaps are especially evident where a "field" of history has developed with the financial support, the ideological orientations and the interests of the ruling class of a powerful nation in mind -- as is undoubtedly the case with much history so far, especially in the United States and Western Europe. In such a case, for example, the history of colonialism can be taught without much attention being paid to the

terrible price that was exacted from most of humanity and most of nature by that system in its unworthy pursuit of the accumulation of capital. Colonialism will presumably be remembered a few centuries hence as an inglorious and brutal, temporary aberration in humanity's long march towards a viable coexistence in nature. But we have been trained by our Eurocentric and modernocentric history to see colonialism as a necessary, inevitable, even conscionable phenomenon which contributed a great deal to the world, however lamentable and reprehensible some of its "excesses" may have been. Even so lucid and critical an analyst as Immanuel Wallerstein leaves us thinking of the perpetrators of colonialism as the "core" and most of humanity as the "periphery" in a world defined for practical purposes as a function of capitalist accumulation. That view, for all its explanatory power, leaves us doubting helplessly that there is any way out from under the structures of power with which colonialism has left us.

What we need now, what the world needs, is a history which is no longer mesmerized by the power of capital, which demystifies power and places it in its proper perspective within the wide range of human experience. A history for which the world has no core or periphery, but has as many centers as there are human communities. A history in which the parasitism of the rich is more central to the analysis than their power. Such a history can only come from the contemplation of human experience as a whole.

In its few decades of intellectual hegemony in prestigious universities, the discourse of a history dominated by the study of power, a history which sees the world in terms of the "rise of the West" and the "expansion of Europe," has left educated people everywhere -- the readers of history books and the readers of newspapers alike -- with working understandings of what is "significant," "relevant," "legitimate," "feasible," even what is true, which are of very little use to anybody in the struggle for a better world. The confusion and crisis to which that process can lead a society has perhaps never been better illustrated than in the present conduct of the foreign policy of the United States, and the sterile and irrational, ignorant political discourse which surrounds it. One may be forgiven for wishing that the relations of the American people to the rest of the human race might be managed in the future by people educated in world history, rather than by people handicapped by their view of history as the story of the rise of a single powerful national state!

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**"..... that children are as important as adults, the poor as important as the rich, people of color and the colonized as important as white people and colonizers, the many as important as the few."**

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A world perspective on history allows important things to become clear that are hidden by the conventions of a history focused on the activities of the governments of powerful nations. Among these are things we all know from personal experience, but seldom find in history books -- such things, for example, as that women are as important as men in the total scheme of things, or that children are as important as

adults, the poor as important as the rich, people of color and the colonized as important as white people and colonizers, the many as important as the few. A world perspective can make it clear that wisdom and folly, creativity and rigidity, hard work and laziness, kindness and cruelty, are about equally distributed among races and peoples. In this view nature looms larger than the technology with which we attempt to manipulate it, day-by-day work looms larger than profit, playfulness than violence, humble dwellings than cathedrals, rice paddies than factories, daily bread than luxury goods, peace than war, the face-to-face human community than the state itself. In a world perspective -- if you will forgive the introduction of a theological reflection -- faith is more enduring than reason, hope than cynicism, love than power, the reproduction of natural life than the perpetration of unnatural death. Such revelations suggest new questions that must be asked of every historical moment -- questions the answers to which will be very much more useful to more people than the so-far-conventional reflections of historians on the uses of power.

World history as a subject of inquiry has yielded results which, though interesting enough to read, are not likely to make a major impact on humanity's understanding of itself. It seems more useful to me to think of world history as a premise for all inquiry. Starting from the proposition that every particular is part of a whole, we can move easily from disciplinary and "field" constraints into the selection of problems because they are of interest to us, and of methods, theories and sources of information because they are appropriate for working on the problems with which we are concerned. All of history and all of social science is our tool-chest; and what we need to learn in graduate school is how to select the interesting problem and how to find the appropriate tools.

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**"The Hawaii program as sketched seems to me a valuable experiment ...."**

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We will all tend of course to continue to work mostly in areas for which we have the appropriate language skills and personal experience; and one inquiry will continue naturally to lead most of us to another. But no tools are beyond our reach. Professor Curtin's intellectual biography is both exemplary and reassuring in this regard; it demonstrates over and over again that remarkable things can be accomplished by historians working with tools normally reserved to others.

The Hawaii program as sketched seems to me a valuable experiment -- more ambitious in its conception than the Comparative Tropical History Program at Wisconsin in which I was trained (though perhaps less likely to achieve a high standard in the preparation of students with the language skills and the social training necessary for cutting-edge work in Third World history); and less bold in conception (but probably more sustainable in a real-world academic department) than the M.A. program in Comparative World History which we organized at UC Santa Cruz in the late 1970's. The Wisconsin and to a much lesser extent the Santa Cruz programs had their heydays thanks to particular constella-

tions of professors, students and resources. Both proved hard to sustain both politically and financially; both ran into a good bit of Philistine opposition from those who found it difficult to take the comparative approach seriously as an intellectual endeavor. That neither became an enduring institutional orientation and commitment is something much to be lamented, something which happens too often among us. One has only to contemplate the fate of the brilliant school of Latin American historical geography which grew up around Carl Sauer at Berkeley and for all practical purposes died with him, having promised the world much more than it was allowed to deliver.

The chief cause of every such unfortunate denouement seems to be the systemic inability of our profession to create long-lasting working groups whose intellectual vitality derives from a collective understanding of the importance to humanity of the work they do, rather than from the brilliance of individuals. We do not know how to work in teams, and our institutions do not know how to encourage us to do so. But the main tasks that remain in the construction of a useable world history will require collaborative work and long-term commitments. That is the mode of the natural scientists, the importance of whose work is more generally recognized -- by governments as well as by the scientists themselves. But it is true of historical scholarship as well that no individual is capable of contributing what, for example, the Wisconsin and Santa Cruz and now the Hawaii programs have been capable of contributing, or the Berkeley school of historical geography was capable of contributing, over the long run to the production of useful knowledge. Perhaps the simple truth of the matter is that the American university is the wrong place in which to attempt to generate and sustain an intellectual endeavor in the humanities and social sciences which can project itself beyond the radius of influence of an individual career. So long as that is true, I suspect that we will accomplish no task more significant than those already accomplished by the outstanding individual practitioners of our craft.

In the Hawaii program it seems to me that there is probably too much emphasis on the "great works" of world history and social science, and not enough on the practice of historical research and historical comparison in the company of like-minded apprentices and journeypersons. Reading in the world historians, unabashedly ethnocentric as most of them are, is a stimulating exercise for graduate students and others, as is exposure to the more instructive essays of historically minded social scientists. One misses some giants from the Hawaii list (say Marshall Hodgson or Joseph Needham), and especially giants from outside the Anglo-American world (Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault, Darcy Ribeiro, Samir Amin, Ranajit Guha). The fashions in vogue appear to be those of the New York Review of Books, rather than those that would be suggested by a review of rest-of-the-world scholarship today. Why Geertz's Islam Observed rather than Agricultural Involution? Where are Michael Taussig, June Nash, Tzvetan Todorov, Orlando Fals Borda, John Murra, Manuel Moreno Fraginals to speak of world-beaters in my own "field" from whom more can be learned than from many of these classics? But the main complaint here is that to

start students off with "models" seems to me more likely to stifle than to nourish the avidity and boldness and determination that make innovative historians. I'd think that these monuments of historical inquiry ought rather to be made available to people as they can use them in their researches.

The best thing about being a graduate student in Comparative Tropical History at Wisconsin in the late 1960's was a series of seminars organized around comparative-history topics (millennial movements, social mobility in slave society, plantation systems and the like), in which the students did a small amount of common reading and then set about presenting each other with carefully researched essays on cases for the topics in question drawn from the many fields (Latin America, Southeast Asia, South Asia, Middle East, Africa) in which we were training. Papers were dittoed up beforehand and read and commented upon critically before the session devoted to them, so the sessions themselves tended to produce discussions of considerable substance. I have not experienced so much learning, so intense and sustained a process of intellectual stimulation, anywhere else. The "great works" had relatively little to do with that process, and were never allowed to overwhelm us as we went.

Finally, and perhaps not surprisingly, I would prefer to see in the core curriculum a course such as the introductions to the world's experience with the West which (with similar purposes but quite different emphases) were at the center of the Wisconsin and Santa Cruz programs. Better yet would be a two-year series of courses were not surveys, but introductions to central issues in human experience through closely-examined and comparable cases. The lectures and readings themselves offered practice in thinking about the particular as a dimension of the whole, and in thinking comparatively. Together with the above mentioned seminars, the "World and the West" course at Wisconsin offered daily opportunities to experience the fascination of wandering freely about in the world's history, and to learn what is perhaps the main lesson that a world history program is capable of teaching -- that it is possible for any literate person to encounter moments from the histories of all peoples in her reading, and to engage them deeply and thoughtfully (even prepare university lectures on them if need be), in utter defiance of the conventions of "field" and specialization.

Thanks to the World History Association for convening this session. We need to do a great deal more talking with each other such as this if we are ever going to make of the promise of "world history" a permanent feature of American University teaching in history. The Hawaii program is a most welcome development in that direction; and those of us who care about these questions will be watching it closely and expectantly.

The professional heroes these days, one might perhaps say, are not the renowned academic celebrities, but the anonymous teachers who try to put together a world history course for the benefit of students whose future depends on their grasp of contemporary reality. . . .

*Theodore H. Von Laue*

## Additional Comments

*Craig A. Lockard*  
*University of Wisconsin - Green Bay*

When I was a M.A. student in Asian Studies at the University of Hawaii in the mid-1960's, I received a flyer on a new doctoral program in Comparative Tropical History at Wisconsin. My interest was immediately engaged. Just as my fascination with Asian cultures seemed terribly exotic to my college friends back home in California, this brand new comprehensive approach to history seemed equally exotic to me. Like most of us, I was brought up with the notion that history was defined by national or at most regional parameters, with the Western Civilizations survey I took as an undergraduate the broadest approach possible. Yet, here was an academic program that frankly pronounced the comparability of regions as diverse as Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia. I was impressed and in due course arrived in Madison as a doctoral candidate.

Madison's program emphasized the study of modern Third World societies within a global context. The Comparative Tropical History Program grew out of a complex intellectual interaction between several specialists on Southeast Asian, South Asian, African and Latin American history, but the guiding force was Philip Curtin. Curtin managed to attract Carnegie Foundation funding and helped organize and teach the cross regional thematic seminars that formed the heart of the program. He and John Smail also taught the second semester sequence that surveyed the relationship between western and nonwestern societies in modern history. Later the Comparative Tropical History Program would be expanded into a Comparative World History Program that also encompassed East Asia. For a decade, many graduate students went through the program at the M.A. or Ph.D. level, a stimulating collection of scholars, quite a few of whom have gone on to teach or write on world and comparative history. In most conventional Ph.D. programs, a student in Southeast Asian history would have combined with one other regional specialization such as East Asia or Africa and a mandatory minor field in Comparative World. This minor field included familiarity with the content of two undergraduate comparative history courses and a graduate research seminar on a particular comparative topic such as contract labor or peasant rebellion. Furthermore, the preliminary exams for the Ph.D. required the doctoral candidate to prepare a paper demonstrating familiarity with comparative material relevant to the dissertation topic. For me at any rate the program proved enormously stimulating and an advantageous background for later academic job hunting.

Unfortunately, by the mid-1970's the Comparative World History Program was in decline, and it has since been dissolved. A post mortem may help us understand what is needed to make such a program a success. First, because the CWWHP was rooted in the Third World caucus of the History department, it never attracted the interest or support of U.S. or Europe specialists. Occasionally a specialist on French colonial or British Commonwealth history would participate in

the program, but for all practical purposes students in the program were specializing on Third World areas. This reflected the realities of faculty politics and was probably unavoidable. Nor did all the faculty in the Third World caucus participate in the program; indeed, several ostensibly affiliated with the program either ignored it or openly expressed skepticism about the possibilities and value of comparative history. Four or five of the faculty carried the burden of teaching the requisite courses and seminars. While a student in Southeast Asian history was required to take Comparative World as a minor field, students could finish doctorates in African, East Asian or Latin American history without ever coming into contact with it. Probably only about half of those students elected to join the program. Later the program lost three of its major faculty participants through death or resignation. Most damaging was Phil Curtin's decision to leave Madison for the intellectually exciting challenge of a new Atlantic Studies program at Johns Hopkins. The Carnegie money was also used up by the mid-1970's, by which time few students selected the program, a trend that accelerated with retrenchment and an uncertain academic job market in the late 1970's.

The Madison experience would seem to suggest that the establishment of a world history emphasis in graduate study apparently has several requirements. An initial prerequisite would seem to be a cooperative faculty with reasonably diverse regional interests, embracing North American, European, Asian, African, and Latin American history. In other words, a department that is well-balanced in regional specializations. It would also seem crucial to have a visionary sparkplug or two to provide inspiration and leadership, the sort of role that Phil Curtin played to Madison and Jerry Bentley seems to be carrying out at Hawaii. A program also cannot survive without students. There is little point in pursuing a Ph.D. with a world history emphasis if few academic positions exist in the field, especially since the history profession tends to mistrust or devalue "generalists." While some small liberal arts colleges may find broadly trained historians attractive, most of the larger universities with graduate programs seem to prefer to hire narrow specialists who can fit into a particular and recognizable niche. Indeed, Hawaii aside, these universities on the whole have yet to demonstrate much interest in even offering undergraduate courses on world history. Still, the growth of undergraduate world history courses in recent years, a development concentrated especially in the mid-size state colleges and regional universities, has the possibility of expanding the job market for global historians.

How then would I evaluate the promising program at Hawaii? First let me identify some of the great strengths of the program. Hawaii is quite right to require, as Wisconsin did, that graduate students in World History also develop a regional specialization, a consideration that has sound practical advantages in job placement as well as intellectual justification: can you understand the forest without some sense of individual trees? I am also deeply impressed with the graduate seminar that constitutes the heart of the program and introduces students to the leading theoretical, analytical, and methodological approaches to World History. This was a dimension

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## A Viewpoint \*

*Theodore H. Von Laue*

Looking over the program of the annual AHA conference, or over the titles of articles in the historical journals, or even over the list of history books published, I am distressed by the irrelevance of their topics. The academic history industry has transformed the past into a vast mosaic of meaninglessness. Here and there one can perhaps detect a few familiar patterns or some self-contained miniatures of sense. But the overall impression is one of confusion and bewilderment. Looking at each separate offering, one is tempted to ask: so what? And beholding the whole, one wonders about the irresponsibility of wasted time and energy.

Let us for once consider the basic responsibility of historians. It is their duty to explain to the living generation their place in time, their location in the stream of social, political, and cultural change. History is for the living who urgently need greater control over their destiny through constructive perspectives tying the past to the foreseeable future.

The first requirement for good historians, therefore, is to have a sound grasp of the present, so that they can draw from the past those lessons that fit the present need to shape an acceptable future. Given our inevitable limits of time and energy, we cannot take our entire past with us into the future; we must rigorously select from the past what helps us here and now, and forget the rest. Any historical work that could claim rational justification has always produced an interpreted and trimmed-down past --- or else it turned into antiquarianism, the luxury of the rich.

My question now is: do the busy operators of the academic history industry have an adequate sense of the present and foreseeable future, so that they can ask sensible questions of the past and interpret it responsibly? Do they realize that all of us live in an entirely unprecedented age? For the first time in all human experience all peoples of the world, regardless of their prior cultural experiences, regardless of the profound differences of their languages, religions, and ways of life, are compressed into inescapable interaction and interdependence. The age of global confluence is different from all previous ages. The perspectives of times are outdated; the insights of people living in separate cultural islands are insufficient for guiding life in the global common. Furthermore, no historical event in the past 150 years can be understood except in global perspective; modern history properly understood must be global history. National history considered only within a nation's framework makes no sense. Churchill, Hitler, Stalin, or past American presidents, operated in a world-wide context, whether they were aware of that fact or not. As for the present and the future, global interdependence determines our lives and those of the other 5 billion human beings. Sensible history must be global history, sharpening people's wits about their dependence on others around the world. We can survive only by having a better sense

of control over that unprecedented novel reality.

That, briefly, is the world in which our students and fellow citizens must find their way. Does that reality reach into our history classrooms and into our historical research? Does that reality furnish the contexts in which we try to make history meaningful? And more: do we set time aside in our professional work to comprehend the world in which we live? Or do we busy ourselves in our specialties, creating little bailiwicks of pseudo-security to guard ourselves against the meaninglessness of the unmastered openness produced by the global confluence? It seems that the great majority of historians -- as of the run of people generally -- take the smooth functioning of society for granted (what else can we do, having no command over the course of events in a world that has grown over our heads?). Yet we live at a time of precipitous and uncomprehended change. Look at the news. Considered in this setting, the present production of the academic history industry makes little sense. It is premised on outdated perspectives and priorities, caught in an arch-conservative, if not outright reactionary, mindset. We need new perspective based on current priorities; we need new sensibilities capable of transcending the profound differences of cultural conditioning that produce ever escalating hostility and violence. We must help to transform the present tenuous global interdependence into a working community capable of coping with the avalanche of problems looming ahead of all humanity.

How much time and energy under these circumstances must we responsibly give to the common present? How much time is left for the separate histories of the past? And how adequate are our perceptions of both past and present conditioned in restricted cultural envelopes? Do we perhaps practice "cognitive imperialism" when we look at peoples reared under different conditions?

These are huge problems, all urgently pressing upon thinking people. Who in the historical profession dares to address them? Who even will face them? Maybe the chairperson of the Program Committee for some future AHA annual convention will put the subject on the agenda. It would be high time.

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**World History Association**  
and  
**University of Hawaii Press**  
to Launch

**World History Journal**

**See inside back cover of this issue**

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## Wanted: Ideas for World History Presentations

A clear need has developed for some new thinking about panel presentations in world history. The issue is an important one, because of the role these presentations have gained in reflecting world history scholarships and also in promoting the field as a serious area of inquiry. The World History Association has played a major part in stimulating panels, and as a practical matter needs the influx of new ideas in order to maintain this function. This communication, then, is designed to present a problem but above all to appeal for response, by world history scholars, toward its solution.

Given the newness of world history to many practitioners, and the confusions that surround the field's definition and feasibility, it remains necessary to have a roster of panels on whys and hows at the ready. Equally obviously, these presentations to essentially novice audiences cannot be the sole staple, and even they might usefully be spiced by variants that convey some flavor of world history scholarship.

When conference sessions have moved beyond the essential show-and-tell stage, they have often been marked by two constraints. First, there has been a tendency of late to overuse certain themes -- perfectly valid in themselves, but risking redundancy for the community of world history scholars. Thus while there still are a great many issues to deal with in integrating women's history and world history, we cannot successfully return to this subject annually. More pressing still, concerning topics old or new, has been a tendency to offer substantive panels without any real coherence -- featuring a good paper on the topic in East Africa, another on Western Europe three centuries earlier, in what verges on a world-history version of random numbers. This risks sounding overcritical: there have been excellent panels on substantive topics in recent years, as well as fine individual papers. But there has been a tendency, save when talking about world history in the more general, flowing terms, to reflect a persistent habit of bifurcation into area-studies approaches and individualized topic conceptions, to the detriment of demonstration that world history can be an analytical field rather than, beyond the teaching level, an umbrella stand for separate pieces of gear.

What's required is some fresh thinking, and this should come from people who might themselves be interested in participation in a more broadly based effort. New topics alone, while welcome, are not enough. There is also a need for some risk-taking conceptualization. At least four approaches may prove useful, within a framework that begins to see world history as a research field and not simply a place for negotiation among practitioners from discrete areas of scholarship.

First, we need more work in explicit comparison between or among civilizations, in relevant time periods. Obviously some fine exemplars already exist, as in the slavery field. We should work for a lot more. It is a constant source of amazement, when it comes time to help students with comparative thinking, how little historical work has been devoted, since the Wittuogel era, to more than textbook-level juxtaposition of political systems (some useful work on Western and Japa-

nese feudalisms an exception here), or approaches in science. The absence of adequate comparison is all the more vivid in new topic areas such as family, popular mentalities, or patterns of work and leisure. Developing genuinely comparative panels is an essential first step in moving beyond the area studies isolation sketched above. It may involve some innovations in format, such as more collaborative presentations by scholars from different area-studies bailiwicks or, short of this, more exchange of papers within a carefully delineated initial format, so that genuine comparative suggestions, at least, can enliven monographs deriving from single-civilization research. The comparative approach can also usefully stimulate some risk-taking, as in some recent research on world family typologies. The benefits, to world history and its teaching but also to advances in the study of individual cultures, are well worth the innovation involved.

A second approach toward making world history panels less artificial involves a new round of work on cases of cultural contact and diffusion. This is a standard kind of topic, but it has not underwritten many actual panels of late. And it needs updating: much of the explicit diffusion literature has focused particularly on relatively early periods, yet without downplaying this theme it is clear that modern history, as well, requires sensitive treatment of diffusion and the barriers and combinations it has generated. In this regard Marc Gilbert has suggested that a panel based on the changing historiography of empire and imperialism during the past decade could focus important conceptual issues. Too often modern diffusion processes are regarded as automatic, or conveyed by casual references to Westernization of equally casual rebuttals in name of the ongoing power of prior values. The diffusion issue, then, constitutes one of several areas where world history conceptualization has trailed off a bit for the modern periods, and where some suggestive models could emerge from conference activity.

A third approach should involve discussions of world history periodization, viewed as something more than locating points of convenience or carryovers from a Western-determined framework. Periodization that gets at world contacts and parallelisms as a basic dynamic is an essential component of converting world history to an ongoing research field, where the whole can be seen as something more than a collection of discrete parts.

Finally, there is opportunity for more work on parallel developments, such as commercialization or the impact of particular new technologies, crops, or animals (e.g. the impact of the horse) -- developments that may owe something to diffusion, and that can certainly be treated in comparative context, but that have particularly important theoretical implications. Work by Jack Goody and others on the impact of literacy, for example, though often open to challenge, suggests how certain processes that emerged in a number of civilizations, often at disparate points in time, can aid in understanding world framework as well as specific comparative distinctions, toward advancing historical conceptualization.

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These rubrics -- comparison, diffusion and contact, periodization and parallelisms -- are not sacrosanct, and obviously they overlap. There are important topics that don't fall neatly into any of them. For example, another Marc Gilbert suggestion: integrating Polynesia into world history beyond the "Western discovery" rubric. But a host of opportunities can be suggested within rubrics as well: millinerian movements in comparative world perspective, including relevant contemporary movements; issues in institutional and cultural secularization; theoretical-comparative issues in professionalization; cultural relationships between elites and masses -- the list is, deliberately, extensive. The need to work on lively topic headings for more modern segments of world history, where conventions of treatment are not so well-established, strikes me as particularly challenging, but there is opportunity in every major time period.

Having stated the case, and hopefully roused some reaction and objection, the next step is obvious: we need response. The World History Association has set up a "new ideas" committee (from whose suggestions the above is shamelessly distilled), including Heidi Roupp, Martin Yanuck, Marc Gilbert, plus myself. Any of us would welcome ideas, and

we urge a correspondence on the subject. Generation of new panel ideas need not be confined to communications with the special committee, of course, but a vehicle does now exist for discussion and promotion in this vital area -- an area that essentially involves the advance of world history as a field of active scholarship, beyond the provocative efforts of a few individual scholars and model builders.

For clearly the time has come for a more vigorous approach to the development of panels and conferences. Many of us have been sustained by the sheer excitement of the resurgence of interest in world history, by discussions of how to set up courses and by a shared sense of justifying the obvious in face of pedagogically conservative attack. This first excitement, open still to newcomers, may be passing somewhat; at the same time the field matures, as provocative essays in the Newsletter have been suggesting. A new phase and new maturity should open the way to better-reasoned conference design, with innovations in format as necessary. Let's start discussing how to proceed.

Peter N. Stearns  
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insufficiently stressed at Wisconsin, although in fairness the theoretical and comparative literature was much less interesting - at least from my perspective -- 15 or 20 years ago. At Madison, graduate students were encouraged to familiarize themselves with several general studies on comparative history, including Black's *Dynamics of Modernization*, and McNeill's *Rise of the West*, but the courses emphasized content and analysis more than theory. On reflection I wish I had taken a seminar similar to Bentley's when I was a graduate student. Bentley's reading list is largely confined to Anglo-American or *Annales* scholars, however, and the student will learn little of the work of historians from outside these traditions. But, on the whole, I find the Hawaii program to be well-conceived and intellectually exciting.

Which is not to say that I believe it will face a rosy future; there are some built-in problems that may cause trouble down the road. For one thing, the program may need a better base in the undergraduate curriculum. Hawaii has long used World Civilizations as the basic freshman-level general education course and this is all to the good. But one or two upper level undergraduate courses might be developed to serve as a bridge between the basic course and the graduate seminars. It is also unclear whether students who enter the graduate program without any undergraduate background in world history are required to overcome that deficit, and how that might be accomplished. The graduate program rightly stresses analytical approaches rather than a survey of content but students need some sort of content base of fact and interpretation. The seeming reliance of the program in general, and the core seminar in particular, on the labors of one committed faculty member - Bentley - is also a concern. Hawaii differs considerably from American universities in that Asian and Pacific history occupies a position at least as important as West European and American history in the department curriculum. But are the Asian specialists at Hawaii any more committed to World History than the U.S. and Europe specialists on the mainland? I do not know. But to succeed, the program requires several faculty committed to a global perspective and willing to share the teaching and administrative load. Finally, I would like to suggest that Hawaii consider offering an M.A. in World History, geared particularly to the needs of secondary teachers being asked to globalize their curriculums. I don't know the situation in Hawaii but in some states, including Wisconsin, world history is being made a bigger part of the secondary school curriculum. This trend could build a larger constituency for graduate level as well as undergraduate work in world history because of the need for teachers in these courses.

## **Women, Sexuality, and Oppression: The European Witchcraft Persecutions\***

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Using the categories of gender analysis to work on world history -- what difference does it make? I will explore this question through my research on the European witchcraft

trials of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, material that centers on women and their sexuality.

First, I will define what I mean by "the categories of gender analysis."

By using the concept of gender as a tool of historical analysis, we uncover the element of power in relations between the sexes.<sup>1</sup> Gender differences are used in many parts of the world not only to define sex roles, but also to legitimate the control of males over females. In relation to the European witch-hunt, we can ask what it tells us about the power structure between men and women in early modern times. Because it was a particularly violent confrontation, we must also ask if it disrupted the concept of gender prevalent in European society.

But there is more to the historical use of gender: the paradigms of social control that we learn from gender analysis can be applied generally between the powerful and non-powerful members of society.

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**"Gender differences are used in many parts of the world not only to define sex roles, but also to legitimate the control of males over females."**

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The reason that many historians still do not use gender analysis may be not that they want to keep women out of history, but that they do not want to deal with the issues of social control that the oppression of women raises. Political and intellectual history have been less influenced by gender analysis than other types.

World history, dependent as it is on political history is thus vulnerable to this limitation. Recent texts, such as Anthony Esler's, do systematically include women, and one text, Kevin Reilly's, uses gender analysis as one of its fundamental concepts.<sup>2</sup> But for the most part, writers of world history have ignored gender, despite that fact that gender analysis becomes a mirror in which other power relations of a society are reflected and illumined.

To sum up this category in the words of Joan Scott: Ask not what society tells us about gender, but what gender tells us about that society.

Gender relations are created not only through kinship ties but through the economy, law, medicine, and theology. Thus, in doing gender history we do not look for a single cause, for the one brilliant explanation dear to historians' hearts. Instead, gender analysis enables us to study history as a series of interconnected processes. I find this insight especially useful in working on the witchcraft persecution, about which a great deal of ink has been spilled over whether its cause was theological, legal, political, or even geographical.

I find that it involved all of the above, plus two important changes. The first, the worsening of economic roles for lower-class women, I am working on now; the second, a change in practices of church and state toward sexuality, especially female sexuality, about which I will say more. The witch hunts, in fact, were multifaceted, and illumined much of what

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happened in the latter sixteenth century. One factor of gender is sexuality. As Carroll Smith-Rosenberg points out, a study of sexual values and categories will tell us as much about the construction of power in a society as about its actual sexual behavior.<sup>3</sup> I would add: a study of sexual attitudes will tell us much about the way church and state have attempted to influence and control women, a control which exhibits one particular construction of power. Societies in the throes of rapid social change -- such as the late sixteenth century and our own -- experience sexual disorder as particularly threatening. By sexual disorder I mean a challenge to patriarchal expectations of how the sexes act. Joan of Arc, who wore male clothing, succeeded in the world of men, and was

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**"By sexual disorder I mean a challenge to patriarchal expectations of how the sexes act."**

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brutally punished for doing so, is a useful example. In times of rapid social change, secular governments and religious institutions will make alliances in order to block and punish persons who are perceived to challenge sexual norms.

Finally, by focusing on gender we see women not only as victims -- although they clearly were that, in the witch-hunts -- but as active agents in history. We see women making choices, speaking out, risking the displeasure of the powerful male elites of their time.

I am submitting the sixteenth-century material on witches to the test of these principles of women's history, because no one has yet done so thoroughly or consistently.<sup>4</sup>

What exactly was the witch-hunt of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? Between 1550 and 1750 around a hundred thousand Europeans and thirty-six New Englanders were put to death on charge of causing harm by supernatural means and of serving the Devil. Of these hundred thousand victims, eighty-five percent were female, mostly poor, old, single, and often outspoken. This was an organized mass-murder of women, a persecution by gender. The male victims were in most cases related to women already accused.

The persecutions were most severe in the German lands and wherever central government was weak; they were restrained in England, where torture was not allowed, in Spain and Italy, where the Inquisition was occupied with heretics, and wherever central government was strong.<sup>5</sup>

I want to stress two aspects of this rich material as particularly relevant to world history: sexual attacks on women as a way of controlling them, and cooperation between state and church as a way of controlling the sexual lives of all citizens.

One of the early theological treatises against women as witches, the *Malleus Maleficarum* of 1486, an influential diatribe stressing the danger of female sexuality, was issued with instructions from the Pope to rulers, ordering them to assist priests in tracking down witches.<sup>6</sup> It signaled how state and church would cooperate in the future to bring many thousands to their deaths. In Scotland, for example, whenever the royal government relaxed its prosecution of witches, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church requested Parliament to renew the hunt for sorcerers.<sup>7</sup> In southwestern Germany,

when municipal judges asked theological faculties at the universities for advice about witch accusations, they received encouragement to prosecute.<sup>8</sup> Although ecclesiastical courts in Italy and Spain actually acted as restraining forces on witch-hunts there,<sup>9</sup> everywhere else the clergy helped to instigate and perpetuate the persecution of women as witches.

A striking example of church-state solidarity in witch persecution is provided by a trial held in Bavaria in 1600. It enables us also to study how one poor woman was caught in a web woven by elite authorities. Here I draw on the research of Michael Kunze.<sup>10</sup>

Anna Pappenheimer, who was 59 in 1600, had been the daughter of a grave digger, an outcaste group in Germany at that time. Marriage opportunities for outcaste women being few, Anna had seized the chance to marry Paulus Pappenheimer, an itinerant privy-cleaner, also a member of the underclass. In addition to being suspect as outcastes and as wanderers, the Pappenheimers also were Lutherans in a Catholic land.

But Anna had several things going for her. By the time she emerged into the historical record in 1600 she had been married for thirty-seven years, had borne seven children of whom three sons survived, and had despite constant poverty kept the family together. A respectable woman, one might think.

The Bavarian government had other ideas. Its young duke, Maximilian, after an intensive Jesuit education, had become concerned about witchcraft in his duchy. As a teenager he had witnessed the trial of several women for witchcraft. Now, worried about unrest among his barons and city oligarchs, he searched for a way to demonstrate his power. His theological advisors, threatened by the new Protestant movement, were eager to cooperate with him in every way. It was not enough that the Bavarian Council of State was already legislating about almost every aspect of its citizens' lives:

... against the marriage of young Catholics into Protestant communities, against the sale of non-Catholic books, against mixed bathing, against dancing in the evenings, against extravagant weddings, against fortune-telling and superstition, against vagrancy and highway robbery.<sup>11</sup>

Even though Bavaria was filled with ducal spies, still people did not obey these rules. What was needed, the Duke decided, was a show trial, a public spectacle that would make it clear to all his subjects, high and low, who was in charge in Bavaria.

The problem was that no witches were available at the moment. Refusing to be stymied, the authorities looked around for likely suspects. The Pappenheimers, already seen as polluters of society, finally came to their attention, and were duly arrested. Anna confessed, under torture, to flying on a piece of wood to meet the Devil, to having sex with her demon lover, to murdering children in order to make an ointment from their bodies, to making a demonic powder from dead children's hands. The ointment and powder, she admitted, were used to carry out murder. After a long, well-publicized trial, the entire Pappenheimer family was convicted of witchcraft.

The execution of the four adult Pappenheimers drew a crowd of thousands from the surrounding countryside. First, Anna was stripped so that her flesh could be torn off by red-hot pincers. Paulus was broken on the wheel and impaled on a rod driven through his anus. Then Anna's breasts were cut off. The bloody breasts were forced into her mouth and then into the mouths of her two grown sons. (This had not been the custom until Duke Maximilian's time.) The four Pappenheimers were then burned alive at the stake, while their ten-year-old son was forced to watch the dying agonies of his parents and brothers. He was executed several weeks later.<sup>12</sup>

We must multiply this even by thousands; its sexual brutality is representative of the torture and execution of alleged witches.

What does this story tell us about that society? About Bavarian attitudes toward women? Paulus and the sons met a horrible fate, but I believe that Anna's was even more horrifying. Without understanding how patriarchy functions in a society, one doesn't see that in these trials women were accused primarily by men, witnessed against overwhelmingly by men, tried by male juries, burned to death by male executioners -- while being prayed for by male priests and pastors. These are facts of gender.

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**"What do these facts tell us about Bavarian attitudes toward the family, minority groups, poverty, children, sexuality?"**

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What do these facts tell us about Bavarian attitudes toward the family, minority groups, poverty, children, sexuality?

-- that the powers of the Bavarian church and state cared nothing for the sanctity of a thirty-seven year marriage, nor for motherhood or the life of a ten-year-old child. Yet these were the very years in which the decrees of the Council of Trent on the sacramental nature of marriage were being put into effect, in which Protestants were preaching that marriage was a sacred calling just as celibacy was.

-- that the power structure was very afraid of "something," which they named "witchcraft" or "Devil worship," and that they would scapegoat a defenseless minority group or the vulnerable sex, women, in order to show their control over that society. The concept of scapegoat wasn't new in 1600: this persecution by gender had been preceded by 500 years of attacks against heretics and Jews, and was at that very time being extended to Amerindians and African slaves. I conclude that what European men and women did to the people whom they colonized and enslaved, European men of the ruling class did first to European women. The scapegoating was in any case successful in Bavaria -- the Duke's power increased after the Pappenheimers' executions, and he is known to history as Maximilian the Great.

As for the sexual sadism, so shocking in its cruelty: the record states specifically that Anna's breasts were mutilated, not only to cause her pain, but mainly to degrade her. That they were then "fed" to her sons in a grotesque parody of the maternal act of nursing. That Paulus' torture was a brutal ridicule of anal intercourse indicates that the authorities found sexual brutality to be a powerful weapon with the crowd.

This case, plus the many other examples of sexual sadism found in witch trials, makes it necessary to study changes in sexual attitudes in order to understand the witchcraft persecution.

It is important to know that as the two Reformations progressed, accusations of sex-connected crimes increased, and that women were more often and more severely punished for them than men. Witchcraft, too, was often sex-related, both in the type of charges made (having sex with the Devil, etc.) and in the type of torture used. Performed on women by men, legal torture permitted sadistic experimentation and gratuitous sexual advances. When executioner Jehan Minart of Cambrai prepared Aldegonde de Rue for the stake, he examined her interior parts, mouth, and "parties honteuses." To try to force a confession from Catherine Boyraionne, a priest applied hot fat repeatedly to her eyes, armpits, the pit of her stomach, thighs, elbows, and "dans sa nature" -- in her vagina. She died in prison, no doubt from injuries. And while a female was imprisoned, she might be raped -- the young Lorrainer, Catharina Latomia, not yet pubescent, was raped twice in her cell, and nearly died from it: these attacks were blamed on the Devil.<sup>13</sup>

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**"An ominous change in judicial procedure occurred: prosecution for sexual crimes moved from ecclesiastical to secular courts, which were harsher."**

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In these cases, having a woman's body made all the difference: witch-hunting was woman-hunting. Jailers, prickers, and executioners all could take sadistic pleasure with female prisoners. And so could respectable ministers and judges. At a public session in Salem, Cotton Mather, while working to control a seventeen-year-old girl possessed of demons, uncovered her breasts and fondled them.<sup>14</sup>

Charges for all these crimes rose and fell together: the seventeenth century saw a peak of prosecution for illegitimacy, abortion, infanticide, sodomy, incest, prostitution, and witchcraft -- all crimes for which women were more often and more severely punished than men.<sup>15</sup>

An ominous change in judicial procedure occurred: prosecution for sexual crimes moved from ecclesiastical to secular courts, which were harsher. For example, the French government passed a law requiring every pregnant woman to register her pregnancy and to have two witnesses in attendance at the birth. If she did not, and the baby died, she was liable for a charge of infanticide. This unprecedented intrusion by the state into women's reproductive lives was typical of what both state and church courts were doing all across Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>16</sup>

I will close with several observations about how this material relates to world history. By establishing a correlation between sexual control and the oppression or persecution of women, it calls for similar investigations elsewhere: was there, for example, an increase in control over women's sexual lives that enabled Tang-Sung Chinese society to begin to impose the custom of foot-binding on its women? If so, what was the source of this control and what does it tell us

about Tang-Sung society? This correlation between sexual control and the oppression of women needs to be analyzed also in cases of Indian suttee, Muslim secluding of women, African clitoridectomy, and attacks on birth control practices wherever they occur.<sup>17</sup>

Today in the United States we are undergoing a reversion to earlier levels of interference in women's sexual lives: what are the sources of this reversion and what does it indicate for the future treatment of women in our courts, by the medical profession, etc.? And what does it portend for future relationships between men and women?

**"In a broader sense, the witch-hunts point up the importance of gender analysis for any major event in history."**

In a broader sense, the witch-hunts point up the importance of gender analysis for any major event in history. The repeated killing of large numbers of young men in wars, for example -- wars ordered by older men and supported by most of the population -- is a gender and generational issue but is seldom dealt with as such. Wars are of course written about at length in world histories, but the issues of peace versus war are seldom analyzed. If one looked at wars from the viewpoint of their chief victims, young men, and analyzed what groups were manipulating them and why, one would write about the world's wars quite differently.

In conclusion, I will remark that world history, with its opportunity for identifying trends and making comparisons, is a particularly fertile field for applying gender analysis. In uncovering the way that societal pressures operate on families and on women's lives, it throws new light on power structures and on the balance of power within a new society.

#### END NOTES

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### Horizontal History (Or -- Toward a De-Nationalized Curriculum)

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The 20th century has been a tumultuous and threatening period. It has witnessed two world wars, an unending series of crises, an organized attempt to exterminate an entire culture, and the widening appearance of nuclear weapons. The price has been awesome; but what could happen in the future is prohibitive. In just one thirty-year span more people were slain than in four centuries of medieval crusades. In just fifteen minutes of nuclear war, we are told, a hundred million

would die, and the human species would never be the same. Much of the blame for the carnage, past and potential, can be laid at the doorstep of a 19th century ideology, nationalism. To some, nationalism has become a secular religion, transforming what were once wars of the classes into wars of the masses.<sup>1</sup> As Arnold Toynbee put it, "The cult of sovereignty has become mankind's major religion. Its god demands human sacrifice."<sup>2</sup>

The advent of the United Nations and the European Economic Community may have cooled nationalistic passions in the Western World somewhat, but many ominous signs remain. Arms sales annually run into the hundreds of billions. In the Mid-East young people are lashed together and walked over mine fields in the name of "god and country." In Lebanon, a dozen factions are locked in mortal struggle to control a single city. In India, hundreds are killed and maimed as yet another group seeks "their" country. Everywhere the fear of Nuclear Holocaust is high. Yet nations continue to want "their" bomb.

Indeed, the search for The Bomb seems to symbolize the grotesque contradictions stalking the contemporary world. In spite of its menace, possession of nuclear weapons seems to remain a mark of pride, a sign of national machismo. In 1964, the People's Republic of China and France refused to sign the Test Ban Treaty in order to develop their "own" arms. By 1974, India, struggling to feed its 600,000,000 people, had spent an estimated \$300,000,000 to test a "nuclear device." Others reportedly would use the Ultimate Weapon as an instrument of righteous retribution before losing a war. According to reliable sources, Israel, suffering early defeats in the 1973 Yom Kippur War, was preparing to employ its nuclear arsenal, regardless of consequences.<sup>3</sup>

Why? Why do world leaders engage in an endless series of struggles to stake out various pieces of real estate? Why are heads of state willing to sacrifice millions of lives, in fact the existence of the human species in the name of national survival? Why is the majority of people willing to tolerate these views? Why does the quest for national identity and "glory" appear to outweigh the concern for international survival?

Barbara Ward-Jackson states her answer plainly:

All of our ideological ancestors -- the British Puritans, Founding Fathers, French Revolutionaries, even the Marxists and Leninists -- have centered their faith on the dignity of man and his ability to build the human city. Yet man HAS REMAINED OBSTINATELY "TRIBAL" and has used the instruments that were to liberate him to maim and destroy fellow men wearing another label.<sup>4</sup>

The next question is inescapable: Why have humans remained "obstinately tribal"? There are, of course, many reasons; but most of them may be traced to a similar source -- the way younger generations are educated.

Across the globe, students are enrolled in courses which instruct them about the history, the culture, and the values of their nation. This is not surprising. Free public education and the ideals of the nation-state were born about the same time, roughly 200 years ago. Since that time, the relationship has been symbiotic; one has supported the other. Need-

ing the consent and support of the people to govern, leaders encouraged courses of study which complimented their nation. Dependent upon the aid of the state to exist, educational leaders customized curricula to flatter their providers.

In itself, there is nothing wrong with this. The problem lies in what the student is not taught, in what is omitted about the histories, cultures, and values of others. Learning only of their nation's accomplishments, students grow to adulthood believing their country is superior, that others are insignificant or "strange." Given this background, it has been demonstrated time and again that human emotions are relatively easily fanned into distrust, hate, violence, and war.

Looking at it another way, for the last 200 years citizens of the world have been exposed to "vertical" educations. Carefully selected heroes and times are emphasized. Enthusiasm is heightened by granting school holidays on the anniversaries of great military victories and birthdays of leaders. Similarly, the accomplishments in art, literature, and science of native sons and (more recently) daughters are accented. All the while, the learner hears nothing about the feats of other nations and cultures, even less about the doings of other races, especially of the non-Western world. The standard American history course is an example. The normal format runs as follows:

1941	-----	Japan bombs Pearl Harbor
1933	-----	FDR becomes President
1917	-----	America enters the First World War
1861-1865	-----	The Civil War
1830's	-----	Jacksonian period
1789	-----	Bill of Rights ratified
1776	-----	Declaration of Independence
1607	-----	Jamestown settled
1492	-----	Columbus "discovers" America

Because the course is both time-bound and culture bound, much is omitted. To begin, it assumes a "void" before the arrival of Columbus; that is, Native Americans (Indians) did "nothing" in the some 40,000 years they preceded the Italian sailor. Further, the vertical structure allows no credit for the English influence on American government. In reality, the British had a Bill of Rights a full century before the Americans; and some of the passages of the Declaration are almost direct copies from Englishman John Locke (1632 - 1704).<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the English laid the cornerstone for all modern democracies when King John signed the Magna Carta in 1215.<sup>6</sup> Finally, the facts that World Wars I and II raged three and two years respectively before the United States entered are usually de-emphasized. Generally, the American youth walks away from his/her history course assuming his/her nation did the most to win the two terrible struggles.

A listing of common national beliefs (past and present) tells us that this outlook is not exceptional. "Tribalistic," self-flattering attitudes are cultivated in schools and in popular legends around the world. Some examples:

1. England. For centuries the British were taught and generally believed that they were destined to rule the world,

to bring "civilization" to non-whites, or to "take up the white man's burden."

2. France. Any tour of Paris demonstrates the emphasis upon Napoleon and his war victories. When the writer asked a University of Paris teacher why, he replied: "You must realize that was the time when the French always won."

3. Japan. The Island Nation's people are (or were) taught that Japan was created when a goddess cried. She wept because "there was not beautiful country in the world."

A tear fell into the Ocean, and it became Japan.<sup>7</sup>

4. China. "China", as many know, means literally "center-country" in Chinese. In old China people called foreigners "barbarians." Until recently, Chinese were taught that Chairman Mao saved their country from "foreign devils." Currently, China is seeking more international cooperation for "modernization," but Maoism is far from dead.

5. Russia. The Soviet curriculum is permeated with the doctrine that Lenin was a "proletarian saint" who saved the world for the working classes by bringing socialism to that country. Customizing is demonstrated in the treatment of the Second World War. Little mention is made of the Allied role in the defeat of Hitler. The brutal four-year conflict is called the "Great Patriotic War."

The logical product of vertical, nationalized curricula is masses who are, at best, uninformed about peoples from different cultures, races and creeds. The steps from stranger to enemy are short. Ignorance breeds distrust, contempt; and when the emotions are aroused, violence. Hitler proved this could be done on a large scale; but he was not alone. At the base of most of history's struggles can be found a similar set of outlooks.

This planet's story reveals that people have always known little about each other. In prior centuries there was a good reason: few people were literate and schools were comparatively non-existent. In the era of nationalism and free public education, the masses do, of course, attend school in most countries;<sup>8</sup> but the results are similar. Lack of knowledge about other races, cultures, and creeds continues; and opinions about other world regions are often based upon media stereotypes. As mentioned, the modern classroom is used more to broaden the base of national support than to increase knowledge about others. The price of self-glorification is less human understanding.

### **The price of self-glorification is less human understanding.**

Modern realities dictate a broader frame of reference. This is an age of interdependence, a time when no nation, acting alone, can solve the problems of pollution, energy, resources, food, population, and peace. Problems are universal, but outlooks are national. As we approach the 21st century, students need to shift from learning the history, values, and the culture of one nation or world region to a global awareness -- an appreciation of differing value systems and a consciousness of broader scopes of time. To bring about the needed di-

mensions we must shift from a vertical, nationalistic curriculum to a global, horizontal curriculum.

A horizontal history course, for example, presents the student with some very different views of the human experience. Firstly, it emphasizes time periods, not nations. Secondly, it moves across planet's major cultural regions within a single, one-five century time frame. It does not move through many centuries within one cultural or national area. Instead of highlighting chosen times and events of a single culture, a broad panorama of human successes and failures unfolds. When the class moves on to the next time block, comparisons are made and perspectives are more attuned to the realities of an interdependent world. Let us look at an example.

When we take a 500-year time period, 500-1000 A.D., and move across the globe the following general pattern is revealed:

1. Africa. West Africa is beginning its "Glorious Age" with the rise of Ghana, the "Land of Gold." By the early eighth century, Ghana is strong enough to repel the southern wing of the same Muslim invasion force that conquered Spain. Gradually, the hostile cultures merged by way of trade into a brilliant civilization that was continued by Mali and Songhay. According to Chu and Skinner, West Africa "provided the main advance of human knowledge during Europe's "Dark Age."<sup>9</sup>

2. China. China is in the heart of its "Golden Age." Before the five centuries are over, the Chinese invented printing, gunpowder, paper, and improved upon an earlier creation, the compass. When these innovations reached the West, they gave that area the basic tools for the Renaissance, the Reformation, and European dominance of the globe.<sup>10</sup>

3. India is ending the rich Gupta period and falling into a time of disunity. Before her decline, however, India gave the world its modern number system and the literature of Kalidasha.<sup>11</sup>

4. Russia. Russia is in a time of city-state government centered around modern Kiev. By the year 1000 A.D., the early Russians had developed town-hall meetings, codified laws, and rule by council-consulting princes (dumas). They were, at this time, probably the most democratic country in the world.<sup>12</sup>

5. The Americas. People are far from uncivilized, doing nothing. The Central American Mayas, for example, are building pyramids, advancing mathematics with the use of the zero, and using the world's most accurate calendar (until the 19th century). It was off just 17 seconds a year or two hours over 500 years.<sup>13</sup>

6. Europe. West Europe is in its "Dark" period. Surely there is more than one interpretation of the word "dark"; but, as Simons put it, the early medieval period "was distinctly overshadowed by the ages that preceded and followed it."<sup>14</sup> In this period there is little original art, science, and literature. There are few schools and the vast majority of people are illiterate.

As the course shifts into the next time-block, 1000-1500 A.D., the scene changes. After rising to brilliant civilizations under Mali and Songhay, West Africa begins to feel the

burden of European-Muslim imposed slave trade. China is conquered and dominated for almost 300 years by the Asian Mongols who end all traces of democracy. Moscow is just a small, struggling state.

In the Americas, the pace of civilization has shifted south to the Peruvian-based Incas. Among other things, the Inca construct some 7,000 miles of highways throughout the Andes Mountains. And Europe, being introduced to the riches of the East by the Crusades, is gradually evolving toward the Renaissance.

By the time the learner reaches the last time-frame, 1500-2000 A.D., s/he should be aware that every rise and fall of civilization is the product of cultural interaction. No one nation rose or fell independently; all learned from and/or were challenged by "outsiders."<sup>15</sup> Thus, even though Europe or Western culture dominates the current time-block, it is the product of other periods and cultures such as the Muslim-Crusade interaction and the Chinese contributions via East-West trade. Of course, West Europe had its own creations, especially in the fields of technology and political ideology which made their way across the globe (see below for examples).

Overall, a horizontal curriculum offers two principal advantages. Firstly, it prepares people for life in today's interdependent world. As mentioned, nationalistic, of vertical curricula do not. After looking across the globe and into different time-frames for a school year (or, better, throughout his/her public education), the student should realize that:

1. Nothing is permanent. No nation or race, or color, or creed has been a lasting success or failure. (This should prompt a closer look at today's "haves" and "have nots.")
2. No culture or nation is self-made, independent, or unique. All have gained from ideas new and "foreign" to them. Examples are China's influence upon the West (printing, gunpowder, paper) in the 500-1000 time-slot followed by the West's impact upon modern China (industry, nationalism, and communism) in the 1500-2000 block.
3. "Tribalistic" outlooks are challenged. If the above is true, it follows that today's world is a product of all races and cultures. There is no such thing as a "100% American" or German, or Frenchman, or whatever. There is no such thing as a "superior" race or culture. Said another way, **THE WORLD HAS ALWAYS BEEN INTERDEPENDENT.**<sup>16</sup>

The second broad advantage of horizontal or de-nationalized education is an improved background for judging the future. Viewing the shifting fortunes of the past encourages more firmly-based projections into the 2000-2500 era. One example: Can 8,000,000 people (the estimated population by 2015) exist on a planet with limited resources? The cross-cultural exposure horizontal curricula offer will encourage consideration of different value systems in forming an answer to the global problem. Some basic questions:

1. How long will the Western value system survive? Can it? Will there be more individual freedom and competition or less in the future?

2. What happens if we cannot end national or regional competition for energy and resources? What did the energy crisis of the 'seventies teach us?

3. Do China's successes with a huge population and very limited resources hold any hope for the future? Is it once again the West's turn to learn from the East (as in the earlier time frame)? (As students who are exposed to modern China know, that country feeds, clothes, shelters, and provides medical care for over a billion people with about 12% farmable land.)

De-nationalized curricula are not a choice but a necessity in the eyes of more than one world-recognized person. In 1974 Nobel Peace Prize winner Henry Kissinger declared that "Unless the world becomes aware of its interdependence, Western civilization, as we know it, will not survive." Global regions (such as the Mid-East and the West) will come to "armed confrontations" and/or turn to dictator-type governments to solve their problems.<sup>17</sup> Edwin O. Reischauer, in his book Toward the 21st Century, declares it is a matter of human survival:

... a reorientation of education so as to give young people everywhere a sense of the shared interests and basic oneness of mankind and to prepare them for effective participation as members of a world community is, I believe, a clear necessity for human survival in the twenty-first century.<sup>18</sup>

To McNeill, the pursuit of a world history, "a vision of the ecumenical setting within which each nation state lived and moved" is a "solemn duty":

As the twentieth century draws towards its close, we live globally in a more intimate and pervasive sense than ever before.... Consequently, the circumstances of our age demand a global account of how things got to be the way they are. Only so can the world in which we live make sense. To construct the best possible portrait of the whole human adventure on earth therefore constitutes a great and solemn duty historians should try to fulfill.<sup>19</sup>

None of these distinguished gentlemen describes how this perspective can be brought about. Perhaps it is safe to say that they would approve of a horizontal history approach in particular and a de-nationalized curriculum in general.<sup>20</sup>

## END NOTES

1. Carlton J.H. Hayes, Nationalism: A Religion. President Reagan did nothing to lessen the "religion" theory in his 1982 Thanksgiving Day Proclamation. "America," he declared, is "an anointed land ... set apart in an uncommon way .... a divine plan placed this great continent here...." November 25, 1982.
2. Quoted in Lester R. Brown, World Without Borders, overleaf.



3. AP and UP bulletins, April, 1976; Time, April 12, 1976, pp. 39-40.

4. Barbara Ward-Jackson, Nationalism and Ideology, pp. 118-119.

5.. Henry Thomas says it directly: "It was not Jefferson, but Locke who first asserted the right of every man to his life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness... (This) was the seed out of which grew our own Declaration of Independence a hundred years later." Understanding the Great Philosophers, p.226.

6. Most Americans are unaware that the Magna Carta established the principles of the Constitution: no one is above the law, the right to jury trial, and no taxation without representation.

7. From a speech by John Stoessinger at the United Nations Day rally, Fall, 1973.

8. Lester Brown, *Ibid.*, p.116, claims that 40% of the world's people cannot read and write; further, illiteracy is rising because of accelerating population growth.

9. Daniel Chu and Elliott Skinner, A Glorious Age in Africa, overleaf.

10. Edward H. Schaefer, Ancient China, claims that "China developed the intellectual, technical, and artistic resources that made it both the Greece and Rome of the East," p.20. Lynda Schaffer, writing on "China, Technology, and Change" in the Fall/Winter edition of the World History Bulletin, states it more pointedly:

Francis Bacon (1561-1626), and early advocate of the empirical method, upon which the scientific revolution was based, attributed Western Europe's early modern take-off to three things in particular: the printing press, the compass, and gunpowder. Bacon had no idea where these things had come from, but historians now know all three were invented in China. (p.1.)

11. A.L. Basham, The Wonder That Was India, 386ff. and pp. 495-496.

12. Mark Welter, World Cultures: Russia, chapter 1.

13. Jonathan N. Leonard, Ancient America, pp. 40-42; Welter "1492: The Year American History Ended"

14. Gerald Simons, Barbarian Europe, pp. 11-12.

15. William H. McNeill makes a convincing case for this in his Mythistory: "troubling encounters with strangers constitute the principal motor of change withing societies. Ecumenical world history ought therefore be especially sensitive to traces of past cultural interactions", p.37. "In recent as in ancient times, encounter with strangers was central to human history because that was what forwarded innovation. IF THIS

IS SO, FIXITY OF ATTENTION ON NATIONAL AND LOCAL AFFAIRS IS MISLEADING" (my emphasis) *Ibid.*, p.79.

16. McNeill, Mythistory, pp.38-39.

17. News releases, Fall, 1974.

18. Edwin O. Reischauer, Toward the 21st Century, p.195.

19. McNeill, Mythistory, pp.79, 90-91.

20. Apparently McNeill does approve of "Horizontal History." In a recent letter to the author he said, "What you call 'Horizontal History' is much needed; and I congratulate you on doing it." McNeill:Welter, August 11, 1987.

### Minutes of The World History Association Council Meeting

Omni Shoreham Hotel  
Washington, DC  
December 28, 1987

1. The meeting was called to order at 10:00 a.m. Present were President Kevin Reilly, Vice President Arnold Schrier, Gladys Frantz-Murphy, Lynda Shaffer, Raymond Lorantas, Samuel Ehrenpreis, and Marc Gilbert. Also present were Martin Yanuck and Jerry Bentley.
2. The reading of the minutes of the summer council meeting were waived, and the minutes accepted.
3. Gladys Frantz-Murphy gave the Treasurer's report. She noted that our current balance was \$6,975.
4. The results of the December election results were announced: For President: Arnold Schrier. For Vice President and President-Elect: Marilyn Hitchens. For Treasurer: Gladys Frantz-Murphy. For Secretary: Anne Barstow. Joining the Council were Edmund Burke, Heidi Roupp, and John Mears. A random method was employed to break a tie vote between John Mears and Sarah Hughes, with Mears elected to the contested three year seat. It was decided to appoint Sarah Hughes to serve the one remaining year of the Council term of Catherine Edwards, who recently resigned.
5. Jerry Bentley of the University of Hawaii reported on the current state of discussions with the University of Hawaii over their possible sponsorship of a Journal of World History. He explained that, while the outlook for the Journal was favorable, administrative deliberations were proceeding at a slower pace than anticipated. Thus though he was optimistic as to the fate of the Journal, a first issue could not be expected before 1990. Considerable discussion followed as to the conditions of service governing the post of Journal editor, editorial control, and the expected rise in dues (from \$10.00 to \$25.00 per year) necessary to cover the cost of publication, but

*Continued on page 22*

## Book Reviews

### Africa in World History: A Teaching Conference

*Edited by Bryant P. Shaw, Lt. Col., USAF.  
Colorado Springs: USAFA,  
February 1987.*

Africa is a special problem for the world history teacher, who is usually a coopted Americanist, Europeanist, or basketball coach. For everything such recruits don't know, they must trust secondary sources (textbooks above all, but also encyclopedias, trade books, newspapers, etc.) to supply basic chronology, events, and personalities, plus some piquant detail to enliven lectures and make the facts memorable. But Africa is the newest of the area-study fields. The African Studies Association was founded in 1957, three years before the high tide of African independence, 1960-61. So there is limited secondary literature, especially textbooks and back-up readings, suitable for high-school students and college underclasspersons. Library holdings on Africa tend to be skimpier than in longer-established fields (even equally strange Asia, which did benefit greatly from its clear starring role in World War II).

Language is the root of the African problem, political (in

that it perpetuates tribalism and makes nationhood tentative) and historiographical. The number of distinct African languages "ranges from 800 to more than 1,000," according to the Encyclopedia Britannica; and by no means all of those tongues have been respectably recorded, let alone provided with script-systems. Most of the existing historical literature is in colonial languages, mainly English and French (Arabic is important, but little exploited). Written chronicles based upon fully African sources are relatively rare, though the new techniques of oral history supply some useful materials. The new, still-incomplete (four volumes available now) UNESCO History of Africa features African historians, many of them trained in Africa, as well as contributors from outside the continent; and this will be a key tool for those writing the next generation of African history textbooks, which will in turn allow us to write new Africa sections for new world histories.

The Air Force Academy has thus done a considerable service in presenting this account of its third World History Conference, the first of the three which has focused upon a single problem area. The masthead speakers were five: Jan Vansina, A.J.R. Russell-Wood, George E. Brooks, Joseph C. Miller, and Philip Curtin. All now teach in U.S. univer-

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*Continued from page 21*

- these issues were resolved quickly and amicably. The Council noted with pleasure that the proposed Journal's editorial policy would favor articles drawn from a wide variety of research areas, and of pedagogical concerns and application, i.e. from K-12 to all levels of higher instruction. The possibility that a conflict of interest might arise between the Journal and the Bulletin's editorial staff was raised, but it was unanimously agreed that the two would complement rather than compete with each other in much the same way that the AHA bulletin Perspectives complements the American Historical Review.
6. The current draft of the grant proposal written in support of the planned Sino-American Conference on World History was presented. The draft contained alterations previously effected after consultation with the Council this past summer. It was decided that improvements of a technical nature, principally the provision of a more detailed description of the budget and fiscal requirements, were required. Samuel Ehrenpreis was chosen to work with proposal coordinator Raymond Lorantas and Sino-American Conference Committee member Martin Yanuck to make the necessary emendations.
  7. Invitations were received from a variety of organizations seeking World History Association-sponsored panels or displays at their national meetings. Among these organizations were the National Council for the Social Studies for its meeting in Orlando, Florida in the fall of 1988, and Global Perspectives in Education for its international conference in St. Louis in May 1988, entitled "The American Forum on Education and International Competence." Several committee members were appointed to serve as liaisons between the WHA and these groups. Marc Gilbert remarked that, in view of these ad hoc decisions, and the need to quickly prepare a panel for possible inclusion in the AHA program next year in Cincinnati, the Council should expedite the creation of a previously proposed Standing Committee to assist in the identification, solicitation, and coordination of WHA-sponsored conference panels. The Council decided to form such a committee, chaired by Peter Stearns, and supported by Heidi Roupp, Marc Gilbert, and Martin Yanuck, pending the result of an investigation as to whether an amendment of the Constitution would be required to permit its creation.
  8. Martin Yanuck and Ray Lorantas were added to the nominations committee.
  9. Responding to several queries by WHA Executive Director Joe Dixon, it was decided to devote \$3,000 over the next three years in support of efforts to increase WHA membership; admit the editor of the projected Journal of World History as a non-voting member of the Council; publish an account of future Council and Business meetings in the Bulletin; and arrange for the reprinting of back issues of the World History Bulletin.
  10. There were two items of new business. Marc Gilbert and Martin Yanuck announced the formation of a Georgia World History Association; its intention is to spur scholars in neighboring states to join in the formation of a Southeast Regional Conference of the WHA.

Submitted by Marc Gilbert  
North Georgia College

sities, though Vansina and Russell-Wood were born and educated in Belgium and the U.K. respectively.

Professor Vansina, now at Wisconsin, discusses African historiographical problems, especially new histories of the continent (or parts of it) by African scholars. He does not address the validity and the problems of oral history, unfortunately since he was one of the key proponents of that road to fleshing out pre-colonial history and developing a tentative chronology of African history. Professor Russell-Wood of Johns Hopkins is a Latin Americanist and historian of comparative colonialism, especially the Spanish and Portuguese maritime empires. He stresses the peculiar difficulties of African history ("the archipelagic quality of our knowledge") but affirms the significance of the peculiar African tradition, as well as its vitality in the New World. Professor Brooks of Indiana may bring the most immediately useful material for hard-pressed world historians. He provided not only detailed session-by-session discussions of the one-semester course he teaches ("Themes in World History") but also, in Appendix A, handouts with geographical terms to learn, reading assignments (complete with library call-number!), briefing notes for research papers, sample mini-(i.e., preliminary) exams, and sample exams. The course covers the whole span, if not every possible topic, from Paleolithic Times to The Future, in thirty-odd sessions. Brooks is a Stakhanovite, even though he has seventy-five-minute sessions to work with and (presumably) assistants to help with all that paper work. Professor Miller of Virginia discusses the African "diaspora" (i.e., the slave trade), stressing the fact that Americans -- bugged by our own historical problems -- ignore other areas and kinds of slavery. One sample statement: "...the entire Atlantic fleet of ships bringing slaves to the Americas carried fewer people out of Africa than did caravans ... across the Sahara and dhows darting across the Red Sea or the Indian Ocean to destinations in Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and Asia." Professor Curtin, also of Johns Hopkins (and the President of the African Studies Association), discusses the significance of disease in African history, an issue vital in past and present. Commentators, all world history teachers (two of them in high schools) provide remarks after each paper; and Professor R. Hunt Davis of Florida-Gainesville gives a brief summary to conclude the sessions.

Perhaps inevitably, there are shortcomings in the rather informal pattern of publication. Copy was obviously produced in-house at the Air Force Academy, and this means that copyediting and proofreading tend to be a little shaky: Too little "redundancy" of proofreading, perhaps. A stern copy-editor might have altered "light-complexioned" (p.100), and at least raised an eyebrow over a sentence containing nine consecutive prepositional phrases (p.115). "Mentalites" (p.103) stopped me cold until I decoded it as *mentalités* ("mind-sets" both personal and collective, in French). "Commercial" becomes "commerical" not infrequently, and other misspellings (whether original in the manuscripts or introduced by copyists) should have been caught. More basic, the sort of academic-bureaucratic jargon that scholars tend to use in learned

papers (due, no doubt, to their *mentalité*) could well have been diluted. The purpose, after all, was to serve the needs of humble, overworked teachers who shouldn't have to process highfalutin' lingo.

Despite such little difficulties, the Air Force Academy, the administrator-editor of the report (Colonel Shaw), and all the contributors are to be congratulated and thanked for this useful contribution to the world history field.

As of the last time we checked, Colonel Shaw said that you can get a copy of the report by requesting it from the Department of History, USAFA, Colorado Springs, CO 80840. So make those thanks a bit more fervent.

Frank Kierman  
Rider College

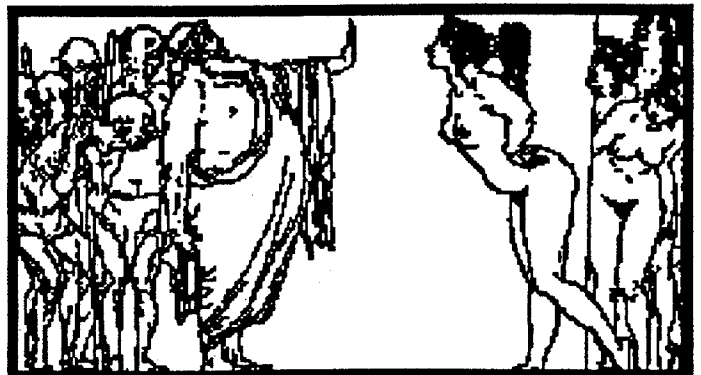
### A World History: Links Across Time and Place

By Ross E. Dunn. Evanston, Illinois: Mc Dougal, Littell & Company, 1988. 828 pp. Text High School. Pupil Edition \$24.63. Teacher's Manual, Reinforcement Activities, Enrichment Activities, Test Copy Masters, Teacher's Resource Binder.

Begin geographical studies in outer space with a new perspective! End the year's work with the Pioneer space venture into the future. See the world in terms of interaction and diversity. The editor's opening letter invites his readers to share in this process. The attempt is made to cover the entire spectrum of human endeavor in a framework which is chronological, global, and geographical. This awesome task is essential for young people today.

Consistent efforts are made throughout the work to be relevant and to start with the present and make relationships with the past meaningful and consistent. "Mongol warriors struck terror in settlements throughout Asia. Today, bands of terrorists can create fear throughout the world. Have the purposes and methods of terrorists changed through the years?" (p.325)

No effort is spared to stick with the ninth-grade reading level promise. Vocabulary guides are ever present and include terms reflective of a wide range of scholarship. The learning taxonomy is not forsaken however. "Challenge" sections appear throughout as does material for the below average learner. This is especially appreciated in the typically heterogeneously grouped classroom situation.



"... women's struggle for the right to vote"

Maps and chronology are up-to-date and well-integrated into the text. Special sections which add high interest appeal include Focus on People, Sources, Society, and Geography. Charts are intriguing and cartoons appeal to the image-oriented student clientele. There is an atlas section and glossary at the end of the text, but no bibliography. All of the ancillary materials are useful in effectively using this text.

The book is replete with linkage; the Roman and Han Empires, the French and American Revolutions, the Russian and Mexican Revolutions, the plight of the Jews in Russia and women's struggle for the right to vote, technology and violence, the Western and non-Western worlds. The text is a

tapestry with continual interweaving. This helps to avoid unnecessary detail, and it serves to break down the habit of segmented teaching. It urges students to look for similarities rather than differences, thereby snuffing out tendencies to ethnocentricity. This text comes closer to achieving thematic goals for students of varied backgrounds and strengths than any similar survey work to date.

Elizabeth Miles  
Thomas Jefferson High School  
Denver

## WHA Council

### *Three-Year Terms:* (1988-1990)

Edmund Burke III  
University of California,  
Santa Cruz

John A. Mears  
Southern Methodist University

Heidi Roupp  
Aspen High School

### *Two-Year Terms:* (1988-1989)

Philip D. Curtin  
The Johns Hopkins University

Lynda Shaffer  
Tufts University

Peter N. Stearns  
Carnegie Mellon University

### *One-Year Term:* (1988)

Samuel Ehrenpreis  
Bronx Community College

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Robert Roeder  
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