

World History Association

1982 - 2007

We come together to show ourselves and each other how to understand the historical experience of our new neighbors. Individually, we have at least as many questions as answers, but we join together in association to learn from each other and to ask for the help and encouragement of our national and academic institutions. — Kevin Reilly, WHA President Pro Tempore, *World History Bulletin*, Volume 1 Number 1 (Fall/Winter 1983).





Editor's Note



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November 2007

Dear WHA Colleagues,

Happy Birthday! As our June conference celebrated, and the current *Bulletin* cover notes, the World History Association is celebrating twenty-five years of leading the charge for world history. To honor this anniversary, I have put together this special issue of the *Bulletin* that focuses on the organization's presidents of the past quarter century. I have attempted to include new material, although not all past-presidents submitted something specifically for this issue; and Ray Lorantas is no longer with us. In these cases, I have used previously-published materials from earlier issues of the *Bulletin*.

In addition to the numerous book reviews, this issue includes the award-winning lesson plan by Cedric Beidatsh, the recipient of the 2007 WHA Teaching Prize. There is also information included in this issue about the upcoming June 2008 WHA Conference in London.

As the drawing to the right spoofs, the announcement in the Spring 2007 issue of the *Bulletin* regarding the hiring of Winston Welch as the new WHA Executive Director was in error. As it turned out, the new Executive Director of the World History Association is Dr. Kieko Matteson. Thanks to our Copy Editor, Carlos Marquez, for putting a lighter side on this *faux pas*. At least Thomas Dewey and Harry Truman can sympathize with my predicament!

As always, enjoy this issue of the *Bulletin*.

Micheal



World History Bulletin

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COVER IMAGE: *Bankoku jinbutsu no zu* (People of Many Nations). Japanese diptych print shows a map of the world with inset images of foreign people. Sample translations of inscriptions of distance chart: England-11,500 ri; pygmy country-14,000 ri; woman country-14,000 ri; black people country-75,000 ri (1 ri = 2.4 miles). Medium: 1 print on hoshō paper: woodcut, color; 33 x 44 cm. (block), 35 x 47.5 cm. (sheet). Created/Published: between 1800 and 1850. Source: U.S. Library of Congress; Gift, Mrs. E. Crane Chadbourne, 1930. Forms part of Chadbourne collection of Japanese prints (Library of Congress).

Goodbye from Leslie

I know it has been barely over a year and a half since I started at the WHA, but it's time for me to leave. I finished my thesis at University of Hawaii in October and am getting ready to defend. Also in October, I got a job at the National Indian Child Welfare Association in Portland, my home town (and, if you remember from my last little blurb in the Bulletin, the coolest city in America! But that doesn't mean any of you should move there). I am the new Board and Member Relations Manager. NICWA is an excellent organization that helps Indian children in foster care and works to prevent child abuse and neglect within Indian families (American Indian, in case you were wondering). If any of you are looking for a way to help children you should definitely consider donating to NICWA. The non-profit world is where I want to be, and this job was too good to pass-up.

I have had a great time working at the WHA. All of the officers, EC members, and WHA members with whom I've been in contact have been a pleasure to work with and I wish you all the best. So, to all I say thank you and goodbye.

Leslie Miller

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Fall 2007

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Editor

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Letter from the Executive Director:

Close readers of the *Bulletin* will note that the past year has been a time of change for the WHA headquarters. After the departure of Rob White in October 2006, the office went through a bit of uncertainty until Winston Welch stepped in as interim Executive Director in January 2007. Winston worked quickly and capably to tie up loose ends and, in June, turned the Executive Directorship over to me, Kieko Matteson, who some of you may remember as the first Executive Director of the Hawai'i office from 2002 to 2004. I am pleased to be back at the WHA and am enthusiastic about moving the organization forward, with the help of the officers, Executive Council members, and the many cheerful and devoted volunteers who make the Association's work possible.

Since the opening of our international headquarters at the University of Hawai'i in September 2002, the WHA's public profile and impact upon the field have grown. So too, has the complexity of our work. Among the most notable shifts that the establishment of the headquarters has facilitated is the expansion of our annual conference, which has increased in both size and sophistication since it began sixteen years ago. The 2006 WHA conference at Long Beach, our largest to date, attracted nearly 400 registrants, and attendance this past summer in the comparatively out-of-the-way (yet thoroughly enjoyable) city of Milwaukee exceeded 300. Thanks to the strenuous efforts of our Conferences Committee, the upcoming gathering in London in June 2008 also promises to be a success.

Other changes since 2002 include the expansion of the *Journal of World History* from a biannual to quarterly publication; the increase in content and readership of the *World History Bulletin*; and the inception of the online journal *World History Connected*, made possible in part by a three-year grant from the WHA.

The WHA's annual teaching, student, and book prizes, launched from 1999 forward, have also begun to reap noticeable scholarly and pedagogical rewards. Not only are the prizes drawing increased attention to the field of world history, they are encouraging a new generation of students and scholars. Recipients of the Student Paper Prize, in particular, have been inspired to go on to become world history teachers and academics themselves, among them Luke Clossey (2003 winner, graduate division), now an Assistant Professor at Simon Fraser University, and Robert Cole (2005 winner, undergraduate division), now a teacher at Stone Ridge School of the Sacred Heart in Bethesda, Maryland.

In other news, I am pleased to join the WHA's officers in announcing the results of the Fall 2007 election: Al Andrea, Vice-President/President-elect; Carolyn Neel, Treasurer; Ane Lintvedt, Secretary; and for Executive Council, Craig Lockhard, Heather Streets, and Laura Wangerin. Congratulations to each of you! The election generated a record number of votes and was quite closely contested in several races. Thanks are due not only to the incoming officers and Council members, who will take up their appointments in January, but also to the other nominees (Tim Connell, Joel Tishken, Craig Benjamin, Luke Clossey, and Phil Sinitiere) for agreeing to stand for election to these important posts.

Thank you also to our outgoing officers, Michele Forman and Jacky Swansinger, who have served the WHA with energy and commitment in a challenging period, and to departing Executive Council members Avi Black, John Voll, and R. Bin Wong.

For photos and more information about the WHA's incoming officers and Council members, as well as podcasts from the 2007 conference, news of upcoming WHA events, and other items of interest, please visit our website at <http://thewha.org>.

Best wishes for 2008,

Happy Twenty-Fifth Birthday, WHA

Maggie Favretti

As the world emerged from the Great War of 1914-18, historians began to put the years leading up to it into perspective. What they noted was that imperialism and its parallel developments in industrialization, more rapid and effective communication and transportation of goods and ideas, and widespread migration had all contributed to a world in which nation-state boundaries seemed perforated by economic, technological, demographic, and cultural shifts, to say little of the supranational effects of pathogens, such as the influenza pandemic of 1918-19. The causes of the war itself seemed to call into question the long-term stability of the nation-state. And during the war, European armies were manned by Africans, Indians, Central Asians, Australians, Canadians, and New Zealanders, British troops battled the Turks in the Middle East, and Japanese sailors navigated the Mediterranean. The increasingly multicultural nature of many countries was brought to the forefront of the world's consciousness through post-war efforts to create lasting peace...by attempting to redraw boundaries according to nationality, or by ignoring nationality when imposing old colonial boundaries through Versailles Treaty exchanges of territory or League of Nations mandates. Anti-colonial efforts were organized and saw some success after the war, such as in India and Ireland. As a consequence of all of these forces, some historians, such as the Englishman Arnold Toynbee and the German Oswald Spengler, began to rethink the way history looked, and to present the idea of a world history that would uncover supra-national patterns of the human experience. Their books, especially those of Toynbee, were widely read in certain intellectual circles in the United States.

Despite the attraction of Toynbee and Spengler for many academics at the university level, very few chose to devise courses that reflected these grand visions of history. Even more so, not many US secondary schools responded to the new approach. Instead, the United States was just beginning to reap the benefits of its new muscular nation-state. At the same time, the U.S. was acknowledging its diversity by imposing the first widespread immigration restrictions, and society emphasized the assimilation of immigrant cultures into an "American melting pot." School curricula generally assisted by offering a U.S.-first-and-foremost curriculum, which mainly continued the earlier trend of supporting nation-state histories, particularly if they led to important characteristics found in the U.S. This meant focusing on United States history in several grades, supported by European History (largely the histories of England, France, and Germany) or Western Civilization (Classical Greece and Rome and the Western European nations) in a few other grades. When other societies were studied at all, it was usually to show that they were somehow lacking, or ended up showing that, while different cultures might be exotic or intriguing, they did not really change

very much, and so these studies were not usually called “history.”

In the latter half of the 1960s, anticolonial cultural upheavals in Europe and the US led to the rapid inclusion of the “peoples without history” into area studies (or “global studies” courses in secondary schools). By the late-1970s, most schools had such an approach. For example, U.S. history courses began to look at Native peoples in the Americas prior to European contact, and to consider Native perspectives regarding Europeans. Imperialism became progressively less a study of the various actions of and perspectives held by the colonial powers and increasingly became a field of research that included colonial points of view and the impact of colonization on the colonized. Their active efforts to resist colonialism’s negative pressures were portrayed more frequently as heroic. At the same time, a revitalized study of peoples “on the margins,” including women’s studies, African-American studies, and so on, eventually led to looking at other liminal groups, such as nomads and traders, who frequently inhabit a trans-national world.

For many historians, the logical next step, particularly after area studies researchers had begun to explore and develop regional or area strands of primary evidence, was to figure out how they were connected. In the 70s and 80s, some researchers began looking for ways to reliably compare societies and their evolutions over time. Others began looking for recurring patterns in the human experience across time and place. Still others found that the world’s history might fall into patterns of exchanges of goods and ideas within and among overlapping “systems.” Some found that looking at supra-national themes such as pandemic diseases, animal and flora exchanges, migrations, technological, food, and commodities exchanges, the transit of religions, the exchange of ideas and cultural forms through such processes as imperial expansion and widening communication media, and so on might open up still more ways of looking at the world. Taken together, these various approaches might be called the “new” world history. Many researchers were excited by the new approaches. They began sharing their thoughts and “discoveries” with their students. But the field was still very small, and many professors and institutions resisted it because it did not fit easily into the already established vision of history and its component parts as laid out on college campuses. Further, it called on people to use unfamiliar rules and tools for research and interpretation. Many also complained that world history was so vast as to render it unteachable and so amorphous as to be intellectually untenable. Yet today, roughly 30 years later, some form of world history is mandated for the K-12 history/social studies curriculum in every state in the USA, and it is now what most secondary educators expect to appear in a full history curriculum. In the spring of 2007, the College Board completed its fifth year of offering an AP World History curriculum, at the end of which nearly 100,000 students sat for the exam. Post-secondary institutions, from universities to community colleges, are offering world history in growing numbers, and taking on the challenge of rethinking curricula and restructuring their departments in order to support it. Graduate programs in world history at the MA and even PhD levels are growing rapidly, and the number of professors able to teach world history is increasing yearly. Research into world history continues apace, ever exploring new ways to think about supra-national events and forces.

So how did a small but committed group of scholars succeed in moving so purposefully toward the new world history? In spite of all of the social and political changes in the world, and in spite of the new developments in world history research, world history might have failed to thrive if not for the efforts of several individuals and institutions. Methods to facilitate the growth of a new field normally include encouraging research and generating interest in it at the secondary level. The best way to draw new research into secondary classrooms is to find people who create a collaborative bridge between university scholarship and high school students. In this way, high school teachers interested in scholarly research join in the research discussions and in the professional organizations of historians, and interested post-secondary educators participate in collaborations with secondary educators to help keep classroom instruction up-to-date. World history followed this pattern.

In the early post-Vietnam Conflict Era, namely the late 1970s, the Air Force Academy began teaching world history to its cadets. It made sense to

the history department chair, Carl Redell, that Academy students, trained to circle the world every few days and to “win the hearts and minds” of the people they encountered, should and would approach the world with a new point of view. He contacted some of the pioneers of the field and invited them to speak at the Academy. In 1982, the Air Force Academy hosted the first of many efforts aimed at establishing collaboration among university researchers in world history and secondary educators, a conference co-sponsored by the American Historical Association. The conference, whose keynote address was delivered by William H. McNeill, was a greater success than expected, and two important outcomes emerged. A group of historians—Kevin Reilly (representing the AHA at the conference), Ross Dunn, Craig Lockard, Marty Yanuck, and Jerry Bentley—founded the World History Association, a professional organization that would become a model of collaboration between post-secondary and secondary educators. Also, area high school teachers Heidi Roupp and Marilyn Hitchens joined Carl Redell in organizing the Rocky Mountain World History Association, which eventually became the first regional affiliate of the WHA, and which would influence the collaborative direction of the WHA as a whole. In fact, the next year saw the WHA approve its constitution, which guaranteed not only that secondary educators could become members of the organization, but that they would hold leadership positions. Over the past quarter century, three high school teachers have held the two-year post of WHA president, including the current president, Michele Forman of Middlebury Union High School in Vermont and the 2001 National Teacher of the Year. This has made the WHA unique among professional historical associations, and demonstrates its commitment to bringing the new world history into secondary school classrooms.

That commitment continues to this day. One of its publications, the *World History Association Bulletin*, posts the “Teaching Forum,” an extensive section dedicated to offering instructors lesson and unit plans and other teaching aids, and recently it has begun to focus each of its semiannual issues on a special theme, such as “Religion in World History.” The WHA has collaborated with other institutions, such as the College Board, the Woodrow Wilson Institutes, the NEH, the National Center for History in the Schools, and the e-journal *World History Connected*, to further the development of world history in secondary schools. It also sponsors *H-World*, a monitored web-based forum in which researchers, teachers, and students alike can posit inquiries and share information and insights. Individual scholars and leaders of the WHA have participated in collaborations for the professional development of secondary educators, and it was largely because of the dedicated work of a fairly significant number of WHA members that the College Board was able to develop and refine its AP World History curriculum and examination. The WHA has also sponsored or cosponsored large numbers of well-attended conferences and training sessions for teachers and researchers alike. In the WHA and its associated websites and journals, teachers and professors alike find broad-based support for teaching world history and sound approaches for organizing their world history courses.

As world history has grown in the secondary schools, the WHA has simultaneously continued to develop its support of research and scholarship in the field. Its quarterly *Journal of World History* is acknowledged as a leading academic publication, and an important venue for scholars, both new and experienced, in which to display their work. The WHA hosts annual conferences, in the USA and abroad, and occasional research symposia dedicated to exploring new research directions and expanding what is known about world history.

In summary, the WHA provides invaluable support for the study of world history at all levels in the belief that it defines the way we make sense of the world and its past.

Donating to the WHA is easy through Amazon.com

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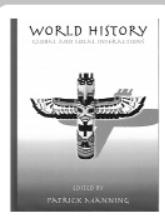
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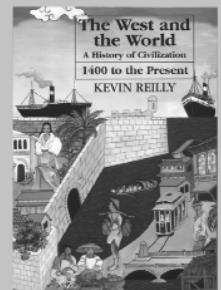
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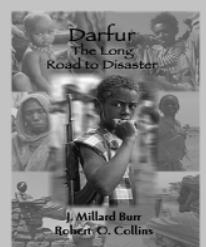
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The Presidential Suite

The World History Association at 25

Kevin Reilly

President 1982-84, 1986-88

At the Air Force Academy world history conference in 1982, William H. McNeill, in the keynote address, asked why world history had not caught on in the way Western Civilization had between the First and Second World War. His answer was a history of the success of the Western Civilization course that stressed two of its features. First, he argued, Western Civilization benefited from the fact that it could be replicated in countless discussion classes. Second, the course benefited from its examination of a simple theme—the struggle between Athens and Jerusalem. What we need in order to make world history as successful today, McNeill concluded, was a similar confluence of economic efficiency and thematic coherence.

Twenty-five years later, world history is taught in schools and colleges in every state in the country. Since 1982, it has been the fastest growing history course in the discipline. Its success may be attributed in part to its replication of the Western Civilization model of multiple discussion sections keyed to large lectures and to the development of a coherent theme: the story of encounters and connections; of infections, influences, and interactions—in a sense the story of globalization itself. One might say that McNeill's vision has been realized.

And yet, Western Civilization has not been replaced by the new paradigm. As many students still take Western Civilization as take world history. World history has not become the history department's bread-and-butter universal general education course that was Western Civilization between the wars. It is not required at most colleges. It does not draw all students to a consideration of canonical texts, classic issues, or civic problems as Western Civilization did in its heyday.

Most students find the story of globalization interesting, but not compelling. It may be truer than Athens vs. Jerusalem, but it lacks the latter's force. For one thing, the story of mixing and melding offers no dramatic tension, no struggle or conflict. Encounters replace civilizations, everyone is hyphenated or hybridized, everything solid

melts into air. The issue is too one-sided to engage us in debate or create an intellectual dialectic. College and secondary school instructors, especially those who teach introductory courses, are finding that students are unfamiliar with the cultures or civilizations that are meeting and mixing. They need more "traditions" to understand the encounters.

The encounter model has hearty roots. McNeill, himself, believed that contact with strangers was the primary motor of historical change. In the early 1980s he prescribed world history courses that would first describe the distinct civilizations and then show how they came together. In 1990, his retrospective look at *The Rise of the West*, 25 years later¹, was far more critical of civilization history and suggested that the story of interaction could begin earlier. In 1996, a forum in *The American Historical Review* elevated the encounter model to virtual orthodoxy. In response to Jerry Bentley's "Cross-Cultural Interaction and Periodization in World History," Patrick Manning found Bentley's periodization "elegant and comprehensive" with broader implications: "for if one accepts cross-cultural interaction as the criterion for periodization in world history, one tends at the same time to accept such interactions as the main subject matter of world history."² In *Navigating World History* (2003) Manning began his first chapter with a simple definition of the field: "To put it simply, world history is the story of connections within the global human community. The world historian's work is to portray the crossing of boundaries and the linking of systems in the human past."³

It was not ever thus. Karl Marx, Max Weber, V. Gordon Childe, and Leften Stavrianos, among others, argued that it was not strangers but social classes and technologies that were the primary motors of historical change. Arnold Toynbee, a raft of textbook writers in the 1960s and 1970s, and Samuel P. Huntington more recently, have argued that history is the story of civilizations, which endure, decline, or clash. The vast majority of historians would probably be hesitant to call anything the primary motor of human change, preferring to construct *world histories* rather than World History.

So how did the encounter model displace all others (including no single motor at all)? I think a good part of the answer lies in the noble and untiring efforts of historians like Bentley and Manning to establish world history as a legitimate field of historical research. At a time when col-

leagues at research universities sneered at world history ("Can't be done;" "There's only one McNeill;" "A bunch of amateurs and generalists;"), Bentley, Manning, and others found a way of creating a field where graduate students and scholars could do legitimate and important research that—and this was equally important—did not tread on the richly manured turf of one's colleagues. To establish world history in the graduate schools, world historians had to specialize like everyone else—and their specialty had to be new. To put it simply, world history became the study of the interstices and links between other fields. No need to worry. We were not poachers. And we certainly were not amateurs or generalists.

The problem with this agenda was that it had nothing to do with teaching freshmen. In fact, as good as it was in legitimizing graduate training in world history, it was ill equipped for meeting the needs of introductory students and general education courses. To be fair, it was designed to replace an equally inappropriate Western Civilization model, but that Western Civilization model was such a misshapen version of the original that it was nearly voted out of existence by students with their feet in the 1960s and '70s.

The original Western Civilization, as McNeill pointed out in 1982, was a product of two unique experiments in general education. The first was the Civilization course at Columbia University that developed after the First World War and the second was the Civilization course in the Great Books Common Core developed by Mortimer Adler and Robert M. Hutchins at the University of Chicago from 1930. What these courses had in common was a distrust of fact-based, textbook education and teacher-authority lecture models and a belief that democracy depended on teaching students to think independently. For them, education was not the retailing of facts, which always change (or are forgotten) anyway, but the nurturing of reasoned judgment about the perennial issues that confront humans as individuals, social beings, and citizens. Instead of secondary authorities, the professors at Chicago and Columbia used primary sources that they encouraged students to explore by means of the Socratic Method. At both Columbia and Chicago, this enterprise attracted the best and brightest among the faculty. Senior professors as well as new assistants were drawn to the experience of struggling with real issues that engaged students and faculty alike. Years later many alumni of both institutions remem-

bered those core courses as the times their minds first came alive.

Sometime between 1930 and the 1960s, Socratic discussions that taught thinking skills had morphed into lectures and recitations on subject matter. Even then, discussion sessions might still rivet student attention. I remember particularly intense debates on predestination with students who had just read Luther and Erasmus, for example. But increasingly, courses called Western Civilization became courses in what to think rather than how to think. Class sizes increased. Perhaps as early as the Great Depression, McNeill suggested, Chicago and other universities found in the multi-section lecture course an answer to mounting financial pressures. “Western Civ.” took on the pallor of lifelessness: force-fed facts, multiple guess Scantron-gradable tests, lethal-weight textbooks with test banks and instructor manuals that were filled mainly with test questions of such profundity that the right answers had to be asterisked for the instructor.

World historians chose to globalize this moribund Western Civ rather than create a global version of its more vigorous parent, the Civilization course. We could have revived the efforts of the progressive era to teach the students to think for themselves, especially to think more historically, about the issues that governed their lives and world—issues of gender, identity, social class, religion, war, the environment, work, nationalism, and racism. We could have expanded the sources they read to include classics and perspectives from non-Western cultures. We could have broadened the themes from the Western to the global—substituting for Athens vs. Jerusalem, for instance, the conflict between nature and nurture or biological and historical explanations of gender, identity, environmental decline, war, and racism. Our courses could have argued explicitly for the importance of history in shaping the ways they thought and lived their lives, showing them (to paraphrase Childe) how humans made themselves.

In turn, history departments might have been able to revive core curricula, freshmen seminars, and general education programs to construct a common culture, a collective discourse, to nourish the civic engagement of our students. In doing so, we might have regained the important place history departments enjoyed in shaping and staffing the core introductory Civilization courses—instead of reverting to our specialties and allowing our role in the culture and community to atrophy. We could have used the power we enjoyed as late as the 1960s in setting the educational agenda of our universities to insist on the importance of a core liberal education—instead of endorsing every new career program or market-driven concoction of courses the changing tides washed ashore. And we could have shown a commitment to our students’ first college years (and not just our majors and graduate students) by giving the design of our introductory courses our best efforts and resources—instead of abandon-

ing them to teaching assistants, adjuncts, and testing companies. I hope we still can.

NOTES

¹ William H. McNeill, *The Rise of the West after Twenty-Five Years, Journal of World History*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1990)

² Patrick Manning, “The Problem of Interactions in World History,” *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 101, No. 3 (Jun., 1996), 771,

³ Patrick Manning, *Navigating World History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 3.



The WHA: A Personal Prehistory

Ross E. Dunn

President 1984-86

I have never been able to make any sense of the notion of “prehistory” as a temporal category for everything that happened before “writing,” that is, before most of the human past. Historical evidence, I learned in graduate school, is not to be restricted to symbolic marks scratched on a surface. Evidence is evidence. But in this reminiscence I mean prehistory as “prelude,” a history of the World History Association before it actually existed, or at least my experience with world history leading up to the fateful day.

For me, the gestation took about two decades. My professors at SUNY, Albany (Albany State Teachers College my freshman year, though the name of the place changed every year I was there and a couple of times after I graduated) knew nothing of world history. But that was 1959-63, and *nobody’s* professors knew anything of world history. Indeed, my mentors sternly cautioned me against pursuing graduate work in African history, a romantic notion I had acquired in high school after reading what I did not understand at the time was an egregiously racist potboiler about the Mau Mau rebellion. My advisers told me that African history wasn’t really an academic field and that I would have no hope of finding a job if I should somehow fulfill this harebrained dream. Remember, this was about the time that the famous historian Hugh Trevor-Roper told a BBC audience that there was no African history, only “the unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant corners of the globe.”

I knew that the University of Wisconsin at Madison actually had an African history program, but I was wary of pursuing it. I thought maybe I should do European history and British imperialism, that is, the next best thing. I would at least be marketable. I went to Madison in the fall of 1963, and my first appointment was with Merrill Jensen, the History Department chair, to discuss my specialty and assignment to a first year seminar. He told me that the modern Europe seminar

was full but that I might consider the African history one taught by a certain Philip Curtin, whom I didn’t know from, well, Merrill Jensen. Talk about serendipity. I went to see Prof. Curtin and shortly found myself enrolling in something called the Comparative Tropical History Program. (Did I get that right? Wasn’t it the Comparative *Topical* History Program?) When I mentioned my teachers at Albany State warning me that African history didn’t exist, Curtin replied that they were just “old-fashioned.”

So I entered the CTH Program, majoring in African history and minoring in Islamic history, though I could have chosen Latin America, South Asia, or Southeast Asia. It was a small program then, and the men and women in it quickly bonded. The several hundred graduate students doing American and European history (Did *they* ever get jobs?) labeled our little band of Africanists “swamp historians.” The classicists called us scholars of “Aetheopia.”

In addition to taking the African history lecture course and seminar, I registered for Curtin’s “The Expansion of Europe,” later renamed “The World and the West.” This was History 101 for the CHT cohort. Our textbook was this thick, green volume hot off the press, the pages still warm and crackling, titled *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community* by William H. McNeill. Curtin also assigned Marshall Hodgson’s visionary article “The Interrelations of Societies in History.” Curtin did not teach a world history survey but took the inductive comparative approach for which he became justly honored, especially after he published *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (1984). Nevertheless, the course introduced me to the idea that the world is itself a spatial and temporal field of historical investigation, that no single civilization should stand in for the whole, and that scholars have the creative privilege of formulating historical questions whose “relevant aggregate” of data, a phrase Curtin has used, transcend the disciplinary boundaries that have conventionally separated the historians of Victorian Britain, colonial Virginia, Tsarist Russia, and Andean Peru from one another.

In my second year I took a CTH seminar that brought together students doing all four of the tropical regions. We investigated comparative nationalism under John Smail, the Southeast Asian historian. Between my major and minor, I studied in detail a larger chunk of the world—all of Africa and the Middle East—than most grad students not in the CTH program were likely to do. Of course I had to come up with a specialized dissertation topic, and it obviously wasn’t going to be “a history of the human community.” I was also studying Arabic as my “exotic language,” required under the terms of my Communism-fighting National Defense Foreign Language Fellowship. With good advice from Prof. Stuart Schaar, I decided to work on a little piece of North African history. (I eventually became, at least for awhile, the world’s leading expert on Southeastern Morocco between 1881 and 1912.) Though the CHT faculty told us that we needed to

specialize to get a degree and a job, Phil Curtin, his colleagues, and my fellow students rewired my brain to think that the study of large-scale patterns, connections, and comparisons was both normative and exciting. In short, I came out of Wisconsin with this wildly distorted notion that everyone did world history, or wanted to.

During those five years in Madison and in the field, I met and shared ideas with quite a few people who, unknown to all of us, would become leaders in the world history movement or at least scholars with strong world historical sensibilities. Some of these CHT people were in my cohort, others were finishing up when I arrived or arriving when I was writing my dissertation and not talking to anyone. Sitting in front of my hot, smoking electric typewriter day after day, I completely missed the fabled summer of 1968. So I didn't get to know all the CHT people who were around. But two or three world historians and I go way back. When on that first day of my graduate career I went to Curtin's Expansion of Europe class, I met this lanky young man named Patrick Manning. Improbably, he had studied chemistry at Cal Tech, but now he was doing African history. We soon became friends and have kept up our professional association for forty-four years! Who else was there in that Wisconsin world history reeducation camp, true believers who later created courses, set up programs, organized the WHA, published articles in the *Journal of World History*, helped design the AP world history program, and worked with K-12 world history teachers? At the risk of giving offense to any individual whose file has slipped off my hard drive, I mention Michael Adas, Hunt Davis, Richard Eaton, Myron Echenberg, Al Howard, Craig Lockard, Joseph Miller, Leo Spitzer, and David Sweet. John Richards joined the History Department faculty the year I finished. Also, when I went to Paris to start my dissertation research in French colonial archives, I met Edmund Burke, III, from Princeton. Terry was also writing on Morocco in the immediate pre-colonial period. We became both friends and collaborators in North African history, and later, when I was in San Diego and he in Santa Cruz, our interest in world history blossomed simultaneously.

When I was writing up my dissertation and a job came up at San Diego State College, I went to my atlas to see where the devil this place was. I was from New York State, and though I could locate every country in Africa blindfolded, I was defeated by all those "Sans" on the West Coast. San Diego, however, turned out to be a good place for me to go. Ronald Reagan had succeeded Pat Brown in the governor's office, but the public universities were still hiring like there was no tomorrow. In my first decade there, my department had specialists in everything from the Philippines to Norway. They even had me, an expert on the howling North Saharan wilderness. We were a large and cosmopolitan crew, not like those Texas colleges with fourteen Americanists and one lecturer who does England.

Of course there was no world history at SDSU. I had to teach Western Civ, but McNeill, not Palmer and Colton, was my inspiration. I also taught African history, and Africanists in those days were still on a mission to refute Trevor-Roper's outrageous claim that the African past "is largely darkness, . . . and darkness is not a subject for history." Consequently, most Africanists were intent on showing their students that the continent was not dark and isolated but connected for millennia to the rest of the world by thick networks of interchange. The threads of African history that extended across the Atlantic, Mediterranean, and Indian Ocean and into Europe and Southwest Asia were important to us. Africanists have always been boundary-crossers, which may account for the interest so many of them have in world history.

I don't remember just when the idea came to me, but in 1974, about the time I made tenure and got promoted to Associate Prof, I proposed a new lower division course in world history. (I remember Bill McNeill speaking to some junior academics and telling them something like, "I've had a great career as a world historian. I recommend it to you. But get tenure first.") Nobody used the term "globalization" in the mid-70s, but I think I had been an internationalist since high school (in the remote maple forests of Western New York) because I got a lot of world news and commentary reading my parents' subscription to *The Christian Science Monitor*. I saw the world as connected and could not understand why most of the historical profession didn't seem to. More important, Curtin, Hodgson, and McNeill had shown me that world history could be done and modeled ways to do it.

My cosmopolitan department cheerfully accepted the course proposal, and five of us got together to team-teach the class over an academic year, three of us each semester. I found out right away that not everyone conceived of world history as I did. One colleague suggested that we build the course around study of "selected non-Western cultures." Yikes. On the whole, however, the collaboration was congenial and stimulating, and we all agreed to write out lectures and put them in a central file so that new people coming to the course would have a set of crutches to lean on if they wanted it. Our textbook was by L.S. Stavrianos, one of the three pioneers along with McNeill and Hodgson who taught in the Chicago area.

After a couple of years, department members started teaching the course sequence on their own, although we could only offer one or two sections. Then, for awhile the road got rougher. We had a serious enrollment crisis in the late 70s, and my dean, his arm draped affectionately around my shoulder, suggested that I might serve the university with distinction by teaching lower division American history for a year or two instead of world history. I told him I was unqualified, but he assured me I would be brilliant. My Americanist colleagues demurred. Nevertheless, I worked the course up and discovered that I

could teach the U.S. in world context. (Move over Thomas Bender). In any case, I was back in my world history classroom in two years.

The program hit a second snag a few years later when I proposed to the department that world history be put in the General Education program, allowing students to take it as an alternative to Western Civ. This would mean multiple sections and big enrollments. The time, unfortunately, had not quite come. Several Europeanists organized an opposition, reasoning, I suppose, that "if we don't fight them over there, we will have to fight them here. If world history gets into G.E., it might take over, and then we would have to teach it, which is a horrifying thought." The proposal lost by a small margin. We tried again in a few years, however, and the second time it sailed through. Nothing much has changed since then. Western Civ is still an alternative to world history, though the enrollment for world history is much bigger.

Teaching world history at SDSU got me into conversations with instructors around the country who were doing the same thing, some of them Madison graduates, many not. The early organizational moves, however, are something of a blur to me, so I'm pleased Kevin Reilly and others are recovering the institutional memory better than I could. I do remember standing with a few people around one of those circular, chest-high tables at a fast food joint in a mall somewhere on the lower levels of the Bonaventure Hotel in Los Angeles. We were attending the 1981 meeting of the AHA. Craig Lockard was there, I believe, but who else? We ate moderately bad hot dogs and talked about forming a group that would support world history teachers. Letters and phone calls followed (no email revolution yet), and in May 1982 we all went to the legendary world history meeting at the Air Force Academy, where I met McNeill for the first time, as well as Kevin Reilly and many other future comrades.

More organizational meetings followed. Kevin and I have an ongoing dispute over which of us was the first president of the WHA. To be sure, he was the first interim president, but I keep telling him that "interim" doesn't cut it. I was elected the "real" first president at the conference at Wingspread where we devised a constitution. In deference to Kevin, though, I have to admit that my "election" consisted of a dozen or so people around a table pointing their fingers at me. Kevin, who took office after me, was the first president to have to subject himself to an actual vote.

The WHA started out with a mimeographed newsletter, but the organization just grew and grew, not in soaring membership, but in creative energy, commitment, and new ideas. Since the founding of the organization, two milestones stand out for me. One was the two summer institutes for world history teachers that I got to direct in Princeton in 1991 and 1993. (Murdo MacLeod directed the 1992 workshop.) Fifty select teachers attended each summer. Sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, the institutes included talks by sever-

al world historians and teaching unit projects. These summers turned into boot camps for future world history leaders. Think of some of the participants who went on to great scholarship and organizational work: Simone Arias, Joan Arno, Bob Bain, Linda Black, Felicia Eppley, Jean Fleet, Michele Foreman, Helen Grady, Jean Johnson, Ellen Pike, Mary Price, Bob Rittner, Donna Rogers-Beard, Mary Rossabi, Heidi Roupp, Elisabeth Sperling, and Bill Zeigler.

The second milestone was the publication of the National Standards for History in 1994. This project was a huge collaboration of teachers, academics, and public interest organizations supervised by the National Center for History in the Schools at UCLA. The WHA was not part of the coalition at first, but after I became the coordinator for the world history standards, I made sure that it was brought in. The WHA and its members contributed immensely to the success of the project. When the standards were released, however, a well-organized band of right wing operatives attacked them as politically correct, ultraliberal, un-American, and gloomy. This campaign, ruthless and deceptive, had little to do with history education and much to do with plans for terminating the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Department of Education, and other federal bodies in order to fulfill the Republican Party's Contract with America, the manifesto that inspired the "Republican Revolution" of November 1994. The National Center at UCLA was obliged to explain and defend the standards, and many members of the WHA jumped in to help. In the long term, I think the affair backfired on the opponents of inclusive and inquiry-based history. It fired even more interest in world history as something more than a device for transmitting Western heritage to loyal and smiley-faced citizens.

For the past four years at San Diego State, I have been what's known as a "ferper." That's bureaucratic code for a participant in the Faculty Early Retirement Program, which allows senior people to ease themselves out of the place gradually and, the university hopes, gracefully. This is my last academic year of "ferping," but I've got a long line of world history projects to complete. As I work on these, I often wonder what would have happened to me if Merrill Jensen had told me back in 1963 that, yes, we have room for you in the modern European seminar. I would probably be doing French micro-history, oblivious to the WHA.



<http://thewha.org>

The Eunuch and the Giraffe

Arnold Schrier

President 1988-90

Dear Michael:

I think it is a splendid idea to produce a special anniversary edition of the World History Bulletin . . . My tenure as the third president of the WHA in 1988-90 followed that of Ross Dunn (1984-86) and Kevin Reilly (1986-88), the two founders of the WHA. Those were the "Mom and Pop" days of the WHA when we had fewer than 100 members, no office staff and no Journal of our own; our primary focus was on finding ways to increase the membership. At the yearly Executive Council meetings and general membership meetings, reports of the officers were relatively short and focused on what progress we had made as an organization.

The most striking thing about those early days was the high degree of enthusiasm and cooperation among AHA members and their easy informality. It was best expressed in a letter that Ray Lorantas, the first editor of our Bulletin, sent to me in January 1990. The paragraph is worth quoting in full:

I think I might have told you what Dick Allen said during the Aspen conference last spring. He said to Marilynn [Hitchens], "What kind of a weird group is this? Each supports the other; there is no one-upmanship. I've never seen such a group of historians before in my life." Allen had never been to a WHA function before. [Dick] Rosen made a comment about his first meeting that had very similar sentiments. "Why?" I asked him, "have you heard me praise this crowd so profusely for these past seven years."

These are the dominant impressions I have of those early years.

As for a scholarly or pedagogical essay, I am sending along one of the papers I presented to a Literary Club to which I belong. . . I've titled it "The Eunuch and the Giraffe." Enjoy!

[Presented to The Literary Club, May 15, 1995]

I have not spent much time on ships in my lifetime. I say this despite the fact that I was in the Navy for five years. For a good part of that time I was an intelligence officer in command of an LSD — a large steel desk. The only time I made a long-distance sea voyage was in the mid-fifties when, as a graduate student bound for Ireland with my wife and young daughter, I crossed the

North Atlantic in early autumn on the S.S. Maasdam of the Holland-America Line. The crossing took six days, the seas were relatively calm, and mercifully none of us got sick.

Today more of us do more traveling than at any time in our lives but we are likely to traverse long distances in high speed jet airplanes, not in ships. No place on earth seems too distant or inaccessible. This perception, I think, has dulled our appreciation of extraordinary earthbound voyages of the past. In the twentieth century there have been two voyages that have captivated the multitudes and neither of them was by sea. One was Charles Lindbergh's daring solo flight across the Atlantic in May 1927. I was only two then and have no personal recollection of that event. The other, forty-two years later, was the landing of the Apollo on the moon in May 1969. My memory of that incredible feat is still vivid. I remember thinking, as I watched Neil Armstrong on TV slowly descend the ladder from the spacecraft, that I and millions of others like me were about to become the first generation in history ever to see a human step foot on the surface of the moon. It was an indelible moment.

For any of us to recall comparable feats of achievement here on earth requires some knowledge of history. Most Americans are not good at history; Literarians, of course, are an exception. Americans probably remember best the voyages of Columbus, a memory reinforced by the hoopla surrounding its quincentenary in 1992. Some of us know of Leif Ericsson, the Norse discoverer who reached Newfoundland around 1000 A.D. Perhaps a handful of us are aware that at about the same time, on the other side of the globe, peoples from Southeast Asia were in process of crossing vast, open stretches of ocean in great double canoes, without navigational instruments, to settle the islands of Polynesia. We have no records of individual voyages but their collective achievements were nonetheless remarkable.¹

These early voyages of the Norse in the North Atlantic and of the Polynesians in the South Pacific had no great impact on the course of history the way the voyages of Columbus did. Nor did they have the potential for such impact. There were voyages, however, by other people at other times that did have this potential. These, too, are not widely known in the Western world. The most unusual of these voyages were undertaken by the Chinese in the early fifteenth century. Even more intriguing is that they were led by a eunuch, which brings me to the twin subjects in the title of this paper, "The Eunuch and the Giraffe."

The Chinese have long known about eunuchs. But up until the fifteenth century no Chinese had ever seen a giraffe. It just so happened that the first giraffe was brought to China in the year 1414 through the exploits of eunuchs. The circumstances surrounding that event could have changed the course of world history. That didn't happen. The fact that it didn't has left us with one of the more fascinating "might-have-beens" in history.

Indeed, the original title for this paper had been “The Eunuch, the Giraffe and What Might Have Been.” But in listening to papers by members of The Literary Club, it didn’t take long to discern that when it comes to titles, Literarians take great delight in confounding their colleagues. The rule seems to be: keep it cryptic and kindle curiosity. There is also a corollary: to enhance the cryptic, seek the succinct. Guided by these rules, I decided to eliminate the last phrase. Of course, by leaving off “what might have been” in association with a eunuch and a giraffe, I have probably deprived you of some imaginative speculation. Such is the price of brevity.

The tradition of using eunuchs in high office in China dates back some three thousand years and was abandoned only in the twentieth century. The film director Bernardo Bertolucci captured the drama of the final day of the eunuchs in his 1987 epic, *The Last Emperor*. In a brief scene he showed a procession of richly garbed eunuchs solemnly marching out of the palace, their power forever destroyed by revolution. Each of the eunuchs grimly held onto a small lacquered box presumably containing the severed evidence of his once lofty status. It is a poignant recreation, and essentially accurate, even if it may not have happened exactly as portrayed by Bertolucci. What is historically true is that the actual abolition of the eunuch system took place on November 5, 1924, when a Chinese warlord led a coup d'état that drove the last emperor of the Manchu Dynasty out of the palace where he had been allowed to live after the 1912 revolution. Reportedly, 470 eunuchs left the palace that day.²

Originally Chinese emperors employed eunuchs to guard and administer the imperial harems. To run the government, they relied on an elite group of scholar-bureaucrats. Whenever the bureaucrats became overly ambitious and greedy, the emperors tried to curb them by turning to the eunuchs as natural allies. Over time, eunuchs came to hold high posts in the imperial household and were even given military commands. Bitter rivalries and constant factional quarrels between eunuchs and bureaucrats became endemic at the imperial court.

Eunuchs reached the height of their power and influence during the Ming Dynasty, which began with the collapse of Mongol rule in China in 1368. By the end of the Ming Dynasty 300 years later, some 70,000 eunuchs were serving in various government agencies in the Capital.³ One of the most illustrious of these eunuchs was named Zheng He. His beginnings could hardly have foreshadowed his subsequent career. He was born into a Muslim family of Mongol origin in 1371 in the southwest province of Yunnan, which bordered on Burma and Vietnam. Yunnan was a frontier region, one of the last outposts of Mongol rule in China. The first Ming emperor was determined to bring the area under his control.

During the campaign of conquest, the Chinese also had another mission: to find eunuchs for the imperial court. The standard practice was to seize

the young sons of prisoners. Thousands were rounded up and stripped naked. Each young boy was spread-eagled and with one swift stroke of a curved knife, his penis and testes were severed from his body. A plug was then placed in the urethra. Hundreds died of infection. Those who survived were sent to the capital to serve as court eunuchs.

Some youngsters were recruited in less brutal ways. One of them was a ten-year old named Ma He, the future Zheng He. Ma is the Chinese version of the name Mohammed. Young Ma was a bright, quick-witted boy. There is a story that in 1381 a Chinese general and his troops came upon the youngster by chance on a road. The general asked young Ma if he knew where the Mongol pretender to the Chinese throne might be. “He jumped into a pond,” said the boy. It was an audacious reply. The general took him prisoner. Three years later Ma He was castrated and then placed in the household of the fourth son of the Emperor, a twenty-five-year-old prince named Zhu Di.⁴

For some ten years Ma He accompanied his prince on military campaigns and learned the martial arts so well that he was given command of troops while still in his twenties. When Zhu Di usurped the throne during a three-year rebellion, young Ma played a vital role in several campaigns. Ma quickly became one of the most trusted aides of the new Emperor, who now took the reign title of Yung-lo, meaning “Perpetual Happiness.” In recognition of his military service, the Yung-lo Emperor bestowed upon Ma the honorific Chinese name of Zheng.

Zheng He as an adult was a far cry from the usual image of a eunuch. He was not a feminized male with a shrill, unpleasant voice. Nor was he given to temperamental tantrums, sudden outbursts of anger, or fits of crying. According to family records, Zheng He was “seven feet tall and had a waist about five feet in circumference. His cheeks and forehead were high but his nose was small. He had glaring eyes and a voice as loud as a huge bell. He knew a great deal about warfare and was well accustomed to battle.”⁵ Another source adds that he had “a stride like a tiger’s.”⁶ Zheng He may not have had exactly the girth and height attributed to him but he clearly was a figure of commanding presence.

The new Yung-lo Emperor gave unprecedented power to eunuchs like Zheng He who had helped him in the rebellion. In particular, he appointed Zheng He to the rank of Admiral of the Fleet so that he could take command of a huge naval armada which the Emperor ordered built. It was the first time in Chinese history that a eunuch had been appointed to such an important military command. Officially Zheng He’s mandate was to lead expeditions to as many countries as possible to make known the Emperor’s might and virtue, to offer friendship and trade, and to invite states to confirm the arrangement by sending tribute-missions to the Ming Court. The Yung-lo Emperor was a man of enormous vanity, ambition and greed for glory. It was not just that he wanted

to display his power and wealth and to build allies. His grandiose scheme was nothing less than to bring all the known world within the Chinese tributary system. For this he needed a fleet that would impress, intimidate and, if need be, terrify, those who might resist the Chinese.

Construction of the fleet began in 1403. Every province of the empire became absorbed in a mammoth effort to build what became the largest assemblage of ships in all of maritime history up to that time. The Ming Emperor was fortunate; he could take advantage of a strong naval tradition that stretched back to the twelfth century and created in China a class of people with generations of maritime experience and shipbuilding skills.⁷ But no emperor before him had ever ordered so massive a mobilization. Huge new shipyards were constructed and ships were built that exceeded in size anything the Chinese had ever sent to sea. In a period of two years some 1180 ships of various sizes and types were constructed, which brought the number of vessels in the Chinese navy to 3800. This Ming navy was far larger and more powerful than the combined maritime strength of all of Europe.⁸ The biggest vessels were the treasure ships. They were aptly named because they were the ones that carried the precious cargoes of silks, porcelains, gold, lacquerware and art works, items considered suitable as imperial gifts to foreign rulers and officers. They were also the flagships for the Admiral and his eunuch commanders. Each treasure ship had a capacity for five hundred men. The Ming navy came to have over 250 treasure ships.⁹

These treasure ships were gigantic vessels for their time, 440 feet long, 186 feet wide and with four decks. On the top two decks were public rooms and private cabins for the Admiral and his principal deputies. On the lower decks members of the crew sowed herbs, ginger and vegetables in large tubs. Each treasure ship had nine staggered masts and twelve square-shaped sails made of red silk cloth. On the open sea the treasure ships could attain speeds of up to eight knots. They had separate watertight compartments which could be sealed off to reduce the risk of shipwreck. This innovation was not introduced into European shipbuilding until the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The treasure ships make Columbus’ ships of 1492 look puny by comparison. The largest, the Santa Maria, was 117 feet long and 30 feet wide, while the two caravels, the Niña and the Pinta, were each 50 feet long. Any one of the treasure ships could have carried all three of Columbus’ ships on its decks. It is ironic that in English we refer to these magnificent Chinese vessels as “junks.” The word derives from “jong,” a Malay cognate of “ch’uan,” the Chinese word for ship.¹⁰

When the first treasure fleet set sail from China in the summer of 1405, it consisted of 317 ships and 27,800 men. 62 of the vessels were the splendid treasure ships; the 255 others were support vessels of various types and sizes.¹¹ These included eight-masted “horse ships,” 370 feet

long and 150 feet wide. They not only carried horses, which were an important part of the tribute trade, but also all manner of building materials necessary to repair the fleet at sea. There were seven-masted "supply ships," 280 feet long and 120 feet wide. Their holds were packed with food staples, including a year's supply of grain as well as fish, meats, fresh vegetables and fruit; the latter items were supposed to be replenished at every stop. To carry the large contingent of soldiers, there were six-masted "troop transports," 240 feet long and 94 feet wide. The fleet also had two kinds of warships. One type was a five-masted, 180-foot-long vessel that carried at least four cast bronze cannon with muzzles the size of rice bowls and a range of up to eight or nine hundred feet, twenty guns of smaller caliber, ten bombs, twenty rockets, and a thousand rounds of shot.¹² The second type was a smaller, faster, 120-foot-long craft that also used oars, a ship that was effective against pirates. Finally, there were special water tankers which could supply fresh drinking water to the men at sea for a month or longer, although the fleet usually tried to stop at ports every ten days to refill the tankers.¹³

Most of the seamen in this armada were drawn from the squadrons attached to the coastal guard stations and to the coastal grain-transportation service. Many of the soldiers, on the other hand, were banished criminals. But there were also astronomers, cartographers, geographers, geomancers, merchants and scribes. At least ten translators were included, people who knew Arabic and central Asian languages. The fleet also had 180 medical officers and pharmacologists to collect herbs in foreign countries. There was one medical officer for every 150 men. In addition, there were specialized workmen such as ironsmiths, caulkers, and scaffolding builders in case the ships needed repair at sea. All members of this large, diverse grouping, from the highest to the lowest, were to be rewarded for their service to the Emperor with money and cloth when they returned. If they got killed or injured during the voyage, they or their families would receive extra compensation.¹⁴ Thousands of crew members did die on these voyages.¹⁵

Zheng He's expedition was not venturing into totally unknown waters. For hundreds of years small fleets of seagoing junks had traded with a diaspora of thousands of Chinese who had settled among the islands of Southeast Asia. By the twelfth century, some of these junks had entered the Indian Ocean and found their way to the Malabar coast of India. As a result, Zheng He and his captains had available to them detailed sailing directions developed during many generations. They knew how to take advantage of the seasonal monsoons for sailing west across the Indian Ocean and then back east again. They knew how to navigate by the stars and how to use the water compass, which the Chinese had invented and had been using since the end of the eleventh century.¹⁶ They measured time by burning graded incense sticks. In short, the technology for long-

distance voyages was well in place. What made Zheng He's expeditions unique was their magnitude. The world had never seen such large-scale feats of seamanship. In the twenty-eight years between 1405 and 1433, Zheng He's fleets made seven voyages, visited thirty-seven countries, and sailed halfway round the world to the east coast of Africa.

Zheng He demonstrated his skills as an admiral and the power of his fleet on the very first voyage. The fleet left from Nanking, the capital, proceeded southwestward along the coast and stopped at a port in the state of Champa in south Vietnam. It then headed south toward the Malacca Straits. These were dangerous waters, menaced by a Chinese pirate named Chen Zuyi. Chen had fled Canton and seized the chieftainship of Palembang, the most important city-state on Sumatra. From that vantage point, he and his seamen, who had a reputation as fierce fighters in naval battles, plundered the vital shipping lanes in the Malacca Straits. For now, Zheng He managed to avoid the pirate. The eunuch-admiral visited Java, traded porcelains and silks for spices and copper coins, and then sailed through the straits into the Indian Ocean.

The fleet headed for the island kingdom of Ceylon and then sailed on to Calicut, the city on India's southwest coast renowned as a trading center for spices, the city Vasco da Gama managed to reach some 90 years later. Zheng stayed in Calicut to barter and trade from December 1406 to April 1407, when the spring monsoons began. With these northward-blown winds to power his sails, Zheng He and the fleet could start the return voyage to China. On board were ambassadors from Calicut, the state of Malacca on the Malay Peninsula, and two Sumatran states. They were bringing messages from their kings and tribute to present to the Ming Emperor.

This time Zheng He did encounter the powerful pirate Chen Zuyi and his sizeable fleet. A sharp engagement took place in which Zheng managed to outmaneuver Chen. More than five thousand men of the pirate's crew were killed, ten of his vessels were burned, seven others were damaged, and Chen himself was captured. Zheng took his prisoner back to the imperial court where in October 1407 he was executed. Zheng He's victory made travelling through the Malacca Straits safer for all merchant shipping. It also impressed the heads of state throughout the entire region.¹⁷

At the imperial court, the foreign ambassadors presented their tribute and acknowledged the dominant position of China. Zheng He reported to the Emperor on the results of his mission, and laid out an abundance of gems, minerals, spices, incense, and plants that had been gathered through trade and tribute. He assured his sovereign that tropical Asia was now keenly aware of the power of the Ming Court. Its prestige had been notably enhanced.¹⁸

The Emperor was so pleased with the results and so anxious to take advantage of the enormous

trading possibilities, that he ordered Zheng He to send out a second expedition in the autumn of that same year. Officially the purpose of the mission was to return the foreign ambassadors to their respective countries. A fleet of 249 ships was assembled but this time Zheng He did not lead the voyage.¹⁹ On the first expedition he and his crew had had such difficulties communicating with foreign peoples in their native tongues, that he decided to stay behind to help establish a school to train foreign language interpreters. The languages to be studied were Arabic, Malay, Persian, Sanskrit, and Sinhalese. These were among the principal languages needed for trading in the Indian Ocean area.

Zheng He did take command of a third expedition to the Indian Ocean in October 1409. The fleet was smaller, with only 48 vessels, but it had 30,000 men. Once again Zheng He was able to demonstrate the power of China in the Indian Ocean. While the fleet was at Ceylon, a Sinhalese king not only refused to cooperate in the tribute-trade system, but tried to plunder the treasure ships. He launched a midnight attack with some 50,000 troops but Zheng He's military experience proved decisive. Zheng He won the battle, captured the king, and took him, his family and his ministers back to China as prisoners in July of 1411. The Emperor eventually allowed the captives to return home but the incident spread the reputation of Zheng He throughout South and Southeast Asia.²⁰

More far-reaching than the previous three voyages was the one that began in August 1413 with a fleet of 63 ships and 27,670 men and lasted for two years. For the first time, Zheng He sailed beyond India to the mouth of the Persian Gulf and the island of Hormuz, then along the south coast of the Arabian peninsula to Aden. By now his fame was such that everywhere the fleet went, kings and princes from the inland areas came to the coast with tributes of ivory, gold, amber, musk and pearls.

On this expedition Zheng He sent part of his fleet to Bengal under the command of one of his eunuch captains. That captain persuaded the young new king of Bengal to go back to China with him in the year 1414 with an extraordinary gift for the Emperor. It was a giraffe that had been given to the Bengali king by the ruler of Malindi in what is now Kenya. The Chinese had never before seen this gentle animal with the long neck and two fleshy horns. When presented with it, the Emperor was delighted, especially because of the way his eunuch advisers interpreted the significance of this exotic creature. To them, the Swahili word for giraffe, "girin," sounded like the Chinese word "qilin," which was a mythical animal comparable to the unicorn in Western mythology. There was also a superficial physical resemblance in that the "qilin" was supposed to have the body of a deer and the tail of an ox. According to Confucian tradition, the "qilin" appeared only in times of great peace and prosperity, and signified that a wise and benevolent

sage was present among the Chinese.²¹ The fact that a giraffe had arrived at this particular moment was therefore seen as an auspicious sign for the Ming Emperor and his reign. The eunuch leaders of the expeditions, eager to enhance their standing at court, embellished the flattery. The “qilin,” the giraffe, they told the Emperor, was a happy omen: it was a sign of Heaven’s favor and proof of the Emperor’s virtue. To commemorate the event, a special portrait was made of the giraffe. This portrait still survives; there is a copy of it in a recent book by Louise Levathes called *When China Ruled the Seas*.²²

Zheng He and the rest of the fleet returned in 1415. On the way home, he once again acted as the Chinese enforcer of order in Southeast Asia. He intervened in a local power struggle in Sumatra, where he defeated and captured a murderous usurper whom he brought back to China for execution. As a result of this voyage, nineteen states, from Champa in Vietnam to Malindi in East Africa, sent envoys and tribute to the Ming emperor. Chinese influence abroad was at its peak.²³

The specific mission of the envoy from Malindi was to present the Emperor with a second giraffe. On this occasion the Emperor went out to the main gate to receive the “qilin” in great state. All the officials prostrated themselves and offered congratulations to the Emperor. With a show of modesty, the Emperor declared: “This event is due to the abundant virtue of the late Emperor, my father, and also to the assistance rendered me by my Ministers. That is why distant people arrive in uninterrupted succession.”²⁴ The Chinese encounter with the giraffe was so extraordinary that it prompted a recent scholar to comment that “the giraffe from the African wilderness, as it strode into the Emperor’s Court, became the emblem of Perfect Virtue, Perfect Government, and Perfect Harmony in the Empire and in the Universe. Rarely have such extravagant cosmic claims been made . . . for any living animal.”²⁵

In the Autumn of 1417, Zheng He escorted home the envoys from the nineteen states. Since the envoy from Malindi was one of them, the fleet went farther than ever before and sailed to Malindi and other ports on the east coast of Africa. It was the first direct contact between China and Africa, and the giraffe had caused it to happen. Meanwhile, through the returning envoys, word had spread widely in East Africa and the Indian Ocean rim of how delighted the Ming Emperor was with unusual creatures. Africans therefore gave the Chinese more giraffes, and they and other rulers provided a whole menagerie of exotic animals as tribute. When Zheng He returned in August 1419, he brought with him a spectacular cargo of strange animals, including lions, leopards, ostriches, zebras, rhinoceroses, antelopes, and of course giraffes.²⁶ These were turned over to the Imperial Zoo in the capital where all such rarities were kept.

Two years later, in the autumn of 1421, some 41 ships set out on a sixth expedition with the purpose of returning ambassadors who had been in China for many years. As was the case with the previous five voyages, this one was also ordered by the Emperor. Without the authority of the imperial will, none of the voyages would have taken place. On this occasion the treasure ships for the first time visited Mogadishu in Somalia as well as the island of Zanzibar. The rulers and chiefs of those states made obeisance to the Ming Emperor and sent back envoys and tribute with the fleet in September 1422.

The Yung-lo Emperor, the force behind these voyages, died in August 1424. The new Emperor vigorously opposed any further voyages by Zheng He. The Emperor had the strong support of the scholar-bureaucrats who had always resented the prominence of Zheng He and the fifty eunuchs who had sailed with him. The eunuchs were relieved of their commands and Zheng He, China’s greatest admiral, was relegated to the post of garrison commander in Nanking.

A few months after this humiliation, the new Emperor died. His successor did not at first think of resuming the voyages but after about six years it became clear that the tribute-trade system had seriously broken down and that the prestige of the Emperor had diminished because there were far fewer envoys and potentates in the capital to pay him homage. The Emperor therefore ordered a new voyage, with Zheng He in charge. In July 1431, over 100 ocean-going ships set sail with the goal of renewing relations with most of the islands and countries in the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean. The expedition was a success and again reached as far as Arabia and the east coast of Africa. Dozens of states accepted the suzerainty of the Ming Court, and a steady procession of envoys began to make their way to the Ming capital now at Peking.

Zheng He never completed this voyage. He died in the city of Calicut in April 1433 at about the age of sixty-five. The fleet brought his body back to China where it was buried outside the city of Nanking.²⁷ The achievements of Zheng He were remarkable. During his lifetime he had sailed the longest distance and covered the widest expanse of water of anyone in the world up to that time.²⁸ He had crossed half the earth and had spread the influence of the Ming empire to its greatest extent. As a result of his efforts, all the important trading ports in the Indian Ocean basin and the China seas acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chinese Emperor. With her navy of giant junks, China was in a position to remain the dominant maritime power in South and Southeast Asia well into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Instead, the Chinese chose to turn inward. Within ten years after the Yung-lo Emperor’s death, the world’s largest shipyards were abandoned, the great fleet was disbanded, and China withdrew from the seas, leaving an enormous vacuum of power. In hindsight this could be seen

as a great strategic mistake, for it opened the way for Europeans to move in and to establish what would become five centuries of colonial domination in the Indian Ocean basin. If the Chinese had acted differently, if the Europeans in their eagerness to reach the riches of the Indies had found their ambitions thwarted by Chinese naval supremacy, how might that have changed the destiny of Asia, and of the world as well? We shall never know. As it was, a short 65 years after Zheng He’s death, the Portuguese Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and, with the help of an Arab pilot from Malindi who knew the monsoons, sailed on to Calicut in three battered caravels. It was the beginning of European penetration into the Indian Ocean.

To twentieth-century Western historians, this abrupt Chinese turnaround, or “Great Withdrawal” as Daniel Boorstin has termed it²⁹, has seemed like a lost historic opportunity. To Chinese leaders at the time, who like most mortals could hardly have foreseen what would happen two or three hundred years ahead, the decision made good sense. It was a matter of priorities. Of immediate concern to the Ming Court was the fact that Mongol tribesmen were once again storming China’s northwestern borders. Security needs required large numbers of men and large sums of money. To make matters worse, China’s economy was in serious decline.³⁰ In these circumstances the huge expenditures required for the maritime expeditions were no longer affordable. Moreover every able bodied man was needed at home to defend China’s frontiers.³¹

These practical considerations were reinforced by court politics and by traditional Confucian attitudes. The expeditions had been run by eunuchs and had redounded to their glory. Scholar-bureaucrats, who now had the upper hand at the Ming Court, were determined to prevent a reassertion of eunuch dominance. They even destroyed many of the records of Zheng He’s voyages, among them Zheng He’s detailed log books. The official who burned them maintained that their contents were “fantastic, outlandish accounts too far-fetched to be credible.”³² Furthermore, the Confucianist attitude of the scholar-bureaucrats toward commerce was one of disdain; they saw no value in continuing the voyages. China already had everything it needed. The Chinese Empire was the Middle Kingdom, the center of the world. There was nothing that foreign barbarians possessed that would benefit China. Expensive voyages to seek them out were a waste of valuable resources. This anti-commercial attitude contrasted sharply with the forces that drove da Gama and many other Europeans to seek wealth and colonies abroad.³³

Today, the eunuch-admiral who led those incredible expeditions in the first three decades of the fifteenth century is of interest mostly to scholars – and to at least one member of The Literary Club. The mystique of the giraffe, on the other hand, lives on in China. It has even played a role in modern diplomacy. When the President of

Kenya, Daniel arap Moi, visited China in October 1988, he brought along two giraffes as a symbol of friendship between the two countries. It was a clever political ploy, a reminder that the first giraffes in China had come from Malindi in present-day Kenya. The Chinese were pleased; they still had special affection for the gentle, long-necked creature whom they had once thought of as a “qilin,” the legendary harbinger of peace and prosperity for China.³⁴

NOTES

¹ Ben Finney, “The Other One-Third of the Globe,” *Journal of World History*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Fall 1994), 279-84.

² Taisuke Mitamura, *Chinese Eunuchs*, trans. Charles A. Pomeroy (Tokyo, 1970), 16-17.

³ Mitamura, 12

⁴ Louise Levathes, *When China Ruled the Seas: The Treasure Fleet of the Dragon Throne 1405-1433* (N.Y., 1994), 58.

⁵ Carrington Goodrich, ed., *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368-1644*, Vol. I, A-L (Columbia University Press, 1976), 195.

⁶ William Willetts, “The Maritime Adventures of Grand Eunuch Ho,” *Journal of Southeast Asian History* (Sept. 1964), 26.

⁷ Jung-Pang Lo, “The Emergence of China as a Sea Power During the Late Sung and Early Yuan Periods,” in Chun-shu Chang, ed., *The Making of China: Main Themes in Premodern Chinese History* (Prentice-Hall, 1975), 290.

⁸ Samuel Wilson, “The Emperors’s Giraffe,” *Natural History* (Dec. 1992), 301. As reprinted in Kevin Reilly, *Readings in World Civilizations*, 3rd ed., Vol. I (N.Y., 1995), 24.

⁹ Jung-Pang Lo, 292.

¹⁰ Dorothy Williams Doudna, “The Three-Jewel Eunuch Who Went Down Into The West: An examination of Chinese sea power in the age before Columbus.” Paper read at World History Association meeting, December 1991, 4.

¹¹ Ma Huan, *The Overall Survey of the Ocean’s Shores* (Cambridge, Eng., 1970), 10.

¹² Jung-Pang Lo, “Emergence,” 296.

¹³ Levathes, 81-2.

¹⁴ Levathes, 83-4.

¹⁵ Philip Snow, *The Star Raft: China’s Encounter with Africa* (N.Y., 1988), 30.

¹⁶ Joseph Needham et al, *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. 4, Part I (London, 1970), 279.

¹⁷ *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 7; *The Ming Dynasty 1368-1644*. Part I “The Maritime Expeditions” (Cambridge University Press, 1988), 233.

¹⁸ Nora C. Buckley, “The Extraordinary Voyages of Admiral Cheng Ho,” *History Today* (July 1975), 466.

¹⁹ Levathes, 103.

²⁰ Carrington, 196-7.

²¹ Wilson, 300.

²² Levathes, 128.

²³ Cambridge History of China, 235.

²⁴ J.J.L. Duyvendak, *China’s Discovery of Africa* (London, 1949), 33.

²⁵ Duyvendak, 35.

²⁶ Goodrich, 197.

²⁷ Jung-Pang Lo, “The Termination of the Early Ming Naval Expeditions,” in James B. Parsons, ed., *Papers in Honor of Professor Woodbridge Bingham* (San Francisco, 1976), 140.

²⁸ Goodrich, 198.

²⁹ Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Discoverers; A History of Man’s Search to Know His World and Himself* (N.Y., 1983), 186.

³⁰ Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350* (N.Y., 1989), 344-47.

³¹ Barbara Bennett Peterson, ‘The Ming Voyages of Cheng Ho (Zheng He), 1371-1433.” Paper read at World History Association meeting, July 1993, 9.

³² Bernard Martin and Shui Chien-Tung, *Makers of China: Confucius to Mao* (Oxford, 1972), 116.

³³ Edwin O. Reischauer and John King Fairbank, *East Asia: The Great Tradition* (Boston, 1960), 323-4.

³⁴ Levathes, 223 - footnote 140.

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A Presidential Message

Marilynn Jo Hitchens

President 1990-92

Being part of the world history movement and the creation of the World History Association was easily the most energizing experience of my academic career. The people, the subject matter, the sense of mission and purpose and the dynamic ideas that emerged and were realized remain an unequalled memory. Now world history and the idea that teachers and professors can work together is commonplace; then it was unusual and nourishing to us all. The following essay is a talk that I gave at the June 1990 Rocky Mountain WHA Regional meeting in Provo, UT. The speech was also previously printed in the World History Bulletin (Fall/Winter 1990-1991).

David McComb, chairman of the Rocky Mountain Regional WHA steering committee, invited me to make a few remarks to you this evening on the subject of my choice. This required a bit of research on my part with regard to presidential addresses. I’m not certain I have concluded correctly that they are either to induce an after dinner nap or to proselytize the flock. I hope my opening remarks fulfill the latter, that is, the missionary phase of presidential speechmaking. I don’t know what to think about the nap idea since preventing naps is a major part of my daily teaching activities! At any rate, I am taking presidential liberty here to simply talk about what I happened to be thinking about in world history at the moment.

Since we all hope to learn a little more about religion in world history at this conference, I need not cover that ground, for which I am ill prepared at any rate. I thought I would instead like to briefly reflect on legitimization of the world history field, and the part that the modern predisposition for a belief in science might have for that. While science is often seen as the antithesis of religion, it too, is, in fact, a belief system and value system, like most religions. Thus, I, perhaps, stray not too far from our subject.

In history, we have found that political legitimization has basically come three ways—by way of religion, science, or republicanism. For thousands of years, the road to righteous power has been paved with a system of religious beliefs, often intertwined with a knowledge of the physical or scientific world, as for instance in the Maya and Egyptian civilizations. In more modern times, it has come more often by way of republicanism, often there too intertwined with beliefs and knowledge about the physical world and the seeming certainties of truth gained by quantum, measurable, and observational certainties. Such is the wave of change in the Eastern European world today which is converting from legitimized



Craig Benjamin, Terry Burke, and other WHA members at a packed session at WHA 2007.

rule by the quasi-religion of communism, to the religion of republicanism, both using science to legitimize what is essentially a belief system.

What of history? The discipline of history has basically been legitimized by its method of research and notion of narrative, at least for the West which has tried to divorce itself from what is considered myth, or a type of fiction. To arrive at the truth, the basis of history in the West has been the acceptance of a quasi-scientific method of observation, data collection, and impartial analysis. Along with that are the story guidelines which embrace an order of time which marches from then to now, space which is planetary and largely land based, and character which is man-centered. Into this disciplinary framework have come fields of history which have been legitimized by changing beliefs about the heart of the true story—in Greek times it was the civilization-al framework, in more modern times the national framework and then the thematic framework.

What of world history? Certainly, world historians continue to subscribe to the tenets of the discipline—quasi-scientific methodology and fact based narrative. But the lid has been blown off the spatial and time dimensions in its story, and the questions it is asking often seem random, ethereal, and chaotic. There have been accusations of a lack of scientific methodology—i.e., basic research—and there have been accusations that the story is no better than myth.

What I would like to suggest tonight is that as science legitimized religious and scholarly orders—as it is today legitimizing republican orders and history—it too can legitimize world history, and in a way which makes our sometimes murky future in the field clearer. In particular I would like to reflect on how the physics of our age—a kind of religion, we might say, of modernity—can do this. Much as modern art has spoken to us about the peculiar innards of the world we live in, but often are not far enough away to see, so too does history, most particularly world history, which in its modus operandi is a changing statement in a disciplined quasi-art form.

To the Newtonian, the world was a billiard ball, with everything determined by the initial forces of the universe. These were, in turn, determined by discernible rules of behavior. God was the supreme clockmaker and man “ticked right along with the rest of creation.” This led to reductionism, or the idea of seeking answers to cosmic and physical rules in ever diminishing size. All of these ideas led to the well-known social and political principles of constitutionalism and democracy. In history this led to the quantitative scientific research, ever diminishing historical substrata, and the familiar Western civilization story. In the early twentieth century, Einstein took Newtonian laws and explained what happened to them at the speed of light. This led to the idea of “relativity.” Like classical theology, this too had its effect on our philosophical predispositions, and it led in history to the debunking of political, diplomatic, and civilizational history; and to the elevation of social and economic history; and to historical dis-

enfranchisement at the hands of social science.

As we approach the twenty-first century, all the measurable predictabilities have crumbled as scientists have descended into the ever smaller world of quantum physics (quantum meaning quantity, or a discrete amount, with the connotation of smaller rather than subatomic particle—hence our metaphor, quantum leap, meaning sudden jump from one level to another without the usual process of climbing through the steps). There the properties, according to Danish physicist Niels Bohr, are “massless.”

There is no quantum world, he wrote, only “an abstract quantum description... a realities” and non-distinctions between observer and observed. The physical rules of this world are RANDOMNESS, THINGLESSNESS, AND INTERCONNECTEDNESS. The world changes just by looking at it. The Big Bang is looked at as a random event which happened in a random way. According to quantum mechanics, the material world is not lumpy, but wave-like, not made up of things as much as fields of attributes depending on the vantage point.

What does all this mean metaphysically? To some, it means the world is a permanently tolerable muddle where we must rely on recipes we don’t understand (John Bell, European Laboratory for Particle Physics). To others it means that there can be no precise predictions, and man, rather than being the center of the universe, is just “part of the whole riding the Big Bang” (Professor Gross, Princeton). To yet others (George Helou, U. of Chicago) it means we live in a world of mathematical continuums, or as Stephen Toulimin, Northwestern U. historian of science, says, we live in a world of “food chains, ecological systems, organs, organisms, families, and communities.” Rather than breaking the world into isolated parts, looking for the basic building blocks of matter, as physics has done for decades, science is attempting to study a complex system “as a whole.” Professor Joe Polchinsky of the U. of Texas believes that inherent muddle will encourage intellectual fantasy. Wholeness and completeness rather than analysis and fragmentation will become the standard pattern of higher order thinking in his view.

What does this say to us about world history? Already we have seen such science influencing anthropology and paleontology. In tracing man’s genetic origin, the story is leaning much more to the side of random rather than particular genetic selection in explaining man’s evolution. In the question of what happened to the dinosaur, Robert Bakker of the University of Colorado is arguing persuasively that neither asteroids nor volcanic eruptions brought an end to the age of dinosaurs, but rather “global biogeographical chaos.” That is, that over 145 million years of dinosaur existence (next to the 100,000 of man’s) species of dinosaurs came and went in unfolding waves, ultimately to a point of random evolutionary extinction.

I wander through the museum of modern science and ponder the relationship of world history

to the chaos, randomness, thinglessness, and interconnectedness of quantum physics. I see world history’s reflection. Perhaps this too is where we are trying to go. Certainly the idea of interconnectedness strikes a familiar chord in all of us who have found ourselves in the field of world history. But for years I have clung to the idea that our direction is pointed toward finding a new neat and precise story akin to the Western civilization tale, and that our explorations would culminate in a final triumph of Newtonian clockwork and new rules of geo-socio-political order built on the ever diminishing quantum world of history. Now that the clock is apart and examined in ever minute fashion, in every conceivable substrata of history, I thought that our job was to put it back together in a new way so that it ticks better for the modern world. Now I see that our clock may be more akin to floating crystals, and that the time it keeps might be both more or less precise. Is it possible to tell the story of world history in a random way? To examine the thinglessness or abstract nature of themes? To deal with the chaos of cultural invention and the interconnectedness of diffusion? The whole thought has liberated me from the bondage of the Western civilization model, just as freeing as the moment I left national borders behind.

How very random and interconnected it can really be is evident in the March 1990 issue of the *National Geographic* magazine. In one article, the *Geographic* examines the cosmic theology of the Maya. Well, here we are 1,000 years later once again linking our destiny with the cosmic world, betting and hoping, based on rules of random behavior, that we are not galactic hermits, and paying homage to the priests of prediction. And this alongside examination of the more familiar religious patterns with which we daily, happily coexist as we are doing here at this conference. Next is an article on time, which suggests that though we have tended to look at time in history as something that flows like a river, that is only a local, peculiar perception of our planet.

Time actually is an invention which keeps everything from happening at once and which has no reality since it is always an instant ago, a memory, or an expectation. In essence it is a device to help us with our sense of religious immortality. In world history, we can throw our preoccupation with new time conceptualizations out the window. Or is our task to develop a sense of time divorced from the clock which has so dominated the course of Western civilization?

Of the principles of quantum physics, interconnectedness is certainly the element most apparent in the work of world historians today. It is at the heart of all our questions about long distance trade, the spread of disease, cross-cultural contact, and even as I suggested in the question of legitimization, the interconnectedness of science, religion, and republicanism. Of the element of thinglessness, it has been a central accusation from outside the field of the nonsubstantive and overly syncretic nature of world history. Yet by thinglessness, we do not mean simply of different

things, of things at this moment less defined and still emerging into definitive reality, like world economic systems? As for chaos and randomness, isn't this the truer picture of invention rather than the Western civilization propensity to enclose it in plodding progressivism? Of the world's religions, isn't it truer to say that they occurred somewhat randomly, but are interconnected, dealing with thingless matters?

In conclusion, may I hope that this short rumination into the world of quantum physics, a world which I do not define as secular, but rather connected to the subject of our conference, helps us create a new fantasy, liberates us from some of our old notions, points the direction to new questions and frontiers, and serves to legitimize our field, if that is necessary.

WHA ANNOUNCEMENTS

The World History Association's Mission Statement, Constitution, and Privacy Policy can be found on the organization's website, [www.thewha.org](http://thewha.org). Please review them.

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As an editorial policy, all current and most-recent issues will not be available online, as a courtesy to our membership.

Minutes of the World History Association Business Meetings and Executive Council Meetings can be found on the WHA website. Please review them.

A Look Back

**Celebrating 10 Years:
A Message from the President, Fall 1992**

Raymond M. Lorantas
President 1992-94

[From the Fall-Winter 1992-1993 *World History Bulletin*]

1992 has been a year of Commemoration — of what? We have been bombarded with events, conferences, books, articles, and more about the global impact of the "Columbian Exchange" — the quincentenary. But, 1992 is also the year of Commemoration of the World History Association (WHA) decennary. The planning meetings at "Wingspread" (Racine, Wisconsin), where those in attendance were so regally hosted by the Johnson Foundation under the direction of Henry Halstead, seem to be eons, not a decade in the past. The WHA has flourished far beyond the expectation of the dozen who helped frame the basics of the organization. There were preliminaries to these draftings held in Annapolis, at the U.S. Air Force Academy, in Cameroon (West Africa), and in New York City; Wingspread brought concrete definition — and off we trod.

Kevin Reilly led us as an interim president until we could hold an election. Ross Dunn took over the helm by virtue of the ballot to be followed by Reilly, Arnold Schrier, and Marilyn Hitchens. This makes me number five. I enjoyed the ceremony whereby I was informed that I now held the office of the president of the World History Association. In the lobby of a hotel in Chicago, Marilyn Hitchens laboriously handed me two enormous notebooks each weighing in excess of fifteen pounds and said, "Ray, it is now all yours." And so it seems to be. The odds are in my favor to do a job of high achievement, for as editor of the World History Bulletin from its start, I have had to keep very close contact with my four predecessors and with Joe Dixon, our first executive director, and with Richard Rosen, our current one. All six of these people had their own obligations. All had important similarities: they were dedicated, imaginative and real work-a-holics. With these associations and benefits, how can I miss?

Under their respective leaderships, the WHA has grown in numbers with members in all states in the U.S.A. and on all inhabited continents. The WHA has maintained its blend of pre-collegial and collegial association. The WHA has had many regional conferences as well as its first national conference. (A second national conference is in the offing for 24-27 June 1992 in Hawaii.) The WHA now has six affiliates, with two others much in the advanced planning stages. How might one add to what has been wrought in ten years! I hope I shall be able to use the odds in my favor to add at least a modicum of progress built on the solid foundation set by the "famous four," as one member recently called them.

Plans? 1) To continue to build the membership in the USA and in other parts of the globe, expanding publicity; 2) to continue to add to the WHA's affiliates in the U.S.A. and other countries, without which we shall not be able to advance as Marilyn Hitchens so often reminded me during her leadership; 3) and to secure a stronger financial position for the WHA than the present when we are only able to pay our bills.

The odds in my favor are not enough to reach the goals. I invite all members to join in the effort. The WHA is a professional academic collection of educated members, and it has functioned in the spirit of camaraderie. Let us all keep the élan and continue to work together. Join a committee of interest, form an affiliate, enlighten those who are still unaware of the WHA's existence.

Write, fax, phone your ideas and concerns. The famous four now rely on us to continue. Let us all direct ourselves toward the year 2002 when the cause for celebration will be even more dramatic than it was in 1992.

Why the World History Association Matters: A Personal Reminiscence

John A. Mears
President 1994-96

As I look back over my career, I seemed destined for world history. Little did I know that a professional organization not yet in existence would play such a key role in my dedication to the field. I committed myself to becoming an historian far too early, when I was a junior in high school. I was going through a course that used Carl Becker's book entitled *Modern History* as its core text. I must have been among the very last students to have been educated with this volume, interpreting the story of the West as it did in terms of Lord Acton's emphasis on the unfolding idea of freedom. The following summer, I spent my evenings reading books in the family library and was particularly enthralled by the broad sweep of H. G. Wells's *Outline of History*.

When I went off to the University of Minnesota, I thought I was going to prepare myself for graduate work in American history. Two experiences deflected me onto a new path. In my sophomore year, I took the standard U. S. survey, and while it was well taught, it left me feeling confined. Then, in my junior year, I took the courses taught by French historian John B. Wolf on early modern Europe. He was a brilliant lecturer, and I was hooked. So, when I started my graduate work at the University of Chicago, I committed myself to the study of seventeenth-century central Europe, in part because German was my strongest foreign language.

At Chicago, I found myself in the classes of several professors with distinguished reputations. But I also encountered a relatively young faculty member still unfamiliar to the profession at large. His name was William H. McNeill. Although most of his graduate courses treated conventional topics, I found them stimulating because he tended to offer unusual interpretations based on approaches that stressed interactions and exchanges between peoples and cultures.

As I was completing my dissertation on the unfolding of Austrian military institutions in the seventeenth century, McNeill's *The Rise of the West* appeared. I was immediately drawn to it, pleased that a professional historian had written such a volume in ways that transcended what H. G. Wells could accomplish with the best scholarship of his day, and it proved to be more satisfying to me than the theories of Oswald Spengler, Arnold J. Toynbee, and Pitirim Sorokin. Nonetheless, I accepted my initial teaching position at New Mexico State University under the assumption that I would pursue my career exclusively as a specialist in seventeenth-century Austria.

Once again, events took an unexpected turn.

I immediately had opportunities to engage in a number of activities that today would be ruled out of bounds for a beginning academic. Those opportunities included projects to strengthen the history curriculum and engage in joint projects with high school history teachers around the state. Somewhat to my surprise, I enjoyed these activities, and I found the best high school teachers to be bright, energetic, committed, and much more knowledgeable than I about the classroom. Through them, I was drawn back to world history, since the tenth-grade class on that subject presented high school teachers with their greatest challenges.

After three years, I was invited to join the faculty at Southern Methodist University. My new department not only wanted a specialist in early modern Europe, but a scholar who could collaborate with high school teachers and teach in an interdisciplinary foundation course on Western culture. Involvement in these areas of concern broadened my horizons. Eventually, I organized a course on comparative revolutionary movements as well as my own year-long introduction to world history. I also found myself presenting conference papers, and writing articles and essays on questions related to these evolving concerns. I even co-authored a high school world history textbook.

None of these pursuits received a warm reception in the circles of university academics. Into what research field, I was repeatedly asked, did the subject of comparative revolutions fit? How could world history ever be taught in a meaningful fashion? What could possibly be interesting about curricular issues or the problems facing high school teachers? Under the circumstances, the organization of the World History Association in 1982 struck me as a Godsend. Without abandoning my connections with other professional organizations, I enthusiastically attended world history meetings, helped to found the World History Association of Texas, and eventually joined the WHA executive council. There I became better acquainted with early leaders of the Association such as Kevin Reilly, Ross Dunn, Lynda Shaffer, Marilyn Jo Hitchens, and Heidi Roupp. One of the presidents under whom I served was Arnie Schrier. From him I learned much about how to preside over our fledgling operation.

I performed several special functions, notably serving as chair of a long range planning committee, before being elected president of the Association for the 1994-1996 term. In those days, our membership fluctuated between 1200 and 1400. We were repeatedly pushed to the limits of our financial resources. We struggled to get the Bulletin out on schedule. We had no headquarters, no executive director, no administrative staff. Operations were run out of my office and the offices of Ray Lorantas and Dick Rosen at Drexel University. Our respective universities generously provided basic support for our activities.

On the other hand, we experienced relative-

ly little of the politics and self-interested maneuvering that sometimes characterized the mainstream associations. Most of us viewed world history as an important cause well worth our time and effort. The Journal of World History had been successfully launched under the enterprising editorship of Jerry Bentley. Our treasurer, Marie Donaghay, was taking the first steps toward regularizing our budget. We implemented plans to strengthen ties with our affiliates and increase our membership. We played a significant role in evaluating a draft of the National Standards for World History being developed by the National Center for History in the Schools at UCLA. We successfully hosted our first international meeting in Europe at a delightful location just outside of Florence. And the sponsoring of sessions at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association had become integral to our yearly round of responsibilities. We were doing a lot with a little, and by the time my term of office had ended, my responsibilities had dramatically transformed the view I had of myself as a teacher-scholar.

The Association has come a long way in the twelve years since my presidency, even though we continue to experience occasional growing pains. We have been aided in the pursuit of our goals by mounting acceptance for world history throughout the profession. We have learned to articulate more clearly the nature and purposes of the field, how the commonly required survey course might be structured, and our sense of research priorities. Nowadays, advertisements for new faculty positions frequently include world history in the desired areas of expertise and a growing number of departments offer a field in world history to their graduate students. Attendance at our annual meetings continues to rise. Our membership totals have only risen by several hundred over what they were in the years when I was president, but perhaps this should not surprise us, given the highly focused careers many scholars pursue.

As for myself, I participate in Association meetings on a more or less regular basis. I offer a series of seminars in a field called "global and comparative history" that is a required component of my department's graduate program. I am contributing to the study of what David Christian has taught us to call Big History while continuing to write a manuscript that presents my understanding of the overall shape of the human experience. I remain anchored to my original area of concentration, teaching a course on the Habsburg monarchy and preparing myself to return in the near future to several projects I conceptualized earlier in my career. But I remain steadfast in my commitment to the purposes of the World History Association. All in all, I remained pleased with the progress we have made since 1982.

What follows is a paper I presented at the 1996 meeting of the Rocky Mountain World History Association meeting in Salt Lake City toward the end of my presidency. My knowledge of the

paper's subject matter grew out of my study of the recurring wars fought between the Austrians and the Turks. Because of what had been happening in the former Yugoslavia, I was teaching a course on the Balkan Peninsula at the time. As I customarily try to do, this paper attempted to relate my remarks to the themes of the conference, and to say something briefly in my introduction and conclusion about the methods that distinguish practitioners of world history from scholars in other fields. The volume by Misha Glenny on my short list of references was published shortly after I delivered the paper.

Ethnicity, Empire, and the Rise of Nationalism in the Ottoman-Controlled Balkans, 1804-1833

The key concepts embodied in the primary theme of this conference—ethnicity, nationalism, and empires—enjoy an obvious contemporary relevance, given recent events in the Soviet Union. At the same time, these concepts have an overriding importance in the study of world history. If by ethnicity we simply mean the unique cultural patterns that collectively differentiate one human population from another, then we can find evidence for such group distinctions going back at least as far as the adaptive variations of *Homo erectus*, and perhaps as far as the less human differences paleoarchaeologists have uncovered among the earliest australopithecines. Empires, in the form of institutionally structured political entities allowing a particularly strong group or power center to control other peoples or regions, have existed since the Sumerian state of Sargon of Akkad in the twenty-third century BCE.

Nationalism, on the other hand, has much more recent roots, which we associate with the break-up of the Latin Christian Church, the emergence of vernacular languages and literatures in the West, and the evolution of the European state system, even though it did not achieve its fully modern form until various European peoples acquired a sense of being superior to as well as being different from other groups in the aftermath of the French Revolution. Considered from the perspective of world history, however, this contemporary form of shared identity represents only a recent manifestation of a virtually universal “we-they” mentality that must have been integral to the lifeways of gathering and hunting bands hundreds of thousands of years ago. Hence, a conference built upon the theme “ethnicity, nationalism, and empires” will by definition explore the interplay of phenomena hardly new to the human experience, phenomena in fact encountered throughout much of the history of our kind.

For my contribution to the discourse of this Rocky Mountain conference, I have selected a problem striking in its capacity to raise questions about our central themes. The Balkan Peninsula has been characterized for centuries by an unusual variety of human patterns emanating out of its location, climate, and terrain. A region roughly the size of Texas, it has embraced a religious diversity that includes Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Moslem, and Protestant traditions, and a complex ethnic intermixture dominated by South Slavs, Rumanians, Greeks, and Albanians. Its history reflects a sharp cultural cleavage defined by recurring encounters between Byzantine-Ottoman and Western Christian civilizations together with somewhat belated Russian Orthodox intrusions south of the Dniester River.

Since the conquests of Suleiman the Magnificent in the sixteenth century, the heart of the Balkans had been ruled by the Ottoman Empire, a multiethnic Islamic-Turkish-warrior state that gave religious freedom and a measure of local autonomy to Christians and Jews willing to accept the political authority of the Porte. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, Turkish lands to the north of the Danube and the Sava, including the Hungarian plains, Transylvania, and the Banat, had fallen under the control of the multiethnic Habsburg empire, which R. J. W. Evans has described as “a mildly centripetal agglutination of bewilderingly heterogeneous elements.” Seventy-five to a hundred years later, Balkan peoples living within the Ottoman and Habsburg empires experienced the disruptive reverberations of the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and the Napoleonic imperium. Then, during the period 1804-1833, the peninsula was rocked by three major revolts in Serbia, the Danubian principalities, and Greece. All of these are worthy case studies for world historians, given their origins in local socio-economic conditions at a time of crystallizing national sentiments throughout a region located just beyond the heart of the European culture area and fast becoming a focus of great-power conflicts.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the progressive disintegration of the Ottoman Empire prompted a condescending observation from the French ambassador in Constantinople: “To make an alliance with Turkey is the same as putting your arms around a corpse to make it stand up!” Phanariot Greeks dominated a weak central government, and together with the patriarch and the largely Greek upper clergy ineffectively ruled resentful Christian populations throughout the Balkans. So weak had the authority of the sultan become that local strongmen such as Ali Pasha of Albania and Muhammad Ali of Egypt could control outlying provinces virtually unchecked by a higher power. Members of the famous janissary corps, dispersed throughout the empire in hereditary positions as great landowners, had cease to be militarily effective. Routinely defying and occasionally overthrowing sultans, they themselves had become a destabilizing pres-

ence in the Balkans. Local Moslem notables, called *ayans*, often took tax-gathering out of the hands of local officials, and used the resulting revenue to build their own armed forces. Disgruntled Greek and Serb peasants contributed to the anarchy by forming themselves into robber bands. Efforts to strengthen the central government, especially by Selim III (1789-1807), encountered aggressive resistance from influential *ayans* and prominent religious leaders alike.

The Ottoman Empire, in short, faced the prospect of cataclysmic collapse at the outset of the nineteenth century. Like so many other empires since Sargon’s day, it had reached a point of rapidly diminishing returns from a system dependent on expansion for its strength and vitality. Increasing stress within Ottoman government and society could have been relieved only by radical organizational reforms; but characteristically, the determined attempts by Selim III and his ultimate successor, Mahmud II (1808-1839), to introduce such changes were repeatedly thwarted by entrenched opposition from within the imperial system.

The Turks had weathered the first symptoms of institutional decay, already evident at the death of Suleiman the Magnificent, in part because potentially powerful neighbors were facing their own time of trouble at the end of the sixteenth century. During the middle decades of the seventeenth century, the Turks experienced a momentary revival under the leadership of the Kiuprili family of grand viziers. However, a series of devastating military defeats immediately following the second siege of Vienna in 1683 culminated in the treaty of Karlowitz (1699), which confirmed Austria’s hold over all of the Hungarian crown lands except for a tiny piece of eastern Slavonia and the Banat of Temesvar, and left as an enduring legacy the so-called Eastern question as a perennial diplomatic problem facing the great European powers.

During the eighteenth century, the Turks fought six major wars in defense of their European provinces. They found themselves drawn into additional conflicts with the French from 1798 to 1802 and with the Russians from 1806 to 1812. Prior to the Serbian revolution of 1804, their territorial losses in the Balkans were confined to the Banat of Temesvar, a minimal exaction largely explained by rivalries between their opponents. The Turks lost less in territory than in freedom of initiative as a consequence of repeated European intervention in their affairs. Following the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji in 1774, Russia decisively influenced the policies of the Porte for several decades. At the turn of the century, France held a paramount position within the Ottoman Empire; and later in the nineteenth century, as the eastern Mediterranean became a critical vortex of great-power conflict, first Great Britain and then imperial Germany asserted their presence.

As unsettling to the Balkans as the increasing intervention of the great powers was the spread of national and liberal ideologies from

western Europe. The flow of these ideological currents, associated first with the Enlightenment and then with the French Revolution, intensified during the French occupations of the Ionian Islands (1797-1799) and (1807-1814), and the Illyrian provinces (1806-1814), which stimulated a more secular and critical world view amidst the Orthodox intelligentsia. While modern nationalism, fed in part by the penetration of Western ideas, did not become pervasive throughout Balkan society until at least the 1850s, a somewhat fluid sense of ethnic identity, overtly religious in its orientation and often tied to socio-political status, had survived the centuries of Ottoman rule in Greek, Albanian, Serbian, Bulgarian, and Romanian communities.

The Orthodox churches remained instrumental in preserving and transmitting vigorous cultural traditions that embodied feelings of unity and memories of a golden past. So too did poetry, ballads, and folktales recited by common bards in virtually every peasant village. The gradual development of literary languages, the publication of newspapers in the local vernacular, the scholarly study of history, and the growing activities of secret societies each played a role in the shaping of national movements. Improved economic conditions provided yet another source of energy for these movements, most notably through the spawning of future leaders personally affected by experiences in the expanding trade between the Ottoman Empire and western Europe.

Although advocates of Enlightenment thought occasionally demanded an end to Ottoman rule, and Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798 stirred up active discontent among Orthodox Christians in the Balkans, neither the dissemination of Western influences nor great-power ambitions triggered the revolutionary uprisings of the early nineteenth century. Instead, it was internal circumstances, conditioned by Ottoman administrative disintegration and a breakdown of law and order, that proved decisive.

The Serbian revolution (1804-1815) began as a spontaneous reaction by desperate peasants to the ruthless and destructive behavior of janissaries stationed in Belgrade. At the outset, Serbian rebels, led by an audacious hog merchant, Kara (Black) George, aimed at nothing more than the restoration of tranquility and efficient government in their lands. Even as they compelled the hated janissaries to seek refuge in the Belgrade citadel and other fortified places, the Serbs still considered themselves loyal to the sultan, who had given his indirect approval to the insurrection. Emboldened by their military successes, however, the rebels escalated their demands to include genuine political autonomy, and sought outside aid for their cause. Unwilling to concede what amounted to home rule to the Serbs, and fearing the anarchy descending on his Balkan provinces, Selim III dispatched a Turkish army to suppress the rebellion. Serbian forces, at first victorious, eventually fell back on the defensive as the fighting continued indecisively, its

course being determined less by clashes in the field than by splits in Serbian leadership, power struggles in Constantinople, and shifts in the international context.

A break finally came with the French invasion of Russia and the termination of the latest Russo-Turkish war, which allowed the Porte to dispatch three armies against Serbia. Ottoman troops reoccupied Belgrade, Kara George fled to Hungary, and the rebellion collapsed. Following the withdrawal of the Turk's main forces, attempts at reconciliation initiated by Mahmud II, intended to defuse the intense bitterness provoked by nearly a decade of conflict, quickly gave way to a terrible round of atrocities perpetrated by Christians and Moslems alike. Serbian leaders, now directed by Milosh Obrenovic, and convinced that independence alone would satisfy their yearning for peace and security, again rose in revolt on Palm Sunday, 1815. Rebel triumphs soon elicited Turkish recognition of Serbia as a semiautonomous state within the Ottoman Empire, the acceptance of Milosh as its hereditary native prince, and an affirmation of the Serbs' right to organize their own national church.

If the Serbian revolution failed to attract serious attention in Western capitals, diplomats and statesmen throughout Europe could scarcely ignore the widespread Greek revolt against Turkish rule, which preoccupied them mightily between 1821 and 1830. Developments in Morea were briefly intertwined with and complicated by events in the Danubian Principalities of Modavia and Wallachia. There, Greek aspirations for a resurrection of the Byzantine Empire that would transcend any national state, the hatred of the native aristocracy, the boyars, for the rule of Greek *Hospodars*, and peasant grievances against their landlords came together to create a dangerous crisis for the Porte. Although the Turkish army managed to occupy the Principalities, the sultan replaced the Greek *Hospodars* with native Rumanian princes, who willingly governed on behalf of the Ottoman Empire instead of seeking national independence.

Meanwhile, a similar movement, driven by a murderous frenzy on both sides, had broken out in the Peloponnesus. Greek prospects for a quick victory there were thwarted by disorganization and divisions between rebel forces. In 1825 the insurgents, lacking support from either a mass peasant upheaval or great-power initiatives, faced armed intervention by the pasha of Egypt, the one-time Albanian chieftain named Muhammad Ali. With the fall of Athens to Turkish troops in 1827, the Greek cause seemed on the verge of collapse. What saved the revolution was military intervention by Britain, France, and Russia, each with strategic interests in the eastern Mediterranean.

Out of necessity, given their incompatible objectives, the three allied powers joined together in determining the future of modern Greece. By the London Protocol of 1830, they declared it to be an independent kingdom under their guaran-

tee, set its territorial boundaries and determined the form of its government. They then named as ruler the teen-aged second son of King Ludwig of Bavaria. In February 1833, the young man received his crown as Othon I. While sympathetic Western observers heralded his new state as a triumph of the principle of nationality, Bavarians actually dominated his government, and the three allied powers greatly restricted its freedom of action.

Thus, by 1833, the first liberation struggles in the Ottoman-controlled Balkans had given three groups of people in the region—four if we include the virtual termination of effective Ottoman authority in Montenegro—an enhanced degree of independence in the conduct of their affairs. What followed was roughly thirty years of comparative stability in the Balkans, which allowed local leaders to concentrate on the development of governmental structures, the subordination of ecclesiastical officials to secular authorities, and the improvement of socio-economic conditions among the general populace. Sparked by regional circumstances that tell us much about the gradual disintegration of empires in the modern world, these struggles were not strictly speaking national or politically liberal in character. While the savagery with which the revolutions were sometimes fought left a legacy of bitterness and hatred between Moslems and Christians as well as between the different nationalities living side by side, sharp ethnic and national rivalries among the peoples of the Balkans did not gather momentum until the second half of the nineteenth century, when national leaders belatedly began to draw upon western European ideologies to explain or justify past events, and to argue that national states with constitutional governments should replace the Habsburg as well as the Ottoman Empire.

Given what had happened elsewhere in the world between 1804 and 1833, however, particularly in the European revolutionary movements of 1820 and 1830, and in the simultaneous Spanish American independence struggles, we are surely safe in concluding that careful attention to the Balkan upheavals from the perspective of our primary conference themes, would provide an illuminating basis for a comparative study of salient world-historical problems.

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A Quarter Century is Only the Beginning

Judith P. Zinsser
President 1996-98

WHAT I BELIEVE I REMEMBER

Yes, certainly I want to make it sound as if my presidency was memorable, remarkable, key, and so on, and, in fact, it was a unique time—for example, if I told you that when I began my tenure I WROTE LETTERS to the two universities that offered to be sites for our next international conference—and arranged for the next one and much that followed by e-mail, you would see that this was a significant time, at least for communications technology. And, that was just one of the changes, and it was the changes that made my years with the WHA so exciting.

A decade before, Kevin Reilly, then the president, had welcomed me, the VII-XII teacher from the United Nations International School, at my first meeting. I quickly learned that the famous trip to Cameroon had created a group of dedicated world historians at a time when only odd places like Drexel in Philadelphia, Raritan Community College in New Jersey and my UN School attempted to teach this new perspective on women's and men's history. One had a sense of the godfathers and godmothers, such as William McNeill, Philip Curtin, and Noralee Frankel who had shepherded the organization to AHA affiliate status. What remained was to complete the establishment of the accoutrements and infrastructure that would make this more than a virtual reality. For, in those first decades, we had moments when one or the other of us just stepped forward and said "We are the experts..." without much more than one individual's confidence to support it. Such was the case with the panels we created for the WHA slots on the American Historical Association yearly program. Such was the case with the Journal of World History which all by itself defined and established "world history" as a recognized field of scholarly inquiry. Such was the case with the National Standards. In the early 1990s Lynne Cheney, eager to revamp history education in the United States, sponsored "National Standards for World History" that transformed the narrative of human history into a victory for "democracy" and the "American way." Ray Lorantas, then president, wrote a letter insisting in his forceful, quiet way that the WHA was THE authority, could not be left out of all the advisory panels and decision-making. Lo and behold, WHA members chaired panels, ran their own official ones and generally recouped most of what had been lost in the earlier shuffle. The creation of an Advanced Placement field in World History, also in the 1990s, and all of the work of local members on state advisory boards

saved more of the WHA perspective and priorities.

My role from 1996-98? To begin the process that ended with the creation of our own offices and executive directorship. Dick Rosen and I sorted out the Bulletin and brought its publication record up to date. Marie Donaghay and I sorted out the rest of the finances and accounting for our new non-profit status. Plans for three international meetings outside of the U.S. brought us to Pamplona during my tenure, then Victoria and Korea in those of my successors. We redesigned the brochure—this was still a time of annual mailings and brochures—the logo still survives on the Bulletin. Heidi Roupp began her History Connected in earnest. Pat Manning's Listserv became an institution.

What am I proudest of? That the WHA has remained strong, clear in its mission, a leader among history organizations for its commitment to scholarship and teaching and to the inclusion of all interested in the subject; that our members have written all of the major textbooks and encyclopedias in the field; and, that a new generation of World Historians has stepped forward to run the organization and its affiliates here in the US and in Europe and East Asia. This, in the end, is the measure of any organization—to what extent it can perpetuate itself and move with the times. Just one look at the web-site proves all of this.

WHAT I AM SURE I REMEMBER

And now for an admission: with my files safely in the WHA archives, I no longer know what specifically began or ended between 1996 and 1998. However, I have a number of vivid recollections from my years as an officer, first on the Council, then as Vice-President and finally as President that illustrate this transition of the WHA from what some might have called "a mom and pop shop" into an organization with the world-wide reputation we always assumed it deserved.

When I lost my first election for the Council, David McComb told me that happened to everyone.

Once on the Council, I was amazed to learn that in those early days before official non-profit status, the WHA moneys were held in a personal bank account to avoid the usual bank charges and thus, to save just that bit more of our tiny resources.

Our first international meeting was in Philadelphia because Dick and Ray were at Drexel and could organize help and extra money, including postage. We never could figure out why our early conferences did not make money, however, carefully we planned. I believe Ralph Crozier's in Victoria was the first to show a profit, and the first to result in published proceedings.

Marie, treasurer during my tenure, always came to our big annual international meetings, as much as was possible, **not** by plane, and then

would write her WHA travel account for the Bulletin. The most exciting was her trip to Victoria BC by way of Alaska via train, bus and foot.

I remember arranging for the international meeting during my tenure so vividly because I mailed the important question sheet about arrangements meant for the Middle Eastern University to the one in Europe. The gracious Spaniard returned it to me suggesting that I had made a mistake and might like to resend it to the proper address.

That first summer of my tenure, I had a fellowship to the Huntington Library in San Marino, California to work on an eighteenth-century marquise who had nothing to do with world history. This was before the days of cell phones and e-mail, and so, during the lunch break when the archives closed, I went to the payphone outside in one of the entryways and made long distance calls. Two crises: the Bulletin was in need of an editor as Ray Lorantas was too ill to continue; some members feared that a conference in Israel would negate the possibility of Palestinian participation. In the end missing back issues were consolidated, new editors stepped forward, and we had a delightful conference in Pamplona, Spain. I will never think of the Huntington and little piles of quarters in quite the same way again.

Then, perhaps the highlight, giving what John Voll referred to as my "Presidential Address," at the big annual meeting in Pomona, California. Okay, a difficult venue, after lunch with desert plates and coffee cups clinking. I usually just spoke from notes, but on this occasion I was adventurous. I had sheets for the overhead projector—yes, this was before the days of power point and flash sticks. I gave a quick introduction to the idea of "women and technology." In the world of women's history this was hardly a novel idea, although perhaps my suggestion that the similarity between the whorl used for spinning wool—one of our oldest ancient artifacts—indicated women's invention of the wheel might have seemed even to women's historians imaginative and impossible to prove. To my dear WHA colleagues, however, my talk was all too new. Women as half of humanity remained something of a conundrum for too many of them: Who? Not included? But where would they go, there is so much to cover? Is there any evidence? Queens and Empresses, of course, I talk about them? Hindu goddesses, sure. And where did you say I could find material for my classes? Research on women, but what are the sources?

In fact, one of the reasons that I ran for the presidency of the WHA was to bring attention, not to women historians and teachers, we were well represented and continue to be so, but to that other half of humanity who seem to remain so elusive in our world history teaching and scholarship. At the most recent international conference in Milwaukee in June 2007, there was a brilliant array of forty-eight panels, and seventy-seven papers; of those, one panel was specifically on women; three individual papers were on women,

two others included gender in their title. I'm not great with numbers, but isn't that 2.1% of the panels, and 6.5% of the papers acknowledging in one way or another that there were women, as well as men, in the world's history.

So, what would I ask of the future of the WHA? Surely, we, who pride ourselves on our breadth of vision, can do better than this. Let us include and analyze what the other half of humanity was doing. Accept that the lives of men are not complete without understanding their interaction with the lives of women. Understand that "women do not carry all the sex," and that men are gendered beings as well. Even publishers encourage us to make some effort in this direction in our textbooks. How hard is it to write "men and women peasants" instead of "peasants?" Why would comparative scholarship on women **and** men, for example, in urban societies, not be part of our research agenda? Why are these papers filling days at the Berkshire Conference on Women's History and not at ours? Or, if by whatever definitions of relevance and significance, including women, or men's gendered lives seems wrong, ahistorical, inappropriate, stupid, then, let us call our history by what it is. Though we pay occasional tribute to women, for example, when they perform in non-female roles, this is really the World Men's History Association. We sponsor conferences in the global, comparative and cross-cultural history of men. We proudly publish the Men's World History Bulletin, the Journal of Men's World History. "Man" has been a good measure of all things for centuries and across all cultures. Who are we to change history?

Call For Contributors - World History Bulletin

The *World History Bulletin* is seeking quality essays for inclusion in upcoming issues.

Volume XXIV Number 1 (Spring 2008): Focus
Issue: Food in World History. Deadline: 1 February 2008. Guest Editor: Rick Warner, Wabash College

Volume XXIV Number 2 (Fall 2008): Focus
Issue: Science and Technology in World History. Deadline: 1 February 2009. Guest Editor: Paul Buckingham, Morrisville State College [REVISED THEME]

Volume XXV Number 1 (Spring 2009): Focus
Issue: Asia in World History. Deadline: 15 September 2008. Guest Editor: Dorothea A. L. Martin, Appalachian State University

Essays and classroom activities are also sought which deal with any aspect of the teaching of world history. Interested parties should direct their inquiries to Micheal Tarver, *W.H.B.* Editor, at either bulletin@thewha.org or (479) 968-0265. International submissions are especially encouraged. Submission guidelines are available online at: www.thewha.org/WHB.pdf.

Scenes from the WHA 2007 BBQ Luncheon at Marquette University, Sponsored by Houghton Mifflin



Craig Lockard's
*Societies, Networks,
and Transitions: A
Global History*
"takes the cake" at
the Houghton Mifflin
BBQ, WHA 2007.

A Message from the President, Fall 1999

Heidi Roupp
President 1998-2000

[From the Fall 1999 *World History Bulletin*]

We've come a long, long way since 1982. We've established a professional history association which is not quite like any other. The WHA began by ending a century-long tradition of segregating teachers from professors. Then we established the field. And we've become lifelong colleagues and friends in the process. Once school is out each June, we've made it a habit to meet world history friends at our very own summer camp in nice places like Victoria, Fort Collins, Hawaii, and Philadelphia. Regional affiliates sprouted because world history proved to be such a collaborative adventure. Everyone has needed a little world history help from their friends. While we've taken our subject matter very seriously, the carefully suggested acronyms of our regionals — WHAT, WHO, WHARM, and SEWA — give just a little hint of the fun we're having.

We've almost always been ready to try a new idea, as long as it doesn't cost anything. There's no pay, no travel money, no secretary, no stipends, but just think of the extraordinary amount of exceptional work that gets done. All WHA work is done by volunteers. There's little glory except for the immense satisfaction of serving the profession. During this presidency we have developed a model of decentralized, democratic participation that has served us admirably.

We've doubled the membership.

We've tripled the attendance at our June meeting.

We've increased attendance at regional meetings to over a thousand.

We are sponsoring seven panels at the American Historical Association, and seven at the National Council of Social Studies.

The Executive Council volunteers as the organization's central administration.

We conduct our monthly business via the Internet.

We've established prizes to recognize the work of our colleagues.

We now have ten regional affiliates, plus H-World and a system to establish new regionals.

The Bulletin and the Journal are booming, editors are developing conference publications from the Fort Collins and Victoria meetings, and we've raised the dues.

In collaboration with the College Board, we are organizing 10 regional institutes focusing on course design and teaching strategies for world history instructors at all levels. The National Endowment for the Humanities has funded our collaborative project with California State University, Long Beach, University of Illinois at Chicago, and Queens College to integrate world history scholarship with social studies methods.

Over the next three years, I will be working with Helen Grady and members of the Education Committee to establish the teaching division of the WHA.

Thanks for giving me the opportunity to have so much fun. I've felt a little humble that such a remarkable organization, with so many brilliant, creative teaching historians and scholars, would elect a school teacher as president. I've loved every minute of the adventure. But before I rumble off in my granddaddy's 1951 Chevrolet pickup with David and our dog, Duke, I'd like to recognize some very special people outside the WHA who have given me good, practical advice concerning leadership and organization over the last two years. Thank you, Arganey and Peggy Lucas, Susan Hazard, Tami Stukey, Bernie Glaze, and, most of all, my husband David Roupp. From his perspective, David says he's looking forward to a hot meal and a reasonable phone bill.

Heidi Roupp
President, WHA

Our World

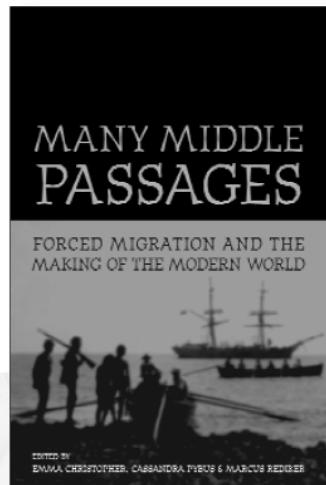
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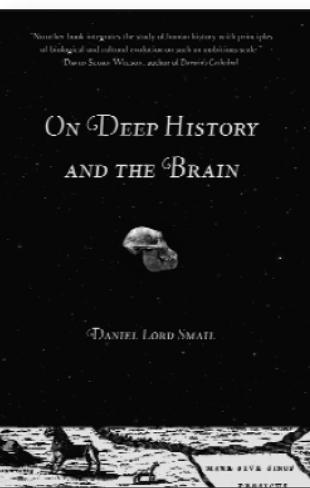
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Globalism is the Natural State of Humankind

Carter Vaughn Findley
President 2000-02

[WHA Presidential Address, June 2000, Boston]

I was what my mother and her friends called an impressionable child. They did not realize that there was something “two-way” about being impressionable, or maybe I should say something “interactive” about it. It may be a while before you understand what I mean.

When I was still barely big enough to see over the counter, she took me to the local Carnegie library, as we still called it in those days, to get my first library card. When I was about eight, my parents bought a set of Compton’s *Encyclopedia*, and I would come home from school, open it at random, and start reading. Living in what was then one of America’s most boringly non-ethnic cities, I wanted from the age of five to learn languages, but had so few opportunities that I was jealous when I learned that the Jewish kids got to go to Hebrew School late in the afternoon, while the rest of us were supposed to just go outside and play. I at least had my *Encyclopedia*, in which “India” was nearer than “Indiana,” and “Africa” came before “Alabama.” And I had two branch libraries within walking distance, stocked with stuff like Andrew Lang’s version of “The Arabian Nights” or the “Boy’s King Arthur,” which was so big that I once threw it at my little brother—a nerd’s revenge. With this mix of stimulus and deprivation, the impressionable child could build up quite a head of steam.

One day, looking at the “Connecticut” article in the encyclopedia, I saw a picture and asked my mother, “What’s that.” She said, “That’s Yale University. Maybe someday you can go there.” So I did. I’m skipping some of the details about high school, college board exams, and scholarship applications. Going to Yale was not something that a whole lot of people in my family had done. However, once you start encouraging the impressionable child, it is not easy to put a stop to it. The Yale of those days was not exactly a picture of globalism. Literature programs were serenely canonical; history was hegemonically Euro-American with some “other” history around the edges. It was Donald Kagan’s kind of place; he just wasn’t there, yet. He was probably still working on his Ph.D. at Ohio State. However, the variety and quality of language programs was dazzling. And in such a super-charged cultural environment, not everything could be corseted into a canon. In a sophomore political science course, I heard one of the worthies of the day, Gabriel Almond, lecture about political development, discussing examples all over the world, without working up a sweat, turning red, or getting out of breath. He didn’t say anything mem-

orable, but at least he didn’t make globalism look hard. By graduation, I was stoked with French, German, and European history and ready to branch out into what later became known as area studies. This took me to a Ph.D. program in Middle Eastern history, with research specialization in Turkish studies and Ottoman history.

By that time, other things seemed to have been left far behind, except that it is not really possible—is it?—to launch a scholarly career where you use only what you learned in graduate school. And what about the “life experience” of someone who was born in the Southeast, studied in the Northeast, traveled in the Middle East, and settled in the Middle West, not to speak of having an incidental expense-paid tour of Southeast Asia on terms you couldn’t turn down. There’s a lot of cognitive dissonance and decentered subjectivity in all that. Being a Southerner was not “cool” on the Yale campus of the early 1960s, although the reasons were not always the same; no kind of American was popular in Turkey in the late 1960s; when I wanted to travel to the Arab countries (summer 1967), you could not go there at all with a U.S. passport at all; when I got to Vietnam, all of a sudden I was a Yankee. Be that as it may, it sounds like time to leave out some more stuff. We still haven’t gotten to either world history or the “two-way” part about being impressionable. This was not supposed to be a talk about my life anyway; in fact, if you think I am going to stand up here and really tell all these people about my life, you’re crazy.

Sometime about 1979, in a faculty meeting at Ohio State, a vote was taken to create a course on the world in the twentieth century. It was done for farcically bad reasons. An aging British historian had just seen his pet course on modern Britain abolished in an effort to thin out an overpopulation of introductory courses. He had decided to create a new course on world history and carry on teaching modern Britain under that cover because, after all, what’s the difference? Given the worries of the time about declining History enrollments, however, others soon took an interest in this course. If students didn’t value anything else about history, maybe the twentieth-century world would grip their attention. Those who thought this way decided to head off their colleague at the pass. The next motion presented at that meeting was for the new course to be team taught by a westernist and a non-westernist. “Aha,” I thought, “when did you ever see creation *ex nihilo* in a faculty meeting?” The department had never taught world history before at all. A valuable intellectual property had just come into existence out of nowhere, as far as our department was concerned. Despite my conditioning to do the opposite, I rushed forward to volunteer as the founding non-westernist in the course. John Rothney was going to be the founding westernist.

Over the next year or so, we worked intensively to create a course that would be innovative in content and method. Both of us wrote and spoke about this a number of times in the early

1980s, and there is not time to recount it all here. What is worth re-emphasizing is that both of us, as products of the 1960’s, when the theoretical stimulus to historians was coming out of the social sciences, thought it essential to define specific themes for our course, to state them as its introduction, to emphasize them every way possible after that, and to use them as criteria of selection so that we could choose empirical examples to develop, without turning our course into another Compton’s *Encyclopedia*. That kind of selectivity would also enable us to do something like zoom-lens photography, defining our themes in abstract terms and then zooming in to illustrate them at the grass-roots level in particular locales, about which we would actually say something, rather than trying to list examples everywhere. Developing the themes turned into an extremely interesting exercise. As far as we could discover, the problem of devising a thematic framework specifically for twentieth-century world history had not been addressed in that way before. Our hunch was that the twentieth century was different enough from what had gone before that it merited that kind of attention.

As we finished teaching the course the first time, I was wondering what to do to make it better the next time. This is about when the two-wayness of being impressionable set in. Scarcely had I asked myself this question when a representative of the Houghton Mifflin publishing house materialized in front of me and asked if I had thought of publishing a book about world history. “Aha,” I thought, “what better way to improve my course than to write the book.” So we did write that book, and the first edition came out in 1986. Being responsible for all of the non-Euro-American and the future-oriented parts of the book, I don’t want to make it sound as if this was easy. I certainly discovered how little I knew about Latin America, Africa, and much of Asia, not to speak of the future-oriented issues—nuclear weapons, environmental and resource questions—that I wanted so badly to understand better. Writing on all these subjects, especially the first time, I endured one ordeal after another. Eventually, amidst all that suffering, astonishing things happened. One night, I went to bed very late, in despair over my inability to wind up the section on India since 1945. The next morning, as I was eating my cereal, I glanced at the paper, and it said “Indira Gandhi Assassinated.” This was the first sign that my solitary, scholarly struggles had given me psychic powers over world history. Just think: the Sikh body guards who pulled the trigger probably thought they were free agents! I now had the perfect ending for my section on India. But had the impressionable child grown into an adult with awesome powers that it would be a constant struggle to use only for Good?

The first edition of our book, *Twentieth-Century World*, appeared in 1986, with succeeding editions at four-year intervals. If you don’t already, perhaps you may be interested to know how we stated those themes I mentioned.

Discussing them shows how our book relates to the idea that globalism is the natural state of humankind. In the first three editions, these themes evolved incrementally, until by 1994 they were:

- * **global interrelatedness**, in patterns that have changed over time and progressively tightened,
- * **disequilibrium among cultures in an era of accelerating change**,
- * **the rise of the mass society**, in both quantitative and qualitative terms, including both pluralistic democracies and mass-mobilizing authoritarian regimes,
- * **technology versus nature**, the ambiguous triumph that has culminated in humankind's power to destroy the earth.

All but the second of these themes had been stated already in the same words in the first edition. Their survivability has been a source of satisfaction. Especially, the fact that we foregrounded "global interrelatedness" in 1986 has made us feel like harbingers of what is now called "globalization," about which more below. The first two editions had also had a fifth theme, "the search for appropriate values," or more succinctly, "values for survival." That was a way of asking whether the values that had shaped the most dominant societies of the contemporary world were those most conducive to human welfare. In practice, however, we found that we did not develop this as an independent theme so much as pose it as a question in concluding the discussion of the other themes. In the third edition, we therefore reduced the number of themes to four.

The second theme was the one that changed the most in successive editions. In the first edition, the best formulation I could yet come up with was "the contrast between change-oriented and culturally conservative societies." If you think that is a hang-over from 1960s modernization theory, you are right. In its day, that was a subject that I knew well; modernization theory had a comparatively high degree of fit to late Ottoman and modern Turkish history; and my thinking about what happens at the grassroots level as the world becomes increasingly interrelated was not yet fully detoxified from this theoretical influence. Trying to escape the essentialist implications of assigning different rates of change to different cultures, I came to the wording used in the second and third editions: "disequilibrium among cultures in an era of accelerating change." Still I was not satisfied. Something had to be described as the reaction to growing global interrelatedness; I just did not have the right words for it yet. Part of my problem was that the sites of theoretical production that most influenced historians had shifted. I was living through the default-option empiricism of a historian who has seen an old theoretical paradigm collapse but is still fumbling to connect with new ones. Moreover, even my psychic powers over world history did not always enable me to penetrate the opaque writing of the Homi Bhabhas and Homi Mamas of the world. The fact that I spent most of my time doing deeply empirical research

in Turkish studies was another problem in this regard. That field opens up fascinating vistas, but has never been the fast way to find out what is going on at the commanding heights of theoretical production, neither the social scientific theorizing of the 1960s nor the culturalist theorizing of the 1990s.

Finally, when I was working on the fourth edition of the textbook, the fortuitous intersections of my original research in Turkish studies and my thinking about world history led me to a new formulation of the second theme, which had so far hovered around issues of cultural conflict and change. In the mid-1990s, I was working on a study of an Ottoman travel narrative of the 1880s, a study that eventually appeared in the *American Historical Review* (Findley 1998). A lengthy account of how an Ottoman man and a Russian woman met at an Orientalist Congress in Stockholm in 1889, traveled around Europe together, visited the World Exposition of 1889 and other sites, commented on everything, always comparing to conditions in Russia and the Ottoman Empire, the book offered a great deal for analysis. It took a vast empirical effort to identify and verify countless references and comparisons. It was an entirely different project to identify a suitable theoretical site for discussion of a generalist work that had elements of orientalism, occidentalism, gender analysis, and alteritist representation, but without any one of those being the top note. The lack of anything funny in this suggests that I had better do something to save this as an after-dinner talk, so if you want to know more about how I solved the problems of that article, kindly read it, or better yet its Turkish translation, in which we clarified the explanation and in fact diagrammed it.

For now, let me catch you up to date about those psychic powers, which you may well have begun to doubt by now. At the end of the 1980s, when we had a really big curriculum review, I managed to "psyche" my colleagues into expanding our world history program by creating a chronologically comprehensive survey, which is how I think that ought to be done, as well as graduate courses. In my textbook revisions and my teaching, more remarkable episodes continued to occur. In October 1987, we were lecturing about the 1929 crash just when the stock market dived again. In 1997, as I was revising my account of China since 1945, it occurred to me that Deng Xiaoping was getting to be quite a bore. You can't guess what happened to him just about that time. In April 2000, I was lecturing about the 1929 crash again, just between the time of Tony Blair and Bill Clinton's ill-starred comments on gene patents and the "Tech Wreck" that broke the bubble in biotech and internet stocks soon after. This time I saw what was coming. As I worked my way through my Power Point slides, I kept repeating the mantra "Use those powers for good!" But it's hard to focus on your mantra inwardly while you have to talk about something else outwardly, isn't it?

Getting back to globalism as the natural state

of the educated person, my work on this travel narrative and the theoretical works I needed to read in order to analyze it at last broke the invisible barriers that had seemed to keep me from catching on to some recent developments in culture theory, notably post-colonial or anti-colonial nationalism. As my understanding of the mutability and contestedness of culture expanded, I began to sense that the right formulation for the second theme was "Identity and Difference," and so it became in the fourth edition. I was afraid that renaming the second theme in this way might wreak havoc with the rest of the book. However, the consequences of the change proved amazingly benign.

To show you what I mean, let me quote for you the way the first two themes were described in the fourth edition.

Global Interrelatedness. Especially in a time of "globalization," world history is not just the sum of the histories of the world's parts. There is, instead, a pattern of global interconnectedness, which has grown and tightened over time at an accelerating pace. Understanding world history first of all requires analyzing this pattern and how it has changed.

Identity and Difference. Global integration has increasingly challenged the autonomy of individual communities. Global interrelatedness has not, however, produced sameness. Peoples all over the world vie to assert their distinct identities, using the very processes and media of globalization for this purpose. Conflict ensues over many issues, including race, ethnicity, religion, class, and gender.

The earlier formulation, about disequilibrium among cultures, invited illustration with issues like imperialism and nationalism. The new formulation, "identity and difference," finds illustration far more widely, in all the kinds of movements and conflicts that have opened up since the late 1960s, not only at the aggregate level of "cultures" and "nations," but also at all levels on which identities and interests are articulated: religion, race, ethnicity, class, gender, personal preference and disadvantage. With our old formulation, the racial and women's struggles of the 1960s and later in the United States did not exemplify one of the themes of the book; now they do; and so it goes, around the world. Moreover, events everywhere made clear that there was an interactive relationship between globalization and identity politics, a fact well enough illustrated by some of the astonishing photographs one can find nowadays of people using cell phones: a Bedouin woman talking while herding sheep in the Negev desert, a Gaucho talking while riding horseback in Argentina, an Orthodox Jew holding a cell phone to the wailing wall in Jerusalem so that a relative in France can pray at the wall via satellite hookup.

The period between the publication of the third edition in 1994 and that of the fourth in 1998 was also roughly the time span when "globalization" began to loom in my awareness. At first it seemed to me like a vague slogan uttered

by people Bill Clinton or Al Gore. Before going further, let me say that I have not found it helpful to use “globalization” as a synonym for the many forms of global interconnectedness that have been developing for centuries. What has been happening in the last several years is an intensification of those processes, to a point that has produced a revolution, not just in everyday lived experience, but in social theory as well. I prefer to use the term globalization for that phenomenon. Let me cite some examples to show how different scholars have articulated ideas of this kind.

Publishing about “World History in a Global Age” in the *American Historical Review* in 1995, Michael Geyer and Charles Bright pointed out how “the progress of global integration and the attending struggles among would-be hegemons have persistently set loose contests over identity.” “Processes of global integration have not homogenized the whole [world] but produced continuing and ever-renewing contestations over the terms of global integration” (Geyer and Bright 1995, 1044-1045). For them, processes of global integration have been accompanied by “world-wide processes of unsettlement.” The global spread of industrialization has “shattered the fragile unity of the Third World”, for example (1053). What they call “regimes of order” likewise have reconfigured from patterns dominated by states and empires into “largely anonymous transnational practices, carried on in international organizations... information corridors and segmented networks of exchange” (1054) (Geyer, et al. 1995, 1053-1054). Through these processes, finally, “humanity” has ceased to exist only in as an object of thought and become a practical reality, not just “the dream of sages” but “the daily work of human beings.”

Writing about the Zapatista rebellion of Chiapas province in Mexico and its interactions with national and international politics, Adolfo Gilly visualizes this interaction of the global and the local with another arresting image.

[W]e cannot think about the globalization of communications and exchange as a linear and successive process; rather it presents itself as an arborescent reality in which the unlimited hybridization of both worlds continues unrelentingly. The modern world subverts and disintegrates traditional societies. But in the process of doing so, it interiorizes them as well, unknowingly receiving their practical and silent forms of critique; and this presence alters the modern world's manner of being. Combat, conflict, and suffering preside over this blind, unequal, and (today) universal process.... What the results of that process will be... [is] unknowable and unforeseeable. (Gilly 1998, 319)

For John Comaroff, globalization is the revolution that ended the twentieth century. It is, as well, a “crisis of representation” for the social scientists because it is so difficult to define its circuits and networks—the world-girdling bonds

that hold it all together (Comaroff 1996, 162-83). Arjun Appadurai has, however, tried to do just that with his memorable “five dimensions of global cultural flow:” ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, finanscapes, and ideoescapes (Appadurai 1996, 27-47). If you get into the swing of it, you can imagine others—enviroscapes, or epidemioscapes, just to toss off a couple. The third and fourth themes of my coauthored textbook—the rise of the mass society (both demographically and politically), and technology versus nature—clearly lend themselves to this kind of visualization. And just imagine the exam questions you could make with these concepts. “Compare the Pope’s ideoescape with the Dalai Lama’s.”

Wherever you look, then, the contemporary world is not an orderly global system, but a global disorder, in which identifiable entities—for example, the individuals, markets, corporations, and nations emphasized in Alain Touraine’s *Critique of Modernity*—recur, and through which identifiable networks and circuits—migratory patterns, electronic communications—run (Touraine 1995). Bits and pieces are not hard to identify, but trying to understand the whole thing overtaxes our psychic powers, at least so far. Facing this disorder, to borrow another quip from Appadurai, many of us look back to a world we never lost. But you can’t go back to a world that you only imagine. The branch library where you got that first library card at age four is the place where you discovered the world whose complexities have grown faster than you ever did. The childhood environment whose seeming monotony made you want to see the world has, if it’s like mine, become part of the global disorder itself and now reminds you of places in far parts of the world when you go back there. Understanding globalization may be difficult. But all historians who are interested in the contemporary period must concern themselves with this topic today. And all teaching historians must concern themselves with educating students to become responsible citizens of such a world.

Nowadays, globalism is the natural state of the educated person. Globalism is the natural state of humankind.

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Remembrance of Things Past: Founding the Hawaii Headquarters

Ralph Croizier
President 2002-04

On the scale of events that have shaped World History, the founding of the WHA’s headquarters, the “Executive Directorate” with our first professional staff, has to rank pretty low. But in the 25 year history of our organization, it was probably the most portentous and, contentious, event since that brave little group of historical visionaries and sixties era mavericks decided there was a world history and it needed a historical association.

But that was long before my time in office, 2002- 2003. The story of the beginnings belongs to real veterans: Kevin Reilly, Ross Dunn, and the like. I just happened to come along at a crucial juncture in the history of the WHA when the growth of both the organization and the field meant that the informal volunteer structures and easy camaraderie of the early years no longer sufficed for the ambitions we had for what World History must become.

I was a relative newcomer to the WHA when I first ran for President, one of the recruits of the nineties lured in by the newly started WHA annual conferences. I can’t remember why I agreed to run for President. I think it was the only time there was a three-way race. I don’t know if I came in third. I do know that when I congratulated Carter Findlay on winning, he congratulated me on losing. He knew more about the WHA at that point than I did.

The next year, I hosted the annual conference at the University of Victoria. I still think it was one of, if not the best, conference we have had. Although last year we got bigger numbers, and much bigger profits, no conference since has produced a volume of papers, (Colonialism and the Modern World, M.E. Sharpe, 2002) or had a bagpiper pipe the attendees to lunch. It was probably the memory of that stirring music that carried me to victory next time I ran ,in 1999.

It was really my two predecessors, Heidi Roupp and Carter Findlay, who created the need for staff and a headquarters. Heidi, with the time only a retiree could devote to the Presidency and a store of energy none of us could match, launched the WHA on such ambitious projects, notably the NEH funded series of summer workshops for High School teachers, that our volunteer infrastructure was hopelessly swamped.

It still is a mystery how Dick Rosen as unpaid, part time Executive Director, kept us going in the nineties and how Roger Beck as Treasurer dealt with all those Federal Government accounting regulations once the big grants came in. We survived, but the angst gener-

ated by this Great Leap Forward reached me as Vice-President and started Carter, as President, on a search to build professional staff to manage these ambitious new projects.

He persuaded us, me as Vice-President, Roger as Treasurer, and a majority of the Council, that we must professionalize. This meant finding a University to host the central office, staff to run it, and the money to pay them.

Not everyone agreed, especially when it meant doubling the dues. More disturbing, much of the division ran along the lines of university types in favor (they were familiar with this kind of professional academic organization) and some High School teachers opposed. We had done well with volunteers and committees before. That was what made the WHA different, and special. They were right: growth and professionalization meant that something would be lost.

At the 2000 June meeting in Boston, Council, on a fairly rare split vote, moved to raise the dues and search for a host for the Executive Director's Office. We had lost consensus and become more like other academic associations. I still think it was unavoidable, but trying to retain the WHA's unique culture and sense of mission while becoming more efficient and more professional would become one of the most serious challenges of my Presidency. Perhaps it was trying to reconcile the irreconcilable, but I think that was the most serious shortcoming of my term.

Founding the Headquarters, negotiating with the University of Hawaii (thank God for Jerry Bentley being there), and hiring Kieko Matteson were my biggest achievements.

Hawaii, already the editorial base for The Journal, had a proven commitment to World History and was willing to give us office space, some travel money for the Executive Director, and other perks. The choice was easy, though dealing with the University's bureaucracy and state regulations required patience. Again, thanks for Jerry Bentley. Kieko had the academic background we were looking for in an Executive Director to provide vision and direction rather than just being an office functionary. She got us off to a good start instantly turning our annual conference into a real money maker, next to our dues the biggest pillar of WHA finances. The unfortunate hiatus in her services occurred just after I left office.

What else was memorable, or significant, about my tenure? Well, there was money in the kitty at the end, though getting our banking centralized in Hawaii took longer than anyone expected.

World History Connected, the E-journal on teaching World History, was set up during the last year of my watch but I had nothing to do with it other than recognizing that the WHA wasn't ready to do everything itself and should just give its blessings to other enterprises that helped the growth of World History.

Our official publication, The Bulletin, after some troubled times in the late nineties, started its rejuvenation under Micheal Tarver's dedicat-

ed editorship. Again, I did nothing but stand aside and give moral support.

In case this sounds like the Daoist model for leadership, wu-wei, "masterful inactivity", I hasten to add that probably no WHA President has spent more time on detail work and worry than I did. Partly, this was the transitional nature of my tenure, from a volunteer to a professional organization. Partly, it was the fact that I was newly retired and had the time to worry about what we would not get done if I didn't micro manage. The intention was to set up the machinery so that the WHA President could afford to have a day job and a normal life. That still is a necessary goal for the organization.

Machinery building, what Kieko called "track laying", wasn't my only goal. I was overly optimistic to think that we could build the administrative machinery and use it for new projects right away. Near the end of my term I convened a special strategic planning session to generate ideas for new programs and initiatives. Naïve of me, but optimism is an integral part of WHA culture.

The Strategic Plan of 2003 ended up as a shopping list of good ideas and projects with no follow through, especially after Kieko left early the next year. It's a forgotten document, but the idea behind it remains valid—the administrative machinery of a professionalized association should be able to do more than just pay the bills. The WHA should be generating new projects to stimulate teaching, research, and public awareness. And a new generation should come forth to lead the charge, to use the Headquarters as a tool for advancing what is still the most pressing challenge for the historical profession and the general public — seeing past and present in global terms.



WHA 2007 Keynote Speaker One

Marnie Hughes-Warrington (Macquarie University), presenting "Scales of World Histories: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern Historians and Their Choices" at the Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Madison. This talk is currently available on the WHA website in mp3 format.

Reflections on the WHA in 2004 and 2005

David Northrup
President 2004-06

One of the things I most admire about the World History Association is its unique ability to attract members from a broad spectrum of career paths, from school teachers through research scholars. These constituencies' interests overlap when it comes to teaching the survey course but can diverge significantly in other ways. I am particularly proud of two things in which I participated during my years as vice-president and president because they helped to unite these diverse interests: the successful launch and stunning success of World History Connected and the 2005 WHA conference in Morocco.

I played no direct role in the launch of World History Connected. I think this is not the place to list all who deserve the credit for that, but I think no one would feel slighted if I said that Heidi Roupp's role was central. I was one (no doubt of many) that Heidi consulted about the project and am pleased that my recommendation that WHC be an on-line journal was ultimately accepted and has proved so workable and cost-effective. A potentially thorny issue was to get the WHA and WHC to enter into an alliance that preserved the WHC's autonomy and gained its recognition as an official WHA publication. In practice the details worked out easily, even if it took some conferring to bring around the doubters. The WHA Council's approval at the first meeting I chaired in January 2004 was satisfying in that it provided world history teachers (whether members or not) with a useful publication at a price (free) they were willing to pay. When the WHC's start-up funds were coming to an end I am also pleased to have gained the WHA's subvention of some of the operating expenses. The credit, of course, for that show of support by the Council goes to all those who had made the WHC so fine a publication.

As many will remember, the 2005 conference was supposed to be held in Cape Town, but some difficult positions taken by the South African Historical Association as I was trying to work out the details led to an impasse and then a rupture. Rather than hold a separate WHA conference at the same time as the SAHS's meeting or just after, it seemed better to find another venue, preferably elsewhere else in Africa. By great good fortune and with the assistance of Terry Burke and others, we were able to arrange the meeting at Al Akhawayn University in Ifrane, Morocco, on very short notice. Our hosts could not have been more agreeable, generous, and welcoming, smoothing out a myriad of difficulties. I'm sure all those who attended will remember the extraordinary warmth of our hosts' hospitality. Not only was it our first conference in Africa, but it also had the most international attendance of any previous meeting. By no means least in its achievements

was the large contingent of teachers who attended and who seemed to derive a great deal from the conference and from its marvelous Moroccan setting. Despite much concern among the planners as the dollar was sinking, the conference also was able to provide the WHA with needed revenue.

The following is a presentation that I made at the Milwaukee meeting.

How English Became the Global Language: Perspectives from South Asia and Africa

Sometime in 2007 India is expected to achieve the status of having the third largest number of English speakers in the world, after the United States and the United Kingdom. This is not very surprising, given India's long history as a British colony and its immense population. However, from a different perspective it is rather surprising that it has taken sixty years since independence for India to achieve that status. The country currently in third place is the West African country of Nigeria, which has the largest population of any country in Africa, but that is only about a tenth of India's 1.3 billion. Moreover, Nigeria was under British rule for only sixty years, less than half as long as India, depending on how you calculate. This essay examines why Nigeria emerged as a leading English-speaking country so much sooner than did India. It proposes that the explanation has less to do with British colonial policy than with the language policies Nigerians and Indians pursued under colonial rule and after independence.

British language policy was quite similar in its non-settler colonies in Asia and Africa. As a general rule indigenous languages were not to be interfered with beyond efforts to standardize their usage and orthographies for the purpose of their use in schools, broadcasts, and printed works. This was consistent with a theoretical and pragmatic policy of interfering as little as possible with the cultures of the subject peoples. The first Governor of Nigeria, Lord Frederick Lugard raised this to an influential theory of colonial rule, which he called "indirect rule."¹ The promotion of English, therefore, was to be limited to producing the relatively small number of local people whose administrative tasks brought them into direct contact with British administrators. Near the top of the administration highly placed indigenous rulers (or their translators) needed English to comprehend and carry out policy. Much lower down clerks, messengers, and some in the police and military needed English to carry out their tasks. A few more were needed to assist British merchants, manufacturers, and missionaries.

The effects of this official policy may be seen in the schools in Northern Nigeria (which

had been administered as a separate colony from 1900 before being combined with Southern Nigeria in 1914. In the year 1938-39 Northern Nigeria had 25,000 students in schools, nearly all in government-sponsored schools. English was introduced in the early grades of these schools and became the medium of instruction in the upper grades Twenty-five thousand students was a modest number in a population of 11.5 million. That same year there were 268,000 students in schools in the less populous southern half of Nigeria: 14 times more students per capita than in the north. Only a small number of these were in the three government schools (see Table).

What had produced such diverse results in two regions of the same colony? Both pre-colony histories and responses to new conditions were critical, along with a small bit of British policy. The area of Northern Nigeria had been united at the beginning of the nineteenth century by a Muslim revolution that created the Sokoto Caliphate. This Islamic state had greatly expanded the existing Koranic school system. After the Caliphate was forcibly brought under British rule along with some other territories to become Northern Nigeria in 1900, those emirs continued as key parts of the colonial administration. There were many Muslims in northern Nigeria in 1900; sixty years later the region was mostly Muslim. British policy promoted not only the continued rule of the Muslim elite, but in many ways encouraged that faith's spread. In keeping with that policy, Christian missions were prohibited to operate in the region, so as not to antagonize those on whom British power rested. The effect was also to minimize social change and slow the spread of schools.

Southern Nigeria has a different pre-colonial history and a different experience of the colonial era. The coastal part had been in continuous contact with European traders for four centuries. By the eighteenth century many coastal people could speak English, some rather well. A few English schools existed; one trader even kept a diary in English. In the nineteenth century a number of Christians had moved back to southern Nigerian homes from Brazil, Cuba, and Sierra Leone and some Christian missions established themselves, including the creation of the first Anglican diocese headed by Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther, who had been born in the region. Despite this longer period of contact it would be fair to say that the number of English speakers and Christians in Southern Nigeria was insignificant in the region as a whole. As in the North, the experience of the early colonial period was critical. Although there were many Muslims among the Yoruba of

southwestern Nigeria, the colonial government allowed missionaries pretty much a free hand in Southern Nigeria. Though few in number, the missionaries and their many African catechists received a massive response in much of the region. Irish Catholic missionaries were particularly active in promoting Christianity, education and English. Especially in the southeast, African communities competed with each other to fund primary schools and later secondary schools. At independence in 1960, 90-100 percent of school-age children in the south were attending school, versus 5 percent in the north. Clearly government policy was not the operative explanation.

During Nigeria's transition to independence there was some public discussion of adopting an African language as the country's official language. Many intellectuals admired the symbolic importance of such an act but the stumbling was which language. Only Hausa was in contention, a language spoken by about 38% of the population in the North and more widely known as second language, but there was very little support for it in the South and the much better educated southerners were running the show. At the official level there was no serious debate about language. Southern nationalists were unanimous in their support for the language in which they were already educated: English. Northern political leaders, though fearful of southern domination, were also fluent in English and acquiesced to making it the country's national language.

In independent Nigeria the push to broaden the school system was also a move to broaden proficiency in the national language. Tremendous efforts were put into building new universities, expanding secondary education, and in making elementary education free and universal. Between 1960 and 1984 the number of elementary students increased 5-fold and the number of secondary students increased more than twenty-fold.

Writing shortly after independence, the celebrated Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe defended the literary use of English on pragmatic and nationalist grounds: only English could reach the myriad peoples of the new Nigeria and, along with French and Arabic, serve to communicate among the new nations of Africa. He wrote:

Let us give the devil his due: colonialism in Africa disrupted many things, but it did cre-

Table: Education in India and Nigeria, 1938-39

	Northern Nigeria	Southern Nigeria	British India
Population	11,500,000	8,500,000	400,000,000
Students, primary & secondary	25,067	267,788	13,500,000
Students, university	0	0	120,000
students per 10,000 population (primary, secondary)	22	315	335

Source: Michael Crowder, "White Chiefs of Tropical Africa" table 3, in L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan, eds., *Colonialism in Africa, 1870-1960*, vol 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); Mookerjee, "Schools in British India."

ate big political units where there were small, scattered ones before. ...And it gave them a language with which to talk to one another. If it failed to give them a song, it at least gave them a tongue for sighing [sic]. There are not many countries in Africa today where you could abolish the language of the erstwhile colonial powers and still retain the facility for mutual communication. Therefore those African writers who have chosen to write in English or French are not unpatriotic smart alecks with an eye on the main chance— outside their own countries. They are by-products of the same process that made the new nation-states of Africa.²

Most of the rest of British West Africa followed this same road, as did British Central, Southern, and East Africa (in the later region Swahili was also accorded official status, but English dominated higher education). Even Ethiopia, which had never been a British colony though it had been liberated from Italian rule by the British during World War II, made English its national language.

In South Asia the independence struggle had a different outcome with regard to language. The differences began early. Like Northern Nigeria South Asia had a pre-colonial tradition of formal education that reached down to the village level, as well as a literate tradition in a number of languages. Western style schools were opened in the nineteenth century including a growing number of English-medium high schools mostly with English staff. By 1870 there were nearly 800,000 students in over 24,000 elementary and secondary schools. In 1854 the colony pledged to open universities in the capitals of each of the three presidencies (Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras) with two more being added before the end of the century.

After the First World War, nationalists (and some officials) criticized the educational system as too elite and called for a broader national education system. The creation of provincial assemblies in 1921 opened the door to promoting more broadly based systems using mother tongues and the addition of high schools offering instruction in Hindi and Bengali. Mohandas Gandhi was by no means alone in the late 'thirties in advocating a national system of instruction in mother tongues and the introduction of Hindi as the common national language. In 1938-39 British India has a combined student population of about 13,500,000 at the primary through secondary levels (out of a population of some 400,000,000), plus 120,000 university students. This gave the colony a level of enrollment at that point that was slightly above that in Southern Nigeria (340 per 10,000 vs. 315 per 10,000).³

Although English was the de facto language of the Indian Congress and the link to the Muslim League, when it became evident that partition was inevitable, the push of Hindu nationalists for according Hindi official status became a strong force in India. Unlike Nigeria, in India the largest

language was very well represented in the nationalist leadership. Despite strong resistance from speakers of India's many other languages, the Constitutional Assembly moved to grant Hindi the status of official language of the country. During a fifteen-year transition period, English would remain in official use and would serve as the basis for inter-provincial communication.⁴ During 1950s and early 1960s, school systems were revamped to emphasize instruction in local vernaculars and to teach Hindi as a second language outside its heartland. Similar transitional schemes were set up in Pakistan and Sri Lanka to make Urdu and Sinhala the official languages.

None worked out as expected. As the transition period drew to an end in India in 1965, few who were not native-speakers felt they were sufficiently fluent in Hindi to compete with native speakers at the official level. There were riots in Tamil Nadu in the south against being forced to use Hindi. This led to a new compromise permitting the continued use of English in the national Parliament and in non-Hindi-speaking states. State boundaries were adjusted to correspond more closely to linguistic frontiers and in most states the local language became the principle medium of communication, with English taught as a second language, and Hindi third. As historian Paul Brass commented in the late 1980s:

In practice English has continued the dominant language of elite communication in the country as a whole. ...It is still accepted as the medium of examination for admission to state services, alongside the official state languages, in every state and union territory in the country. Hindi has not succeeded in displacing English as a lingua franca for the country.⁵

However, in practice English proficiency at that time was confined to the elite.

In recent years the nationalist compromise has been profoundly altered from without and from below. India's growing prominence in global trade and information processing has led to a huge increase in the demand for people proficient in standard English. Despite the election of an avowedly Hindu nationalist government in 1998, the proliferation of teaching and study of English has grown at a rapid rate in India. As a 2003 *New York Times* article put it, "In the past decade, English has moved from being the gatekeeper of the elite to being a ladder up for the masses."⁶ This has been accompanied by the growing use of English as a literary medium by Indian writers. Indeed, Salman Rushdie has argued that the key fact is qualitative not quantitative: the best recent fiction by Indians is being written in English.⁷

A similar string of events occurred in Pakistan, where the new constitution designated Urdu as the country's national language, while continuing English for official purposes for 15 years. Urdu was widely used (especially in cities) as the lingua franca, even though it is the first language of less than 8 percent of the population. Its official status resulted in some resentment and

occasional riots, but in practice Urdu has continued to function. However, English did not fade away but remained entrenched in the upper levels of education, the military, and other parts of society. As a Pakistani scholar noted in 2003, "English is as firmly entrenched in the domains of power in Pakistan as it was in 1947." He also suggests that English is now gaining support as more non-elite persons able get the education to function in the high status areas, just as is happening in India.

Nationalism also moved independent Sri Lanka to abandon English, making Sinhala the only official language in 1956. Education in Tamil was also severely curtailed. However, in 1989 the govt reversed path, partly after the revelation that one of the cabinet ministers had enrolled his own children in English-medium schools, but also in part because the lack of proficiency in English among the youth was seen a root problem of youth violence. Education in Tamil was also promoted.⁸

In conclusion, while there can be no denying that the British Empire was a powerful force for introducing the English language to many parts of the world, that language's continuing importance was determined by the dynamics of individuals and nationalist movements in different non-settler colonies. The shallower tradition of writing in indigenous languages and the absence of an acceptable local candidate made it easier for Africans to opt for expanding the colonial language, while South Asians were moved in the opposite direction. But the South Asians' efforts to create national unity around an existing language had problematic outcomes. The growing importance of the United States and of globalization has also reshaped the Asian decisions. From the perspective of globalization, it could be argued that Nigerians and other Africans made the "right" decision, but that ignores the fact that the decision was made for pragmatic and nationalist reasons.

NOTES

¹ Marjory Perham, *Lugard: The Years of Authority, 1899-1945* (London, 1960).

² Chinua Achebe, "The African Writer and the English Language" (1964) in Chinua Achebe, *Morning Yet on Creation Day* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1975), 92-95, quote p. 95.

³ Syama Prasad Mookerjee, "Schools in British India," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 233 (May 1944): 30-38.

⁴ Paul R. Brass, *The Politics of India since Independence* (New Cambridge History of India, part 4, vol. 1) (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), 140.

⁵ Brass, *Politics of India*, 145.

⁶ Amy Waldman, "In India, a Heyday for English (the Language)" *New York Times*, 14 Dec. 2003.

⁷ Salman Rushdie, "Damme, This Is the Oriental Scene for You," *The New Yorker*, June 23 & 30, 1997, 51-60.

⁸ Rahman, Tariq. "Language Policy, Multilingualism and Language Vitality in Pakistan" 2003, accessed 18 Jan. 2006.

⁹ Barbara Crossette, "English Is Making a Comeback in Sri Lanka," *New York Times*, 7 January 1990.

Letter from the President

Dear Colleagues,

Summer is normally a slow time for WHA business, but this past summer was a busy one. Most importantly, we welcomed Kieko Matteson's return as our permanent Executive Director, and thanked Winston Welch for all of his hard work as our interim director. The transition was smooth, and Kieko has focused her attention on a number of projects, beginning with our June conference and then with special emphasis on membership and financial record keeping. Her previous experience as the WHA executive director and her energy, skills, and, above all, commitment to the WHA and its mission are invaluable to us. We are in debt to Winston for all that he did during his tenure with us, especially in preparing for the conference.

Over the past several years our annual conferences have become increasingly important to our membership and to our financial stability. Last June our first-rate annual conference "Expanding Horizons, Collapsing Frontiers: the Macro and Micro in World History," was well attended and greatly appreciated. The outstanding keynote speeches, along with an array of excellent panels, workshops, exhibits, and other offerings were enthusiastically received. Highlights included a reception and special tour of the American Geographical Society Library at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Attendees browsed through their collection of historical maps and other geographic materials, recognized as one of the finest collections of its kind in the country. We are indebted to Al Andrea, the conference committee chair, Merry Weisner-Hanks, our local arrangements chair, and the members of their committees who made this successful conference possible.

This coming June 25-29 I hope you will attend our 17th annual conference at Queen Mary, the University of London. Professor Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, of Queen Mary and Tufts University, and Professor Leonard Blussi, of Leide University will deliver keynote speeches. The Conferences Committee has arranged four- and five-day accommodation packages that will make London very affordable. Al Andrea, the indefatigable and dedicated chair of the committee, already has negotiations well under way for conferences in 2009, 2010, and 2011, and we expect formal letters of invitation for at least two of these before the end of the year. Al travels frequently both within the U.S. and abroad at his own expense seeking new conference sites and making arrangements.

The announcement of newly elected WHA officers and council members is included elsewhere in this issue. I want to congratulate Anand Yang as he moves into the presidency, our new vice president/president-elect Al Andrea, re-elected secretary Ane Lindfelt, and new treasurer Carolyn Neel. We also welcome new Council members Craig Lockhard, Heather Streets, and Laura Wangerin. I also give my thanks to all of the other candidates who ran for election. Their willingness to step forward and take on the responsibilities of office is greatly appreciated. We are fortunate that so many capable and dedicated people are willing to serve the WHA. Finally I want to thank Jacky Swansinger, a longtime WHA member, Council member, and officer, as she finishes her latest term as treasurer. Her long and deep involvement with many facets of the WHA has contributed greatly to the organization.

This is my final letter to you as your president, and I want to thank you for granting me the opportunity to serve the WHA in this capacity. In turning over the leadership to Anand Yang, our incoming president, I leave you in excellent hands. I am excited as I look forward to the continued growth and the new endeavors that lie ahead for our organization.

Sincerely,

Michele Forman

Teaching Forum

Teaching World History with Graphic Novels

Linda Kelly Alkana

California State University, Long Beach

Consider the following: The *New York Times* regularly reviews graphic novels in its Sunday Book Review section. Nearly 60% of Montreal library patrons, who responded to a reading survey, said that *la bande dessinée* collection was the reason they visit libraries.¹ Shelves in chain book stores in the U.S. are being redesigned to accommodate multiple graphic novel and manga readers. Sequential art classes are now being offered in universities and colleges. And in Japan, where over 40% of its entire published media is manga, the “government announced that even its annual defense white-paper report was going to be released in manga form, in an attempt to reach readers in their twenties and thirties.”²

Graphic novels, *la bande dessinée*, sequential art, and manga are all terms for what many people call comic books. This medium—a mixture of words and images—is, perhaps, the fastest growing print medium in the world today, and, as such, is important for historians to investigate as primary sources for understanding popular culture, and as secondary sources that disseminate historical research. As D. Aviva Rothschild, the author of *Graphic Novels: A Bibliographic Guide to Book-Length Comics*, argues that “it is time to insist that graphic novels are a genre unto themselves.³

This paper investigates this developing genre, and discusses its background, evolving definitions, internal categories, and appropriateness in the learning environment. The paper argues that graphic novels or comics comprise a particularly important medium for World History educators to understand and incorporate into their teaching, and it offers a selective bibliography for those who wish to become acquainted with this book-length combined word and image genre. In *Comics and Sequential Art*, Will Eisner—acknowledged as the father of this medium in the English language-speaking world—examines “the unique aesthetics of Sequential Art as a means of creative expression, a distinct discipline, (and) an art and literary form that deals with the arrangements of pictures or images and

words to narrate a story or dramatize an idea.”⁴ He demonstrates this unique aesthetic in his ground-breaking *Contract with God Trilogy*, which describes the life of a Jewish family in the Bronx during the depression, and his recent and final work, *The Plot: the Secret Story of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, in his “effort to employ this powerful medium to address a matter of immense personal concern.”⁵ The latter is a diligently researched work of history, and is one of many examples of graphic novels that can enrich the study of World History. He calls this art form “graphic novels,” and, despite the fact that many such works, including his own, would not be labeled novels because they are not fictive works, the term “graphic novels,” with a few dissenters, is the one utilized by most librarians, educators and reviewers of this genre.

One such dissenter is Scott McLeod, who has written two important books analyzing the medium: *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* and *Reinventing Comics*. These books are written appropriately in graphic novel or, as he would prefer, “comics” form. He defines comics as “Juxtaposed pictorial and other images in deliberate sequence, intended to convey information and/or to produce an aesthetic response in the viewer.”⁶ McLeod, much like some other comic book devotees, prefers the term “comics” to “graphic novel,” but his contributions to understanding this medium, much like Eisner’s, transcend definition differences. Art Spiegelman’s Pulitzer-prize winning book *Maus*—an account of his parents’ experiences in the Holocaust and afterwards, where the Nazis are cats and the Jews mice—brought legitimacy to this medium. He has suggested the term “comix” with an “x” is an appropriate term that conveys the co-mixing of words and pictures.⁷ Steve Raiter, a comics reviewer, suggests “graphic non-fiction,” but that, of course, presents the same kind of limits as “graphic novels.”⁸ To complicate issues further, *la bande dessinée* or BDs are used in France, and, of course, “manga” is the term in Japan. It appears that in the English speaking world, the term “graphic novels” is winning out, even for historians. A recent issue of the journal *Rethinking History* is dedicated to graphic novels. Since adults can be “kidnapped” and cell phones “dialed,” we should be able to accept biography, memoir, non-fiction and journalism under the rubric “graphic novel.”

Despite these definition differences, Scott McCloud’s *Understanding Comics* is a crucial

first step for both anyone wishing to understand the medium and its increasing popularity, and for historians who want to incorporate graphic novels into their curriculum. He separates comic books from comic strips, cartoons and illustrations, and draws upon art and media theory on icons and representation to dispel any sense that comics are merely a separation of words and pictures intended only for juveniles or for entertainment. Rather, he argues “words, pictures and other icons are the vocabulary of the language called comics.”⁹ Graphic novels or comics are a medium—they should not be confused with their content any more than the *The Da Vinci Code* should be confused with the King James version of the Bible, despite the fact that both of these books appear in a word-only based print form.

In fact, comics, to use McLeod’s term for a moment, have a history that by far predates its modern manifestations. Sequential art is evidenced in the cave paintings of Lascaux in France, ancient Egyptian tomb paintings, ancient Greek and Roman marble carvings, and even the creation story on the Sistine Chapel. Eighteenth-century artist William Hogarth is generally credited as being the first modern sequential artist. McLeod sees Hogarth’s 1731 six-plate picture story, “A Harlot’s Progress” as “a story rich in detail and motivated by strong social concerns.”¹⁰ The Yellow Kid, introduced in the United States in 1895 and the root of the term “yellow journalism,” linked sequential art, daily newspapers and popular culture. By the 1930s, superheroes and action comics typified the genre, but were by no means the only comics. Attacks against these other more creative, innovative and sometimes prurient comics, however, brought about the Comic Code Authority’s self-censorship in the 1950s which “led to the thematic stagnation of the sequential art medium for several decades,”¹¹ and the installation of a comfortable middle class worldview as exemplified in *Blondie*, *Peanuts* and *Archie*. A combination of demographic and technical changes, marketing strategies, and theoretical insight transformed this sequential art in comic books form to the graphic novels that are proliferating today.

A few of these changes included a shift of sequential art from newspaper to comic book form whose extra pages and more selective readership allowed for more developed and creative story lines. Better printing techniques and higher quality paper, in part a response to the fragility of comic books which were becoming increasingly

expensive and valued by collectors, gave graphic novels a durability that consumers and librarians welcomed in the 1970s and 1980s. Not surprisingly, readers' expectations also changed as the medium became more sophisticated. Furthermore, the rise of semiotic, cultural and visual language studies attracted educators and scholars to analyze graphic novels. In a 2005 *New Yorker* article Peter Schjeldahl analyzes the growth of what he calls "a new art form" in demographic terms:

Graphic novels-pumped-up-comics-are to many in their teens and twenties what poetry once was, before bare words lost their cachet. The nineteen-sixties decided that poet types would thenceforth wield guitars; the eighties imposed percussive rhythm and rhyme; the two-thousands favor drawing pens.¹²

Librarian Michele Gorman looks at this explosion in graphic novels production from the point of view of the reader, after noting that library circulation increases the more its holdings are composed of comic books and graphic novels. She points out that unlike "any preceding generation, this group of readers is comfortable with non-text visual media and is therefore more at ease 'reading' the combination of words and pictures that is utilized in the graphic-style format to tell a story."¹³ Michael Lavin, in "Comic Books and Graphic Novels for Libraries: What to Buy," extends this analysis, noting that the generation who grew up on comic books in the eighties and nineties are now adults—in fact they could be our students—many of whom have mastered the complex cognitive skills required for reading comics.¹⁴ There is a possible parallel here with a generation that has grown up on video images and computer games who have developed very different computer and learning skills than their teachers who are charged with interesting and educating them.

If, as Lavin points out, comics as a communication medium touch millions of lives daily, it behooves educators to recognize how visual literacy skills have become increasingly important in a visual age, and to understand that students may bring different learning capacities with them to the classroom. Philip Yenawine argues that "visual literacy is the ability to find meaning in imagery," and points out that it is "incorrect to assume that we learn to negotiate meaning in imagery simply by exposure. Increased capacities require both time and broad exposure as well as educational interventions of various sorts."¹⁵

This being said, however, not all World History teachers, of course, want or need to be visually literate. Yet, just as some educators are already receptive to incorporating films, memoirs and other works of literature into their curriculum, they may also welcome graphic novels or comic books as part of their teaching repertoire. Certainly, a graphic novel would not substitute for the textbook or reading collection used in many history classes, but it is a viable complement, in much the same way as a work of litera-

ture or a film would be, and the study guide or preparation for a graphic novel assignment would, no doubt, reflect the instructor's interest and skills in the same ways as other complementary assignments. With this in mind, the following addresses why graphic novels might appeal to history students and educators, and suggests some examples of how they could be used in a World History class.

Although most of the recent scholarship on graphic novels has been done by librarians, art historians and educators, the majority of whom welcome the expansion of the genre with its ability to increase interest, learning, and literacy, the form of graphic novels is also particularly useful in a World History curriculum,¹⁶ because much of the subject matter is relevant to World History topics, and these works, and secondary research on them, are published globally.¹⁷ Furthermore, the form is compatible to students with a variety of language skills. Most manga, for example, even in translation, reads right to left. Patricia Storace who reviewed Marjan Satrapi's *Persepolis*—an important graphic novel for World Historians that chronicles the author's experiences as a young girl in revolutionary Iran—suggests that it "is not too fanciful to say that Satrapi, reading from right to left in her native Farsi, and from left to right in French the language of her education, in which she wrote *Persepolis*, has found the precise medium to explore her double cultural heritage."¹⁸

Neurobiology studies on learning skills note that European and North American school curricula are based on patterns and concepts evolving from an auditory based language system with a phonetic alphabet and consequent learning styles based on the sounds and sight of words.¹⁹ English and German, for example, are low context languages where words are used for communication, while Mandarin or Japanese are considered high context where visual subtleties are important for meaning. Sociologist Kinko Ito argues that it is these differences that could explain the popularity of manga.²⁰ We don't need these sociological studies, however, to understand that the 21st century is a visual century. Globalization itself and the omnipresence of the World Wide Web, have led to the proliferation of non-verbal visual icons. As Art Spiegelman noted about the 2006 Danish cartoon controversy over images of the prophet Muhammad: "We live in a culture where images rule."²¹

But, it is not just the universality of images and icons that makes graphic novels suitable for the history curriculum. Some World History teachers may want to utilize them in the classroom because they like the appeal of innovative ways of learning and writing history. Two other recent innovative approaches to history share the same promise as graphic novels. Historian Anna Pegler-Gordon researches photographs. She notes that although many "historians are trained to view images... (they view them) as illustrations of written history rather than sources of his-

tory themselves,"²² and when they do look at images, they focus on moving images such as motion pictures. In her concentration on photography, she draws upon new research in composition, context and representation. By extension, of course, the sequential art of comic books is the stuff of this new scholarship. Another innovative approach to history is being taken by the recent MacArthur "genius award" recipient, historian Emily Thompson who is studying aural (not "oral") history in an attempt to get at "how people of the past understood their own world,"²³ by analyzing how people perceived sound. Graphic novels, with the combination of images and words might be the medium that will suit her research. Graphic novels, of course, can show sound.

Other history educators possibly welcome the recognition of graphic novels by the history profession. The editors of *Rethinking History* argue that "the very hybridity which had been used to condemn comics as a 'bastard form'... (is now) being used to celebrate the potential of this previously discredited art."²⁴ They mention, of particular interest to World History, the cross-cultural translation of many graphic novels, and note that the graphic novel form allows for multiple points of view, often in one frame. French historian Brett Bowles extends this line of reasoning, making a good case for using comic books for history:

Because comics, even more so than other literary genres, operate in a liminal discursive space between reality and fantasy, they provide access to what French scholars often call *l'imagination social et politique*, this is, a kind of collective social and political unconscious ... (functioning) as an alternative, and in some cases, a counter-historiography, where traumatic historical episodes can be represented and worked out in ways that other media cannot.²⁵

This segues into another appeal graphic novels have for historians—they can do so much. Their form combines expository print, dialogue balloons, color, black and white, multiple font sizes and script, collage, direction arrows, asterisks that send readers to appendices or different pages, background information, visual grimaces, descriptions, sound effects, etc. Like all good history monographs, comics can explain and analyze, but with their ability to appeal to the senses, they can offer a richer understanding of history. As Lavin argues: because "graphic novels possess the added benefit of visual impact, they contain the dramatic power to convey important truths about extremely difficult human situations."²⁶

In fact, some writers choose the graphic novel for this reason. More so than many other historians, comic book historians identify themselves as the writers of history. There is a self-consciousness of comic book artists who write history and choose to depict historical situations. Many graphic novels fit all the criteria of good monographs, memoir or other traditional history

texts, but, perhaps because they have been a marginalized genre, they can offer the student of history a glimpse into how history is written. This self-consciousness is sometimes evidenced in massive footnotes or cross-referenced frames—that make graphic novels particularly engaging for students, making history both demanding and appealing at the same time.

The following is a brief discussion of 5 graphic novels that should be of interest to World History educators. These works represent different historical eras, different geographic locations, and different approaches to history, and have been chosen because they are regularly reviewed and should be easily accessible—factors that are important for educators considering using graphic novels..

Except for the pictures, one might view Chester Brown's *Louis Riel* as a traditional biographic monograph. It is well-researched with endnotes, a bibliography and an index. Not only does it examine the life of the charismatic Riel, a Metis—half Indian and half French—who led a rebellion against the Canadian government in the 19th century—its cast of characters and topics include Prime Minister MacDonald, President Grant, various indigenous peoples, French and English settlers, and the growth of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, as well as Riel's mysticism, his trial and execution..

Certainly the topics themselves—settlement of a frontier area, clash of cultures, persecution of minorities, etc.—are important for world historians and transcend the Canadian location. What makes this an interesting book, however, is Brown's self-awareness and meticulousness as a historian. The "Forward" reminds the reader that biography is selective and some distortion is necessary for the comic book format. Then, in his endnotes, he explores the distortions. In the dialogue bubbles, he puts parentheses around the French speakers, and double parentheses around those who speak Cree. The reader becomes conscious of communication issues in a way the word print medium cannot do. Brown's *Louis Riel* is fairly straightforward, and its language is sometimes unimaginative. Nevertheless, it makes the specifics of Louis Riel and events in 19th century Canada comprehensible as part of the global clash of cultures in world history.

Persepolis is something else all together. Although the topics Marjane Satrapi treats in this account of her experiences as a child in revolutionary Iran are as tragic and bloody as Riel's rebellion and the settlement of the North American West, her use of language and the juxtaposition of images (a real strength of graphic novels) makes *Persepolis* an informative, interesting and often hilarious work. A child of privileged left-wing parents in Iran, Marjane and her family initially welcome the rebellion against the Shah, but as the power of the mullahs becomes apparent and Iran goes to war with Iraq, horrors begin to mount. Women are forced to wear veils, her uncle is executed, and shells fall around their

house in Tehran. Satrapi concentrates on the daily experiences, where wearing a Michael Jackson button might warrant a lashing, but she still reaches out to music and fashion—teenage interests which become acts of rebellion and danger in Iran. The book ends when her family sends her to Austria (to the nuns—different veils)—it's too dangerous for a free thinking girl in Iran. Satrapi has also written *Persepolis II* which details her return to Iran and her beginnings as an art student. The specifics of the Iranian Revolution, religious fundamentalism, and gender are, certainly, only a few of the issues that the use of *Persepolis* in a classroom could help world historians explore.

Two other books deal with Bosnian War in the last decade of the 20th century. Joe Kubert's *Fax from Sarajevo* documents the daily trials of the Rustemagic family who were trapped in Sarajevo for two years, struggling with their daily needs for food, heating and medical care. Kubert, a long time comic book writer with credits such as *Sgt. Rock*, *Tarzan* and *The Flash* and founder of the Joe Kubert School of Cartoon and Graphic Arts, was contacted by fax by Rustemagic, an international art agent. For two years and through thousand of faxes, the two men kept in touch—one under siege, the other trying to help. Kubert turned these faxes into an amazing work that incorporates the faxes into the graphic novel format. It is a one of a kind work that should be appreciated by anyone who wants to understand this truly global event—faxes linking continents, the ethnic cleansing of the Muslim population, U.N. intervention, and a Jewish American comic book artist's desire to remind the world that genocides continue

The other book, Joe Sacco's *Safe Area Gorazde: The War in Eastern Bosnia 1992-1995* is the journalist's account of his travel to Gorazde, a U.N. designated safe haven, which was far from safe, for those who suffered and died there. Sacco made four trips to Gorazde and documents the events there based on interviews, testimonials and his own eyewitness accounts. A *New York Times* reviewer calls this book "the best dramatic evocation of the Bosnian catastrophe...a work that improbably manages to combine rare insight into what the war in Bosnia felt like on the ground with a mature and nuanced political and historical understanding of the conflict."²⁷ Either of these works would be crucial for someone teaching the late 20th century World History.

Finally, Art Spiegelman. When his comic book version of his parents' experience of the Holocaust won the Pulitzer Prize, Spiegelman, later a cartoonist for *The New Yorker*, became known outside the genre. He gave up writing comic books as too labor intensive until the events of 9/11. He writes in the introduction of *In the Shadows of No Tower* that his parents had always told him to keep a bag packed and wait for the other shoe to drop, because bad things happen. Art Spiegelman only realized what that meant as the Trade Towers came tumbling down and he, a resident of lower Manhattan, found

himself running to the collapsing towers to get his children from the U.N. school located there. *In the Shadow of No Towers* reveals the personal trauma that happened to Spiegelman and his family in those next few months. But, it also reveals much more. Spiegelman, who has a tremendous sense of history—the inside book cover shows the *New York Times* of September 11, 1901 with Emma Goldman under arrest for the assassination of President McKinley, and the second half of the book is a history to the New York comic book industry—understands how the Holocaust experience of his parents affected him, and wonders how a new war will affect the future. Spiegelman doesn't ask what the causes of 9/11 were. Rather, he asks what the consequences will be. How better to engage a history student than to link history to their lives? The time for comic books and graphic novels has come.

NOTES

¹ Olivier Charbonneau, "Adult Graphic Novels Readers: A Survey in a Montreal Library," *Young Adult Library Services* (Summer 2005):40.

² Steve Raiteri, "Graphic Novels," *Library Journal* 129 (November 2004): 64.

³ D. Aviva Rothchild, *Graphic Novels: A Bibliographic Guide to Book-Length Comics* (Englewood, CO: Libraries Unlimited, 1995), xiv.

⁴ Will Eisner, *Comics and Sequential Art* (Tamarac: Poorhouse Press, 1985), 5.

⁵ Will Eisner, *The Plot: The Secret Story of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2005), 1.

⁶ Scott McLeod, *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* (New York: Harper Collins, 1994), 9.

⁷ Hugo Frey and Benjamin Noyes, "Editorial: History in the Graphic Novel," *Rethinking History* 6 (2002): 255.

⁸ Steve Raiteri, "Graphic Novels," *Library Journal* 129 (November 2004): 64.

⁹ McLeod, 47.

¹⁰ Ibid., 16.

¹¹ Joseph Witek, *Comic Books as History* (Jackson: University of Mississippi, 1989), 9.

¹² Peter Schjeldahl, "Words and Pictures," *New Yorker* 81 (October 17, 2005): 162.

¹³ Michele Gorman, "Graphic Novels and the Curriculum Connection," *Academic Search Elite* <http://web106.epnet.com.mec1.library.csulb.edu> (accessed March 3, 2006).

¹⁴ Michael Lavin, "Comic Books and Graphic Novels for Libraries: What to Buy," *Serials Review* 24 (Summer 1998): 32.

¹⁵ Philip Yenawine, "Thoughts on Visual Literacy," in *Handbook on Teaching Literacy through the Communicative and Visual Arts*, edited by James Flood, et al. (New York: Macmillan Library Reference, 1997), 1.

¹⁶ Peter Schjeldahl is less enthusiastic about the genre than others, and wonders if "over-the-topness is endemic to comics...and consequently is ill-suited to serious subjects, especially those that incorporate authentic social history." Schjeldahl, 165.

¹⁷ See in particular here a special issue of *Rethinking History* (2002) that contains multiple articles that analyze *la bande dessinée* as primary sources that give insight into issues from Vichy France, to Thatcher's England, to the reinterpretation of Spanish colonial history on the anniversary of Columbus'voyage.

¹⁸ Patricia Storace, "A Double Life in Black and White," *New York Review of Books* (April 7, 2005), 40.

¹⁹ Jacqueline Waggoner and Ellyn Lucas Arwood, "Student-Centered Learning: Visual Language with the Brain in Mind" (paper presented at the Teaching-Professor Conference, Nashville, TN, May 21, 2006).

20 Kinko Ito, "A History of Manga in the Context of Japanese Culture and Society," *Journal of Popular Culture* 13 (February 2005):457. Although this paper does not treat examples of manga, a recent translation of *The Four Immigrants Manga*, which describes the life of Japanese immigrants in San Francisco in the early 20th century, should be of interest to World History teachers. See Gretchen E. Schwartz, "Graphic Novels for Multiple Literacies," *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 46 (3). [http://www.readingonline.org/newliteracies/jaal/11-02_column/index.html](http://www.readingonline.org/newliteracies/lit_index.asp?HREF=/newliteracies/jaal/11-02_column/index.html).

21 Art Spiegelman, "Only Pictures?" interview by Sam Graham-Felsen, *The Nation*, March 6, 2006, 5.

22 Anna Pegler-Gordon, "Seeing Images in History," *Perspectives* 444 (February 2006): 28.

23 Emily Thompson, "How Does Professor Find Success? Listen Carefully," interview by Larry Gordon, *Los Angeles Times*, June 15, 2006.

24 Frey and Noys, 256.

25 Brett Bowles, "Comic Books as Literature and History," *Proceedings of the...Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* 29 (2003):113.

26 Lavin, 33.

27 David Rieff, "Bosnia Beyond Words," *New York Times*, December 24, 2000.

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SEWHA NEWS

The *Southeast World History Association* (SEWHA) held its 19th Annual Conference 12-14 October 2007 in Savannah, GA. The conference, hosted by Armstrong Atlantic State University, consisted of 36 presentations plus a Keynote talk by Michael Hall. The attending historians and historians-in-the-making represented twenty different institutions who participated in twelve panels, including *The Mouse that Roared: Small States in World Affairs; Ideas Across Borders; International Contact and Conflict; Views of the Self and the Other; Religion and Cultures; and Peoples Across Borders*. The assorted presentations included such topics as "Central Asia in World History: More than Just Mongols;" "Freud, Elias and Zimbardo and the Decivilizing Process;" "Red Shambahla: Inner Asia and Esotericism in Soviet Russia, 1920s;" "Anarchist Terrorism as a Global Phenomenon, 1880s to 1930s;" "The Other Army: Italian Women at Home;" "Orientalism;" "Islam and the Status of Muslim Women in India, 1857 to 1947;" "Chinese in Latin America – Sojourners or Diaspora?" and "Don't Start the Revolution Without [Talking About] Me!" In addition, there was a teaching-oriented panel entitled *Challenges in Teaching* that included presentations entitled "A Week in the Life of Mahatma Gandhi: A Lesson" and "Working with Warriors, Derailers, and Hamsters: Implementing Discussion Based Teaching in the World History Classroom."

The 2008 meeting of SEWHA, to be held in Little Rock, AR from 16-18 October, will be the affiliate's 20th Anniversary Conference. Hosted by Arkansas Tech University (www.atu.edu) and the Old State House Museum (www.oldstatehouse.com), the conference will officially begin at 9:00 a.m. on October 17th and end at 2:00 p.m. on October 18th. The meeting will follow the traditional SEWHA pattern of panels being held on Friday and Saturday; however, the Little Rock conference will also include a welcoming Presidential Reception on Thursday, October 16th. Conference sessions will be held in the historic 1836 House Chamber (Arkansas Legislature), and the Saturday Luncheon will be held in the Riverfront Room, overlooking the Arkansas River. For more information on SEWHA or the 2008 conference, visit the organization's website, www.sewha.org.

SEWHA continues to be an active regional affiliate of the World History Association. While the organization includes members from all over the United States, the officers especially encourage WHA members living in the southeastern and southern regions of the USA to join us.



The 2007 World History Association Teaching Prize has been awarded to Cedric G. Beidatsch for *Gateway to the Seventeenth Century: Dutch Shipwrecks on the West Australian Coast*. Mr. Beidatsch can be contacted at the University of Western Australia, School of Humanities, M208, 35 Stirling Highway, Crawley, Western Australia 6009, Commonwealth of Australia. E-mail: beidac01@student.uwa.edu.au OR cedricgb@hotmail.com (preferred).

Gateway to the Seventeenth Century: Dutch Shipwrecks on the West Australian Coast

Cedric G. Beidatsch

Background: In 1628, the Dutch East India Company ship *Batavia* was wrecked on the Abrolhos Islands, off the coast of Western Australia. While the fleet and ship commanders were sailing to Java for help, the ship's officers led by the chief merchant, slaughtered around 120 crewmen and passengers, shared out the surviving women in common, and plotted to capture the rescue ship and turn pirate.

The *Batavia* was only one of a number of VOC shipwrecks in this period along the West Australian coast and the total of the remaining artifacts present a fascinating material picture not only of seventeenth-century life, but also of world trade. Other wrecks include the *Gild Dragon* (*Vergulde Draeck*) and the *Zuytdorp*. In addition, the period saw a detailed mapping and survey expedition led by Willem de Vlamingh in 1696.

The *Batavia* shipwreck and mutiny can be seen as a liminal event, one that breaks down the ordinary seafaring day, transforming what would otherwise be a footnote in history into an occurrence which allows scholars an opportunity to examine the intersections of themes not normally associated (for example: Anabaptism, Rosicrucianism, and world trade). This in turn allows us to cross boundaries of categories of historical understanding.

The Lesson and the Curriculum: The lesson was titled “The Road to the East”. It was designed to be the introductory workshop for a 12-week unit on seventeenth century history. The unit was titled *The Baroque*, and while the emphasis was on Europe, it adopted a strong world history approach, especially in the tutorials and workshops where the emphasis was on European encounters with the “Other.” It was aimed at senior-level university students – in the Australian context where a university degree is a three year course, senior means second and third year students in combination. In other words, they have already had some exposure to the academic study of history.

The purpose of the lesson was to attract student interest very early in the semester by breaking down the distances – both chronological and physical - between their location in twenty-first-century Western Australia and seventeenth century world history. Given that the *Batavia* mutiny occurred in Western Australia, and that the story is dramatic and well known locally, with physical artifacts available in the state museum, it seemed this bridging exercise could be achieved this way.

At a pedagogical level, teaching world history is a challenge in an isolated and parochial culture like that of Western Australia. By focusing on an event of local interest and pursuing ‘clues’ found in that event, the local and the global, the present and the past, can be connected in ways that are exciting to students.

Learning objectives: Specific learning objectives for this lesson were:

- 1) To introduce students to a variety of sources – documentary as well as physical (material objects) and alternative sources of historical knowledge (ship replicas, historical re-enactments, archaeological site reports, forensic reports).
- 2) To introduce students to the methodology of micro – macro historical research; specifically using Carlo Guinsberg’s method of ‘clues’; finding traces of unexpected connections within the layers of information in a particular historical event and following them backwards. A concrete example within this lesson is the discovery that the chief mutineer belonged to a heretical sect in the Netherlands – the Brethren of the Free Spirit, and following this lead into the past.
- 3) To expose students to group work and collective research and analysis, and to encourage a ‘problem solving’ approach.

Procedure: The lesson was conducted in a workshop fashion. It was scheduled to be held in the second week of the semester, so at the first lecture during the first week, students were divided into five work groups. Each group was allocated a particular aspect of the various voyage, shipwreck, and mutiny stories, to research collaboratively.

Preparatory work thus entailed:

All students examining the physical remains of the various shipwrecks and of the camp sites, either by visiting the excellent museum displays at the Western Australian Museum Shipwreck Galleries, or by examining the selection of material illustrated on the museum web site.

Each group in addition had a reading list, which they were expected to share among themselves. Each student thus had some readings to complete.

The actual class work involved each group working together to answer a set of questions about the aspect they had been assigned. The intention was for them to pool their readings and use their shared knowledge to develop group answers to the questions. Each group then reported back to the class as a whole, answering the posed questions. A class question-and-answer session followed, in which each further elaboration and clarification could be obtained. The class ended with a summary by the tutor/facilitator, who emphasized that these discussions were only a beginning. Many of the themes raised would be explored in more detail in later classes, and students were encouraged to further explore any of the themes introduced, especially for their project essays. The key learning point was emphasized: that any historical event was a multi-layered affair and careful examination of the sources could lead to unexpected vistas and insights into the past. Students were encouraged to see past events as multi-layered, complex “texts” from which many “clues” about past experience could be derived. By unraveling the tapestry of past events, threads could be followed into highly unlikely places. After all, who would have expected that the story of a shipwreck, mutiny, massacre, and bloody retribution would lead to a discussion of the relationship of Rosicrucianism to heresy, science, and radical political ideas! Some brief historiographical readings were distributed after the class. Students had two weeks to read these and reflect on the ideas they raised in relation to the *Batavia* topic. A brief reflective statement of 200 words was then to be written and handed in a fortnight later.

The above lesson was designed to be accomplished in a 45-minute session. An alternative using 90 minutes was also prepared. In this version, after the initial group question-and-answer session, some excerpts were shown from a film on the mutiny made by a local group of reenactors. This was followed by a general discussion on the value of different kinds of historical evidence, focusing on how learning was enhanced by the viewing of material remains, archaeological and forensic reports, reenactments and the like.

Student understanding was assessed and gauged by class discussion and by a short quiz directly after the class, and a written reflective statement two weeks later.

Outcomes: The lesson was immensely time consuming and complex to prepare, but well worth the effort. There was insufficient class time to fully report back on all the topics, and some material was thus introduced to students in a very brief, near telegraphic fashion in tutor summary. It proved to be a good exercise in collective research-planning and problem-solving. It was a popular workshop with the students with a number of them referencing it out as the highlight in surveys. Student participation and engagement was excellent and many made favorable comments about the lesson, either at the time or subsequently. When whole of unit feedback was conducted at the end of the semester, a sizable minority (around 12 out of 49 enrolled students) still selected this lesson for comment as a highlight.

A common item of feedback was “This workshop taught me/encouraged me to think of history in a totally different way.” There were many other favorable comments; however, as permission was not obtained from the students to quote from their feedback sheets, the University’s rules of ethics preclude these from being published.

Possible Adaptations:

Conduct the lesson at the Western Australian Museum after students have examined the exhibits there.

Offer a list of group research projects derived from themes introduced in the lesson as part of the overall unit assessment, with a group presentation later in the semester.

Set up an online discussion forum for the class on the unit intranet site to allow ongoing discussion and exploration of ‘clues’.

For a first-year level class, reduce the material to the *Batavia* story only, and eliminate the other shipwrecks. This would reduce the themes a little, but the narrower focus would also reduce potential confusion.

List of Appendices:

Themes and reading lists for groups.

Questions posed in class.

Quiz, reflective statement, and feedback form.

List of other available online resources, primarily for teachers.

Appendix I

Topic One: What can the Batavia mutiny tell us about social relations in the early modern period?

Primary sources:

“The Journal of Francisco Pelsaert” in Henrietta Drake-Brockman, *Voyage to Disaster*, 2nd paperback edition, (UWA Press, Nedlands ; 1995), pp. 141 -254. Skim for the sections that talk about the mutineers and the story obtained under interrogation, especially the account of the rivalry between the Captain and the Commander, and the attitudes towards the official passengers and the women passengers on board.

Juliette Pasveer, Alannah Buck and Marit van Huysee, “Victims of the *Batavia Mutiny*: Physical Anthropological and Forensic Studies of the Beacon Island Skeletons,” *Bulletin of the Australian Institute for Maritime Archaeology*, vol. 27, (1998) pp. 45 – 50. In this case the human remains are the actual primary source, but they can only be understood by reading the scientific report on the investigation.

Secondary sources:

C. R. Boxer, “Dutch East Indiamen” in *Mariner’s Mirror*, vol 49, no. 2, pp. 82 – 118.

J. R. Bruijn, “Mutiny: rebellion on ships of the DEIC,” *Great Circle*, vol 4, no. 1, pp. 1- 9.

Els Jacobs, *In Search of Pepper and Tea. The Story of the Dutch East India Company* (Netherlands Maritime Museum, Zutphen : 1991), pp. 37 – 50.

Jean Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison WI: 1983)

Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company* (Floris Publications, Dordrecht, Holland: 1986)

Questions for the Group

1) Who were the mutineers? What was their position on the ship and in the company? What were their social and ‘national’ origins? Can we relate the mutiny in some way to shipboard conditions? What were those conditions?

2) What does the violence of the mutineers tell us about violence in general in early modern life? Was the seventeenth century a particularly violent period of history, at least in Europe? What evidence is there for that? What does any surmised European propensity to violence imply about European society?

3) What place did mutiny play in the culture and conduct of the East India Company?

4) What can we learn about Dutch law from the investigation and punishment of the mutineers?

5) What was the mutineers’ attitude toward women? How did this reflect general European gender relations? Were their attitudes in any-way similar to those displayed toward Asian women in the Company settlements? (Batavia, Cape Town, Colombo, Malacca, Bombay).

Topic 2: Religion, Heresy, Toleration, and the Occult Philosophy in Baroque Europe

Primary sources:

“The Journal of Francisco Pelsaert” in Henrietta Drake-Brockman, *Voyage to Disaster*, 2nd paperback edition, (UWA Press, Nedlands ; 1995), pp. 141 -254. Focus on the account of the interrogation and statements of Corneliesz, the mutiny leader.

“Letter of Gijsbert Bastiensz, Predikant” in Drake-Brockman, pp. 263 – 269.

Secondary sources:

Henrietta Drake-Brockman, *Voyage to Disaster*, 2nd paperback edition (UWA Press, Nedlands ; 1995), pp. 73 - 77.

Mike Dash, *Batavia’s Graveyard* (London: 2002), pp. 17 – 43

Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, paperback edition (London, Paladin Books: 1970), cc. 8 & 9, pp. 148 – 186.

Robert Friedmann, *The Theology of Anabaptism: An Interpretation* (Scottsdale: 1973).

Cornelius Krahn, *Dutch Anabaptism: Origin, Spread, Life and Thought* (Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague : 1968). Browse both the above to get a sense of what the Anabaptists believed about social hierarchy, status and equality and violence.

Silvia Federici, *Caliban and the Witch* (Autonomedia, New York: 2004) A roller coaster ride through the worlds of early modern social conflict.

Robert Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages* (Berkeley, University of California Press ; 1972).

Henry Kamen, *The Rise of Toleration* (McGraw Hill, New York: 1968). Browse for information on the famous religious tolerance of the Dutch Republic.

Frances Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London : 1972)

Phil Taylor, “The Batavia Mutineers: Evidence of an Anabaptist “Fifth Column” Within Seventeenth Century Dutch Colonialism?” *Westerley*, December 1970, pp. 33 – 45.

Questions for discussion

- 1) Can Corneliesz' reported statements, behavior, and actions be connected in any way with his possible Anabaptist and Free Spirit background?
- 2) Can parallels be drawn between the mutineer camp on the Abrolhos and the Anabaptist 'kingdom' of Muenster in 1531? What would they be?
- 3) If we compare accounts of Muenster, the *Batavia*, and later accounts of the Free Spirit recorded in Cohn's book, we find a common theme in the supposed community of women. What does this tell us about the development of patriarchal society in the seventeenth century?
- 4) How much of the famed tolerance of the Dutch Republic was on display to Corneliesz' supposed 'teacher' as recounted by Dash? Or to Corneliesz himself on account of his beliefs at the trial? Were there religious limits to tolerance, and if so what?
- 5) Why were authorities so frightened by Rosicrucianism? How does Rosicrucianism relate to the political developments in seventeenth-century Europe?

Topic 3: Piracy and Protest

Primary Readings:

"The Journal of Francisco Pelsaert" in Henrietta Drake-Brockman, *Voyage to Disaster*, 2nd paperback edition, (UWA Press, Nedlands ; 1995), pp. 141 -254. Look for those sections that detail the Captain's original plans to seize the ship and turn pirate.

Secondary readings

Virginia West Lunsford, *Piracy and Privateering in Golden Age Netherlands* (Basingstoke, Palgrave: 2003)

Hugh F. Rankin, *The Golden Age of Piracy* (Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, New York: 1969)

Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea* (CUP, Cambridge: 1987)

Marcus Rediker, *Villains of all Nations* (Verso, New York and London: 2004)

Kevin Rushby, *Hunting Pirate Heaven: In Search of the Lost Pirate Utopias of the Indian Ocean* (Constable, London: 2001)

Peter Wilson, *Pirate Utopias: Moorish Corsairs and European Renegades* (Autonomedia, New York: 2003)

Questions for Group:

- 1) If the piracy plan had succeeded, where were the mutineers likely to have gone? Was there sufficient Indian Ocean commerce at the time to have stayed in the area?
- 2) What were the attractions in turning pirate? Was it just loot, an easy life or did the option contain some element of social protest? Can connections be drawn between the possible social ideas of the mutineers (especially Corneliesz) and the occupation of piracy?
- 3) Would the mutineers have "fit in" with Atlantic pirate bands, given they were Dutch or German?
- 4) How "middle eastern" were the Barbary pirates?
- 5) What was the relationship between Dutch commerce and piracy?
- 6) Would successful piracy have provided a possible path back to respectability for the mutineers?

Topic 4: Trade and Treasure

Primary Sources

The real primary sources here are the surviving trade goods not only from the *Batavia* but also the *Vergulde Draeck*, on display in the museum. The archaeological reports provide a means of understanding all the physical and scientific investigations that contextualize the material.

Jeremy Green, *The Loss of the VOC Rectourschip 'Batavia' Western Australia 1629: An Excavation Report and Catalogue of Artifacts* (Oxford, B.A.R.: 1989), pp. 191 – 210

Jeremy Green, *The Loss of the VOC Jacht 'Vergulde Draeck Western Australia 1656: An Historical Background and Excavation Report with an Appendix on the Similar Loss of the Fluit 'Lastdrager'* (Oxford, B.A.R.: 1977), pp. 43 – 60, 169, 172, 293 – 330.

San Wilson, *Doits to Ducatons: The Coins of the DEIC Ship 'Batavia', Lost on the Western Australian Coast 1629. A Brief History of the Ship and the Story of Its Silver Coinage with an Illustrated Catalogue* (Perth, WA Museum: 1989)

Secondary Sources

- Valérie Bérinstain, *India and the Mughal Dynasty* (Abrams, New York: 1988), chap. 3.
- Henrietta Drake-Brockman, *Voyage to Disaster*, 2nd paperback edition (UWA Press, Nedlands: 1995), pp. 21 – 34, 84 – 93.
- K Glaumann, *Dutch Asiatic Trade 1620 – 1744* (Copenhagen: 1958)
- Els Jacobs, *In Search of Pepper and Tea. The Story of the Dutch East India Company* (Netherlands Maritime Museum, Zutphen: 1991), pp., 51 - 54.
- Om Prakash, “European Trade and South Eastern Economies: Some Regional Contrasts, 1600 – 1800” in Leonard Blussé and Femme Gaastra, *Companies and Trade* (Leiden Uni Press, Leiden: 1981), pp. 189 -205.
- Barbara and Thomas Metcalf, *A Concise History of India* (Cambridge Uni Press, Cambridge: 2002), chapter 1.
- D. Simpson, “The Treasure of the ‘Vergulde Draeck,’ *Great Circle*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 13 – 17.
- Niels Steensgaard, “Commodities, Bullion and Services in International Transactions before 1750” in Hans Pohl (ed), *The European Discovery of the World and Its Economic Effects on Pre-Industrial Society 1500 – 1800* (Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart: 1990), pp. 9 – 23.
- Pierre Vilar, *A History of Gold and Money* (NLB, London: 1972).

Questions for group

- 1) Why did the Dutch ships carry so much silver? Why not more trade goods? What conclusions can you draw from this about the relative quality and technical skill of European versus Asian manufactures?
- 2) Where did the silver come from? How was it obtained?
- Can you reconstruct the world trade circuit and the role of the DEIC in this circuit?
- 3) How were European interests secured in this trade network? From an Asiatic perspective, what role did Europeans play? How important were they?
- 4) How would you characterize European conduct within the circuit of world trade? Does this lead you to reconsider your view of the past?
- 5) The Batavia carried a special cargo including some ancient Roman antiques to deliver to the Emperor of India, Shah Jehan, builder of the Taj Mahal. This was a result of an earlier report submitted by the expedition commander Francisco Pelsaert when he was stationed in India (Drake-Brockman pp 21 – 34). Analyze the trade and diplomacy strategy behind this approach. Again, what does it tell us about the conduct of trade in the early modern period? For example, how did European material culture compare to that of India?
- 6) The effort put into recovering the treasure cargo of the *Batavia* by Pelsaert was immense. Why do you think he did this?

Topic 5: Dutch Exploration and Empire

Primary sources

Willem C. H. Robert (ed), *The Explorations 1696 -7 of Australia: Extracts from Two Logbooks Concerning the Voyage To and Explorations On the Coast of Western Australia and Other Documents Relating to This Voyage* (Philo Press, Amsterdam: 1972)

Secondary readings:

- Femme Gaastra, “The DEIC: a reluctant discoverer,” *Great Circle*, vol 19, (1997)
- Ellen M. Woods, *Empire of Capital*, paperback ed. (Verso, London and New York: 2005), 61 – 72
- P. Playford, *Voyage to Discovery: The Story of the Vlamingh Expedition* (Perth: 1998)

Questions for discussion

- 1) What impression did Vlamingh form of Western Australia in his journal?
- 2) How did this differ from the impression recorded in the logbook?
- 3) How do you account for any differences? Could the reason lie in the nature of the instructions given to Vlamingh by the Company?
- 4) What subsequent view did the DEIC form of Western Australia as a place for settlement?
- 5) What does this episode reveal of the colonial and settlement policy of the DEIC? What were they after?
- 6) How can you characterize the Dutch empire then in comparison to the Spanish, for example?
- 7) Give consideration to the summary of the work of Hugo Grotius on international maritime law in Ellen Wood’s book. Is this more understandable when taking into account the nature of the Dutch empire? What do you think was the relationship between the policies exercised by the DEIC and the theories of Grotius?

Appendix II

Classroom Activities – Full 90 Minute Lesson

Working groups meet and discuss the posed questions for 20 minutes.

Each group reports back (5 minutes), and using the questions as a guide, provide a summary of their conclusions. 25 minutes in total. The class is thrown open to discussion and clarifying questions to the groups for 15 minutes. Teacher should only intervene where answers are not forthcoming or seriously inaccurate.

Film clips from the Television reenactment of the mutiny. (12 minutes)

General discussion (up to 20 minutes) – questions posed by the tutor: How did you find reading the original sources? What were your feelings and thoughts about the event, the participants, and the sources? Did you gain any particular insights from viewing the surviving physical artifacts? Did they make the past seem any closer, or further away? Was your learning and understanding helped or hindered by looking at physical evidence?

Some of the questions involved reading unusual sources – archaeological site reports and forensic reports on human remains. What did you learn from these? Could you have learned that any other way? What particular difficulties did these sources involve?

Having viewed a reenactment of the mutiny, did you gain any further insights into the events on the Abrolhos in 1628? Do you think reenactments are valid tools for learning about the past? Why? Why not?

What have you learned about the historian's task of reconstructing the past? How far can you push the evidence? Are Taylor's arguments historically acceptable or just a speculation? How can historical events illuminate or lead us to unexpected corners of the past? In turn, how much depth of insight can we gain from widening our context beyond the immediate? Is studying the past a bit like encountering an iceberg (90% hidden)? If so, how does the historian avoid becoming a *Titanic*?

Tutor then summarized the key points and issues of the class and distributed the quiz and the post class reading. Students were reminded that there was a web page on the unit site for ongoing discussion of this topic, and that they were to hand in a post-class analysis in two weeks. 5-7 minutes were allowed to complete the quiz and they were handed in as the students left

Appendix III

Classroom quiz

1) What position did the mutineers hold in the ship's hierarchy? How could this have impacted their decisions to mutiny?

2) Do Anabaptism and the Free Spirit heresy cast any light on the motivations, objectives, and conduct of the mutiny leader Corneliesz? Why do you think he led the mutiny and not the captain who originally proposed it?

3) What was the mutineers' attitudes toward women? Was this a common attitude toward women in seventeenth-century Europe or in the Dutch colonies?

4) Why did the VOC ships carry so much silver? What can we deduce about world trade and production in the early-seventeenth century from this?

5) Why did the Dutch not want to settle in Western Australia? What insight does this give you into their colonial strategies and policies?

Post-Class Exercise

Readings distributed: Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretative Theory of Culture," in *idem, The Interpretation of Cultures* (Basic Books, New York:1973.), pp. 3 – 39; Carlo Ginzburg, Excerpts from *Clues, Myths and the Historical Method* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore: 1989); and Matti Peltonen, "Clues, Margins, and Monads: The Micro-Macro Link in Historical Research," *History and Theory* 40 (October 2001), pp.347-359.

Reflective statement: "The past is a foreign country. They do things differently there" (J. B. Priestly)

Write a 200 – 250 word statement reflecting on your experience of learning in the *Batavia* workshop, in light of the theoretical readings distributed. How has your perception of the past - and of what can be learnt from any individual event -changed? What can the historian do when confronted with the foreignness of the past? Can studying one event in detail provide an entry point to the past? How do you think about history now?

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Appendix IV

Other sources for teachers

Grey Company, *The Batavia Story*, <http://members.iinet.net.au/~bill/batavia.html> Website of the reenactment group that acted in the documentary. Contains still photos from the film, a good summary of the key events, and a list of names.

VOC Historical Society, Batavia's Graveyard, <http://www.voc.iinet.net.au/batavia.html> Website of the VOC Historical Society of WA. Has a dramatically written summary along with photos (including one of the mass graves of mutiny victims, as well as dramatic color illustrations. Links provided to other VOC shipwreck sites in WA.

National Center for History Education, *The Batavia and her Detectives*, <http://www.hyperhistory.org/index.php?option=displaypage&Itemid=345&op=page> Website of the Australian Government National Center for History Education, this is a resource for teachers. Site contains the story of the event as well as of the research and excavations. It focuses on the works and interpretations of the four key researchers of the site since the 1950s. Classroom questions, ideas for activities and other pedagogical aids are all included. Reproductions of period wood cuts as well as contemporary photographs and many links can be found here.

Bataviawerf, <http://www.bataviawerf.nl/en/index.html>

Website of the Bataviawerf a reconstructed seventeenth-century Dutch shipyard which built a replica of the *Batavia*. Ship's plans, photographs, as well as information on shipbuilding can be sourced here.

Western Australian Museum, Batavia Gallery, <http://www.museum.wa.gov.au/oursites/maritime/exhibitions/batavia.asp>

Website of the WA museum includes pictures of the surviving hull of the *Batavia* and artifacts, including a skeleton and the great stone gateway carried in the hold for the VOC fort at Batavia in the East Indies. Follow the link to the Dutch shipwreck galleries to see the silver and other objects from various wreck sites.

A Week in the Life of Mahatma Gandhi: A Lesson Plan*

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This paper is based on the premise that one of the biggest challenges facing us as instructors and teachers is not the getting of facts right, or the provision of compelling narratives, or enriched social contexts, or the inclusion of multiple perspectives, but rather the stimulation of students' imaginations in such ways as first, to enable them to set aside the entrapments of their present, and second, to compel them to interrogate the conclusions they come to about the past.

Here I am differentiating between what it takes to be a good historian and what it takes to be a good teacher. Certainly, to be a good history teacher demands all the refinements of a good historian, the skillful use of sources, the relentless ferreting out of understandings, awarenesses of ever-widening circles of interpretation, and so on. Being a good historian alone, however, does not make one a good teacher of history. In other words, my focus is not on the challenges of doing history; instead it is on the pedagogical concerns we face. To consider these challenges, I lay on the table for discussion an example of an experimental assignment I used last year for a course I teach on Gandhi. Titled, "A Week in the Life of Mahatma Gandhi," the assignment asked students to live like Gandhi for a week.

In the paragraphs that follow, I will briefly review the design of the course and its objectives. I then turn to the needs I saw that prompted the creation of this assignment. I will go over its requirements and parameters, how the students implemented it, their reactions and sometimes surprising outcomes. In my final remarks, I will ponder what the assignment accomplished—and what it did not.

The course

A third-year undergraduate course cross-listed in the Departments of Global Studies and Religion and Culture, RE/GS321 is advertised

Drawing of Gandhi by Pogany
(U.S. Library of Congress)



as a study of Gandhi's life and his thought, but it situates Gandhi's life within a nexus of historical processes and movements, and uses Gandhi's life as a focal point to make forays into discussions about colonialism, comparisons between state formation in South Africa and in the Indian sub-continent, the circulation of religious thought, and more. Courses of this sort have been around for a long time and discussion about their usefulness in teaching world history continues to be topical, as seen by the "Gandhi and World History" panel at the 2003 World History Association meeting (Gilbert 2003). Such courses, designed to shed light on the social and political contexts that informed Gandhi's work, can serve the academic fields of history, global studies, and religious studies. The stature of a figure known in mythic dimensions is the bait; undergraduates are more apt to sign up for a course on Gandhi than, say, a course on colonial India. Gandhi is the lure to get them to think history. Simply put, the aim of the course is to enable more informed understandings, understandings that have historic depth.

Common beliefs about Gandhi that circulate in popular culture aid in making the material more accessible in that discussions require less introduction. These same common beliefs, however, can occlude deeper engagement. Students often find the rigor of revisiting long-held beliefs challenging. The iconic status of Gandhi works to open up scholarly investigation, while simultaneously foreclosing upon the demands of rescripting accepted narratives. And that is also the danger of the course: instead of seeking to recontextualize their understandings, students can become preoccupied with their preoccupation with Gandhi. Some ride the course like a roller coaster, careening from adulation to hostility and suspicion, where judgments about Gandhi's power-brokering, his visionary politics, and certainly his public confessions in his autobiographical writings bring out in the students all manner of hostility to his character. I call this process a "learning by disenchantment" that forces students to see past appearances and the beliefs they so cherish about those appearances. But it often backfires, in that students become so preoccupied with passing judgment that they miss the larger issues at play.

Likewise, there are others who simply do not get Gandhi's life, not what he was up to, not the pulls of the different worlds he lived in, not the cross-cultural resources he drew upon in the formulation of his techniques of social transformation, and certainly not the circumstances of his time. These are the students who flatten the contours of the past, unable or unwilling to see anything beyond their understanding of the present. When, in given Gandhi's autobiography to read, they take it at face value, mistaking it for a documentary about his life, rather than the artful manifesto that it is. They approach the past in the same way they watch reality TV—they find it sometimes entertaining, sometimes boring, but always in real time. These are challenging students, because in many ways they are immovable.

Artful teaching takes many forms. At its core is the devising of ways to enable students to get past the limits of their understanding. One first must get them to recognize the limits, and to do that, we often devise devious ways to get them to struggle with the confinements, the limitations of their experiences, and their desire to generalize out of that experience. Even the best of students who are able to recite backwards and forwards the ills of the legacy of colonial impositions, can be guilty of much the same entrapment, the inability to step outside of their own experience. How not to perceive as they commonly perceive is the challenge they face.

We all know that telling students what not to do never works. Instead, we often resort to trickery by leading them somewhere they think they expect to go, but then when they arrive, they are somewhere else. These are the "ah-hah" moments, when we stop being the teacher who lectures or acts as a tour-guide, and instead take a few risks in the hope that what follows might be transformative. That is where the design of an experimental assignment of having students live for a week like Gandhi came into play. It was an assignment that got personal; it got right into the nitty-gritty of their daily lives. It asked them to rethink everything they did for a set period of time, in this case seven days of their lives.

It might seem counter-intuitive that highly experiential work—an assignment that took students inside themselves—would be suggested as a means of prompting students to get outside of themselves. Indeed, it might seem to cater to students' taste for reality TV, and I will discuss some of the pitfalls of such an assignment shortly. Its logic, however, was that by having students live intentionally for a week, they might be able to gain some perspective on their unexamined assumptions about the conditions, circumstances, motivations, and agency that informed their lives, and thus be sensitized to the temporality of their concerns. The assignment required students to think through their outlook, their daily routines, their consumption, their reactions to events around them, their ways of addressing conflict, and so on, and to do this over against what they thought they understood to be approaches commensurate with Gandhi's social and moral philosophy. In doing that, the assignment asked them to stand outside of themselves for a short period of time with the aim of giving them a glimpse of how to break through the pervasiveness of their present. I hoped that by getting them to adopt another perspective—in this case a Gandhian perspective—to think about their present they might better be able to avoid universalizing their preoccupations, and thus conflating their current concerns with concerns of other times, other places, and other peoples. As odd as it may appear, by allowing them an indulgence—to experiment with Gandhi's lifestyle—I was trying to get my students to detach themselves from themselves for a little while. I do not think I was taking any liberties with Gandhi's life, because, as I argue elsewhere, Gandhi himself suggested such modeling in his autobiography, albeit for different ends. [Koppedrayer 2000, 2002] My purpose was to give students a little distance from themselves; his was a much larger project of personal and social transformation.

The Parameters of the Assignment

I attempted to build this process into the parameters of the assignment by setting up a few demands prior to their week of experimentation. The first requirement was that the students cull from Gandhi's autobiography (1993) and from Raghavan Iyer's edited collection of Gandhi's writings (1996) an applied and practical philosophy. These readings had already been assigned, and in the case of the autobiography, students had already completed a paper, so they were returning to familiar material. This preliminary phase required a second close reading of Gandhi's writings, with the hope that this reading would be done even more carefully because of the new ante. What they read now mattered in a way it previously had not. In my years of teaching I have found that students often confuse judgment and analysis, mistaking criticism for critical thought, or conversely come to approval without really knowing why they approve of or like what they have

read.

With this first requirement, I was asking them again to scrutinize Gandhi's writings in order to understand them, but now, because they had a different incentive to do that—because their understanding was no longer passive, but one they would have to implement—their relationship with the writings began to shift. They had to go deeper into them because now they, as readers, were being asked to shift their sense of selves. This phase of the assignment held students accountable to what Gandhi had said. Further, it tried to engage their imaginations by asking them to implement, temporarily, an understanding of Gandhi's thought. Here I am distinguishing between application and implementation in that implementation asks for some reconfiguration through a leap of imagination, whereas application allows for selective appropriation.

The second stage stemmed from this first requirement. Here I asked them to draft a set of guidelines to which they would hold themselves accountable during their week of Gandhian simulation. Each student was required to determine his or her guiding principles, but how they were to be formulated was left open-ended. The guidelines could be as strict or as lenient as anyone wanted, so long as it could be argued that they reflected an approach Gandhi would have taken. Of course, the majority of the students set themselves up for rigorous challenges. Extreme make-over might be how I would describe it, with fixed periods of silence, fasting, and more fasting.

The remaining two requirements of the assignment were to keep a journal for the week's duration (which presumed that they were actually following through with their commitment to live according to Gandhian principles for the week) and then to write an essay discussing their experiences from start to finish. They were to discuss the process by which they drew up their guidelines, how they implemented them, their actions, experiences, reactions during their week, and their observations about the entire experiment. I asked them to be particularly attentive to any dissonance, whether a result of their deviations from their intentions, or challenges in following through, or reactions from others.

This assignment was an optional assignment. All students in the class had the choice of doing a research paper, doing a study of Gandhi's writings on *satyagraha* (his applied philosophy of conflict transformation), or this experiential assignment. My initial course design included only the options of a research paper or the *satyagraha* assignment. The third option stemmed from a conversation I had with a student who wanted to do more than a rote assignment of looking up material, transcribing it, and forgetting it soon after the final mark was recorded. That conversation got me thinking about ways of engaging students' imaginations. I know an experiential assignment was a risky prospect, hence the building into it the various steps just described. Still, I had no assurances that any of these safeguards would add any more substance to it. In my concluding remarks, I will take up that question. What was clear, however, was that the assignment had a lot of takers the instant I announced it. Only a handful of students who were deeply committed to the work they had already begun exercised either of the other options. Everyone else wanted to enter into an experimental and experiential world.

What followed was a flurry of discussion. Students began e-mailing me with thoughtful and rather comprehensive listings of the guidelines they were abstracting from Gandhi's writings. Some attempted critical self-assessments by scrutinizing their daily routines and even their mental states to see where they could bring their actions and moods in tandem with Gandhi's views on what constitutes meaningful living. They rehearsed behavioral modifications, expansions of social conscience, development of inner lives, along with some pretty fanciful excursions into dietary change and restrictions. We spent the beginning of the next several classes getting up-dates on what everyone was planning. In the early exchanges leading up to their week of experimentation, students began borrowing ideas from each other. One of the students spoke about his interest in Gandhi's weekly day of silence. That showed up on everyone's list. That the month of Ramadan had just ended fueled non-Muslim students' interests in fasting. It turned out that everyone wanted to attempt a fast of one duration or another, the most extreme being the student who decided to fast for the entire week. An outcome of these discussions was that various ideas began to catch on. With visions of lawsuits in my head and the recognition that I had not cleared this assignment with my university's ethics committee, I cautioned them on their excesses.

As students moved closer to their week of living like Gandhi, a recurrent theme was the amount of pressure they were getting from their friends who either scoffed at such an assignment or suggested that they just make up their experiences. As I listened, I thought back on the Apple® advertisement of some years back that showed the iconic image of Gandhi sitting at his spinning wheel, with the line that read, "Dare to be Different," realizing the peer pressure these students faced, and how hard it was for them to step outside of it. The fact that they brought it up, signaled, if nothing else, the degree to which it weighed on them. If the assignment was asking them to step outside of themselves, these comments indicated that they were being forced to reappraise their commitment to do that through the reactions of their friends. Their recognition of that pressure put them in a position to think about the way one is quick to judge or dismiss others' actions. Although the assignment was not enlightening them about life in pre-Independent India, it was offering them insights into the potential intolerance that results when people are unable to disengage themselves from their immediate circumstances.

The advice they got from their friends to fake it was equally revealing. Students told me that friends had counseled them to pretend to go through with their experiments, instead of actually seeing them through, telling them that I'd never know. This counsel seemed to be based on a view that course requirements were assigned for the sake of performing a set of prescribed actions, rather than serving to help students develop critical awareness. In effect, this advice of pretending offered another take on plagiarism: that the student imitate, rather than do. This kind of coaching offered, for me, a sad commentary on students' understanding of university education, but the fact that those who brought it up appeared to be troubled by it, suggested they retained some investment in the promise of education.

These weekly debriefings also allowed other feedback on the courses of actions some students had chosen for themselves. To my dismay, I found that some of their adaptations ended up being caricatures. Just as more than a few had initially come to the class with heroic visions of Gandhi, they likewise chose exaggerated expressions in the regimens they set out for themselves. One student decided that he wouldn't shave for the week. Another chose to seclude herself. Describing herself as an extremely social person, she decided to restrict her activities. Another was not going to wash her clothes for reasons that included a statement against the fashion industry. She based this action

on the logic that Gandhi rejected consumerism. These extremes required dismantling, starting with the observations that Gandhi neither had a full beard nor was a yogi secluded in a cave in the Himalayas.

While some students were exercising their unexamined assumptions, others presumed that any expression of social conscience would reflect a Gandhian approach. All sorts of current preoccupations—environmental, anti-consumerist diatribes against the fast food industry, and so on—crept into their plans of action. These exaggerations and conflations indicated that, while many students were working with general understandings of Gandhi's philosophical orientations and activism, they were still struggling with not only specifics, but also nuances of meaning. Significantly, there were other students in the class who eloquently questioned these approaches. Their work with Gandhi's writings and their recontextualizations of their knowledge of his life enabled them to recognize the way different concerns were being conflated. The debriefings allowed a dialectic to take place, with students being able to question each other and learn from each other in ways that they had not been able to before in class discussions.

And then, their experiments began.

The Experimental Week

I found that among the students there were predictable trends. In popularity, fasting was particularly attractive, followed by periods of silence, whether for complete days or set periods every day. Given Gandhi's advocacy of vegetarianism, it was no surprise that everyone limited or stopped their intake of meat, though some students sought extremes in stricter diets. Some went strictly vegan, while others opted for organics or locally-grown food, reflecting current eating trends. Students also got caught up in ideas of not wearing make-up and attempting to eliminate or minimize their preoccupations with appearance and fashion.

Many students attempted to limit their engagement in entertainment and diversionary activities. Different students tried, often unsuccessfully, to stop watching TV, surfing the net, logging onto FaceBook, and other distractions. Some attempted celibacy for the week, others set aside time for contemplation or meditation. These trends, as well as others, gave me insight into the daily lives of the undergraduates around me, probably more than I really wanted. More than a few wrote about celebrating the end of their week of vegetarianism with the biggest, juiciest hamburger they could eat. Another observed that he saved over \$100 in food costs that week because he stopped buying fast food and junk food on campus.

One of the biggest surprises was how programmatic their approaches were. Early on, some of the more creative students gave careful thought to Gandhi's autobiographical and other writings. In identifying certain key features of his teachings, such as his arguments for simplicity, they sought not only to understand the guiding principles behind his various pronouncements, but also to consider contemporary analogous circumstances where they might implement these principles. The generosity of one student in walking the class through her reasoning of limiting her computer use only to productive outcomes, either educational or work-related, prompted many of the others to do the same. Although the first student had worked through enough of Gandhi's writings to present a coherent argument in support of this adaptation, others simply followed suit after listening to her observations. That some students are innovators while others are not is in itself surprising, but it was troublesome that the bulk of the class was willing to let others do their thinking. I also wondered whether the programmatic approach I saw reflects on undergraduate teaching and students' over-riding concerns with meeting expectations.

A second surprise was the degree to which students emphasized restrictions. This may well have stemmed from class discussions about Gandhi's interpretations of the *Bhagavad Gita*, the Hindu text in which he found much inspiration. Gandhi's readings of the Gita emphasized the need to purge oneself of certain tendencies such as violent impulses and capitulation to sensual gratification. Tied to his larger project of recovering Indian agency, self-purification had not only religious, but also political implications. Many students, however, took the idea of discipline to extremes. Their ideas of the necessity of limitations and restrictions seem to stem from associations of a religious life with the rejection of all pleasure and enjoyment. As contemporary Gandhians, they were mightily stern in their emphasis on restraint. Even though discussion during the preparatory phase of the assignment had addressed some of these extremes, restriction and the giving up of life's pleasures remained themes in the structuring of their week. It seemed that students relied on certain tropes—what Catholics do during Lent, how Puritans frowned on dancing—for their understanding of religiously-disciplined action. For them discipline equated denial. This emphasis on denial suggested that many students found it difficult to understand a religiously-informed life and turned to a repertoire of stereotypes for inspiration.

A third not entirely unexpected revelation was the difficulty students faced in getting beyond surface understanding. They were able to mimic certain of Gandhi's actions, such as vegetarianism, but on the whole students found it much harder to reorient their outlook and approach to their circumstances. A couple of students discussed how they consciously implemented Gandhian techniques of mediation and conflict transformation as occasions arose during the week. They described this as both challenging and rewarding because it forced them to rethink their routine approaches to disagreement. In these students' papers and in some of the others, there were insights that recognized the differences between their world and that of Gandhi.

Did the assignment accomplish what was hoped?

So, did the assignment work? The answer to that is yes and no. It was a hilarious few weeks, and, if nothing else, the assignment mobilized the class. It gave them much to think and talk about it. It also has assumed legendary proportions in students' memories. "Awesome" was the word one students used to describe it just this past week. What he followed up with by way of explanation gave some indication of what worked. He observed that he learned as much from when he broke his Gandhian vows as when he followed them. In that way I think the assignment prompted students to rethink their actions, intentions, relationship with their surroundings and friends and, in its own way, helped give students some distance from their immediate concerns. It helped them better to understand how they respond to situations. Certainly, some students blew off the assignment, as evinced by their celebrations marking its end. It was just another interlude in their pur-

suit of wondrous experiences. I think for these students, the assignment was but an indulgence. Nonetheless, for others, the assignment gave pause and perspective.

With regard to their comprehension of Gandhi's thought, the assignment forced them to examine some of their hitherto unexamined assumptions. In instances such as the two I cited above—the woman who sought to reclude herself and the man who decided not to shave—students were forced to rethink what they thought they understood. Both had made certain facile conclusions about how Gandhi lived which they had to rethink in light of a reexamination of what Gandhi actually did. It was the implementation of these assumptions that flushed out the weaknesses of their logic. Because the assignment required some *doing* in addition to their thinking about the material, they were better able to see the implications of their assumptions, especially when questioned by other students.

Overall, as an experiential assignment, I think it had merit. But, on the question of whether or not it served to enrich their understanding of Gandhi's historical circumstances, I am not convinced. Many of the better students did indeed fortify their program of action with careful work with Gandhi's writings. They became better readers of this material and I think they also became more perceptive of the differences between Gandhi's life and theirs. In effect, they became better primed not to conflate the worlds they were studying with the world they knew. Still, the assignment did not teach them anything more about colonial India, or the Independence movement, or the situation in South Africa at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. But maybe it helped sharpen their perceptivity because it asked them to understand a way of thinking that was not their own. Instead of inserting their present into the past, they had to grapple with an otherness they thought they understood, but recognized they didn't, at least not in its entirety.

What I learned from this adventure was that many students find it difficult to exercise their imaginations. They are pretty good at imitating, but not so good at imagining. This realization has set me on thinking about how to implement more assignments that will get them thinking, and perhaps along the way, they might become better historians.

* A version of this lesson plan was presented at the 19th Annual Conference of the Southeast World History Association (October 2007) in Savannah, GA.

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Formation of a Conference Group for the Study of Religion in World History

A group of participants in the World History Association Annual Meeting in Milwaukee gathered under a tree on the Marquette University campus to deliberate on whether a Conference Group for the Study of Religion in World History was desirable. The overwhelming sentiment was in favor of forming such a group. The need is to respond to the relative lack of religious topics in the teaching and scholarship in world history in the past.

Discussion of what the group's purview should be revolved around two basic activities: 1) maintaining a presence in the meetings of the WHA and other professional groups; 2) establishing a network of correspondence and engaging in common projects throughout the year via an email newsletter.

On the first point, it was agreed that we should seek official recognition from the Executive Committee of the WHA. Members would be expected to be active in organizing and participating in panels at future meetings, and also at other associations such as the AHA. These could be announced through H-World. It was suggested that we not only organize panels on religious topics, but also try to insert papers dealing with religion into other panels, thereby demonstrating that religious history is inseparable from economic, political, and social history. It was also suggested that panels be structured to reach a wide audience, including secondary school teachers. Among the specific ideas for panels that came up at the meeting and later in conversation were: 1) problems which teachers face in teaching religion in world history; 2) integrating religion into Big History; 3) sacred cities (cities are one of the themes of next year's conference). Finally, it was decided that the group should have a meeting at each annual conference to air common concerns and interests.

On the second point, it was thought that a newsletter could provide a forum for a number of activities, such as: 1) sharing research projects; 2) suggesting proposals for new research projects; 3) preparing bibliographies in the members' field of expertise; 4) proposing a common research theme for the group and have individual members report on parts of it. Obviously the success of such endeavors depends on the efforts of the group's members. The initial goal is to collect materials for a quarterly newsletter, to be distributed by email.

David Lindenfeld has agreed to be the initial organizer for the group. Persons interested in joining should contact him at the following address:

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Louisiana State University
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IN MEMORIAM

John Richards

World history lost a valued advocate and practitioner when John Richards died on August 23, 2007, after a long battle with cancer. John was about to retire from Duke, where he had taught for 30 years after moving from the University of Wisconsin.

John cared deeply about the study and teaching of world history – and contributed accordingly. Trained as a South Asianist, he never stopped doing important work that fit that regional framework, but he also began doing world history well before it was fashionable. By 1983 – when the WHA was just beginning – John had published an edited volume on money and precious metals in the late-medieval and early-modern worlds, and another on deforestation around the world in the nineteenth century. Important work on many other topics followed, including his prize winning *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World* (2003).

That book brought together three of John's deepest interests. It was, first and foremost, a spectacular history of the early modern environmental change. Second, it was also a comparative history of early-modern state-formation, which, John showed, had driven the intensification of resource use in many settings. Third, it was a step towards a general theory of worldwide social change, based on what John saw as the increasing sophistication of human organizations in this period and in social settings ranging from the Thule of Greenland to the gigantic empires of South and East Asia and the chartered trading corporations of Europe. The book is stunning in its breadth, a testimony to John's enormous intellectual energies. Most of us who do world history cheat a bit – or to put it more charitably, capitalize on our early training: there is always a bit more of China, or the British Empire, or whatever we began our careers with, than one might otherwise expect. But as an editor of the series in which *The Unending Frontier* was published, I had to argue with John to get him to put more of Mughal India in the book; always eager to learn more, he had immersed himself in so many other literatures that he no longer needed to look "home" to feel oriented. The mixture of chapters in the book – combining case studies of particular regions with globe-girdling chapters organized around hunting and the fur trade, or the increased exploitation of the oceans – also spoke to John's eclecticism; his world history built on context-rich, area-based research and went beyond it, yet never disparaged it. The book was also testimony to John's strong wish that history engage more strongly with the natural sciences – not just learning enough to support or contradict one pet theory, but enough to be a real interlocutor for people who had different sorts of expertise about our planet.

Environmental historians are not always the most optimistic people, for understandable reasons. But John – who once suggested that historians in general would benefit from compulsory doses of Prozac – was reliably cheerful and positive about the future. Some of that came, I believe, from his very strong faith in the value of education – I never heard him doubt that good teaching and research could help make the world better. Firm in the belief that what we did mattered, he was never shy about objecting to ideas he disagreed with, often strongly; but always with respect for the person behind the idea, and for a collective project of learning. He was a wonderful colleague with whom to toss around ideas – including ones you feared might be a little wacky and needed generous but honest criticism. And he was a wonderful colleague with whom to collaborate on a project – even when he had become quite sick, he cheerfully carried his load and never stopped being solicitous about the lesser problems the rest of us dealt with. It is hard today to call someone "a gentleman and a scholar," without sounding ironic; but, shorn of any pretentiousness (for which John would have had little patience), the phrase fits him perfectly.

I was unable to attend the celebration of John's career in Durham last fall but many people did: the large crowd, including colleagues and students from every phase of John's career, was testimony to the enormous impact he had on many fields and many people. Like all of John's public appearances since he fell ill, it was an occasion he handled with exceptional grace. It was impossible to see John without seeing how much he loved his life, how much more he hoped to do, and how sad his loss would be; yet he also had a matter-of-fact way of dealing with his situation that focused everyone around him on gifts to be appreciated. John leaves behind a body of work that is enormously stimulating, and a personal example that is deeply inspiring. -- Ken Pomeranz

BOOK REVIEWS

Peter Dykema
Book Review Coordinator

Lauren Ristvet. *In the Beginning: World History from Human Evolution to the First States. Explorations in World History*. McGraw-Hill, 2007. 184 pp.

John A. Mears
Southern Methodist University

If the ultimate purpose of world history is to provide comprehensive perspectives on the human historical experience, then such perspectives must be long as well as large. They must juxtapose important continuities and critical changes. They must encompass the extraordinary diversity of human behavior and accomplishments together with the shared propensities and characteristics. From these assumptions it surely follows that one way teachers and scholars in the field must expand their fields of vision is through the integration of what we once called prehistory with our customary consideration of events since the advent of ancient Sumer.

The task is daunting, for if we want to take more than a cursory look at the origins and very early history of humankind, then we must be prepared to venture into the foreboding domain of anthropologists and archaeologists, whose presuppositions, methods, and source materials are sometimes unfamiliar to historians, and whose slender bodies of evidence often preclude the possibility of firm conclusions and seldom yield the narrative detail historians regard as essential to their tasks. Yet, for more than ninety-nine percent of the time our hominid ancestors lived on this Earth, they functioned within gathering and hunting contexts. Much of what makes us human evolved in our pre-agricultural past. Moreover, the principle components of the other major human adaptations defined and studied by anthropologists—pastoralism, the agricultural village, and the city—had emerged by the end of the Neolithic period.

These considerations, taken together, underscore the value of what archaeologist Lauren Ristvet has achieved in an admirably compact volume. She manages to cover such major themes as hominid evolution, agricultural origins, the formation of complex societies, the elaboration of ancient civilizations, and the emergence of hemispheric networks prior to the arrival of Europeans in the Americas. In her analysis, she treats a host of other significant but frequently neglected issues, including gender roles in foraging societies, the development of the family and private property, improvements in farming known as the "secondary products revolution," and the shift to patriarchy.

Ristvet enhances the usefulness of *In the Beginning* by orienting her analysis of primary topics around a series of key questions, starting with "when did history begin?" She delineates global processes through a skillful application of the concepts of convergence and divergence, most notably in her discussions of the Upper Paleolithic creative explosion and the emergence of the African-Eurasian world-system. She illustrates her conclusions with carefully selected region-

al case studies. The most intriguing, perhaps, is her presentation of Harappa as a stateless society, relying on a proto-caste system rather than the state as a mechanism for political, socio-economic and cultural integration.

Ristvet speaks to university professors with her clear summaries of recent scholarship, to high school teachers with her compelling demonstration of what we can derive from another discipline about such theoretical issues as how cultures relate to their total environment and why they change over time, and to curious students with her explanation about how scholars can possibly know so much about the distant past and what can be learned from an investigation of developments that occurred thousands of years ago. She speaks to all her readers with her efforts to connect what archaeologists and anthropologists understand about the patterns of prehistory with the large structures of world history over the last five millennia.

Some aspects of this book would have benefited from modest amplification. I wanted to see greater emphasis on the mastery of fire by human beings, a somewhat more detailed treatment of early hominids, and a larger number of more revealing maps. Having successfully covered so much ground, Ristvet would have reinforced her ultimate purpose by providing a stronger conclusion that set forth the overall significance of the issues and themes she had examined. But limitations like these, probably necessary in the face of page constraints, do not detract from the inherent worth of *In the Beginning*. Ristvet has made an important contribution to a new series of texts that McGraw-Hill has entitled "Explorations in World History." Hopefully, other works in the series will maintain the same high standards that Ristvet has offered her readers.



Peter Jackson. *The Mongols and the West, 1221-1410*. Pearson Longman, 2005. xxxiv + 414 pp. \$30.20.

Xinru Liu and Lynda Norene Shaffer. *Connections Across Eurasia: Transportation, Communication, and Cultural Exchange on the Silk Roads. Explorations in World History*. McGraw-Hill, 2007. x + 262 pp. \$21.25.

Thomas Streissguth. *Genghis Khan's Mongol Empire*. Lost Civilizations. Lucent Books, 2006. 112 pp. \$28.70.

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of the Mongol empire and extend beyond individual cases either chronologically or geographically. They address Eurasian history at three levels. Streissguth's work is written for secondary schools or below; Liu and Shaffer's text is aimed at the college level; and Peter Jackson's is a text for upper level university courses and a scholarly monograph.

Streissguth covers in clear and simple prose the achievement of Genghis Khan, outlining in topical chapters his rise, the Mongol army, the law code, everyday life and social practices, shamanism and the decline of the empire. There are numerous illustrations, and special topics are offered conveniently in boxed insets. Terms are defined clearly, and the annotated list of works for "further reading," and "works consulted" (the distinction between these is unclear), along with a handful of websites are useful and reliable. The preface to the series indicates that "where possible, quotes by the ancients themselves, and also by later historians, archeologists, and other experts support and enliven the text. Primary and secondary sources are carefully documented by footnotes..." The text lives up to this promise, and it is a strength for teaching. Well known Mongol historians are quoted (Morgan, Ratchnevsky, and Saunders for example) as well as primary sources—*The Secret History* and the history of Rashid al-Din, along with European travelers such as William of Rubruck. The high school student will be exposed to the writing of the times, and note that historians offer interpretive judgments, not just statements of supposed facts.

A couple of caveats are in order. The age level of the intended audience is unclear. The text might have too much information for middle school readers, and appear juvenile to the high school student. The illustrations are alternately good and bad. Many are photographs of reproduced yurts or steppe landscapes, or pre-modern illustrations or artifacts, but some are either contemporary, even cartoonish drawings, or nineteenth century renditions. These will not help the student imagine the age authentically. There is only one map, and it is incomplete. Karakorum—mentioned a half-dozen times in the text—is not included. Perhaps more importantly, a couple of points of interpretation could have been treated with more circumspection. For example, it is perhaps not helpful to describe brutal raids in which rival tribes were hunted using the same techniques as used when hunting animals as "time-honored custom." Despite claims to the contrary by scholars like Morgan, Streissguth insists that one of the great achievements of Genghis Khan was the promulgation of "The Great Yasa," or law code. The effect of these two examples is to elevate in our understanding the level of stability of the Mongol empire beyond what it was able to maintain for itself in the thirteenth and fourteenth century. But there is much that is very positive about this brief work, for example: the description of the uniqueness of Genghis Khan's achievement, the outlines

of clan and tribal patterns, and shamanistic culture. The younger student will find an engaging work, and be introduced to the process of developing historical understanding.

Liu and Shaffer's *Connections across Eurasia* introduces the college student to the Silk Roads from their formation in ancient times through the Mongol period and 15th century. Each chapter is prefaced by a very useful timeline, map, and set of questions for the student reader to keep in mind, and is concluded with a list of works for further reading. Unfortunately there are far too few illustrations—a handful only. The text begins well with a comparison of ecological zones and the typical forms of societies found in each. It moves on to the various civilizations, religions, and peoples found across Eurasia through the ages. In each chapter the role of traders and commercial activity, as well as movements of religion are emphasized, along with the shifting patterns of trade goods and routes. The concluding chapter, unlike Streissguth, does not glorify the Mongol order, noting the devastation caused to traditional routes, shifting of routes and goods to supply Mongol capitals, and the growing importance of sea routes as a connection between Yuan China and the Il-Khanate of Persia.

As with any text, the student may experience information overload and fail to see connections, or notice when conclusions are drawn. This might especially be the case when empires rise and decline, trade flourishes and collapses, connections are established and lost in different times and places. However, the authors refer to previous chapters and movements as the text proceeds, and the concentration on trade and commercial activity focuses the text. The comparison of similar issues or practices in different societies helps as well. Textbooks often do not make for stimulating reading as our students well know. But this text and its authors convey the sense that they are breaking new ground, and introducing the unfamiliar, over a long stretch of time and geography. The text is well written and the descriptions clear, if not exciting (too much to hope for in a text), and written for those without specialist knowledge. Terms are defined or explained briefly with regularity. Sources and problems of interpretation are discussed, with sometimes an engaging freshness. It is a welcome sign when a textbook recognizes that conclusions might be tentative, and our understanding subject to debate. *Connections Across Eurasia* will serve well for courses designed to study the history of Central Asia and might be used as a partner with something like Susan Whitfield's *Life Along the Silk Road* (1999) with its many stories and illustrations, or with the travel narrative of Ibn Battuta or Marco Polo's description of the Eurasian world.

Jackson's *The Mongols and the West* is both a text in a series written for university use and a scholarly monograph. The two introductory chapters, the first on Medieval Christendom and the second on the formation and character of the Mongol empire, are masterful in their presenta-

These three volumes cover the period and region

tion. They set just the right tone and provide full context for developing an understanding of the encounter between the two civilizations. For example the chapter on Christendom avoids stereotypes of religious uniformity and the power of the papacy, while recognizing the importance of religious commitment, Europe's economic dynamism, as well as the ongoing conquest of neighboring peoples and crusade. In the second chapter on the Mongols we are offered a balanced description of steppe society, narration of the formation of a world empire, and explanation of military organization, diplomatic practice, religion, and of "the ideology of world-rulership." Jackson is clear that he is developing an argument, and is also transparent about his own interpretive preferences. He looks not to grand strategies, patterns, or hopes, but clearly to the sources, what they reveal and what they do not, and to the multiple perspectives offered by them. He notes how, for instance, missionaries/papal envoys misunderstood Mongol intentions, and how the sources reflect the shifting of Christian and Muslim alliances over time depending on the enemies they faced. He points both to "mentalites" and to social and political conditions that shaped dialogue, understanding and misunderstanding, and conflict. The student who reads attentively will learn not just about the Mongols and Christendom, but how to think historically and work with a sometimes dismaying variety of sources.

Specialists might quarrel with interpretations presented in the individual chapters, and that is as it should be. Each episode in the conflict between the Mongols and Christendom is discussed individually and intensively. The sources and interpretations are extensively documented throughout. The peculiarities of historical actors (whether missionary, warrior, representative of pope or khan, trader, or would be conqueror such as Temur) are given their due. The shifting alliances between cooperating and contending parties—Western Christendom and its multiple powers, Byzantium, Armenians, Turks, Mongols, etc.—are recognized and allowed to act, react and alter course. We are invited into the worlds of warriors and rulers, of traders, adventurers, missionaries and writers. As, paradoxically perhaps, the ruthless and swift advance of the Mongol conquest opened the Eurasian world, so we begin with the Mongol advance on the edge of Europe and end with "a new world discovered." The *Mongols and the West* is a signal contribution to our understanding of Eurasian civilizational interaction. It is the kind of historical writing that initiates students into the complexities of cultural and political interaction at its best, the kind of history that develops scholars and future participants in world politics.

Gail Stewart. *Catastrophe in Southern Asia: The Tsunami of 2004*. Lucent Overview Series. Thomson - Gale, 2005. 112 pp.

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Catastrophe in Southern Asia is one of a series of books published in the Lucent Overview Series that are aimed at upper elementary and junior/senior high school students. Titles in the Series focus on a wide variety of issues in American and global society to include *Censorship*, *DNA on Trial*, *Global Resources*, *Oil Spills*, *The Rebuilding of Bosnia*, and *Women's Rights*.

This particular issue is exactly what it states its objective to be – a starting point for students to research challenges associated with natural disasters, in this case the tsunami that hit the Indian Ocean in December of 2004. Information presented in the book ranges across a wide spectrum of social and hard science topics to include the mechanics of earthquakes and tsunamis, the effects of disease on the aftermath of a disaster, political issues impacting relief efforts, the psychology of victims of the disaster, environmentalism, and the economic issues associated with disaster and disaster relief. Thorough and entertaining the way it is presented, the information provides students with more than enough information to begin a research project on the topic of natural disasters in general or tsunamis specifically. Particularly hard hitting are the many first hand accounts from victims and eyewitnesses of the impact of the disaster on their lives and the lives of their community. Ms. Stewart has included over 45 black and white photographs that bring the disaster and its victims close to home. A map of the immediate Indian Ocean area affected by the earthquake and tsunami, and a chart showing the mechanics of tsunamis are clear and aid in understanding the disaster. Overall, the book presents exactly what it was designed to do; provide students with the basis for developing a research project on this particular disaster or tsunamis in general.

Several areas of significance will pique student's interest. These include the role of animals in the disaster as both warning and in aiding humans to recover victims in the aftermath, the myths and realities of disease in the after effects, and the political impacts of providing assistance to local populations. In addition, the book provides students with an exhaustive list of references as well as three points of contact to look at or to inquire after additional information.

There are, however, several points that students need to be aware of when using this book. The map and most of the book focus almost exclusively on southeast and southern Asia. Very little mention is made of the impact of the tsunami on Africa where, although there was little loss

of life, tens of thousands were left homeless. In addition, all of the references for this particular book about the actual disaster come from December of 2004 and January and February of 2005. Thus, all of the information presented is from news media and immediate eyewitness accounts, which, although important, leave out the analysis of the event provided by scientists and social scientists in the year or two following the disaster.

I use primary and secondary sources about tsunamis throughout history to open my A.P. World History classes and found this short book to be extremely useful as a reference. Ms. Stewart and Thomson - Gale have put together a good, solid reference for students about the topic of tsunamis and the specific disaster that devastated the Indian Ocean area in 2004.



William W. Joyce and John F. Bratzel, eds. *Teaching about Canada and México*. NCSS Bulletin 104. National Council for the Social Studies, 2007. 142 pp. \$22.00/NCSS Members \$14.00.

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Strangely, many U.S. students in middle and high school social studies courses learn more about peoples and places across oceans to the east and west than they do about their immediate neighbors to the north and south – neighbors whose histories and cultures have often intertwined with that of the United States in important ways. The result is predictable, as editors Joyce and Bratzel point out in their introduction to *Teaching about Canada and México*: "John and Mary Average American know very little about Canada and México, despite the fact that our three countries share a common history, a common geography and many views on world affairs." In reality, events in Canada and México have a greater impact on the lives of everyday Americans than we would expect, and for the middle or high school teacher interested in correcting this ignorance, this book is a worthy addition to the classroom.

Organized thematically, the essays in this volume treat a wide range of topics: those on Canada profile the country's history from colonization onward, the foundations to current policies and practices of its parliamentary system of government, cultural life, and the separatist movement in Québec. Those on México cover its history from pre-conquest to the present, its political structure, culture, perceptions of the United States held by Mexicans, and México's recent accomplishments and challenges. A final essay



deals with economic integration under NAFTA as a central theme in U.S.-Canada-México relations. Read together, the collection paints a “broad strokes” picture of the North American community and the similarities and differences of its members, and may be effectively used as a primary text in a hemispheric studies electives course. Taken separately, however, each essay allows for more in-depth study along a particular theme that may be useful for a history or civics teacher wishing to supplement their textbook with material for classroom debate or discussion.

But perhaps this volume’s greatest strength is the inclusion at the end of each chapter of a selection of suggested classroom exercises that the contributors hope “will offer challenging, worthwhile learning experiences for students.” Here Dean V. June and Ruth Writer (for Canada) and Kristin Janka Millar (for México) have done the hard work of providing teachers with a variety of skills-based instructional activities that require students to “discuss, create, plot, debate, compare and contrast, evaluate, research, graph, chart, summarize, explain, list, describe, present, critique, justify, investigate, write, interpret and decide.” From the relatively simple and straightforward (e.g. “Create a timeline of major historical events discussed in this article”; “Describe life in Québec before and after the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s”) to the more nuanced and sophisticated (e.g. “Discuss the symbolism and iconography of the Mexican flag”; “Analyze a Náhuatl poem or literature and discuss how Aztec culture is reflected in its metaphor and imagery”), the activities offer opportunities for cross-disciplinary/inter-departmental study and like the essays themselves, are organized thematically under ten categories: Culture; Time, Continuity and Change; People, Places and Environments; Individual Development and Identity; Individuals, Groups and Institutions; Power, Authority and Governance; Production, Distribution and Consumption; Science, Technology and Society; Global Connections; and Civic Ideals and Practices. (AP world history teachers in particular will notice the AP themes and habits of mind embedded in the exercises). Applicable to students of different age and ability levels, the suggested end-of-chapter activities are where the real value added of this volume lies.

Joyce and Bratzel lament the neglect of Canada and México in U.S. social studies classes, attributable, they suggest to our nation’s tendency to take these nations for granted. On balance, the essays in this volume, and the accompanying instructional activities, suggest ways to correct “John and Mary Average American’s” misperceptions and stereotypes about our neighbors to the north and south. They highlight our cultural, political, economic and social interconnectedness and each provides a basis for further study by teachers and students as we struggle together to come to terms with the implications of our shared historical experience and present-day mutual dependence. Though we may not be able to attain the somewhat lofty goal of true “North American

community” that the editors target with this work, if we, as teachers, can effectively apply the instructional activities developed by June, Writer and Millar, then perhaps we can encourage our “John and Mary Average Students” to take that important first step toward mutual understanding by recognizing that “Indeed, we have much in common.”



The World History Association

Linda Bennett and Michael J. Berson.
Digital Age: Technology-Based K-12 Lesson Plans for Social Studies. National Council for the Social Studies, 2007. 206 pp. \$24.00.

Marjorie J. Hunter
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Written by K-12 educators, this small book will satisfy teachers searching for innovative ways to increase technology use in the classroom. The comprehensive lessons in *Digital Age: Technology-Based K-12 Lesson Plans for Social Studies* make an excellent addition to available teaching resources. Technology-based projects correlated to social studies standards developed by the National Council for the Social Studies and the National Educational Technology Standards set this book apart from the usual technology-based fare.

Divided into four parts, the book provides a minimum of nine lessons per section. Each part focuses on specific grade clusters. Elementary lessons in Part 1, middle school projects in Part 2, and high school suggestions in Part 3. Lastly, Part 4, entitled *Tools and Techniques*, refers to practical skills teachers need prior to embarking on large cooperative group projects such as classroom management and Internet safety hints and tips. While each lesson clearly focuses on a particular grade level, modifying the techniques slightly allows teachers to easily adapt the ideas for the specific capabilities and age-levels of their own classrooms.

For educators with little technology experience, the lessons in this book encourage teachers to attempt new things while providing step-by-step directions. Each set of instructions begins with a short introduction to the topic, number of class periods required to complete the activity, and clearly stated learner objectives. The lessons end with teacher tips and additional resources such as Internet websites and reading materials. The inclusion of suggested items such as student handouts and Powerpoint examples becomes another welcome addition for teachers of all experience levels. Additionally, some lessons such as *Mr. Money and Money Matters* (33), provide scoring rubrics and other useful assessment

ideas.

In the resources section found at the end of each lesson, a list of stable Internet websites simplifies the teacher’s job. Appropriate for the topic and age level addressed by the lesson, none of the lists overwhelm the student or the teacher with more than what can be investigated in a class period. In addition, since the research is already done, teachers do not waste time collecting websites that may not work properly in class.

One notable drawback in this text occurs in the high school section. Many of these lessons base the number of class periods or time allotted for the entire lesson on an A/B Block schedule. For schools that have not changed to block scheduling, modifying more complex technology lessons to accommodate the traditional school-day class period may prove frustrating. Overcoming this minor issue may involve increasing the time allotted for various projects, but it certainly should not deter teachers from incorporating exciting new technology lessons into their repertoire.

This well-done book makes including technology-based lessons into the K-12 classroom possible. Teachers with little technology available in the classroom may still incorporate many of the ideas by exercising a bit of ingenuity. Those teachers with good technology resources will discover that the suggestions in this book provide a wide-range of topics and skills to challenge today’s techno-savvy students.



Eric A. Johnson and Karl-Heinz Reuband. *What We Knew: Terror, Mass Murder and Everyday Life in Nazi Germany. An Oral History.* Basic Books, 2005. xxiii + 434 pp. \$27.50.

Peter Dykema
Arkansas Tech University

What We Knew confirms and deepens some of the most profound findings of Holocaust studies over the course of the last two decades: the level of complicity, consent, and collaboration among Germans (and other Europeans) in Nazi crimes was higher than previously thought, and the totalitarian state was not wholly dependent upon coercion to achieve its goals. Johnson and Reuband combine detailed oral history interviews with statistical survey results to show that many Germans knew about the mass murders as they occurred; many Germans participated quite willingly in various forms of persecution and atrocities; and they did so willingly because many Germans supported the Nazi regime. But how many, exactly, is “many”?

The authors conducted mail surveys of over 3200 residents of Germany during the Nazi years:

507 German Jews who at the time lived throughout Germany, and over 2700 German non-Jews who lived in four cities: the lower Rhine cities of Cologne and Krefeld, the capital Berlin, and Dresden in the east. Two qualities necessarily characterize these groups: the Jewish respondents are survivors, most of whom had left Germany in the years prior to the outbreak of full-scale war in 1939; and nearly all the respondents were born between 1910 and 1928. Thus the surveys reveal the memories and experiences of people who were teenagers and young adults during the Nazi years. The authors and their assistants conducted detailed interviews with 50 of the Jewish respondents and over 150 of the German respondents, finally choosing 20 from each group to present in the book in edited form. The result is an effective combination of statistical analysis and personal detail. The book succeeds on both an empirical and an emotional level.

Several key questions drive the investigation. How much did the German population (both German Jews and non-Jews) know about the mass murders of Jews, the mentally ill and the handicapped? Where did they get this knowledge and did they share it? Did Germans support or oppose the Nazi regime? What forms of anti-Semitism did Jews experience? And what forms did Germans witness or participate in? No brief review can present the conclusions of the authors in all their nuances and details. Indeed, the authors themselves provide detailed charts and tables but also follow these up with clear, broad and general conclusions. Among non-Jewish Germans, at least one-third were relatively well informed about the mass murders as they occurred, while half or more of Germans had some awareness of the atrocities (397). It is no surprise that among Jewish residents and refugees, the level of knowledge was higher still. On the question of the popularity of Hitler and the Nazis, the authors show that, depending on the city, memories of support for the Nazi regime ranged from just over a third of German respondents to just over half (333). Memories of support are highest among respondents living in Dresden, a Protestant city at the time and now formerly Communist, while support was lowest in Catholic and western Cologne. The memories of the Jewish respondents also point to significant but not unanimous endorsement of Hitler's policies: about one-third of the Jews surveyed felt that most Germans at the time clearly supported the Nazi regime (390).

What We Knew could well be used as a resource for units on the Holocaust at both the high school and college levels. The 40 interviews provide brief yet chilling narratives and many fascinating windows into the everyday experiences of both the persecuted and their persecutors. The survey results provide the context and background. The book is accessible in its presentation and language, engaging in scholarly debates without becoming too focused on academic controversies. Johnson and Reuband always return to their key questions and thus pro-

vide a compelling and persuasive analysis of the motivations and experiences that define the Holocaust.



Norman J.W. Goda. *Tales from Spandau: Nazi Criminals and the Cold War.* Cambridge University Press, 2007. 390 pp.

Craig Patton
Alabama A & M University

Dr. Goda's book on the experiences of Nazi war criminals incarcerated at Spandau prison and the constant debates among the Allied Powers, and later West German authorities as well, about their fate, is an impressive work of historical scholarship. Not only is it based on meticulous research – which is detailed in nearly 60 pages of endnotes and a 20 page bibliography – it is organized in a generally easy-to-follow chronological sequence with each chapter having a short introductory section that outlines its key ideas and ties the information in with preceding material.

The book contains a number of important ideas and arguments for teachers and students of World History. For example, the first two chapters trace the origins and early history of Spandau, and Goda highlights how many of the arrangements were improvised – designed to deal with immediate, short-run needs – with little idea that they would last for decades (20). The chief reason they did last so long was, of course, the Cold War. But how was Spandau able to preserve its unique status as a Four Power institution when Allied cooperation, which had always been tenuous, broke down almost completely? Goda explains this apparent paradox by detailing how neither side felt it could break the Spandau arrangements without endangering their larger security interests (7, 83-84, 91-92). Similar considerations helped insure that Spandau remained an island of relative stability in subsequent crises over Berlin and Germany in the 1950s and 1960s. This, of course, is a "lesson" for those who want to deter genocide today through similar methods. As Goda states, "by accepting the responsibility to punish notorious war criminals, the international community accepts a task of unknown proportions and unknown length" (277).

The book's other four chapters trace the fate of the individual prisoners in Spandau, essentially following the order in which they were released or died. Goda meticulously details the complex factors and negotiations that influenced the prisoners' conditions while in Spandau and, even more importantly, the timing and nature of their release. While some prisoners, notably Speer and Hess, served their entire sentences, several others were released early. Goda explains this differential treatment in great detail, relating it to the

Allies view of each man's own past and their possible future political role, the size and influence of each man's network of advocates inside and outside of West Germany and, naturally, the overarching diplomatic conditions of the Cold War (149, 209, 220). In the process of doing this Goda presents two particularly important arguments. First, while humanitarian ideas played some role in the early release of older prisoners with severe health problems, the most important consideration for all the Allies was a political one. They did not want the prisoners to become "martyrs" or for Spandau to become a "shrine" or pilgrimage site for some type of revived Nazism. Therefore, prisoners who experienced life-threatening illnesses were released so their deaths and burials would occur away from Spandau (130, 132). Second, he suggests the men were indeed "political prisoners" but not in the conventional sense of the word, i.e. someone imprisoned by a repressive regime for their political views. Instead, as important political figures who had committed criminal acts, their trial and punishment was and remained a fundamentally political question (277). Likewise, throughout his narrative, Goda demonstrates how Spandau was a touchstone in postwar Germany's efforts to confront and come to terms with the Nazi past (7-8, 99-100, 115, 149, 160-166). He argues that while the German experience is somewhat unique, it finds many parallels in the world today as people in places as diverse as Cambodia, Rwanda, Yugoslavia or South Africa struggle with genocide or how to remember the past (8-10).

Having said all this, though, the book's relevance to most World History courses is rather limited. First, although the author does try to link his research to broad global issues, such linkages are clearly secondary to the author's main concern which is demonstrating how the fate of the Spandau prisoners was interwoven with the course of the Cold War. This is, of course, not bad in itself, but it does narrow the book's focus and limit the amount of space or thought given to a comparative perspective. Second, despite the author's excellent organizational and writing skills, the detailed nature of the account, combined with the complexity of some of the issues raised, means that the book is not readily accessible to most high school students or college freshmen, the two largest audiences for World History.

2007 WHA Election Results

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Congratulations!

Aviel Roshwald. *The Endurance of Nationalism: Ancient Root and Modern Dilemmas.* Cambridge University Press, 2006. 349 pp. \$29.99 (paper).

Alexander Mirkovic
Arkansas Tech University

Aviel Roshwald situates his book at the center of a burning historiographical issue, whether nationalism is an exclusively modern phenomenon, as the majority of scholars believe, or was it already present in pre-modern societies. Consciously arguing from a minority position, Roshwald makes the case that nationalism existed in the ancient world, in particular among the Jews and Greeks. The author sees the origins of nationalism not in modern mass culture, which possesses means of communication capable of disseminating the message to all classes and parties, but in an innate need of the human mind for tradition, continuity, and persistence in the face of the ever changing world. While admitting that nationalism is mostly about mythmaking, Roshwald presents a case for an internal psychological mechanism that could have created it in every society. Humans seek permanence a bit like greyhounds, who chase the artificial rabbit on a track, and thus it was possible for nationalism to exist even in societies with means of communication much less capable than our modern world. Roshwald's case is almost Freudian, just as the Oedipal complex exists in every person with a mother and a father, nationalism existed in every society that experienced change.

Ultimately, the case is challenging to prove or disprove, since the inhabitants of the ancient world are no longer with us to be subject to sociological or anthropological questionnaires, or a psychological diagnosis. Roshwald makes his argument by analyzing ancient writings, mostly the Hebrew Bible, Herodotus, and Thucydides. Ancient texts were a very different medium of communication, because they had a limited number of readers. This is an issue that Roshwald often side-steps and fails to address. The majority of historians who argue that nationalism was born simultaneously with modernity base their argument on the emergence of mass-press and popular literature, as shown by Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*. Herodotus or the Bible might have reached thousands, but not millions. These objections notwithstanding, Roshwald's reasoning makes for an attention-grabbing case.

Unlike previous attempts to "disprove" the majority thesis,¹ Roshwald uses the anthropological apparatus of Anderson's *Imagined Communities* and applies it to the texts from the ancient world. He turns Anderson's argument around, namely, if modern nationalism has many elements of religion (such as a cult of relics, and a belief in an imagined community) why not argue that ancient religions had many nationalist elements in them? Roshwald especially singles

out the "linear" or "purposeful" conception of time, religious/nationalist shrines that preserve the public memory, the idea of "chosenness" (chosen people with god(s)-given missions), and the belief in the "kindred of blood." Each of these themes receives a chapter in the book, buttressed by an excellent choice of examples.

While I was not convinced by the main thrust of Roshwald's argument, namely that there was nationalism before modernity, I not only enjoyed reading the book, but also accepted the arguments and evidence about the connection between religion and nationalism. This connection is and will remain a field of fruitful research not just for Roshwald, but for many ancient and modern historians. Roshwald makes an excellent case about how religion and nationalism can and have borrowed concepts and ideas from one another. In addition, Roshwald's book is perfect for class discussion, because it encourages students to think for themselves and not just accept the prevalent notions of the majority. It also provides numerous linkages (what world historians call the "big picture") between the ancient and modern worlds, as well as between varied regions, from the Atlantic in the West to Japan in the East. I will use this book as a text for upper-level world history classes and, in spite of a scholarly disagreement, I recommend it warmly.

¹ Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism* (Cambridge University Press, 1997) made an unsuccessful argument that English ethnic identity pre-dates modernity, because of the "special relationship" that English masses "always" had toward the Bible.



Gábor Ágoston. *Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire.* Cambridge University Press, 2005. xvii + 277 pp. \$75.00.

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Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire examines the complex nature, evolution, design, and adaptation of Ottoman weapons industries from the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries. The monograph utilizes primary documents of Turkish provenance to offer an alternate analysis at odds with nascent European assessments that have dominated the historiography of this period.

Earlier historical writing focused on the advancement of European technologies during the rise of the cannon in the age of gunpowder. Gábor Ágoston challenges the long-held belief that the Ottoman's were technologically

"obtuse." He argues instead that they appear flexible, adapting technology to suit their military needs. He confutes several myths, firstly that the Ottoman military infrastructure was weak and totally dependant on European know-how and secondly that Ottoman cannons were large "behemoths" incapable of any accuracy. Ágoston shows to the contrary that in both cases, Ottoman armies modified their firearms in several campaigns to defeat their European opponents. Additionally, Ottoman technology produced a mix of field artillery and infantry weapons which included light and medium cannons.

Ágoston acknowledges that while the Ottoman bureaucracy did lag well behind Europe's, it was not in the production or variety of cannon but standardization. This allowed European historians to quickly label the culture technologically backward, while others posited it as a "religious-conservatism" that blunted weapons development. They argued, firearms were beneath the dignity of many within Ottoman society and thus did not fit into the Ottoman "way of war."

The book provides detailed appendices and addenda which aid in understanding the complexity of Ottoman weapons. However these efforts to condense an enormous amount of statistical data into a small book complicate its reading. Content, juxtaposed between footnotes, and appendices, force the reader to continually thumb through sections to understand the narrative. Add to this the compendium of supporting diagrams and charts and it becomes an encumbrance. This is a minor detraction, given the rich subject matter and the author's central thesis.

This book is intended primarily for military specialists and sub-specialists in weapons systems, siege warfare and military technology. It would be beneficial at a war college as a seminar or as an independent study in a doctoral program. This book is not appropriate at the undergraduate level but mention of the book and several extractions could illustrate to students the variety in history and historical writing. Using terms such as primary and secondary sources, and comparative and revisionist history, an instructor would be able to demonstrate that history is not static, that on a daily basis new documents, such as Ágoston's primary documents, surface to challenge what previous historians have written. By introducing this book and comparing the two cultural disparities - European and Ottoman - to understand the weapons systems, students will recognize that good argument comes from analyzing both sides of the historical equation. That is the significance of Gábor Ágoston's book. It reminds students that history is two-sided and that bias must be avoided. Furthermore, it exposes students to the concepts of revisionist history. Finally, it fosters critical thinking skills, encourages non-traditional views, and illuminates the importance of the ever changing perspectives of historical writing.

In *Guns for the Sultan*, Gábor Ágoston begins the process of dismantling the Eurocentric interpretation of history from the Ottoman. His book

is a fine work of comparative history surely to become a standard reference work for scholars of Ottoman history. His book sets the record straight and can carry over into other areas of World History.



The World History Association

Jonathan A. Grant. *Rulers, Guns, and Money: The Global Arms Trade in the Age of Imperialism*. Harvard University Press, 2007. 288 pp. \$49.95.

Michael Westrate

St. Cloud State University

Although there is extensive literature on the post-1950 global arms trade, very little has been written about the subject prior to 1950. Together with *Girding for Battle: The Arms Trade in a Global Perspective, 1815-1940* which Grant edited with Donald J. Stoker, *Rulers, Guns and Money* helps to remedy that situation. With this latest work, Grant expands the literature both in breadth and in depth. He has succeeded in writing a truly “global” history that explicates the intersection(s) between business and politics worldwide. In addition, Grant unravels the intricate interweaving of individual predilections, domestic pressures, business imperatives, and both regional and international politics that made up the arms trade of the pre-World War era.

Grant’s periodization runs from 1854 to 1914. Examining such a deep time-slice allows Grant to provide a longer-term context to the trade leading up to WWI. In considering sixty years of case studies rather than a single decade, this work allows for a more accurate and non-polemical appraisal of the linkages between armaments and the outbreak of wars. In this time-period, imperialism acted both as a cause and as an effect on the arms trade. Colonial expansion by the European powers provided the stimulus for others to seek armaments—either to join in expansion, as in the case of Japan, or to stave off the imperialist threat, as in the case of Ethiopia. While many diplomats of the time believed that buyers automatically became allies, the record shows that this could be a grievous error. For example, Grant tells the story of Italian arms sales to Ethiopia, in which the buyer quickly turned his new weapons on the sellers.

Grant’s geographical scope includes all of the inhabited continents. Modernizing countries worldwide, including the Russian and Ottoman Empires, the Balkans and Ethiopia, Latin America and East Asia all turned to imports from the industrialized countries to update their militaries. Grant’s chapter design and detailed examinations reveal that a study of the arms trade cannot be regionalized or compartmentalized. By the first decade of the twentieth century, Grant

argues, arms trafficking was “a globally interactive system.” His numerous examples prove this conclusion. Grant traces how rifles made in the industrialized countries traveled, sometimes changing hands three or more times. He details how arms were sold (and smuggled) using tortuous routes both geographically and politically. His cases include a myriad of stories, from the devious machinations surreptitiously involving Russia and Prussia in the arming of Romania and Serbia, to the story of the ship *Rio de Janeiro*, a dreadnaught ordered by Brazil and made by Armstrong of Britain. In the case of the *Rio*, the ship never reached its namesake city. Instead, before delivery, Brazil put it up for sale. Russia and Italy both made offers to buy the ship, through private negotiators, before it was finally sold to Turkey. In his telling of such stories, Grant has justified the breadth of his scope.

Although there are few books on the pre-WWI arms trade, social scientists examining arms races since 1945 have generally taken a state-centered approach, treating arms races as political phenomena and declining to explicate specific motives. In Grant’s conception, qualitative aspects of the decisions of historical individuals trump sterile, quantitative state pressures. In addition, domestic agency was more important than foreign manipulation, and those who would study the process leading to the rise of the international arms trade should consider both internal and external factors. In each one of his case studies, Grant shows how individual people, individual businesses, and small groups within countries profoundly affected both the arms trade and arms races.

In industrial countries, the *companies* were the important actors—often driving policy within their respective governments. From Germany’s Krupp to Britain’s Vickers, each of the major arms manufacturers wielded considerable economic and political power domestically as well as internationally. It was the companies that exerted efforts at opening markets outside of Western Europe—diplomatic relations were, as often as not, the tools of commerce rather than the other way around. Furthermore, Grant gives numerous examples of how finance capital in the seller states was a tool of corporations and buyer states rather than a separate motivating actor in diplomacy. While domestic and imperialist pressures caused client states to buy, corporate sellers themselves became primary domestic players of international politics *from within* the industrial powers.

Grant’s case studies allow him to make other innovative conclusions. For instance, distinct national differences in attitude toward the arms business emerged among the Great Powers. Other than in Japan, Britain’s diplomatic representatives generally opposed arms sales, even when British firms benefited. In Germany, France, and Austria, diplomats and politicians played major roles in exporting weapons.

Grant’s detailed discussion of the dreadnaught races in South America and the Eastern

Mediterranean casts serious doubt on the notion that democratization reduces armed competition and automatically promotes peace. The national legislatures of the republics in South America fully backed not one, but two naval races; in the Ottoman Empire, the overthrow of autocracy actually increased naval procurements. In each case, democracy made fleet expansion a sign of political leadership and popular will, transforming the arms trade into an arms race.

The flaws in this book, such as they are, can be found in its organization. Grant does a good job of arguing his points, but those points are sometimes buried within the stories he is relating. However, if negotiating this flaw is the price a reader must pay for a history that actually tells stories, it is well worth the effort.

Grant grounds his research and conclusions firmly and uniquely in the archival evidence. He draws from an impressive array of sources, including the diplomatic and intelligence records of each of the described state participants, company records, contemporaneous newspaper articles and personal accounts from rulers, politicians, diplomats, businessmen, and military officers. Through the telling of engaging stories, Grant advances academic and popular understandings of the arms trade in significant ways. This is an important work for educators who wish to teach the diplomatic, military, business, and personal linkages within the global arms trade—especially since students and teachers alike will enjoy reading the historical stories.



The World History Association

Carl Guarneri. *America in the World: United States History in Global Context. Explorations in World History*. McGraw-Hill, 2007. xvi + 320 pp.

Carey Roberts

Arkansas Tech University

McGraw-Hill’s Explorations in World History series brings the latest scholarship in world history to the classroom through short companion texts. Carl Guarneri’s *America in the World* accomplishes this task for the introductory, world civilization class; though, I suspect it will be less successful as a companion text in courses devoted strictly to the United States.

For Guarneri, internationalizing American history requires more than additional subject matter, or at the end of each chapter, tacking on a few extra paragraphs highlighting foreign policy. The basic approach to the United States must be reshaped to embrace new forms of periodization, comparison, and major themes of global development often overlooked—it is assumed—in standard American history texts. On all of these points, Guarneri has done an excellent job. Early

America is “decentered” to include a strong comparison between English and Spanish colonization, the western frontier and slavery are both seen in light of similar developments in Eurasia and Latin America, and American exceptionalism is reduced at every opportunity. Guarneri’s chapter divisions (Exploration and Contact, Colonization, Nation-building, and Empire) seamlessly introduce global content just by moving the focus away from traditional periods. The terms and vocabulary germane to the scholarship of globalism are neatly positioned throughout, and if we judge the text by the goals of the series, then Guarneri fulfills all of them in a well-written, well-organized, and above all, crisp narrative.

While it is desirable to reduce our emphasis on American exceptionalism, it is equally appropriate to see where Americans differ from the rest of the world. Guarneri does this quite well in several places, particularly in his discussions of slavery and the frontier. Yet he does not draw such distinctions as well in other areas equally critical to our understanding of the United States. Take as an example his treatment of the American Revolution. While broad connections can be made about the sharing of ideas across the Atlantic, the genesis, goals and outcomes of the American and French Revolutions were dramatically different. Guarneri does explore these differences, but he attributes them more to social and demographic circumstances rather than to genuine ideological difference. That is not to say that Guaneri goes too far in assailing exceptionalism. Indeed, he shows that exceptionalism like nationalism had a deeply, regional cast, being most often one section’s attempt to impose its culture, economy and political ideals upon the rest. It is, I suppose, a matter of picking and choosing. The decidedly global connection between the English in Britain and the English in colonial North America, for instance, could easily be shown in the transmission of distinct cultural and political forms—something standard American history texts do better.

One theme deserves critical attention: foreign affairs. I am glad Guarneri treated foreign policy with the respect it deserves, but I found his treatment of late twentieth century globalization to be weak. Here we learn about cultural transmission, globalism and the “conflict of civilizations.” But rather than learning about the economic conditions and financial institutions, students receive a discourse on the ramifications of living in “McWorld.” Surely international monetary policy, the role of the dollar, and massive exchange of debt between the United States and countries like China deserve as much treatment as Kentucky Fried Chicken.

Overall, I believe Guarneri has produced a great companion to the average world civilization textbook. The text will probably not work as a companion to most American survey texts as most already incorporate this material. For Americanists, this text would work exceptionally well for one-semester courses covering all of

United States history or for those using no textbook at all. Having just enough solid content and strong analysis, *America in the World* is perfect for a course based on strong lectures, a reader and a few commendable monographs.



Bill Freund. *The African City: A History. New Approaches to African History.* Cambridge University Press, 2007. x + 214 pp. \$75 (cloth), \$19.99 (paper).

Jerri Patten

*Kelso High School
Kelso, Washington*

For readers who have a desire to understand more about Africa but have little time to chase down current scholarship and research, Professor Freund has aided them by condensing a wide range of previous scholarship into a short but comprehensive look at urban life in Africa from ancient origins up to the present. This is no easy task, since the continent of Africa is not so homogenous as to be easily understood, and yet his book serves to reconnect Africa rather than to reinforce the usual regional subdivisions. He therefore relies on selecting urban areas that have been of particular interest to him and which can represent the wide variety that dealing with such a diverse landscape entails. His efforts help to dispel the myth that Africa was almost totally rural up until the present. As a professor of Economic History and Development, Freund is positioned well to help teachers and students find ways to better integrate Africa into global studies by providing a strong sense of change over time as well as utilizing case studies that lend themselves to comparative work with urban environments in other part of the world.

This book would be an interesting choice for inclusion in a college class focusing on African studies. For high school teachers, it is an accessible reference with good examples to bring to students. In its six brief chapters, the author focuses on social and economic processes, beginning with examples of some of the different motivations for the development of urban areas within Africa. For example, agro-towns developed in Botswana, where perhaps ten to twenty thousand farmers would come and live together, perhaps for reasons of security, proximity to resources, or for religious ritual. Although this can be understood as urban in one sense, the subsequent development of various governmental and educational institutions, social hierarchy, and specialization of labor failed to accompany this large congregation of people, as the farmers did not produce a surplus of food and such other urban developments could not be supported. Instead, the group continued to be ruled by a chief. In some classes,

this could make for an interesting discussion about whether or not this could legitimately be called a city. Freund also explores the abandonment of urban centers like Zimbabwe. While a center of the gold trade, there is not a lot of evidence to indicate huge trade, leaving historians to speculate about its greater significance as a center of ritual life. Here again, teachers might lead their students in a comparative look at similarly abandoned Mayan urban centers, examining the causes for decline.

As the book’s chapters move through African history, further examples are provided to show changes that occurred as various cultures exerted influence on the continent. Greeks and Romans developed cities along the north coast. With the arrival of Islam, the increase in trade that resulted caused some urban centers to become much more cosmopolitan, and African cities such as Cairo became larger and more important than any European city of that time. Talking about these ideas in global studies classes help students to shift away from their concepts of Africa as less civilized than the West.

This book approaches European contact with Africa during the slave-trading era and the consequent colonial era in a balanced way, detailing the further changes that occurred in urban areas as a result. The analysis focuses on issues of separation, motivated by both racial perceptions and the Europeans’ desire to avoid contracting malaria. Further, Freund deals with the tensions created in urban areas that came with increased industrialization.

The last two chapters of the book deal with African cities in the post-colonial and modern era. As colonies reestablished their independence, many Europeans abandoned the cities, providing new opportunities as well as new challenges for those who remained. Freund points out that the future of Africa resides in its cities. As unrest and violence break out in the countryside, people continue their urban migration for safety, but there are not jobs to sustain them. Questions regarding how cities will cope with all of the people in areas where industrialism never expanded, and how they will adequately provide shelter and services, remain huge dilemmas in some areas. The table on page 145 shows the growing number of African cities with populations over one million. Further, current practices in globalization have left Africa, according to Freund, “off the map.” Struggles to empower a stable black middle class demonstrate that change is hard, and efforts continue at present to find ways to lift people out of poverty, provide basic amenities, and deal with the additional crises of AIDS and gangs ravaging urban areas.

While this book does not avoid looking at the real social and economic issues facing Africa in the 21st century, it does stop short of an Afro-pessimist view. Instead, it also looks at interesting ways that African cities are adapting, and points out the cultural creativity that cities have sparked. New governments in place in some cities have the

will to tackle issues of poverty, but are looking for ways to increase their capacity to deliver needed services. Freund ends the book by examining the ways and extent to which these things are happening in three significant cities: Toule, Abijan, and Durban. These case studies could provide fruitful class discussion about the ways that cities all over the globe confront similar challenges and find ways to respond and move forward.



Engseng Ho. *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean.* The California World History Library. University of California Press, 2006. xxvi + 379 pp.

Sebastian R. Prange

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The Hadramawt region of Yemen is best known for its intrepid merchants and religious leaders who established themselves along the shores of the Indian Ocean. They played prominent roles in the commercial, religious, and at times political affairs of their host communities whilst self-consciously maintaining their Hadrami identity. The preservation of this distinct diaspora identity is perhaps best encapsulated in their elaborate genealogies that trace family branches and offshoots back to their Arabian roots. Students of Muslim trade in the Indian Ocean encounter these texts across the breadth of the ocean, from Aceh to Kilwa. They are essential in tracing the complex networks that connected Hadramis to each other and their homeland.

Scholarship on the Hadrami diaspora received a much-needed impetus in 1995, when a conference on the subject was convened at London's School of Oriental and African Studies. Many of the participants at this conference (which resulted in a volume edited by Freitag and Clarence-Smith) went on to make important contributions to the study of Hadramawt and its trans-oceanic connections. The latest book to emerge from this group is by Engseng Ho, a Harvard anthropologist, who has followed Hadramis and their texts from their homeland across the Indian Ocean. Ho uses graves and genealogies as his signposts, through which he attempts a "recuperation of connectedness" (xv) of the diaspora from its origins in the early sixteenth century C.E. The work purports to be both anthropology and history and to combine world history and trans-cultural studies to examine notions of religion, diaspora, and empire.

The Graves of Tarim, Ho's first monograph, is organized in three parts. The first, entitled "Burial," seeks the roots of the diaspora by focus-

ing on the *sayyids*, the descendants of the Prophet. All Hadrami *sayyids* trace their families back to a single ancestor, known as "the Migrant," who came to Hadramawt in the tenth century C.E. His descendants settled in the town of Tarim and in the mid-thirteenth century were instrumental in institutionalizing the "general Sufism" (41) practiced in Hadramawt into a distinct order that became known as the 'Alawi Way. At this point, the imparting of *sayyid* status through patrilineal descent converged with the transmission of a distinct school of Sufism, both of which were rooted in Tarim. Ho links this development to the "expanding, transregional, cosmopolitan Muslim ecumene" (49) that formed along the Indian Ocean trade routes in the thirteenth century. The remainder of the book's first part shifts to an ethnographic mode and considers the parallels between the transformation of *sayyids* in Hadramawt from foreign to local and that of Tarim itself from destination (of "the Migrant" and new Sufi institutions) to origin of the Hadrami diaspora.

"Genealogical Travel," the book's second part, follows the emergence of the Hadrami diaspora from the early sixteenth century onwards. Following the Muslim networks and shifting trade routes of the Indian Ocean, it spread to East Africa, India, and Southeast Asia. Ho proposes to trace the diaspora through its literature and focuses on two specific texts, one completed in Gujarat in 1603 and the other in Mecca later in the seventeenth century. Both these texts are familiar to scholars – or, in the author's parlance, have been "trawled and plundered for data by positivist researchers" (118) – but Ho seeks to reinterpret them as "hybrid texts" (188) that illustrate responses to the diaspora experience. Genealogy, often implied in a person's name, was not only symbolic of the diaspora's connectedness but had practical implications for scholarly prestige, religious authority, eligibility for marriage, and inheritance. Ho sees the two texts as evidence for the evolution of Hadrami genealogical self-understanding from the mystical to the legalistic, prompted by the desire to maintain "discursive control over an expanding sphere of exchange" (198).

The exchange of most concern to a community defined by its ancestry was marriage. The intermarriage of *sayyid* men in diaspora (*sayyid* women, on the other hand, could not marry outside the community) prompted the theorizing of new patterns of kinship relations. Ho traces the Hadrami discourse on these new forms of "creole kinship" (152) in Southeast Asia from the eighteenth century onward. Kinship idioms played a central role in Malay societies and polities, to which the genealogical status of Hadrami *sayyids* added a new dimension. The arguably strongest section of the book is a series of case studies that outlines how cross-cultural alliances became integral to the "social substance" (158) of these polities. Ho argues that the intermarriage of Hadramis with non-Hadramis was paralleled in the interaction of their genealogical texts. Similar to their

original settlement in Hadramawt, the *sayyids* went through a process of domestication that enabled them to rise to the most prominent economic and political ranks while also remaining part of the wider diaspora and its homeland.

The final part ("Returns") turns its attention again to Tarim and its graves in the context of pilgrimage and repatriation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Ho describes the Hadramis as a sort of elite on the fringes of the British empire. This allowed Hadramis overseas to plot their return and transfer resources back to the homeland. The success of this movement is still visible in Tarim with its hundreds of endowed mosques and the remains of bombastic mansions in the most eclectic styles. Ho's description of his fieldwork in Tarim (249-55) is evocative, while Hadramawt's relation to the British empire is discussed more methodically elsewhere (for example in Boxberger 2002). However, his point that the "universal lockdown" (306) of individuals into nation states after WWII fundamentally changed the nature of Indian Ocean diasporas is well made. For many diasporic Hadramis, their dual status of local as well as cosmopolitan was no longer tenable, necessitating choices between full assimilation (in independent Malaysia, many did indeed become "archlocals" (307) as Malay nationalists), minority status, or repatriation.

The Graves of Tarim is a welcome addition to studies of Hadrami networks and diaspora studies in general. It shows the origins of the Hadrami *sayyids*, the economic and political currents that carried them across the Indian Ocean, and the ways in which they carved out positions in their host communities by establishing local relations that were "intimate, sticky, and prolonged" (xxi). Not all the chapters contribute equally to the author's ambition: while his discussion of Socialist and present politics (chapters 1 and 10) are interesting in themselves, they do not relate naturally to the main arguments. The author uses a range of different approaches to his subject (historical, anthropological, theological), which in itself seems to reflect the diasporic experience he describes. Ho's main achievement, in this reviewer's opinion, is his engagement with the genealogical chronicles, which will serve as an inspiration to other students of Muslim communities.

This book has much to offer world historians once they get past the more rarefied anthropological argot, in which a grave becomes a "dense semiotic object" (24) and its violation an "incitement to discourse" (16). It develops a remarkable picture of a diaspora that negotiated concepts and terminologies across the Indian Ocean. The trajectories of its intellectual efforts at "theorizing diaspora" (153) over the centuries underpinned the extraordinarily persistent sense of a Hadrami *sayyid* identity. It is as a result of this discourse that scholars are able to identify the Hadrami diaspora across time and space, and to engage in the ongoing project of tracing their trans-oceanic scholarly and commercial connections.

The 16th Annual Conference: A Success for Those Who Made It There

Al Andrea

The 16th Annual Conference, co-hosted by the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee and Marquette University, which met in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 28 June-1 July 2007, will be remembered as successful and fun but also plagued by travel woes for a significant number of the 301 registered conferees who attempted to hazard the perils of air transportation amidst summer storms, understaffed airlines, and an inadequate air traffic control system. More than 20,000 flights were cancelled across the United States in the month of June alone, and, although not true, it seemed as though most of them happened at the time of the conference.

This reporter thought he had things bad when he had to sit on the tarmac for three hours on the way to Milwaukee and arrived home three hours late and well after midnight on the way back. It paled into insignificance when compared to the stories of those who never made it to Milwaukee or arrived a day late. Alex Mirkovic relates the following tale:

I left Tampa, FL at 4 p.m. on Wednesday, hoping to catch a connecting flight in Charlotte, NC. When I arrived at the gate, the flight was delayed, and I would lose my connection. So US Airways changed my boarding pass and sent me to Philadelphia. I arrived in Philadelphia and boarded the plane bound for Milwaukee at 8:15 p.m. Then my real troubles started. We moved away from the gate and the pilot informed us that because of the storm, there were 40 planes waiting to take off before us. Around 10:30 p.m., the air-conditioning started to break down, so we returned to the terminal. Our entire carry-on luggage remained on the plane. After 3 hours of waiting, a representative showed up and told us that the flight was cancelled and they gave us back the carry-ons. It wasn't difficult to realize what was going on, around 11 p.m., the crew snuck out of the plane, headed toward a warm bed in a hotel. So, at 1 a.m., I went to the check-in counter to try to book another flight. The line was huge, about 200 people were waiting. Those who did not forget their cell phone charger, like myself, tried to book another flight over the phone, but they were not very successful. There were only two employees working at the counter, so the line was moving very slowly. At 4 a.m., more US Airways employees showed up, so the line started to move and I got my chance at 5am. When I finally managed to talk to a real person at the counter, I was informed that all flights to Milwaukee were booked till Saturday, and all flights likewise to Chicago were booked. So, I asked if any seats to Tampa were available, and they said yes, giving me a boarding pass for a 7:30 a.m. flight. I was back in Tampa by 11 a.m. on Thursday, the next day.

Alex and a few others like him missed a great conference, sad to say. Inasmuch as we were celebrating the WHA's 25th anniversary, all stops were pulled out to make this gathering intellectually satisfying and enjoyable. Thanks to the careful planning of the Local Arrangements Committee, co-chaired by Mary Wiesner-Hanks and Phil Naylor, the efforts of several key persons at WHA headquarters, namely Leslie Miller, Winston Welch, and Kieko Matteson, and the work of the Program Committee (chaired by Carolyn Neel) and the Conferences Committee, those goals were met.

Conferees who managed to arrive, and most did eventually make it to Milwaukee, were made immediately aware that this was a special meeting when they picked up their conference tote bag at registration, which was held in the heart of downtown Milwaukee at the UWM Conference Center, the site of most of the sessions to be held for the next 2½ days. To celebrate the WHA's quarter-century of existence, a special logo designed by Kate Kramer of UWM was emblazoned on the bag. Rather than collecting their conference materials and leaving, conferees who registered on Thursday largely stayed to enjoy the hospitality of ABC-Clio Publishers, which hosted a reception from 4:00 to 8:00 PM, and to view the book exhibits, which began that afternoon, in a break with precedent.

Publishers and other exhibitors, who totaled 15, were in evidence throughout the conference and provided generous support through their patronage. McDougall Littell and Thomson Gale hosted coffee services, Pearson Prentice Hall underwrote one of the three conference breakfasts, Houghton Mifflin hosted the Saturday bratwurst BBQ luncheon (complete

with three large cakes that celebrated the appearance of Craig Lockard's new world history textbook), and College Board AP and McGraw Hill subvented the conference's two keynote speakers. ABC-Clio and Berkshire Publishing Group also provided encyclopedias that were raffled off, free of charge, just to add a bit more fun to the proceedings. Moreover, in addition to the generous support of the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee and Marquette University, Alverno College and the University of Wisconsin, Parkside combined to host a coffee service. Without the patronage of these sponsors, the conference would not have been half as enjoyable for all and the conference fee would have been quite a bit higher.

The conference began in earnest on Friday, following warm welcomes by Richard Meadows, dean of the College of Letters and Sciences at UWM, and Madeline Wake, provost at Marquette, and opening remarks by the WHA president, Michele Forman. During the day, films from the Milwaukee International Film Festival were offered for viewing for those who wished a break from the academic panels. At 3:15, we boarded buses to the UWM main campus and its Golda Meir Library for the first keynote address, "Scales of World Histories: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern Historians and Their Choices," by Marnie Hughes-Warrington of Macquarie University. Following a brilliant address and spirited discussion, we repaired to the library's American Geographical Society Collection for a reception that was a feast and that left most conferees seriously reconsidering their evening dinner arrangements.

Saturday witnessed more morning panels at the UWM Conference Center, including the site-appropriate "The Global Beverage: Beer in World History," which Ralph Croizier, WHA president emeritus and continuing guiding light, put together. During the mid-morning coffee service, ABC-Clio raffled off three sets of historical encyclopedias, including the recently published four-volume *The Crusades: An Encyclopedia*. During the Business Meeting, which followed the morning's second session, Berkshire Publishing Group raffled off a certificate for its five-volume *Berkshire World History Encyclopedia*. All four raffle winners quite pleased with their good fortune.

At the conclusion of the Business Meeting, conferees walked ten blocks down Wisconsin Avenue to the beautiful neo-gothic campus of Marquette University, where they enjoyed a bratwurst and fixings BBQ on the lawn. As was true for all three days of the conference, the weather was sunny and warm but not hot. It was perfect.

Following another session of panels, conferees were edified by the second keynote address, "Reconstruction and World History: Theory and Practice," delivered by Jean Fleet, of the Milwaukee Public School system, a long-time WHA member and a major figure in the crafting of the AP World History curriculum and examination. The address was followed by the conference's third reception, this one hosted by Marquette at its Haggerty Art Museum.

Sunday saw the last two sessions of panels, and by 12:30 PM, most conferees were on their way to the airport for flights out. Happily, the weather was perfect, and most flights left on schedule, save for this reporter's. But that is another story.

During the conference Micheal Tarver and Karen Christensen were seen recording various addresses, sessions, and persons. Michael informs this technically challenged reporter that he "digitally recorded selected sessions for mp3 broadcasting on the WHA website." Karen informs us that she was conducting "an anthropological study of world historians at a WHA conference." Can we assume that Karen's research will find its way into some sort of publication? It's almost frightening to imagine what her conclusions will be.

As for next year: Look on the WHA website www.thewha.org for registration and paper-proposal forms for the 17th Annual Conference, which will be held at Queen Mary College, the University of London, 25-29 June 2008. Plans are already well underway, and periodic announcements and informational updates will appear on the website, in the pages of this *Bulletin*, on *H-World* and *World History Connected*, and in various other media.



Zhang Weiwei, Jerry Bentley, and Gao Yanli in Milwaukee at WHA 2007.

Winners of the 2006-2007 Student Paper Prize

Al Andrea

Once again competition for the WHA-Phi Alpha Theta Student Paper Prize in World History was spirited and close. Deciding winners was not easy, but the Committee finally and unanimously chose a winner in each category and, for the first time, it named two honorable mention laureates.

Taking the prize of \$400 in the graduate student category is Preston Bakshi of the University of California, Irvine, and a member of the WHA, who wrote on "Decolonizing Medicine: Professionalization and the Pharmaceutical Industry in Independent India."

The winner in the undergraduate category is Rigel A. Behrens, a member of Phi Alpha Theta at Northern Kentucky University (class of '07), which now has produced two undergraduate winners in the short history of this competition. Behrens' paper, "Jesus Christ, Karl Marx, and the Cold War: The Latin American Church's Response to a Changing World," has also earned its author a prize of \$400.

The Committee also decided to award two honorable mention awards. Neither brings with it any money, but both students will receive certificates from the WHA testifying to their accomplishment. Needless to say, both winners will also receive certificates.

Taylor Burton, a student at Columbus State University in Georgia (class of '08), and a member of Phi Alpha Theta, was cited for her paper "Bwiti: A Syncretic Faith of Modern Africa." Kevin Michael Smith of the University of California at Irvine (class of '07), and a member of the WHA, was recog-

nized for his paper "Coterminous Companions: Nationalism, Class, and Anational Arab-Jewish Cooperation in Mandatory Palestine."

Pearson Prentice Hall, Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society in History, and the World History Association will continue to cooperate in their tripartite sponsorship of this competition for the academic year of 2007-2008. Rules governing the competition are printed on the following page.



Grace Chee and Jerry Bentley at WHA 2007

WHA BOOK PRIZE 2008

Created in 1999, the World History Association (WHA) Book Prize recognizes outstanding contributions to the field of world history. It is generally awarded at the annual summer meeting of the WHA.

Authors, publishers, WHA members, or other interested parties may nominate books published during a calendar year. Nominations must be received by February 1 in order to allow time for the Prize Committee to evaluate them.

Copies of nominated books for the 2008 WHA Book Prize should be sent to the following members of the Book Prize Committee. Please note that only books published in 2007 are eligible for this competition. **Entries must be submitted by February 1, 2008.**

World History Association Book Prize Committee, 2008

Anand A. Yang, chair
Box 353650

Jackson School of International Studies
University of Washington
Seattle, Wa. 98195-3650

John K. Thornton
891 Belmont St.
Watertown, MA. 02472

Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks
Dept. of History
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
P.O. Box 413
Milwaukee, Wi. 53201-0413

Past winners include:

Felipe Fernández-Armesto. *Pathfinders: A Global History of Exploration*. W. W. Norton, 2006.

David Christian. *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History*. University of California Press.

Victor B. Lieberman, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800-1830*. Cambridge University Press.

Lauren Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400-1900*. Cambridge University Press.

Mike Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World*. Verso.

John McNeill. *Something New Under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth Century World*. W. W. Norton.

Kenneth Pomeranz. *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*. Princeton University Press.

Call For Contributors

ABC-CLIO, the world's leading publisher of history reference books, is producing a twenty-one volume World History Encyclopedia and is currently looking for prospective contributors. The work will be arranged thematically within historical eras, rather than listed alphabetically. Anyone interested in contributing should email the project director, Carolyn Neel <cneel@abc-clio.com> with an attached C.V. The publisher asks that applicants clearly indicate areas of interest and expertise in their transmittal message.

Phi Alpha Theta/World History Association Paper Prizes in World History

Entries must be e-mailed or postmarked by June 30, 2008

Phi Alpha Theta and the World History Association, with a generous subvention from Pearson Prentice Hall, Inc., a publisher of history textbooks, are co-sponsoring two student paper prizes in world history. An award of \$400 will be given for the best undergraduate world history paper, and an award of \$400 will be presented for the best graduate-level world history paper, both composed during the academic year of 2007-2008.

A world history paper is one that examines any historical issue with global implications. Such studies can include, but are not limited to, the exchange and interchange of cultures, the comparison of two or more civilizations or cultures, or the study in a macro-historical manner of a phenomenon that had a global impact. For example, world history topics would include: a study of the trans-cultural impact of Eurasia's Silk Road; a comparative study of the Ottoman and British empires; or the worldwide impact of the Influenza Pandemic of 1919.

To qualify for this competition, students must be members of either The World History Association or Phi Alpha Theta and must have composed the paper while enrolled at an accredited college or university during 2007-2008.

- All submitted papers must be no longer than 30 typewritten (double-spaced) pages of text, exclusive of the title page, endnotes, and bibliography.
- All pages, except for the title page, must be numbered, and all endnotes must conform to standard historical formats.
- Parenthetical notes are not to be used.
- The author's identity is to appear nowhere on the paper.
- A separate, unattached page should accompany the paper, identifying the author (along with the title of the paper) and providing that person's home address, telephone number, e-mail address (if available), college affiliation, graduating year and status (undergraduate or graduate student), and the association (WHA or PAT) to which the person belongs. Phi Alpha Theta members must indicate the institution at which they were inducted and the year.
- A one-page (250-word) abstract must accompany each submission. Abstracts of winning papers will be published in all announcements of competition results.
- Additionally, a letter or e-mail from a relevant history faculty member (the supervising professor, the Chair of the department, or the Phi Alpha Theta chapter advisor) must attest to the fact that the paper was composed during the academic year of 2007-2008.
- Papers submitted that do not adhere to these guidelines will be disqualified.

The Committee will judge papers according to the following criteria: world historical scope; originality of research; depth of analysis; and prose style.

Submit either:

- In an e-mail, electronic files of 1) the paper, 2) the page with identifying information, and 3) the abstract attached as Word files. The faculty member's letter must be e-mailed or posted separately.

OR

- For persons who lack e-mail capability, three (3) printed copies of each of the following: the paper, the page with identifying information, the abstract, and the faculty member's letter

To: Professor A. J. Andrea
Department of History
The University of Vermont
Burlington, VT 05405-0164.

Email: Alfred.Andrea@uvm.edu

Winning papers are eligible for consideration for publication in the various journals of the World History Association and Phi Alpha Theta, but no promise of publication accompanies any award.

Verein für Geschichte des Weltsystems

VEREIN FÜR GESCHICHTE DES WELTSYSTEMS e.V.

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(Universitätsprofessor für Osteuropäische
Geschichte in Hannover i.R.; Gastprofessor und
Gastlektor für Globalgeschichte Universität
Wien)

2007-01-28

Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren,

Erlauben Sie mir, Ihnen den VGWS vorzustellen. Einen etwas älteren Bericht über den Verein finden Sie unter obiger Website. Alle Mitglieder, auch der Kassierer, arbeiten ehrenamtlich – deshalb müssen wir die Formen wählen, welche den geringsten Aufwand verursachen. Der Verein besteht nun im vierzehnten Jahr und hat zur Zeit 63 Mitglieder, zwischen Japan und den USA, Österreich und Luxemburg, vor allem jedoch in Deutschland. Wir sind Historikerinnen und Historiker an Universitäten und Schulen, aber auch Vertreter anderer Fächer; mehrere von uns sind Mediziner. Ich bin Osteuropa-historiker – vielleicht ist Ihnen meine „Kleine Geschichte Rußlands“ (Reclam-Verlag Nr. 9696) bekannt oder mein Buch „Weltgeschichte. Imperien, Religionen und Systeme vom 15. zum 19. Jahrhundert,“ Wien 2006 (bei Böhlau).

Der Verein ist entstanden, weil Weltgeschichte in Deutschland viel zu wenig vertreten wird. In gewissem Sinn wurde die amerikanische WORLD-HISTORY-ASSOCIATION, deren affiliated member wir sind, zu unserem Vorbild – eine Vereinigung, die sich ebenfalls aus den Beiträgen der Mitglieder und aus Spenden träßt, also nicht aus öffentlichen Mitteln. Eine solche Vereins-struktur erscheint uns angemessen, da es darum gehen soll, ein bestimmtes, in dieser Form neues Interesse an Geschichte zu fördern, und nicht darum, vom „Staat“ etwas einzufordern – was ja auch von dessen Finanzmitteln abhängig macht und die Erweiterung unseres Geschichtsbildes auf den Sankt Nimmerleinstag verschieben könnte. Es gibt in Deutschland keine Institute, Lehrstühle o.ä. für Weltgeschichte; private Initiative muss einspringen. Selbstverständlich schätzen wir dabei auch die Kooperation mit der öffentlichen Hand, unsere Verbindungen mit dem Historischen Seminaren in Hannover, Wien, Köln und anderen sind

vielfältig, und wir pflegen die Zusammenarbeit mit Volkshochschulen sowie Schulen. Mehrere Mitglieder sind Lehrer.

Wir versuchen, Diskussionszusammenhänge vor Ort zu fördern und würden uns sehr freuen, wenn regionale Gruppen entstehen, in denen Interessierte, Lehrer und Dozenten über die neue Weltgeschichte reden, Vortragende einladen, Erfahrungen austauschen etc.. Ansätze für solche Gruppen gibt es in Hamburg und in der Pfalz.

Zum Teil wird die vereinsinterne Diskussion im „Rundbrief des VGWS“ geführt, von dem inzwischen 122 Nummern erschienen sind – mit recht unterschiedlichem Charakter, einige als Sammelände zu wissenschaftlichen Themen, andere einfach als Ankündigungen des kommenden Vortrags.

Der Verein organisiert zusammen mit anderen Institutionen größere Tagungen, z. B. im Jahr 2004 eine Tagung in Moskau mit der Akademie der Wissenschaften (s.u.), er finanziert Vorträge und kleine Seminare zu Themen der Weltgeschichte, z.B. über China, Entschädigungsforderungen, Amerika bis 1917, Osteuropa nach der Transformation, Migration (geleitet von Prof. Dr. Sabine Liebig) und Europa im Zeitalter der Extreme (geleitet von Oberstudiedirektor Dr. Kremb) auch an anderen Orten als Hannover, z.B. Köln, Karlsruhe und Kaiserslautern. Die vorletzte dieser Tagungen betraf „Imperien“; ein Band mit Beiträgen zum Imperium Romanum, Polen in der FNZ, das chinesische Reich unter den Qing, imperialistische Politik im Nahen Osten sowie die Anwendung des Begriffs auf Russland und USA in der Zeitgeschichte ist in Arbeit. Die letzte Kleintagung hat in der Pfalz stattgefunden zum Thema USA II, es haben mit Prof. Wilzewski (Uni Kaiserlautern), Dr. Kremb und Dr. Kremp (Atlantische Akademie Kaiserlautern) mehrere Fachleute und als Gäste besonders viele Lehrer teilgenommen. Die kommende Tagung wird dem Thema Eurasien in der Gegenwart gewidmet sein; mit Prof. Rothermund, Prof. Derichs und Prof. Heberer haben Fachleute für Indien, Japan und China zugesagt.

Die Tagungen werden oft in kleinen, für ein breites Publikum geschriebenen Bänden im Wochenschau-Verlag publiziert, z.B. H.-H. Nolte Hg.: USA I, Schwalbach 2006 (mit Beiträgen von Adelheid von Saltern, Ulrike Schmieder, Karl-Heinz Schneider u.a.); Ders. Hg.: Transformationen in Osteuropa und Zentralasien (mit Beiträgen von Carsten Goehrke, Gerhard Simon, Beate Eschment, Dariusz Adamczyk, Christophe von Werdt u.a.) & Sabine Liebig Hg.: Migrationen und Weltgeschichte, (mit Beiträgen von Anette Treibel, Christiane Nolte, Karl-Heinz Schneider u.a.) Schwalbach 2007. Die Bände kosten jeweils 9.80 Euro. Weitere Bände sind in

Arbeit: Klaus Kremb Hg.: Europa im Zeitalter der Extreme mit Beiträgen u.a. von Jürgen Wilzewski, Wigbert Benz und Kirsten Rüther; Georg Wagner-Kyora Hg.: Transkulturelle Didaktik mit Beiträgen von Friedrich Huneke, Jens Wilcek, Kirsten Rüther Friederike Hahn und Sabine Wussow-Klingebiel. Weitere Bände werden vorbereitet.

Weiter vergibt der Verein Druckkostenzuschüsse, wodurch er dazu beitruug, Alexander Boroznjak: Erinnerung für Morgen. Deutschlands Umgang mit der NS-Vergangenheit aus der Sicht eines russischen Historikers, Gleichen 2006 zu publizieren. Die Sammlung des Druckkostenzuschusses für die Publikation der deutschen Übersetzung von Ilja Altmans Geschichte des Holocaust auf den besetzten Territorien der UdSSR ist gerade abgeschlossen, die Publikation für 2007 geplant. Der Verein vergibt auch mal einen Reisezuschuss zum Besuch internationaler Konferenzen (für Studenten oder Doktoranden). Sehr häufig fördert der Verein Geschichtsschreibung als Oberbegriff, also Arbeitszuschüsse zu weltgeschichtlichen Arbeiten, oft an Kolleginnen und Kollegen, die kein geregeltes Einkommen haben.

Mehrfach hat der Verein auch internationale Tagungen mit finanziert oder mit organisiert, so zusammen mit der Russländischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Friedrich Ebert Stiftung eine Tagung über den deutschen und russischen Umgang mit der Geschichte. Die Publikation – N. Hg.: Auseinandersetzungen mit den Diktaturen, Gleichen 2005 ist z.B. Süddeutsche Zeitung 2006 Nr. 221 S. 35 rezensiert worden.

Vor allem aber bietet der Verein mit der ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR WELTGESCHICHTE das erste Forum in Deutschland, das dem immer noch überwiegend nationalhistorischen Aufbau der deutschen historischen Zunft eine weltweite Orientierung entgegensemmt. Historiker, Geschichtsdidaktiker und Soziologen haben zur ZWG beigetragen: Dariusz Adamczyk (Hannover), Martin Aust (Berlin), Richard Albrecht (Münsterfeil), Maurice Aymard (Paris), Carlos Barros (Santiago die Campostella), Hinnerk Bruhns (Paris), Luigi Cajani(Rom), Shmuel Eisenstadt (Jerusalem), Jürgen Elvert (Köln), Beate Eschment (Halle), Inna Deviatko (Moskau), Elpidio Diaz (Rutgers NJ), Irina Djakonova (Moskau), Hartmut Elsenhans (Leipzig), Thomas Ertl (Berlin), Peter Feldbauer (Wien), Sheila Fitzpatrick (Chicago), Andre Gunder Frank (vormals Miami), Marina Fuchs (Konstanz), Claus Fuellberg-Stolberg (Hannover), Tamerlan Gadzhiev (Machatsch-Kala), Johan Galtung (Transcend), Carl-Hans Hauptmeyer (Hannover), Bernd Hausberger (Mexiko), Barry Higman (Canberra), Fouad Ibrahim (Wunstorf), Heinrich Kaak (Berlin),

Christian Lekon (Lefke), Sabine Liebig (Karlsruhe), Alicia Puente Lutteroth (Cuernavaca/Mex.), Samson Madievski (Aachen), Bruce Mazlish (Boston/Mass.), Insa Nolte (Birmingham), Udo Obal (Hannover), Pavel Poljan (Moskau/Freiburg), Kenneth Pomeranz (Irvine/Cal), Joachim Radkau (Bielefeld), Boris Rashkovskij (Moskau), Wolfgang Reinhard (Freiburg), Haruko Saito (Tokio), Gerhard Schmidt (Hannover), Ulrike Schmieder (Köln/Hannover), Igor Smirnov (Moskau), Eva-Maria Stolberg (Bonn), Helmut Stubbe da Luz (Hamburg), Marin Trenk (Hannover), Vasilis Vourkoutiotis (Montreal), Gerhard Weinberg (Charlotteville /NC), Immanuel Wallerstein (Binghamton/ NY), Nina Waschkau (Wolgograd), Michael Zeuske (Köln) und andere.

Wir haben Beiträge und Sammelnummern zu Großregionen der Erde wie Eurasien, Sibirien und China vorgelegt und zu eher systematischen Themen wie Zweiter Weltkrieg und Holocaust, Sklaverei und Zwangsarbeit, Diplomatie und Handelsgeschichte. Die Nr. 4.1 war der Didaktik der Weltgeschichte gewidmet; die Nummer 4.2 China – mit Beiträgen chinesischer Historiker - wurde von Prof. Sachsenmaier herausgegeben, Nr. 5.2 hatte einen Schwerpunkt bei der Geschichte von Genoziden, Nr. 6.1 , herausgegeben von Direktor Kremb, fasst geoökologische Beiträge zusammen. Nr. 7.1 wurde von Prof. Hauptmeyer, Hannover herausgegeben und hat den Schwerpunkt Zwang in der Frühen Neuzeit. In der Nr. 7.2 sind (u.a.) Aufsätze zu China, zur spanisch sprechenden Welt zwischen Los Angeles und Santiago di Compostela, eine Quellenedition zur Außenpolitik Mauretanien und eine Studie zum Holocaust erschienen. In der Nr. 8.1 sind u.a. Beiträge zur allgemeinen Bestimmung von Globalgeschichte (Bernd Hausberger, Mexiko), zu Grenzverletzungen als Instrument (Helmut Stubbe da Luz, Hamburg), zur Leibeigenschaft in Brandenburg im Vergleich zu anderen Ostseeländern (Heinrich Kaak), zu neuzeitlichem Kulturtransfer zwischen Islam und Christenheit vor allem auf dem Gebiet des Militärs, zur Rezeption der deutschen Romantik in Russland (Igor Smirnov, Moskau) und ein Literaturbericht zum Genozid an den Armeniern erschienen.

Die Nr. 8.2 wird von Prof. Michael Zeuske und PD. Dr. Ulrike Schmieder herausgegeben und diskutiert das Konzept Transkulturation (Fernando Ortiz). Der Band bietet Beiträge zu Fällen aus mehreren Räumen – Karibik und Südamerika (Alfonso de Toro, z.Zt. Leipzig, Ulrike Schmieder), Russland und Indien (Gita Dharampal Frick, Heidelberg) sowie einen Beitrag zur Geschichte der Sepharden (Christian Cwik, Wien).

Bd. 9.1 wird Beiträge zu mehreren Regionen und Perioden vereinen - über Ethnogenese im antiken Griechenland (Peter Tasler, Hannover), Zentral-asiatische Chanate (Bernt Fragner, Wien), Textile Produktionsketten (Andrea Komlosy, Wien), Abstieg der

Habsburgermonarchie in die Semiperipherie (Klemens Kaps, Wien), den „Grossen Terror“ (Bernd Bonwetsch, Moskau) den Erinnerungsort für Gandhi in Delhi (Dietmar Rothermund, Heidelberg).

Viele Beiträge zur ZWG sind übersetzt worden – aus dem Englischen, Chinesischen, Französischen, Spanischen, Arabischen und Russischen. Von der Nr. 8.1 an erscheint die ZWG im Verlag Meidenbauer, München; die älteren Nrn. sind im Verlag Lang, Frankfurt erhältlich.

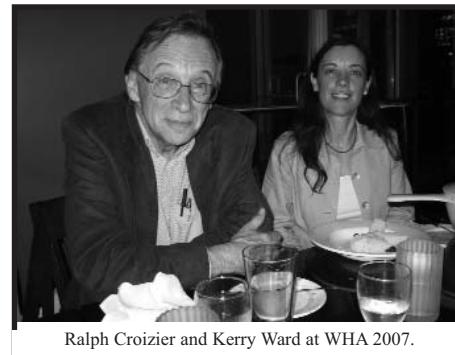
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Hans-Heinrich Nolte



Ralph Croizier and Kerry Ward at WHA 2007.

Hans-Heinrich Nolte:

Weltgeschichte.
Imperien, Religionen und Systeme, 15. – 19. Jahrhundert,
Wien 2005 (Böhlau-Verlag)
392 S., zahlreiche Tabellen und Grafiken, 29.90 Euro,
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Kapitel
Eurasiafrika

Beide Amerikas

China – die Mitte der Welt

Imperium und Föderation in Indien

Zwei Inseln – Japan und England

Die Christenheit – das europäische System im Mittelalter

Die Entstehung des modernen Staates

Globale Ökonomien

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ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR WELTGESCHICHTE (ZWG)

Für den Verein für Geschichte des Weltsystems herausgegeben von Hans-Heinrich Nolte

ISSN 1615-2581

1. (2000)Johan Galtung(Versonnex): Welt-, Global-, Universal-Geschichte / Schwerpunkt Eurasien: Martin Aust(Berlin): Sibirien / Nina Waschkau(Wolgograd) : Russlanddeutsche / Hans-Heinrich Nolte: Russland im Weltsystem/ Tamerlan Gadzhiev (Machatsch Kala): Dagestan / Irina Djakonova (Moskau): Vergleichende Wirtschaftsgeschichte

2.1.(2001) Shmuel N. Eisenstadt(Jerusalem): Vielfältige Modernen /Lutz Höper, Olaf März: Internet und Globalisierung /Gerhard Schmidt: Geschichtsunterricht / Peter Feldbauer(Wien): Die islamischen Gesellschaften bis 1500 /Beate Eschment(Halle): Die neue Hauptstadt Kasachstans /Marina Fuchs(Köln): Nischen in der sowjetischen Gesellschaft/Pavel Poljan (Moskau), H.-H. Nolte : Massenverbrechen in der SU und im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland

2.2. Schwerpunkt Weltsystemstudien: umfassend - Immanuel Wallerstein(Yale); Hartmut Elsenhans(Leipzig); Niedersachsen - Carl Hans Hauptmeyer ; Polen - Dariusz Adamczyk/ Maurice Aymard_(Paris): Die osteuropäischen Mittelklassen/ Insa Nolte(Birmingham): Traditionale Herrschaft im modernen afrikanischen Staat

3.1.(2002) Bruce Mazlish (Boston): „New global History“/ Marin Trenk: Welt-monokultur oder

Indigenisierung ?/ H.-H. Nolte: Eine Kette innerer Peripherien entlang der alten muslimisch-christlichen Grenze/ Gerhard Weinberg (Charlotteville): Kriegsziele im 2. Weltkrieg/Christian Lekon_: Hadhraum im Migrationssystem des Indischen Ozeans/ Sheila Fitzpatrick (Chicago): Stalinismusforschung/ Carlos Barros (Santiago di Compostella) u.a. : Manifest von „Historia a Debate“

3.2 Schwerpunkt Zwangarbeit in der Moderne: Plantagenklaverei -Barry Higman (Canberra); Gulag -Viktor Funk; NS-Zwangarbeit - Pavel Poljan; Claus Füllberg-Stolberg/ Michael Zeuske (Köln): Rasse auf Kuba/ Klaas Bähre: Tschetschenienkrieg und Internet

4.1 (2003) Schwerpunkt Geschichtsunterricht: Luigi Cajani_(Rom); Sabine Liebig; Martin Aust /G. Weinberg: Deutschland und die USA 1933-45/Vasilis Vourkoutiotis (St.Peterburg): Deutscher Widerstand und britische Regierung/ Eva Maria Stolberg (Bonn): Russland und die Frontier. Replik / Ulrike Schmieder_(Köln) : Die Milde der iberoamerikanischen Sklaverei

4.2 Schwerpunkt China, Gastherausgeber Dominic Sachsenmaier (Sta. Barbara/ Cal.); Kenneth Pomeranz(Irvine/Cal);Shin Jong-hwa(Florenz); Klaus Mäding (Düsseldorf); Hsiung Ping-chen(Taiwan); Kwok Siu-tong (Hong Kong); Mechthild Leutner (Berlin)

5.1 (2004) Andre Gunder Frank (Luxemburg): Geschichtswissenschaft Re-Orientieren/ Jürgen Elvert (Köln): Nationalhistorie in Europa/ Inna Deviatko (Moskau): Zur soziologischen Theorie der globalen Gesellschaft/ Verena Dohrn (Hannover): Kulturologiedebatte in Russland/ Haruko Saito (Tokio) Nordterritorium Japans/ Klaus Kremb (Winnweiler): Kulturerdteile

5.2 Mark Levengood (Southampton): Jahrhundert der Genozide/ H.-H. Nolte: Hochschulseminar zu Massakern/ Thomas Bohn (Kiel): Zwangarbeit in Schleswig-Holstein/ Wolfgang Reinhard (Freiburg): Geschichte des Atlantik/ Christian Lekon (Hannover): Die sieben Schwestern/ D. Adamczyk: Vormoderne Weltsysteme/ A. Tausch (Wien): EU-Erweiterung oder Rekolonialisierung des europäischen Ostens?

6.1 Schwerpunkt Geo-Ökologie, Gastherausgeber Klaus Kremb: Joachim Radkau (Bielefeld): Globale Umweltgeschichte und Politik/Otmar Seuffert (Darmstadt): Von der Kultivierung zur Degradierung: Mittelmeer/ Fouad Ibrahim (Bayreuth): Das Sahel-Problem/ Winfried Golte (Bonn): Vorkoloniale Bewässerungswirtschaft in Peru/ Martina Neuburger (Tübingen): Pionierfronten in Brasilien/Klaus Kremb: The plow will follow the axe/Tilman Rost: Wassernutzungskonflikte in Zentralasien/ H.J. Fuchs (Mainz): Umweltrisiken in den Tropen

6.2 Hinnerk Bruhns (Paris): Universalgeschichte bei Braudel und Weber/E. Rashkovskij (Moskau): Das Konzept Dritte Welt/V. Vourkoutiotis (Ottawa): Institutionalisierte Schizophrenie: sowjetische und angelsächsische Kriegs-gefangene der Wehrmacht/M. Aust (Kiel): Vergleichende Eisenbahngeschichte von Imperien/ Eva Maria Stolberg: Roma in Osteuropa/ Dariusz Adamczyk: Replik zur Kolonialisierungsthese

7.1 Gerald Hödl (Wien): Ein intellektueller Rebell. Zum Tode Andre Gunder Franks. Gastherausgeber Carl-Hans Hauptmeyer: Zwang in agrarischen Gesellschaften der Frühen Neuzeit/ Michael Zeuske: Vergleichen oder Vernetzen? Der Vergleich der Sklavereien in den Amerikas / Udo Obal: Zwischen Freiheit und Zwang? Arbeit und Gesellschaft im frühneuzeitlichen Nordwestdeutschland / Dariusz Adamczyk: Zwischen (Welt)Markt und endogenen Zwängen. Die Entwicklung der Gutswirtschaft im Polen der frühen Neuzeit / Peter Mario Kreuter (Bonn): Religiöser Zwang im Osmanischen Reich ? Einige Hinweise zu Fragen der Konversion, der Knabenlese und dem Umgang mit der Kirche / Thomas Neuner (Köln): Kuba im Spannungsfeld zwischen Kaltem Krieg und Dekolonialisierung

7.2 Thomas Ertl (Berlin): Mediävistik und Chinahistorie: Vom Nutzen der chinesischen Geschichte für die Deutung des europäischen Mittelalters / Carlos Barros (Santiago di Compostela) : Historia a Debate. Geschichtsschreibung in der spanischsprachigen Welt / Elpidio Laguna Diaz (Rutgers/NJ.): Kulturbegriff und Geschichtsschreibung. Gegen eine Anglobalisierung / Alicia Puente Lutteroth: (Cuernavaca/Mor.) : Unmittelbare Geschichte und religiöse Pluralität / Claus Füllberg-Stolberg: Neue deutsche Veröffentlichungen zum Thema >Sklavenhandel und Sklaverei< / Till Philip Koltermann (Iserlohn), Ulrich Rebstock (Freiburg): Die ältesten arabischen Briefe der Emire von Tarza (Mauretanien) / Samson A. Madievski (Aachen): Andere Deutsche, Der Rettungswiderstand im Dritten Reich / Hans-Heinrich Nolte: Literaturberichte 1. Die Rote Armee von unten, 2. Scheitern von Modernisierungen / Freiburger Memorandum

8.1 Bernd Hausberger (Mexiko): Wann und wo passiert Globalgeschichte? / Helmut Stubbe da Luz (Hamburg): >Grenzverletzung zur Erzwingung von Veränderungen / Heinrich Kaak (Berlin): Vom Erbzinsrecht zur Leibeigenschaft – Entstehung agrarischer Zwangsformen im frühneuzeitlichen Brandenburg / Hans-Heinrich Nolte: Neuzeitlicher Kulturtransfer zwischen Islam und Christenheit: Politik, Militär, Religion / Igor Smirnov (Moskau) : Zur Rezeption deutscher Romantik in der russischen Geistesgeschichte / Richard Albrecht (Münstereifel): Genozid, Armenozid. Literaturbericht

8.2 (im Druck): GastherausgeberIn: Michael Zeuske, Ulrike Schmieder: Transkulturation/ Alfonso de Toro: The conquest writes back. Überlegungen zu hybrider Repräsentation und Inszenierungen der Andersheit . Chroniken und Diskurse der Eroberung Mexikos und Amerikas / Ulrike Schmieder: Transkulturation und gender: Stereotypen von masculinity im europäischen Wissenschaftsdiskurs des 18. Jahrhunderts über Lateinamerika / Hans-Heinrich Nolte: Was waren Bauern? Erinnerung an einen west-östlichen Diskurs und eine (begriffsgeschichtlich einsetzende) Katastrophe / Gita Dharampal-Frick: Zur Problematik von Transkulturation und Wissenstransfer zwischen Europa und Indien / Christian Cwik: Neuchristen und Sepharden als Cultural Broker im atlantischen Raum 1500-1700

9.1 (in Vorbereitung): Peter Tasler (Hannover): Dorier und Griechen: Griechische Ethnogenese und politische Ideologie/ Bernt Fragner (Wien): Khanate. Beitrag zu einem Wörterbuch der Universalgeschichte / Andrea Komlosy (Wien) : Textile Produktionsketten: Arbeitsverhältnisse der globalen Textilerzeugung 1700-2000/ Clemens Kaps (Wien) : Gescheitertes Aufholen in Zentraleuropa. Der Abstieg der Habsburgermonarchie zu einem semiperipheren Wirtschaftsraum im Spiegel ihrer Außenhandelsstruktur / Bernd Bonwetsch (Moskau): Der Große Terror – 70 Jahre danach / Dietmar Rothermund (Heidelberg) : Rajat: In memoriam Mahatma Gandhi in Neu-Delhi / Richard Albrecht (Münstereifel): Armenozid – Genozid (Literaturbericht)

In allen Nummern erscheinen regelmäßig Konferenzberichte, Rezensionen und Annotationen zur neuesten Literatur

Die amerikanische Zeitschrift REVIEW. Fernand Braudel Center XXVII/3 (2004) hat unter der Überschrift „Russia and Siberia in the World-System: German Perspectives“ die Beiträge von M. Aust und H.-H. Nolte aus ZWG 1 sowie die Replik von E. Stolberg aus ZWG 4.1 als englischsprachige Nr. zusammengefaßt. Die russischsprachige Zeitschrift Neprkosvennyj Zapas hat in ihrer Nr. 2003/2 den Aufsatz von Polian und Nolte aus ZWG 2.1 in russischer Übersetzung publiziert.

Für den Verein für Geschichte des Weltsystems (www.vgws.org) hg. von Hans-Heinrich Nolte. Abonnement der ZWG: 45 Euro. Das Abonnement wird direkt vom Verlag Meidenbauer eingezogen werden:

Vertrieb: Anke.beiswaenger@m-verlag.net
Website: www.m-verlag.net

Die Nrn. 1 – 7 der ZWG erschienen im Verlag Lang, Frankfurt und können dort bezogen werden: zentrale.frankfurt@peterlang.com

Mark Your Calendars for the WHA Conference in London, 25-29 June 2008

By Al Andrea

Plans are progressing at a fast pace for the Seventeenth Annual WHA Conference at Queen Mary, the University of London. Founded in 1885, the Queen Mary campus at Mile End in London's vibrant East End is a lovely mix of late Victorian and modern buildings located only 15 minutes away by underground from central London. Persons who desire to learn more about the college are urged to visit its website: www.qmul.ac.uk.

The Call for Papers

The Call for Papers is available on line at http://thewha.org/call_for_papers.php, along with an on-line submission form. In honor of our host city, this year's two conference themes are "Global Cities" and "The Sea: Highway of Change."

Keynoters

Keynote speakers will be Professor Felipe Fernández-Armesto, of Queen Mary and Tufts University, and Professor Leonard Blussé, of Leiden University.

Professor Fernández-Armesto, who will address the theme of "The Sea: Highway of Change," is well known to WHA members. His most recent scholarly book, *Pathfinders: A Global History of Exploration* (W.W. Norton, 2006), was awarded the 2007 WHA Book Prize, and his textbook *The World: A History* (Prentice Hall, 2007), has found a home in many world history classrooms throughout the U. S. and beyond.

Professor Blussé, who will address the theme of "Global Cities," is an equally distinguished world historian. His many studies of the Dutch in East and South Asia include *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women, and Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Cellar Book Shop, 1988) and *The Dutch Encounter with Asia, 1600-1950* (B. V. Waanders, 2004).

Why These Dates?

The dates for the conference are Wednesday June 25 through Sunday June 29, 2008. Veteran WHA conference goers know that conference work begins Thursday afternoon with registration, a reception (for the past two years), and meeting of the Executive Council. That schedule will continue in London, but in order to allow for jet-lag recovery, the Conferences Committee is offering a five-day accommodation package commencing on Wednesday the 25th. The Committee hopes, but cannot promise, to offer optional activities for persons arriving early.

The Persistent Question: How Much?

Persons who have been to London in the recent past know what an expensive city it is, especially for U.S. visitors, given the weakness of the dollar vis-à-vis the pound (a bit more than 2:1 at the moment). Thus, it is with great pleasure that the Conferences Committee announces that it has been able to negotiate four-and five-day accommodation packages in housing on the Queen Mary campus. Each room is a single (some doubles are available but the price per person is the same for a double or a single) with private bath. This reporter toured the facilities several years ago and found them quite comfortable-looking and totally modern in appurtenances. Each package includes daily breakfast and lunch in the Queen Mary restaurant.

The Committee chair decided not to include dinner in the package because undoubtedly most conferees will want to sample London's restaurants, pubs, theatres, and night life. There are a number of good places to eat nearby, and dinners can also be purchased on campus for those who are too tired or busy to ramble around the West End or elsewhere. Queen Mary also has a pub on campus and an excellent outdoor picnicking area alongside a canal, for those who want to dine *al fresco*. Never one to leave anything to chance, this reporter sampled the campus restaurant's cuisine and found it excellent.

Each package also includes the conference fee, which brings with it three receptions and, more importantly, the conference's intellectual fare.

The five-day package covers the nights of 25-29 June, departing the 30th after breakfast. The four-day package covers the nights 26-29 June, departing the 30th. All package fees are paid directly to the WHA when registering. The registration form is downloadable at http://thewha.org/files/conference_registration_form_2008.pdf. Registration and package fees can also be paid online.

Persons who wish to arrange one or two additional nights before and/or after these dates must contact the Queen Mary Conference and Groups Manager directly at conference@qmul.ac.uk. Fees for the extended dates will run around £40 per person per night for bed and breakfast, are to be paid directly to Queen Mary.

The university has about 1500 rooms on campus, so we will have room for everyone who wishes to stay on campus. However, for those who wish to spend more, please consult the list of nearby hotels, with descriptions and contact information. Persons must contact the hotel of their choice directly and make their own arrangements.

The prices quoted below for the two packages might seem high by recent conference standards, but conferees should keep several facts in mind. First, as noted, London is very expensive, and these rates are far below hotel and restaurant prices. Second, each package includes the conference fee, which means three receptions, daily refreshment breaks, and all associated conference costs. Third, we have made every effort to keep the price affordable while ensuring that all bills will be paid.

Five-Night Package

WHA Members	\$800
Student WHA Members (with ID)	\$640
Non-WHA Members	\$865
Student Non-WHA Members (with ID)	\$670

Four-Night Package

WHA Members	\$710
Student WHA Members (with ID)	\$550
Non-WHA Members	\$775
Student Non-WHA Members (with ID)	\$580

Conference Fee Only (for persons not staying at QMUL)

WHA Members	\$130
Student WHA Members (with ID)	\$40

Non-Members	\$195
Student Non-WHA Members (with ID)	\$70

One-Day Pass (Friday or Saturday; Sunday gratis with a previous day's badge)

WHA Members	\$70
All Students (with ID)	\$20
Non-WHA Members	\$100

Please note that it is more cost-effective for non-members to join the WHA, thereby receiving both the benefits of membership and the reduced registration fee. Joining the WHA is easy: go to http://thewha.org/join_wha.php and either pay online or print and mail a membership form.

Guest badges for accompanying spouse/partner to attend only the receptions are available for \$10. Please note that any spouse or partner taking accommodations at QMUL pays the full package price and receives a conference badge and assorted conference materials, regardless of whether or not the person attends the conference sessions.

Conference Extras

Thanks to the gracious generosity of our sponsors, the WHA will hold three receptions. On Thursday afternoon June 26, ABC-Clio will offer hospitality to registrants, as it has at our conferences for the past two years. On Friday evening June 27, Pearson Publishing will host a reception at its corporate headquarters at 80 Strand in the heart of the West End. Conferees will have to make their way there on their own, but as noted, it is a short ride by the tube. On Saturday afternoon June 28, AP World History will also host a reception. These three social events are courtesy of three special friends of the WHA: Ron Boehm, CEO of ABC-Clio; Charles Cavaliere, Senior History Editor at Pearson Prentice Hall; and Allison Clark, Director, History Content and Curriculum Development, Advanced Placement.

Several publishers have already expressed their desire to exhibit at the conference, and we expect to have a full exhibition of pedagogical and academic books, music, maps, and other materials.

And A Few More Words

Keep your eyes on the WHA website and H-World for periodic conference updates.

As soon as we receive official invitations, the WHA Committee will announce the sites for our 2009 and 2010 conferences in the U.S. and our 2011 conference abroad. As always, every third WHA conference takes place in a site outside of the United States to better serve our global mission.

Call for Papers
2008 World History Association Annual Conference

University of London, Queen Mary College, Mile End Campus, 25-29 June 2008

The 2008 WHA Program Committee enthusiastically invites proposals from scholars and teachers around the world for full panels, single papers, and roundtables on topics related to the scholarly and/or pedagogical aspects of this year's themes: "Global Cities" and "The Sea: Highway of Change."

Submission deadline: January 15, 2008

Conference Themes: 1. Global Cities; 2. The Sea: Highway of Change

Submission Guidelines:

1. All proposals must be submitted with the relevant forms.
2. Sessions are ninety (90) minutes long. Ideally, panels will consist of three presenters, who will be allotted no more than 20 minutes each. Panels are limited to a maximum of four presenters each.
3. Each panel or roundtable proposal must include a title and a brief (300 words or less) description of the topic as well as, for panels, a 100- to 200-word abstract of each paper. Where possible, panel organizers should attempt to assemble panelists from a range of institutions, regions, and professional/academic levels.
4. The Program Committee may accept, reject, alter panel proposals, or assign presenters to other panels should it be deemed advisable.
5. Papers submitted individually will be grouped into panels by the Program Committee and a chair will be assigned. Please contact the chair directly regarding the time allotted for your paper and other organizational matters.
6. Panel proposals consisting entirely of graduate students may be strengthened by a letter of support from a faculty member familiar with the students' work.
7. If you might be willing to act as a chair or discussant for another session, please circle yes on your individual submission form.
8. For audiovisual equipment, please see the individual paper proposal form.
9. In the case of proposals of equal merit, preference for acceptance will be given to proposals that address a conference theme and WHA members in good standing.
10. In the event a program participant is forced to withdraw, he/she should notify the Program Chair and the WHA as soon as possible and recommend a suitable replacement.
11. All program participants (paper presenters, chairs, and discussants) must pre-register for the conference by May 1, 2008. Program participants who have not registered by this date will not be listed in the printed program and the panel Chair or Program Committee will seek a replacement. Registration information will be posted by February 2008 at the WHA's website: <http://thewha.org>

Notification:

Once the Committee has finalized the program, all persons who have submitted proposals will be notified via e-mail of the Committee's decisions. Panel organizers are responsible for notifying the individual members of their panel of the Program Committee's decision. If you require a hard copy of your acceptance letter to secure funding or obtain visa approval, please let the Program Committee know as soon as possible, preferably with your original proposal submission.

The Program Committee will make every attempt to inform panelists of their scheduled appearance time and date at the time of initial notification.

If you have not received an official e-mail or letter by April 15, please contact the Program Committee, c/o The World History Association, Department of History, Sakamaki Hall A203, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI 96822 (U.S.A.); tel: (808) 956-7688; email: thewha@hawaii.edu. Questions regarding the Call for Papers should be addressed to the Committee Chair (below).

2008 WHA Program Committee:

Chair: Carolyn Neel, ABC-CLIO <cneel@ABC-CLIO.com>

Maryanne Rhett, Washington State University, <mazrhett@yahoo.com>

Robert Willingham, Roanoke College, <willingham@roanoke.edu>

William Zeigler, San Marcos High School, San Marcos, California, <wzeigler@cox.net>

Panel Proposal Cover Sheet
Seventeenth Annual World History Association Conference
University of London, Queen Mary College, Mile End Campus, 25-29 June 2008
Submission Deadline: January 15, 2008

I. Please read the Submission Guidelines first.

II. Panel proposals must include:

1. A title and a brief (300 words or less) description of the panel topic
2. Individual proposals for each paper, using the individual paper proposal submission form
3. Postal and electronic mailing addresses and phone numbers for all panelists (use this cover sheet)
4. Individual c.v.s of no more than two pages for each member of the panel

III. Please email your complete panel proposal via attached document to thewha@hawaii.edu. Compile all relevant items, separated by page breaks, in one MSWord document. Items sent individually will be treated as individual paper submissions or discarded. Mark the subject header of your email "WHA 2008 Panel Proposal" and name your document with your last and first names, as in "SmithMaryPanel.doc".

For more information, visit the WHA website: <http://thewha.org> or email thewha@hawaii.edu or cneel@ABC-CLIO.com. You may also contact us by writing the WHA 2008 Program Committee, c/o The World History Association, Dep't of History, SAK A-203, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, HI 96822 (U.S.A.).

Panel title:

Conference theme this panel will address:

Panel content and approach: Please append a brief (300 words or less) description to this document.

Organizer's Name:

Institutional Affiliation (if any):

Mailing Address & phone number:

Email Address:

Chair's Name:

Institutional Affiliation (if any):

Mailing Address & phone number:

Email Address:

Discussant's Name:

Institutional Affiliation (if any):

Mailing Address & phone number:

Email Address:

Panelist 1 Name:

Institutional Affiliation (if any):

Mailing Address & phone number:

Email Address:

Panelist 2 Name:

Institutional Affiliation (if any):

Mailing Address & phone number:

Email Address:

Panelist 3 Name:

Institutional Affiliation (if any):

Mailing Address & phone number:

Email Address:

Individual Paper Proposal Cover Form
Seventeenth Annual World History Association Conference
University of London, Queen Mary College, Mile End Campus, 25-29 June 2008

Submission Deadline: January 15, 2008

I. Please read the Submission Guidelines first.

II. The individual paper proposal must include:

5. This cover form, with 100-200 word abstract
6. A c.v. of no more than two pages

III. Please email your complete paper proposal via attached document to thewha@hawaii.edu. Compile all relevant items, separated by page breaks, in one MSWord document. Mark the subject header of your email "WHA 2008 Paper Proposal" and name your document with your last and first names, as in "JonesFrankPaper.doc".

For more information, visit the WHA website: <http://thewha.org> or email thewha@hawaii.edu or cneel@ABC-CLIO.com. You may also contact us by writing the WHA 2008 Program Committee, c/o The World History Association, Dep't of History, SAK A-203, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, HI 96822 (U.S.A.).

Your Name:

Departmental and Institutional affiliation & position:

Mailing Address & phone number:

Email Address:

Are you a current member of the WHA? Yes / No

If Yes, member since: _____

Paper Title:

Paper content and approach -- Please insert a brief (200 words or less) description here:

Conference Theme this paper will address:

Vital audiovisual equipment needs* (all requests must be submitted with this proposal):

Because of room and scheduling constraints, the Program Committee cannot accommodate late equipment requests. A/V equipment comprises a significant portion of conference budgets, so please request it only if it is absolutely essential to your presentation. Be very specific (e.g., slide projector, overhead projector, LCD projector, TV/VCR, CD player or audiocassette player). For your part, please provide your own laptop and all requisite cords, cables, and connectors, as well as plug adapter, converter, and transformer, as necessary, to accommodate the U.K. voltage system. For slides, please bring your own slide carousels. You may also want to back-up your materials on a USB (flash) drive or via an email to yourself, should you encounter technical difficulties. The WHA reserves the right to refuse equipment requests for any reason.

Scheduling needs (e.g., not first/last day) and justification:

Would you be willing to act as chair or discussant for another panel, if requested by the Program Committee? Yes/No

REGISTRATION FOR THE 17TH ANNUAL WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE

June 25 - 29, 2008

University of London, Queen Mary College, Mile End Campus

Registration Fees¹

Members	Non-Members ²
<input type="checkbox"/> WHA Members: \$130 or £65	<input type="checkbox"/> Non-Members: \$195 or £95
<input type="checkbox"/> WHA Student Member: \$40 or £20	<input type="checkbox"/> Student Non-Member: \$70 or £35
<input type="checkbox"/> Member one-day pass: \$70 or £35	<input type="checkbox"/> Non-Member one-day pass: \$100 or £50

Accommodations Packages at Queen Mary College, Mile End Campus

5 Nights, June 25-30	4 Nights, June 26-30
<input type="checkbox"/> WHA Members: \$800 or £400	<input type="checkbox"/> WHA Members: \$710 or £355
<input type="checkbox"/> WHA Student Members: \$640 or £320	<input type="checkbox"/> WHA Student Member: \$550 or £275
<input type="checkbox"/> Non-Members: \$865 or £430	<input type="checkbox"/> Non-Members: \$775 or £385
<input type="checkbox"/> Student Non-Members: \$670 or £335	<input type="checkbox"/> Student Non-Members: \$580 or £290
Includes: 5 nights single-room accommodation (1 single bed) at Queen Mary College, 5 breakfasts, 5 lunches, 5 refreshment breaks, and conference registration fee.	Includes: 4 nights single-room accommodation (1 single bed) at Queen Mary College, 4 breakfasts, 4 lunches, 5 refreshment breaks, and conference registration fee.

Check here if you are a registering couple and would like a double room (2 single beds). Please note that both guests must purchase a full accommodations package. A hotels listing is also available at www.thewha.org

Name: _____ Affiliation: _____

Address: _____ City: _____

State/Province: _____ Postal Code: _____ Country: _____

Phone: _____ Email: _____

Total Enclosed: _____ Check: _____ Money Order: _____ Payable in U.S. Dollars³
to the World History Association

Visa / Mastercard / Amex #: _____ Exp. Date: _____ CID#:⁴ _____

Name on Card: _____ Signature: _____

¹If you purchase an accommodations package, it includes your registration fee. Do not pay for a separate registration fee.

²Non-members qualify for the member fee by joining the WHA in conjunction with their conference registration. A person does not qualify for a rebate if he/she registered for the conference as a non-member and subsequently joins

³Conference registrants outside of the U.S. are encouraged to pay via credit card using our on-line payment system. However, we will also accept international money orders.

⁴The CID or CVV2# is a 3-digit number located on the back of your card immediately following the account number (for Mastercard and Visa). For Amex, it is a 4 digit, non-embossed number printed above your account number on the face of your card. This number is required for all card-not-present transactions.

Note: The last day for a Conference Fee refund (less a \$10 handling fee) is May 15, 2008. Requests must be made in writing or via email to thewha@hawaii.edu

Return form and payment to the address below (or register on-line at <http://www.thewha.org>)

World History Association, University of Hawaii–Mānoa, 2530 Dole St., SAK A-203, Honolulu, HI 96822
Tel: 808-956-7688 Fax: 808-956-9600 Email: thewha@hawaii.edu



EXHIBITING & ADVERTISING RESERVATION FORM

17th Annual World History Association Conference
Queen Mary College, University of London
June 26 – 29, 2008

COMPANY _____ *(As it should appear in program)*

CONTACT PERSON _____

MAILING ADDRESS _____

BILLING ADDRESS _____
(If different from mailing)

PHONE _____ FAX _____ EMAIL _____

EXHIBIT TABLE RESERVATION (reservation & deposit due by May 1, 2008)

Exhibit tables are 180 cm x 60 m (6 ft x 2 ft).

_____ 1 table @ \$330

Internet access will be available free of charge.

_____ 2 tables @ \$575

_____ Each additional table \$125 (indicate total # additional tables)

We wish to reserve a total of _____ tables for a cost of \$ _____

Name of representative(s) _____ Email _____
who will be attending: _____ Email _____

Note: Exhibiting organizations receive one free conference badge each. Badges allow entry to all sessions, receptions, and refreshment breaks. Additional badges may be purchased for \$110 each. Please attach a conference registration form at the member rate for each additional representative attending, or register online at <http://thewha.org>

To thank exhibitors for supporting the WHA, we invite you to forward a logo and statement of up to 75 words to post on our website at no cost. Please submit your statement and logo to thewha@hawaii.edu at the time of reservation and payment.

ADVERTISING RESERVATION (reservation & payment due by May 1 2008; copy & graphics due by email to thewha@hawaii.edu by May 9.)

EXHIBITORS' RATE (discount applies): _____ 1 page @ \$200

(check one) _____ 2 pages @ \$350

_____ Each additional page \$125 (indicate total # add'l pages)

We wish to reserve a total of _____ discounted exhibitor rate ad pages, for a cost of \$ _____.

NON-EXHIBITORS' RATE: (check one) _____ 1 page @ \$250

_____ 2 pages @ \$400

_____ Each additional page \$175 (indicate total # add'l pages)

We wish to reserve a total of _____ regular rate ad pages for a cost of \$ _____ .



SPONSORSHIP

We are interested in receiving information about the following conference sponsorship opportunities:

- breakfast or luncheon keynote speaker refreshment breaks in exhibit room
 World Scholar Fund Student Assistance Fund

PAYMENT

*A minimum deposit of 50% of the total cost must accompany this form in order to process your request.
Payment in full is due by June 15, 2008.*

TOTAL AMOUNT OF RESERVATION (exhibit & advertising): \$ _____ **TOTAL ENCLOSED:** \$ _____

Make check or international money order (in U.S. \$) payable to
the World History Association, or pay via credit card, below:

Visa/MasterCard/Amex # _____ CID# _____ Exp Date: _____ / _____

Print Name on Card _____ Signature _____

Please note: in the event of cancellation, there is a non-refundable cancellation fee of \$50.

RETURN FORM AND PAYMENT TO:

The World History Association Fax: (808) 956-9600
2530 Dole Street, Sakamaki A203 Tel: (808) 956-7688
University of Hawaii Email: thewha@hawaii.edu
Honolulu, HI 96822 USA

The WHA Conferences Committee will do everything possible to meet your needs. For special requests,
please contact Alfred J. Andraea, Conferences Chair, at aandraea@uvm.edu
or WHA Executive Director Kicko Matteson at thewha@hawaii.edu

THANK YOU FOR YOUR RESERVATION.

For office use only:

Date received: _____ # Tables: _____ # pages: _____

Dep. (ck #, date, & amt.): _____ Bal. due: _____

Bal. rec'd: _____ Exh. logo & text? _____

Notes: _____



Exhibiting at the Seventeenth Annual World History Association Conference

University of London, Queen Mary College, Mile End Campus

25-29 June 2008

Themes:

Global Cities and The Sea: Highway of Change

Plans are progressing at a fast pace for the **Seventeenth Annual WHA Conference** at Queen Mary, the University of London. Founded in 1885, the Queen Mary campus at Mile End in London's vibrant East End is a lovely mix of late Victorian and modern buildings located only 15 minutes away by underground from central London.

Conference themes

In honor of our host city, the themes of this year's meeting are "Global Cities" and "The Sea: Highway of Change." The Call for Papers, available on line at www.thewha.org, is already generating proposals, and we expect many more by the deadline in January 2008.

Keynote speakers will be Professor Felipe Fernández-Armesto, of Queen Mary and Tufts University, and Professor Leonard Blussé, of Leiden University.

Professor Fernández-Armesto, the winner of the 2007 WHA Book Prize for his *Pathfinders: A Global History of Exploration* (W.W. Norton, 2006), will address the theme of "The Sea: Highway of Change."

Professor Blussé, whose many studies of the Dutch in East and South Asia include *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women, and Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Cellar Book Shop, 1988) and *The Dutch Encounter with Asia, 1600-1950* (B. V. Waanders, 2004), will address the theme of "Global Cities."

Book exhibit

As always, we will be offering a **centrally located exhibition** area for publishers and other organizations to present the latest in world history scholarship and pedagogy. The exhibition will be held in a secure room alongside the refreshment breaks and panel sessions in the Bancroft Building, on the Mile End Campus of Queen Mary. In addition to the refreshment breaks, a Thursday afternoon exhibition time for those exhibitors who wish it will afford conferees plenty of opportunity to circulate among the displays.

As a way of expressing our appreciation, the WHA will also place on its website, at no charge, a **link to exhibitors' and sponsors' websites** along with your logo and a brief notice of up to 75 words. Please submit this information at the time of reservation.

Advertising

We encourage exhibitors as well as publishers and other organizations who may not be able to attend to place an advertisement in our conference program, which each registrant receives and pores over many times during the course of the meeting. It is an excellent opportunity to reach a targeted audience. Exhibitors receive a special discount (see form for details).

Reservation and payment

Exhibition and advertising space may be reserved by completing and mailing the attached form along with a minimum deposit of one-half the total cost of your reservation. Please note that in the event of cancellation, there is a non-refundable cancellation fee of \$50.

Exhibiting organizations will receive one free conference badge. Badges grant entry to all sessions, receptions, and refreshment breaks. Additional badges may be purchased at the regular conference rate of \$110 each via the on-line conference registration system or mailed in via check using the downloadable registration form. Both the form and online payment option are available at <http://thewha.org>

For more exhibitor logistics, see Guidelines, below.

Sponsorship

We deeply appreciate your participation in The World History Association's annual conference. Your presence serves our members, even as it gives you an opportunity to connect with highly engaged professionals and consumers.

In honor of this symbiotic relationship and to further expand your organization's profile among our membership, we ask you to **consider additional conference sponsorship**, either by underwriting a conference refreshment service, luncheon, or reception; by sponsoring all or part of one of the keynote speakers' expenses; or by helping to bring scholars who might not otherwise be able to attend.

Subventions of refreshment services, luncheons, or receptions start at \$500 and rise according to the nature and cost of the event. Patrons will receive prominent acknowledgement both at the time of the event and in the conference program, which will feature the sponsor's logo next to the event that they are underwriting. Patrons are also encouraged to offer a small display at the event.

Other sponsorship opportunities include underwriting the conference attendance expenses of a non-U.S. resident world history scholar or teacher through our **World Scholar Fund**, or by contributing to our **Student Assistance Fund**, established to facilitate the participation and attendance of students at the WHA conferences. Although both funds were established only last year, the generosity of individuals and organizations made it possible for the WHA to bring two highly accomplished scholars from China and one from India to our 2007 conference in Milwaukee. Ongoing contributions also make it possible for us to keep our student registration rate very low.

If you are interested in becoming a conference patron, please contact WHA Executive Director Kieko Matteson or Conferences Chair Al Andrea as listed below.

Contact

We want you to be pleased with your participation. The Conferences Chair, Prof. Al Andrea, pledges to make every effort to meet your special (and reasonable) needs. You may reach him at aandrea@uvm.edu or via cell phone at (802) 578-5896 up until the start of the conference, or contact WHA Executive Director Kieko Matteson in Hawaii at thewha@hawaii.edu, office phone (808) 956-7688 / fax (808) 956-9600.

See you in London!



EXHIBITOR GUIDELINES

1. **General:** Exhibitors understand and accept the table information, exhibit hours, installation and dismantling procedures, and other related information.
2. **Dravage:** Queen Mary College will accept advance shipments of books and other display items. The WHA will provide details on shipping address, deadlines, and handling as soon as they become available.
3. **Set-up and break-down:** The exhibit area will be in Room 113 of the Bancroft Building on the Mile End Campus of Queen Mary. Exhibitors may begin setting up on Thursday June 26 for an initial exhibition opening in the afternoon, to coincide with the reception sponsored by ABC-Clio.
The conference ends at midday on Sunday June 29. Should you need to begin dismantling your displays prior to 1:00 p.m. Sunday, please do so a manner respectful of other exhibitors, including removing boxes, trash, and other detritus. All exhibitors are responsible for packing up and shipping back their own display materials. Display items left behind will be donated to the host institution or discarded.
4. **Security:** Although the exhibit room can be locked in the evenings, each exhibitor is responsible for securing his or her valuable items throughout the conference.
Further questions concerning set up, break down, storage, or the exhibition space may be addressed to the Conferences Office of Queen Mary, at conference@qmul.ac.uk, tel. +44(0)20 7882 7881 or fax +44(0) 20 8983 0146
5. **Liability:** The World History Association (WHA) and Queen Mary, University of London will not be responsible for any injury, loss or damage that may occur to the exhibitor, the exhibitor's employees or property, or to any other person prior, during or subsequent to the period covered by the exhibit contract. Each exhibitor assumes such responsibility solely and hereby agrees to protect, indemnify and defend and save WHA and Queen Mary, University of London and their employees and agents against all claims, losses, damages to persons or property, governmental charges, or fines, and attorney's fees arising out of or caused by thereof, excluding and such liability caused by the sole negligence of Queen Mary, University of London.
6. **Damages to the property of others:** Exhibitors agree not to injure, deface, or otherwise damage exhibit room structures, furniture, equipment, or property of Queen Mary, University of London. If such damage occurs, the exhibitor shall be liable to the owners of the property. Posting, tacking, nailing, screwing, or otherwise attaching anything to columns, walls, floors, or other parts of the building or furniture is strictly prohibited. Any action deemed by WIIA as necessary or proper for the protection of the building, equipment or furniture will be undertaken at the expense of the exhibitor involved.
7. **Insurance:** Each exhibitor acknowledges that the WHA and Queen Mary, University of London are not responsible for, and do not maintain insurance covering exhibitor's property or persons and that it is the sole responsibility of each exhibitor to obtain business interruption, property damage, "extra territorial," personnel, and public liability insurance or to bear the risk.
8. **Cancellation:** Notice of intent to cancel must be received and acknowledged by the WIIA before June 1, 2008. Cancellations are subject to a fee of \$50 per reservation.
9. **Failure to Occupy Space:** Space not occupied at the close of the set-up period is forfeited by the exhibitor and may be resold or reassigned by the WHA.

HOTELS NEAR QUEEN MARY COLLEGE, MILE END CAMPUS

For conference goers seeking an alternative to the on-campus accommodations package arranged by the WHA's 2008 Conferences Committee, our host, Queen Mary, University of London, has drawn up the following list of nineteen nearby hotels. Please contact the hotel(s) of your choice directly if you are interested.

Apex City of London Hotel -- Contemporary 4 star hotel with views of Tower Bridge, 2 minute walk from Tower Hill tube and Tower Gateway DLR. Apex City of London Hotel, 1 Seething Lane, London EC3N 4AX Tel: 0845 365 0000 Email: londonevents@apexhotels.co.uk Website: www.apexhotels.co.uk

Britannia International Hotel **** -- *Located in the heart of Canary Wharf overlooking the water, this 4 star, 442 roomed hotel is perfect for the smallest leisure group to the largest corporate customers. With 3 restaurants and 3 bars it provides plenty of entertainment options. It is about 15 minutes away from London City Airport.* 163 Marsh Wall, Canary Wharf, London E14 9SJ Tel: 020 7712 0100 Fax: 020 7712 0102 Visit: www.britanniahotels.com Nearest tube station: Canary Wharf; nearest DLR stations: Canary Wharf & South Quay

City Hotel *** -- *Located by the Square mile, this best value hotel provides first class service standards in a five star location. Easy access to the Tower Hill Gateway for the DLR, Liverpool Street and Fenchurch Street.* 12 Osborn Street, London E1 6TE Tel: 020 7247 3313 Fax: 020 7375 2949

Visit: www.cityhotellondon.co.uk Nearest tube stations: Liverpool Street, Aldgate East & Tower Hill; Nearest railway stations: Fenchurch Street & Liverpool Street; Nearest DLR station: Tower Gateway

Express by Holiday Inn – Limehouse -- Excellent value accommodation in a convenient location 150 contemporary style air-conditioned bedrooms offering guests a comfortable, warm and friendly stay. 469-475 The Highway, London E1W 3HN Tel: 020 7791 3850 Fax: 020 7791 3851

Email: info@exhi-limehouse.co.uk Visit: www.hiexpress.com Nearest tube station: Limehouse DLR

Express by Holiday Inn – Royal Docks *** -- *Located at The Royal Docks and very convenient. This hotel has 88 contemporary style bedrooms offering guests a comfortable, warm and friendly stay.* 1 Silvertown Way, London E16 1EA Tel: 020 7540 4040 Email: info@exhi-royaldocks.co.uk Visit: www.hiexpress.co.uk Nearest DLR station: Canning Town

Four Seasons Hotel Canary Wharf ***** -- *Four Seasons Hotel Canary Wharf has a chic, sleek and modern design with a total of 142 guest rooms which include 14 spacious suites. Fine dining is offered in the all-day Northern Italian restaurant with exhibition kitchen and outdoor terrace. Lighter meals and snacks are served in the Quadrato Bar and Lounge. 10 minutes journey from London City Airport.* 46 Westferry Circus, Canary Wharf, London E14 8RS Tel: 020 7510 1999 Fax: 020 7510 1988 Visit: www.fourseasons.com/canarywharf Nearest tube station: Canary Wharf; Nearest DLR stations: Canary Wharf, Westferry

Grange City Hotel ***** -- *The Grange City Hotel is a spectacular new luxury 5 star hotel. Superbly located with unique panoramic views over the City and just a gemstone's throw away from the Tower of London. Boasting 240 beautifully appointed and extensively equipped bedrooms, apartments and suites, many with panoramic views over the City and the River Thames, 3 Club floors, a state-of-the art Conference and Events Centre, a superb Health and Fitness Club with a 25 metre swimming pool and a comprehensive and diverse range of dining and drinking alternatives, the Grange City Hotel represents a wonderful opportunity for the most discerning guest.* 8-10 Cooper's Row, London EC3N 2BQ Tel: 020 7863 3700 Fax: 020 7863 3701 Email: City@grangehotels.com Visit: www.grangehotels.com Nearest tube station: Tower Hill, Tower Gateway and Fenchurch Station

Great Eastern Hotel ***** -- *Originally owned by the Great Eastern Railway Company and at one time the only hotel in the City of London, the Great Eastern is a surviving example of accommodation from the grand days of railway. Today the Great Eastern is a modern classic with 267 bedrooms, 4 restaurants and bars and 12 private dining suites.* Liverpool Street, London EC2M 7QN Tel: 020 7618 5000 Fax: 020 7618 5001 Visit: www.great-eastern-hotel.co.uk Nearest tube/railway station: Liverpool Street

Hilton London Docklands **** -- *This 365-bedroomed fully facilitated hotel has everything you would expect from a 4* hotel. There is a restaurant, bar, leisure centre and beauty therapy. The riverside rooms present a spectacular view.* 265 Rotherhithe Street, London SE16 5HW Tel: 020 7231 1001 Fax: 020 7231 0599 Visit: www.hilton.com Nearest tube stations: Canada Water & Rotherhithe

Holiday Inn Express *** -- *Located at The Royal Docks and very convenient. This budget hotel has car parking facilities, a bar and all rooms are en suite with a TV.* 1 Silvertown Way, London E16 1EA Tel: 020 7540 4040 Visit: www.hiexpress.co.uk Rate: Prices are from £69 including breakfast Facilities: Car parking available; Nearest DLR station: Canning Town

Holiday Inn London Docklands - ExCel **** -- *Holiday Inn London Docklands - ExCel is located in the heart of London's dynamic Docklands area, overlooking Victoria Dock. Our designer rooms have many features such as high-speed Internet access, satellite television and ironing station. All rooms boast comfortable beds with a pillow menu to ensure a good night's sleep.* Royal Victoria Docks, ExCel, London E16 1XL Tel: 0870 990 9692 Fax: 0870 990 9693 Visit: www.london-excel.holiday-inn.com. Nearest DLR station: Royal Victoria

Ibis Docklands ** -- *This 2* hotel has 87 rooms, restaurant and bar. It is conveniently located near all the amenities in the Docklands area.* 1 Baffin Way, Preston's Road, Isle of Dogs, London E14 9PE Tel: 020 7517 1100 Visit: www.ibishotel.com Nearest tube station: Canary Wharf; Nearest DLR stations: Canary Wharf/Blackwall; Nearest DLR station: Cutty Sark

Ibis London City** -- *Excellently located for the City and Canary Wharf, with London's west end just a few stops away on the Central Line, the Ibis London City offers good accommodation at competitive prices.* Ibis London City, 5 Commercial Street, London E1 6BF Tel: 020 7422 8400 Fax: 020 7422 8410 Visit: www.ibishotel.com Nearest tube/rail: Liverpool Street

Ibis Stratford ** -- Conveniently located in the centre of Stratford, close to the station and shopping centre. All rooms have en-suite facilities. There is a breakfast room, bar and café on the ground floor. 1a Romford Road, Stratford, London E15 4LJ Tel: 020 8536 3700 Visit: www.ibishotel.com Nearest DLR/rail/tube station: Stratford

International Hotel London Docklands --- A stunning waterfront location, the International Hotel offers a dedicated meeting and banqueting floor situated away from the distractions of everyday hotel life. Equipped with full high-speed wireless Internet access and a centrally located Business Centre, available 24 hours a day to augment your conferencing support needs. Our other fabulous selling feature is our flexibility, which complements any event or meeting. 442 spacious bedrooms many affording spectacular panoramic views, on-site nightclub, car parking and full leisure club. 163 Marsh Wall, London E14 9SJ Tel: 0870 780 8764 Fax: 0870 780 8765 Email: Jason.palmer@britanniahotels.com Website: www.britanniahotels.com

Novotel London ExCel **** -- A 4 star New Generation Novotel in a peaceful setting overlooking Royal Victoria Dock, 30 minutes from central London and 10 minutes from historic Greenwich. Close by is London City Airport, Canary Wharf and the City, and ExCeL Exhibition Centre is just 150 m away. 257 stylish Novation bedrooms, an outdoor terrace and The Upper Deck Restaurant & Bar overlooking the Dock. Western Gateway, Royal Victoria Dock, London E16 1AA Tel: 020 7540 9700 Fax: 020 7540 9710 Email: H3656@accor.com Visit: www.accorhotels.com Nearest tube/rail station: Custom House

Ramada Hotel and Suites -- A contemporary imposing building built in a waterfront location, within minutes of London City Airport and Canary Wharf. The hotel offers 153 rooms and 71 suites, complete with living area and kitchenette. It features a stylish waterfront brasserie, the Oval Bar, and 2 meeting rooms for up to 20 people with natural daylight. The hotel also has a fitness studio. ExCel, 2 Festoon Way, Royal Victoria Dock, London E16 1RH Tel: 0870 111 8779 Fax: 0870 111 8789 Email: sales@ramadadocklands.co.uk Website: www.ramadadocklands.co.uk

The Saint Gregory Hotel **** -- The Saint Gregory Hotel is newly opened and is already deemed to be one of the most exciting London hotels around. The Saint Gregory Hotel has 200 luxurious bedrooms, and has dining and bar facilities. Ideally located, the Saint Gregory Hotel is just a few minutes from Liverpool Street, and just 5 stops on the underground from London's famous Oxford Street. 100 Shoreditch High Street, London E1 6LQ Tel: 020 7613 9800 Visit: www.saintgregoryhotel.co.uk Nearest tube/rail station: Liverpool St

Thistle Tower -- Thistle Tower is located on the north bank of the River Thames alongside Tower Bridge and the Tower of London. This London hotel also overlooks St Katharine's Dock as well as being very close to the financial district. This modern hotel has 801 bedrooms, executive bedrooms, City Club rooms, suites and apartments all of which have superb views. All bedrooms have Thistle Connect high speed internet access. Thistle Tower has two restaurants, lounge, coffee bar and bar which serve a wide variety of drinks, light refreshments and meals. St Katharine's Way, London E1W 1LD Tel: 0870 333 9106 Fax: 0870 333 9206 Email: Tower@Thistle.co.uk Visit: www.thistlehotels.com Nearest tube/rail station: Tower Hill, Tower Gateway, and Fenchurch Street

MAWHA NEWS

The eleventh annual Mid-Atlantic World History Association (MAWHA) Conference, "Global Themes in World History, Teaching and Research," was held at Fairleigh Dickinson University on October 12-13, 2007. Approximately 50 scholars from a variety of American educational institutions, as well as international representatives, engaged in a spirited discussion of topics which included identity in Middle Eastern and World History, globalization and its impacts, popular culture, imperialism, European territorial issues, and pluralism in Ancient and Colonial times. A number of workshops focusing on teaching strategies ranged from using literature to explore global themes, interactive digital storytelling, and even the use of hip hop music to reflect upon issues of race, class, and gender.

President Jacky Swansinger, Fredonia, and Vice-President Sherri West, Brookdale Community College, conducted an after-lunch discussion, "What Works in the World History Classroom." The dinner speaker was Professor Felipe Fernández-Armesto, Tufts University, who gave an animated presentation on Amerigo Vespucci, "The Man Who Gave His Name to America," in conjunction with his recently published book and in commemoration of the 500th anniversary of America receiving its name.

In addition there was a reading of an 18th-century play recently discovered and published by Professor Frank Felsenstein, longtime MAWHA member and presenter from Ball State University, "Incle and Yarico," commemorating the 200th anniversary of the abolition of the slave trade in Britain.

Local organizer Gary Darden was successful in encouraging a number of Fairleigh Dickinson history students to participate, which served to enrich the discussions in a number of the sessions. As Treasurer and Conference Program Coordinator Tony Snyder, Brookdale Community College, stated, "Our organization fulfills the multiple goals of a World History affiliate by bringing together graduate students, independent and research scholars, and educators from a variety of institutions in an informal, amiable setting that promotes the best of our profession."

Check the Mid-Atlantic World History website for information about how to join our group and for next year's conference: www.MAWHA.org.

Submitted by: Sherri West, Brookdale Community College, Lincroft, NJ

WHA Members Present Invited Papers in Beijing

The Center for Globalization and Culture Studies (CGCS) of Beijing's Capital Normal University (CNU) hosted the conference "Knowledge Challenge in Global Time," 20-21 October 2007. Among the seven scholars from abroad invited to offer papers were four members of the World History Association. They were (in alphabetical order): Alfred J. Andrea of The University of Vermont ("Sixteenth-Century Globalization and the Adoption of Crusade Ideology in Mesoamerica"); Jerry Bentley of the University of Hawai'i at Manoa ("Heterogeneity, Systems, Connections: Debating Conceptions of the Global Past"); David Christian of San Diego State University ("History and Science after the Chronometric Revolution"); and Luke Clossey of Simon Fraser University ("Navigating a Henocentric Early-Modern World").



Luke Clossey discusses world history with CNU's Sun Yue during a refreshment break.

CGCS, which was established in 2005, is an interdisciplinary institute dedicated to advanced studies in globalization and its consequences, offering degrees in three doctoral fields: history, literature, and philosophy.

Following the conference, Bentley and Andrea traveled to Nankai University in Tianjin, where they offered a seminar on "The Study of World History" to the faculty and advanced students of Nankai's History Department. Their host was Professor Zhang Weiwei, one of the two Chinese World Scholar Travel Award recipients at the recent WHA Conference in Milwaukee.

Back at Capital Normal, Christian presented a lecture on "Big History" to the graduate students in history on Tuesday, 23 October, which was followed by Andrea's lecture, "Holy War in World History," on Wednesday.

CNU's president, Dr. Liu Xin-cheng, himself a distinguished world historian and the guiding force behind CNU's Global History Center, which was founded in 2004, promises that at least two of CNU's faculty will attend the 2008 WHA Conference at Queen Mary College in London.



Two of CNU's world history graduate students, Fang Lin (L) and Wang Yingnan, who served as guides and interpreters.

The WHA at the AHA January 2008

Please join the WHA in Washington, D.C. for our semiannual Business Meeting and Reception, held as always as part of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. The Business Meeting will take place on Friday, January 4, 2008 from 5:00 to 6:00 p.m. in the Eisenhower Room of the Marriott Wardman Park.

Our rollicking reception, with a cash bar and ample buffet made possible by the generous sponsorship of Pearson-Prentice Hall, will take place immediately following the Business Meeting, from 6:00 to 8:00 p.m. at the Lebanese Taverna, just around the corner from the Marriott at 2641 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.

The WHA is also co-sponsoring two panels with the AHA: "The Silk Road in World History and in World Art History" (Friday, January 4, 9:30-11:30 a.m., in Marriott Washington Room 5); and "Plagues in World History" (Saturday, January 5, 11:30 a.m.-1:30 p.m. in the Omni Hampton Ballroom). We encourage you to attend both of these panels, which promise to be lively, engaging, and useful.

Journal of Modern Chinese History -- Call for Papers

The Institute of Modern History and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) are proud to announce a new English publication *Journal of Modern Chinese History*, which will be jointly published by the Taylor & Francis Group in Britain. All editorial issues such as soliciting contributions and reviewing manuscripts will be handled by the Institute of Modern History. The journal is a fully refereed academic journal and published twice a year. The first issue is expected to appear in the Fall of 2007.

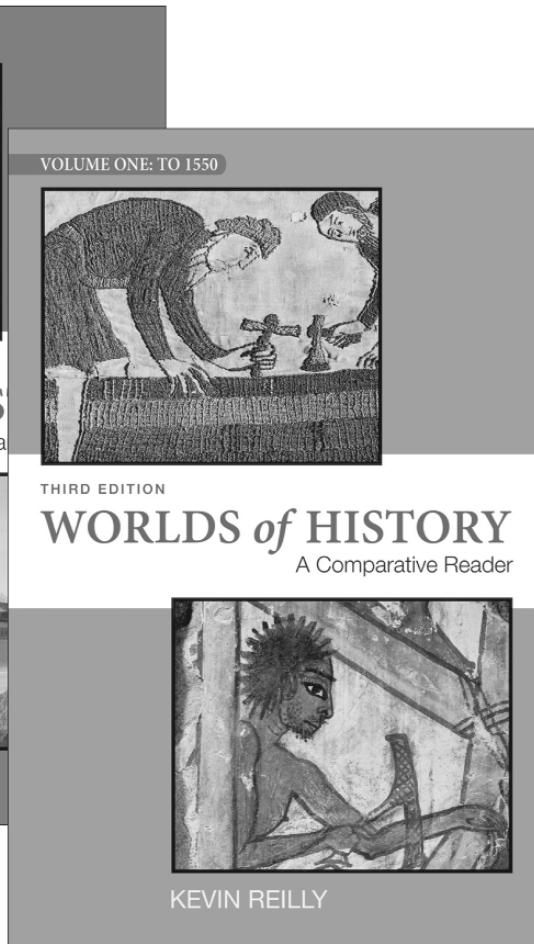
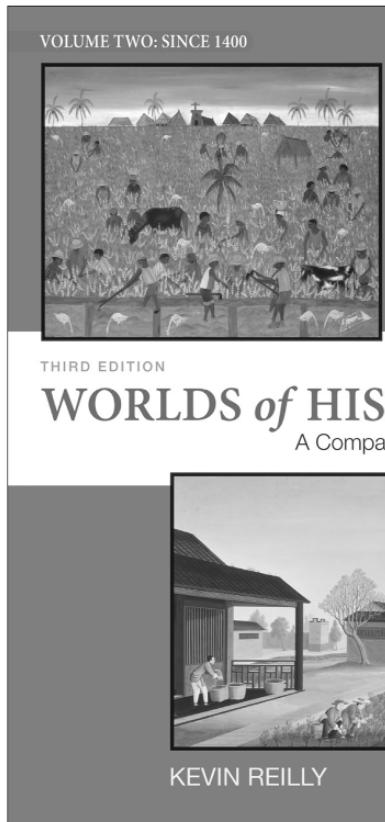
Journal of Modern Chinese History welcomes original and solid research in the field of modern Chinese history (nineteenth and twentieth centuries), including research articles, review articles, research notes, and book reviews, especially those reflecting the new development of scholarship in the field. Articles will be reviewed anonymously by external referees.

Article manuscripts, including notes, references, and tables, should not exceed 30 pages or 8,000 words in length. Authors should provide an abstract of 200 words and keywords (no more than five). All manuscripts must be typed with 12-point fonts and double spaced. Documentation should follow the style recommended in sections 16.1 through 16.70 of the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003). Chinese names and places should follow Pinyin system.

Electronic submission is acceptable. Manuscripts that have been published elsewhere or that are under consideration for publication elsewhere will not be considered. Research articles should be submitted with the author's name, affiliation, address, and e-mail address on a separate page to ensure anonymity in the reviewing process. All research articles received are sent anonymously to referees who are asked to respond within 30 days. Our goal is to respond to authors within three months.

All submissions and correspondence to the editors should be sent to: The Editorial Office, *Journal of Modern Chinese History*, 1 Dongchang Hutong, Wangfujing Dajie, Beijing 100006, China. Tel/Fax: 011-86-10-65275947. E-mail: chinesehistory@cass.org.cn

The *Journal* is also seeking translators to translate articles (from Chinese into English) and will pay US\$30 per 1,000 Chinese characters. If you are interested in translating articles, please contact editors: Dr. Wang Jianlang at jlwang@cass.org.cn, Dr. Xu Xiuli at xuxl@cass.org.cn, or Dr. Wang Chaoguang at wangchaoguang@sina.com.



Worlds of History
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With its rich variety of primary and secondary sources, *Worlds of History* offers students a window onto the most compelling issues of the global past. Its comparative and thematic approach, together with a host of useful analytical tools, allows students to develop their critical thinking skills and engage with documents as historians do.

“*Worlds of History* does a terrific job of introducing students to a wide array of historical evidence from different cultures and different time periods while helping students develop their ability to think historically and critically. Reilly has selected texts that not only allow student to gain a better appreciation of important — and interesting — aspects of the world’s history, but enable them to get a sense of how social, political, and cultural ideas and practices varied — and evolved — across time and place.”

— Anthony Steinhoff, *University of Tennessee Chattanooga*

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Membership in the World History Association can be achieved by mailing your name, address, and institutional affiliation, along with the applicable membership amount listed below. The WHA accepts Visa, MasterCard, and Discover (please include the type of card and expiration date) or check payable to the WHA.

Regular Membership	\$60 per year
Two-Year Membership	\$110
Three-Year Membership	\$155
Students/Independent Scholars	\$30/year
New Professionals	\$45/year
Life Membership	\$1200

Mail to: The World History Association, Sakamaki Hall A203, 2530 Dole Street, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI 96822. Email: thewha@hawaii.edu

WHA dues are payable on a yearly basis. During each year, members will receive two issues of the *Journal of World History* and two issues of the *World History Bulletin*. Memberships run on a calendar year. Applications received before September 1 will receive that current year's publications. Applications received after September 1 will begin membership the following January unless otherwise requested. If your address has changed since the last issue of the *World History Bulletin*, please send notification to WHA Headquarters.

The *World History Bulletin* appears in April and November.