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Eighth Annual World History Association '99 International Conference  
— See Inside Front Cover —

**Victoria invites you to a conference on the Colonies**

**The Eighth Annual International Conference of the  
World History Association**  
**University of Victoria**  
**24-27 June 1999**

**"Colonialism, Its Impact and Legacies"**

Hosted by the UVic Humanities Department, the conference will offer delegates one of the world's top visitor destinations in a relaxed setting with affordable campus accommodation, and impressive natural surroundings complete with cultural, historical, and outdoor activities. Plan to spend a few days before or after the conference to take advantage of all Victoria and Vancouver have to offer. A variety of convenient travel options by air or ferry are available for delegates traveling to the island.

**Keynote Speakers** include: Liz Bozhong, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; Thomas Metcalf, University of California, Berkeley; Margaret Strobel, University of Illinois, Chicago.

**Conference Sub-Themes:**

Colonial Policy and Native Land, Environmental Consequences of Colonialism, Gender Issues in Colonial Contexts, Colonialism and the Early Modern World Economy, Representations and Resistance in Art and Architecture, and Teaching Colonialism.

U.S. delegates will be pleased to know that \$1 US = approximately \$1.50 CDN, so the conference fees, accommodations, and meals are very reasonable.

Blocks of rooms with twin beds are reserved in campus residences (includes continental breakfast) and at two downtown hotels. Victoria's tourist season begins in May, so the reservation deadline is May 24th.

**UVic Housing** — Single \$36.95 CDN (includes taxes); Twin — \$52.65 CDN (include taxes). **Executive House Hotel** — Single or Double \$110.00 CDN, plus 17% taxes. **Traveller's Inn - Downtown** — Single, \$99.95/Double \$59.95 CDN, plus 17% taxes.

Please refer to the conference Web site for more detailed information:

<http://www.uvcs.uvic.ca/conf/wha99>

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# WORLD HISTORY BULLETIN

## Newsletter of the World History Association

### **WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION NEWS**

#### **PRESIDENT'S LETTER**

**Heidi Roupp**

The mission of the World History Association is to promote teaching and scholarship in world history. One of the basic strengths of the organization since its founding is that the WHA has never separated teachers and professors. The constitution requires that at least two teachers are members of the Executive Council. The organization welcomes all world history educators, whether they teach elementary classes or graduate seminars.

As world history educators, we all face the same issues. Few of us have been trained to teach world history. Yet each year we are asked to teach the whole history of the whole world in a semester, a year, or a two-year sequence. We are required to conceptualize and teach world history courses reflecting new scholarship, new cognitive research, new approaches to assessment in a new and rapidly expanding field of study. Teaching world history is a humbling experience. Few of us can claim to be experts at such a task, but the WHA has been the source of self-help. *Journal* articles encourage systematic study and research in world history; the *Bulletin* publishes articles concerned with teaching. Regional and international meetings offer opportunities to share information about new scholarship and ways to teach it.

This year we have developed new services for world history educators:

- Christina Michelmore, the new book editor of the *Bulletin*, is organizing the review of textbooks and other teaching materials which will become a regular feature of the *Bulletin*.
- Sarah and Brady Hughes are initiating WHA's occasional publications related to the teaching of world history. The WHA teaching handbook, which they are editing, will consist of papers and presentations from the June 1998 conference.
- The recipient of the WHA's first Teaching Prize will be announced in Victoria at the Eighth Annual International Conference of the World History Association, 24-27 June 1999.
- WHA seed money is available through the regional organizations for workshops or institutes.



WHA Sec'y Larry Beaber and President Heidi Roupp  
at the WHA table at the AHA Convention

With the exception of the membership and increasing numbers of world history classes, it is time to develop an organizational structure for planning and coordinating activities related to teaching so that each member is ensured the best information for teaching world history. We are developing the teaching division of the WHA. There are two tasks: First, to promote the conceptualization and design of world history courses; and second, to facilitate faculty development. Helen Grady and I are co-chairing the teaching committee to provide the initial organization and report to the Executive Council. Committee members are Bob Andrian, Bob Bain, Lauren Benton, Jack Betterly, Christine Compston, Bernadette Glaze, Dwight Gibb, Kent denHeyer, Kate Lang, Arlene Lazarowitz, Tom Martin, David Northrup, David Peck, and Bill Zeigler. Besides the development of goals and an organization plan, two immediate tasks of the teaching committee are to compile an annotated world history reading list and to collect ideas for world history workshop/institute models.

Thus far the subcommittees are Pre-Service Teacher Preparation, chaired by Simone Arias; World History Teaching Prize, chaired by Maggie Favretti; National History Day (needs a chair); Speaker's Bureau, chaired by Alan Karras; AHA and NCSS Program Committees, chaired by Larry Beaber and Heidi Roupp; and Designing, Implementing & Evaluating World History Programs, chaired by Jim Coolsen and Deborah Shackelton. If you are interested in joining the teaching committee, participating in one of the teaching subcommittees, or if you have a new idea related to teaching, please e-mail me at roupp@csn.net or send me a snail mail message to Box 816, Aspen, CO 81612. We will have a full report of our progress in the fall.

This issue of the *World History Bulletin* is in recognition of the work of Philip Curtin — founding member of the World History Association, teacher, and mentor to many of our organization's most active members. During Curtin's presidency of the American Historical Association, participants in an AHA-sponsored travel-study program to Cameroon discussed the idea of a "World History Association" and became many of the WHA's founding members. Later, Philip Curtin was instrumental in planning the *Journal of World History* and still serves as a member of the editorial board. His research has shaped the field of world history scholarship. These pages will highlight his teaching.

# **WORLD HISTORY AT SUNY COLLEGE OF FREDONIA (Or, Retooling an Academic Department)**

**Jacqueline Swansinger**  
**State University of New York**  
**College at Fredonia**

About seven years ago, the New York Regents Board decided to make world history a more important part of the high school curriculum. High schools were given a two-year grace period to implement a new two-year world history sequence to be offered in 9th and 10 grades. Though this development was welcomed by many, it did not involve the colleges in the curricular planning and development stage. Additionally, New York State, at that particular moment, was re-evaluating the functions of the State University of New York system and was dedicated to minimizing state funding. This meant that cooperation between the colleges and high schools, as well as the development of joint curriculum, was not a system-wide choice.

Over the next three years, SUNY Fredonia as well as many of its sister colleges remained the primary institutions responsible for development and training of public school teachers in the state. Part of SUNY's mission was to prepare students to teach world history courses. In this spirit, the faculty at Fredonia began looking at its own curriculum and tried to assess how it could meet this responsibility.

In 1996, the history department consisted of three full-time Americanists, three Europeanists, one specialist in Latin America, one in East Asia, and one split between American foreign policy and the Middle East. The curriculum was organized around two central cores: One American and the other European, with a strong focus on specific regional histories. Our students could not graduate without taking at least nine credits in areas defined as non-Western and non-American. The question facing the department's faculty was how to move from our organized but fractured view of the world to one more centrally organized around world history? Even those members of the department strongly in favor of the shift

to world history hesitated. Our inadequacies stemmed from our lack of graduate courses in world history, our uneven knowledge of the field. For colleagues not particularly interested in world history, there was even less desire to move in that direction. At this juncture, two National Endowment for the Humanities seminars helped us greatly. Dr. William D. Raat attended in 1995 a World History seminar in Santa Clara, California, directed by Ross Dunn and Edmund Burke; and Dr. Jacky Swansinger attended an Islamic History and Cultures seminar in Tucson, Arizona, in the summer of 1996, where John Voll and Richard Eaton presented some of their work.

In the fall of 1997, the department decided to search out possible grant opportunities to permit us to educate ourselves about issues in world history with which we would need to grapple in order to make that move. Dr. Raat, the department's resident Latin Americanist, had already begun his own reading and course planning to offer a global history course. Under his direction and that of the chair, Dr. Swansinger, we began pulling together grant possibilities. Dr. Raat and Dr. Welch, our Native American historian, applied for and received a National Endowment for the Humanities Focus Grant that enabled us to devise a world history workshop. It gave the history department and some of our colleagues in political science, English, and anthropology a chance to participate in the Fredonia global history workshop in June of 1998. The intent was to bring in consultants who would, in similar fashion, walk us through some of the big issues in world history, and allow each member of the department to pull together his or her own synopsis of the field. The participation of our colleagues from other fields stemmed from a desire to multiply the opportunities for interdisciplinary discussion and, we hoped, would increase the likelihood of wide-ranging discussion.

The seminar occurred between June 1-11, 1998, at SUNY College at Fredonia. Prior to starting the workshop, the department hired a freshly minted Ph.D. whose specialization was world history. Dr. Markus Vink, educated at the University of Minnesota, had explored in his dissertation the relations

between Indian traders and the Dutch East India Company. The department was very pleased to have someone in residence who could help us continue our transition to world history as a focus of our curriculum. He joined us in the workshop.

In the first few days of the workshop, Kevin Reilly and Lynda Shaffer presented, through a combination of lecture and question and answer sessions, a presentation on the main questions that animate world history. They introduced historiography, some of the issues involved in periodization, proposals for organization of subject matter, world system models, teaching materials, guides, and bibliographies. The main focus of their five-day joint sessions was to create an overall picture that would permit us, in the long run, to develop curricula suited to our faculty and to our student needs. Our next presenter was Professor James Webb, who discussed Africa as a world unit. His morning presentation was an overall run through the general themes and historiography, while the afternoon session was focused on more specific issues and controversies. After a two-day break there followed a presentation by James Millward on Central Asia. Both Millward and Webb gave us the opportunity to look at the influence of geography in the Sahara and in the steppes on the development of specific patterns of social organization and development. The seminar concluded with a day focused on Islam and the Indian Ocean. Patricia Risso, of New Mexico University, discussed the interface of Islam, trade, and merchants in the Indian Ocean.

The seminar was followed in the fall by individual presentations by members of Fredonia's faculty to the department and the college community on their particular regional focus and its influence on world history. Presentations involved Latin America, the Middle East, and East Asia. In the spring of 1999, we will offer two more presentations, one on medieval Europe and world history, and the second on British industrialization and world history. All of these activities helped gear us up for a departmental implementation of an introductory freshman course in world history.

In the fall of 1998, we were able to offer freshman courses in world history through our newly hired faculty, Dr. Vink. Dr. Raat offered the junior-level global history course. Next fall, we anticipate having two more faculty offering the first half of world history, while two sections of the second half will be offered in the spring. By the fall of 2000, we will have one-third of our faculty offering introductory courses in world history, while three of our faculty will offer sophomore- and junior-level world history courses, and three more faculty will begin offering their regional histories in a world history framework.

What is that framework? We have discovered that we can build on our individual regional strengths by intensifying a common focus on demographics, geography, political and social formations, and the function and trajectory of trade, law, and religion. The increased discussion of this common core — geography, demography, technology, and culture — on the developmental aspects of each region creates the connective tissue in which we can describe the transfer of central concepts from one region to another through various agencies: merchants, travel, law, philosophy, war. The focus is on comparative analysis and discussion of the evolution of specific items.

Fredonia is now bending its particular approach to encourage curriculum development between our faculty and our neighbors in community colleges and high schools in our region. We hope that a more collaborative relationship can be encouraged through our joint venture into a field that is still pretty much fallow.

**W H A**

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The Australasian affiliate branch of the World History Association was established on 13 November 1998 at a one-day colloquium on world history held at the University of Wollongong. The establishment of the affiliate branch capped a stimulating day that included Australian academics David Christian, Greg Melleuish, and John Carroll as well as two visitors from North America — Robert Strayer and Terry Burke.

A meeting was held which established the branch during the luncheon break, and although no formal structure was decided upon it was

agreed that Greg Melleuish would handle the administrative side. In the short term this requires setting up an e-mail list of those in Australasia with an interest in world history; and planning for a conference and teaching workshop to be held in Easter 2000. Greg Melleuish also plans to establish an Australasian Web site on world history in Australasia. In the longer term, the issue of world history in Australasian and New Zealand schools (or lack of it) will be addressed.

World history in Australasia is at the developing stage. There are established world history courses in both Australian and New Zealand universities, including Macquarie University and Edith Cowan University (Australia), and the University of Otago and University of Canterbury in New Zealand. The stage is also set for growth, with new courses about to be established in 1999 at both the Australian National University and the University of New South Wales. World history appears to be at the takeoff stage in the antipodes, and the establishment of the affiliate branch is particularly timely.

### Canada and U.S. Northwest

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Meeting: "Colonialism, Its Impact and Legacies" in conjunction with the 8th annual international meeting of the WHA in Victoria, June 24-27, 1999. Keynote speakers are Li Bozhong, Thomas Metcalf, and Margaret Strobel.

Please contact Greg Blue <blueg@uvic.ca> at the University of Victoria Department of History.

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Meeting: In conjunction with the International Committee of Historical Sciences in Oslo, August 6-13, 2000. Please contact Carol Adamson for more information.

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Meeting: In conjunction with the spring meeting of the California State Council of Social Studies, March 3-5, 2000. Please contact David Smith for more information.

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## WORLD HISTORY BULLETIN

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The *World History Bulletin*, newsletter of the World History Association, is published twice per year: Winter/Spring and Summer/Fall. The *Bulletin* is sent to all members of the World History Association. Dues are U.S. \$25.00 per year for regular members (U.S. \$15.00 for students, unemployed, disabled, and senior citizens) and should be sent to Richard L. Rosen, Executive Director, Department of History/Politics, Drexel University, Philadelphia, PA 19104. The World History Association is a scholarly, nonpolitical, nonprofit, professional association and is open to all persons interested in world history. Book reviews and short articles should be sent for consideration to Charles A. Desnoyers, Editor, *World History Bulletin*, Department of History, LaSalle University, 1900 W. Olney Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19141-1199. Notices, announcements, and members' and affiliates' notes should be directed to Ross S. Doughty, Department of History, Ursinus College, Collegeville, PA 19426. The editorial committee and staff reserve the right to edit all material submitted for publication.

The site for our fourth annual conference (1999) will be in Fredonia, NY, but we have not yet decided on the date(s). In the last couple of years we held our meetings in September. Some think this is a little early, and that we might get more participation in October. October 1-2, the week prior to the Columbus Day holidays, has therefore been proposed. Please contact John Iannitti if you have any strong preferences.

The theme for the upcoming conference remains open, but we hope to maintain, as we have in the past, a balance between research in world history and the teaching of world history. Along with the theme for the conference, a keynote speaker, schedule of events, and the myriad details of conference preparation—including the possibility of a Web site—remain to be considered. Accordingly, a meeting of the Program Committee has been scheduled for 11:00 a.m. Saturday, April 24, 1999, at SUNY Morrisville College. Interested members are welcome to join us. If you can contribute in any way to conference preparations, please contact John Iannitti, History/Social Science Dept., SUNY Morrisville College, Morrisville, NY 13408. E-mail: ianniti@morrisville.edu.

We should also mention that John has been busily engaged in organizing a workshop series for teachers in the Central NY region. About 25 teachers participated in the first of these sessions on February 2, 1999. Since there is a demand for such workshops as a result of the new standards for social studies/world history education in New York State, we might consider them for the Fredonia meeting in the fall.

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#### Meetings:

Fall: September, 1999. Please contact David Burzillo for more information.

Spring: "A Research Agenda for World History" in conjunction with the 9th annual international meeting of the WHA in Boston, 25-26 June 2000.

Teaching Institute: "New Research and Teaching World History," 25 - 26 June 2000. Contacts: WHA Conference Chair Pat Manning, manning@neu.edu, Director, World History Center; Conference Program Chair Adam McKeown, amckeown@lynxdac.neu.edu, of Northeastern University; or Teaching Institute Program Chair Deborah Smith Johnston, dsjohnst@lynx.dac.neu.edu.



WHA Executive Council in Session

#### Ohio

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Meeting: "World History in Film,"

Miami of Ohio, in Oxford, Ohio, 16

October 1999. Please e-mail Judith

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David Fahey: <faheydm@muohio.edu>

in the Miami University Department of History Department.

#### Rocky Mountain

##### **Beatrice Spade**

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Meeting: "Rethinking the Teaching of History and Social Studies in Colorado: Forging New Connections Between K-12 Teachers and College and University Educators." Keynote speakers are Bob Bain and Heidi Roupp. 24-25 September 1999, Colorado College in Colorado Springs. Please contact Mark Johnson: <msjohnson@coloradocollege.edu>, History Dept., Colorado College.

#### Southeastern (SEWHA)

##### **Alan LeBaron**

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Meeting: "Revolutions, 1949-1999" is a major theme for the conference. Keynote speaker is Joe Miller, Past President of the American Historical Association. The meeting will be held at the Linden Row Inn (a historic hotel in the historic district), Richmond, VA, 14-17 October 1999. For more

information, please contact Mike Richards, Program Chair, at the Sweet Briar History Department by e-mail: <richards@sbc.edu> or phone: 804-381-6174. Raymond Hylton is making the local arrangements, and George Pruden will direct the teachers' workshop.

#### Texas (WHAT)

##### **David W. Hendon**

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Box 97306

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Fall: "Teaching Biography in History," University of North Texas, Denton, Texas; 25 September 1999. Please contact Bullitt Lowry, P.O. Box 310650,

Department of History, University of North Texas, Denton, TX 76203. Phone: 940-565-4215; fax: 940-369-8838; e-mail: blowry@unt.edu Spring: "World 2000: Teaching World History and World Geography," will honor William McNeill, Philip D. Curtin, and Alfred W. Crosby as "Giants of World History." Their careers will be assessed, respectively, by Immanuel Wallerstein, Patrick Manning, and Jerry Bentley. Each of the honorees will respond. Other keynote speakers will be Harm deBlij, Geographer; and Herman Viola, Director Emeritus of the Smithsonian. University of Texas at Austin, 11-12 February 2000. Please contact Conference Chair Phil White by e-mail: <philwhite@mail.utexas.edu> at the Department of History, University of Texas, or visit the Web site at: <http://www.dla.utexas.edu/world2000/>

## APOLOGY

The editors wish to apologize to the officers and members of the World History Association of Texas (WHAT), and especially to WHAT Conference Director Dr. Jonathan Lee of San Antonio College, for the inadvertent omission of their regional conference notice in the last (Fall, 1998) issue.

## MEMBERS' NOTES

**Dr. Linda Miller** (Fairfax High School, VA) was selected for a Teaching Excellence Award by the American Teachers of Russian — American Council for Collaboration in Education and Language Study (ACTR/ACCELS). A former National Council of Social Studies Teacher of the Year (1996), Dr. Miller was chosen from a select field of other teaching award winners to participate in the ACTR/ACCELS teacher exchange program with five former Soviet republics (Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan). As part of this program, she spent two weeks (October 9-26, 1998) in the Russian Republic, living with a Russian teacher and meeting other teachers, administrators, and students,

and teaching at a Russian school. Also, in December, 1998, Dr. Miller received the George Washington Medal from the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge for her Law Day, V-E Day, and other programs focusing on "Celebrating Freedom" at Fairfax High School.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*  
*Notices for the "News from Affiliates" and "Members' Notes" sections should be submitted by mail or fax to Ross Doughty, Dept. of History, Ursinus College, Collegeville, PA 19426. Fax # 610-489-0627.*

## Submitting Articles and Book Reviews to the *World History Bulletin*

The editors of the *World History Bulletin* welcome articles, book reviews, and annotated syllabi and lesson plans relating to the study and teaching of world history. Please adhere to the following guidelines when submitting your articles or reviews for publication:

1. Articles and reviews should conform to the *Chicago Manual of Style*.
2. All articles and reviews should be double-spaced and should be submitted both in hard-copy form and on disk. (Word 6.0 is preferred. If you do not use Word 6.0, please note the format used on the disk.)
3. Book reviews should be approximately 1000-1250 words long for single reviews. Longer submissions are acceptable for dual or multiple book reviews. There is no length specification for articles.

4. World history course syllabi and lesson plans are also welcomed, and will be considered for the *Bulletin's* "Centered on Teaching" section. These are most useful when accompanied by an introductory commentary or article explaining the course goals, lesson strategies, innovative approaches, etc.

5. Please enclose a cover letter, including your phone and fax numbers, e-mail address, and best times to be reached for questions from the editors or Copy Editor Betsy Allinson (e-mail: allinson5@aol.com). Articles and syllabi should be sent to one of the editors, Charles Desnoyers or Ross Doughty. Book reviews should be sent to the Book Review Editor:

Christina Michelmore  
 Department of History  
 Chatham College  
 Pittsburgh, PA 15232  
 E-mail:  
 <michelmore@chatham.edu>

WHA

**The first World History Association Book Prize will be awarded at the eighth international meeting of the World History Association in Victoria.**

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# PHILIP CURTIN RETROSPECTIVE

## THE WORLD AND THE WEST

### A Tribute to Philip D. Curtin

**A**s Heidi Roupp mentioned in her President's Letter, this issue of the *World History Bulletin* celebrates the distinguished academic career of Philip Curtin. Many readers know that Philip Curtin's contributions to the fields of world history, African history, and comparative history are immeasurable. From his first book — *Two Jamaicas* (1955) — to his more recent books — *Death by Migration* (1989), *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex* (1990), and *Disease and Empire* (1998) — he has been a constant proponent of a rigorous comparative method and has helped to establish the concept of an "Atlantic System" as a major theme in world history. In so doing, he has forced all of us to realize the integral connections between Africa and the Caribbean and their northern neighbors in Europe and North America, from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. His influence has also been exercised through his service in the African Studies Association (of which he was President, 1970-71), the American Historical Association (which he served as President in 1983), and the World History Association, of which he was a founding member and served on the Executive Council from 1986 to 1989.

But it is, above all, Philip Curtin's role as a teacher and mentor that is being celebrated in this forum. For over forty years, at Swarthmore College, the University of Wisconsin, and (since 1975) at Johns Hopkins University, Curtin has spread the gospel of comparative and world history to several generations of undergraduates and aspiring professional historians. Often, it was Curtin's signature course, *The World and the West*, that served as his students' introduction to world history and the comparative method.

So, it is fitting that the work of Philip Curtin's students — past and present — forms the core of this issue, celebrating and expounding upon their mentor's influence on their own teaching and scholarship, and on world history in general. In the lead article, Patrick Manning discusses the breadth and impact of Curtin's comparative approach. Joseph Miller describes Curtin's influence on his own scholarship and the historiography of the Atlantic slave trade. The section entitled "The World and the West: Papers in Honor of Philip Curtin" comprises papers presented by three of Curtin's former graduate students (Lauren Benton, Helen Wheatley, and David Sweet) that were presented at the WHA Ft. Collins conference in June, 1998. This issue's "Centered on Teaching" consists of the syllabi of the Curtin-inspired courses that Benton, Wheatley, and Sweet discussed in their respective papers, plus syllabi from more recent versions of Philip Curtin's famous *World and the West*.

*Continued on p. 9*

### PHILIP CURTIN: AN APPRECIATION

Michael Adas  
Rutgers University

In his own scholarship and teaching, as well as in his broader contributions to the discipline, Philip Curtin exemplifies qualities that have been rather scarce in a time when textual exegesis is in vogue and political correctness has obfuscated many of the hard questions historians ought to be tackling. Though he has made pioneering contributions — both in terms of his own scholarship and the graduate programs he forged at Wisconsin and Johns Hopkins — to comparative and global history, Phil has long insisted that serious work in archival and primary sources remains the foundation of enduring historical writing, however broad in scope and theoretical in conception. He himself writes elegantly and clearly, and he has expected that his students would do the same. He is also one of a handful of scholars who has established African history as an area of professional focus on a par with China, India, or Europe. But even late in his career, when it would have been far less stressful for him to remain silent, Phil has fought to advance scholarly standards in that and other fields free from ethnic prejudice or other sorts of qualifiers. In his writing and training of graduate students, he continues to raise issues that some find uncomfortable, but that he is convinced historians need to grapple with if we are to understand the meanings of such central

historical processes as plantation slavery, racism, and human diasporas of different kinds.

Though deeply engaged in writing and teaching history with global ramifications, Phil always maintained a healthy skepticism about grand theorizing and systemic approaches to historical explanation. For him, the central purposes of comparison are similar to those proposed by Marc Bloch well over half a century ago, to enhance the questions one asks of his or her sources and to enable one to understand how significant a process or pattern identified in one site is for the rest of humanity. Phil has always eschewed the one-upmanship that is so pervasive in history, as in all academic pursuits. Historical engagement has never been a matter for him of displaying erudition, scoring points, or proving that one is *au courant*. Of the many ways he has contributed to my own professional development and that of his many students, perhaps the most formative has been the example of his consistently constructive criticism. Phil uses his knowledge to test both his own ideas and those of his colleagues. His concern is and has long been to ask tough questions or pose alternative approaches that will make the work he is responding to better, and, thus, contribute to the collegial enterprise that Phil has done so much to advance over the past forty years.

*Continued from p. 8*

course itself. Even the Book Review section has a strong "Curtin Theme," containing as it does a review of a book authored by another of Philip Curtin's former students — Michael Adas' *Islamic & European Expansion* — as well as a review of Curtin's most recent book, *Disease and Empire*, written by one of his current graduate students.

The editors wish to thank the many contributors to this retrospective; and to express their appreciation to Heidi Roupp, Lauren Benton, and Bryan Callahan, who helped to solicit and coordinate those contributions. We also want to thank Philip Curtin himself, who agreed to be a "theme" and graciously sent his biographical information and The World and the West syllabus.

#### **The Editors**

Charles Desnoyers, La Salle College  
Ross Doughty, Ursinus College

## **CURRICULUM VITAE** (abbreviated)

### **Philip D. Curtin**

#### **EDUCATION**

Swarthmore College, B.A. with High Honors, 1948

Harvard University, M.A., 1949; Ph.D., 1953. Topic: "Revolution and Decline in Jamaica, 1830-1865"

#### **ACADEMIC POSITIONS**

Johns Hopkins University

Herbert Baxter Adams Professor of History, 1982-98

Professor, 1975-82

University of Minnesota

Union Pacific Visiting Professor, Spring Semester, 1990

University of Hawaii

John A. Burns Distinguished Visiting Professor of History, Spring Semester, 1988

University of Wisconsin

Melville J. Herskovits Professor of History, 1970-75

Professor, 1961-70

Associate Professor, 1957-61

Assistant Professor, 1956-57

Swarthmore College

Assistant Professor, 1955-56

Instructor, 1953-55

#### **AWARDS AND PRIZES**

Phi Beta Kappa, 1948

Ford Fellowship, 1958-59

Guggenheim Fellowship, 1966, 1980

Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize, 1966, from the American Historical Association for the best book published by an American in the field of British or imperial history from 1961 through 1965. (For *The Image of Africa*.)

Senior Fellowship, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1968-69

MacArthur Prize Fellowship, 1983-88

Presented with *Africans in Bondage*, edited by Paul Lovejoy, essays in honor of Philip D. Curtin, by African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin, October 1986

Doctor of Humane Letters, Swarthmore College, 1987

Welch Medal from the American Association for the History of Medicine for the best single-author book on the history of medicine for the five years, 1987-91, for *Death by Migration*, awarded 1992

Distinguished Africanist Award in 1992 in Recognition of Lifetime Distinguished Contributions to African Studies, presented by the Studies Association Member, American Philosophical Society, 1995

Corresponding Member, Royal Historical Society, 1996

#### **NATIONAL COMMITTEES AND OTHER POSITIONS OUTSIDE HOME UNIVERSITY**

#### **Editorial Boards of Scholarly Journals**

Contributing Editor

*Current History*, 1955-59

*Journal of African History*, 1960-76

*Journal of African Studies*, 1974-

*African Economic History*, 1975-

*Social Science History*, 1976-

*American History Review*, 1977-80

*History in Africa*, 1974-

*Journal of Economic History*, 1975-78

*Plantation Society*, 1978

#### **Selected Memberships**

African Studies Association

Board of Directors, 1961-64, 1971-72

Vice President, 1969-70

President, 1970-71

American Historical Association

Member of Council, 1967-71

President, 1983

Economic History Association

Member, 1966-

Board of Trustees, 1984-87

International Congress of Africanists

Vice President representing the United States, 1969-73

UNESCO

International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa, 1975-93

World History Association

Member, 1983-

Board of Directors, 1986-89

Board of Directors, National Council on History Education

Chairman, World History Standards, 1994

Member, 1988-

#### **SELECTED PUBLICATIONS**

##### **Books**

*Disease and Empire: The Health of European Troops in the Conquest of Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

*Why People Move: Migration in African History* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 1995). Pamphlet publications of the Charles Edmondson Historical Lectures of March 1994.

*The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990; second ed. 1998).

*Death by Migration: Europe's Encounter with the Tropical World in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

*Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

(With Steven Feierman, Leonard Thompson, and Jan Vansina), *African History* (Boston: Little-Brown, 1978). *African History: From the Earliest Times to Independence*, 2nd Ed. (London: Longman, 1995).

- Economic Change in Precolonial Africa. Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade*, 2 vols. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975).
- Precolonial African History* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1974). Pamphlet.
- (Editor and contributor), *Africa and the West* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972).
- (Editor), *Imperialism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971); a volume in the "Documentary History of Western Civilization."
- (With Paul Bohannan), *Africa and Africans* (New York: Natural History Press, 1971), 3rd edition, 1988. Latest edition (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1995).
- The Atlantic Slave Trade. A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).
- Africa Remembered* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967); general editor and contributor. Latest edition: *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade* (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1997).
- (With Michael B. Petrovich), *The Human Achievement* (Morristown, NJ: Silver Burdett, 1967); a high school history text, new edition, 1970.
- The Image of Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964).
- African History* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1964); a pamphlet, Service Center for Teachers of History, AHA.
- Two Jamaicas* (Cambridge: Harvard Press, 1955). Latest edition: (Kingston, Jamaica: Randle Publishers, 1998).
- Articles**
- "Africa and Global Patterns of Migration," in Wang Gungwu, ed., *Global History and Migration* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997), pp. 63-94.
- "Plantations," in Alberto Vieira, ed., *Slaves With or Without Sugar* (Funchal: Região Autónoma de Madeira, 1966), pp. 41-58.
- "Malarial Immunities in Nineteenth-Century West Africa and the Caribbean," *Parassitologia*, 36:69-82 (1994).
- "Disease Exchange Across the Tropical Atlantic," *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences*, 15:169-196 (1993).
- "The Slavery Hypothesis for Hypertension among African Americans: The Historical Evidence," *American Journal of Public Health*, 82:1681-1686 (1992).
- "Preface," in Franklin W. Knight and Peggy K. Liss, eds., *Atlantic Port Cities: Economy, Culture, and Society in the Atlantic World* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), pp. xi-xvi.
- "Graduate Teaching in World History," *Journal of World History*, 2:81-89 (1991).
- "The Environment beyond Europe and the European Theory of Empire," *Journal of World History*, 1:131-150 (1990).
- "The End of 'White Man's Grave'? Nineteenth-Century Mortality in West Africa," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 21:63-88 (1990).
- "Migration in the Tropical World" in Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, *Immigration Reconsidered: History, Sociology, and Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 21-36.
- "African Health at Home and Abroad," *Social Science History*, 10:369-398 (1986), reprinted in Kenneth F. Kiple, ed., *The African Exchange* (Durham, NC, 1987), pp. 110-139.
- "World Historical Studies in a Crowded World," *Perspectives: American Historical Association Newsletter*, 24:19-21 (1986).
- "African in World History," in Isaac James Mowoe and Richard Bjornson, *Africa and the West: Legacies of Empire* (Westport, CT, 1986), pp. 13-31.
- "Sekkaishi no naka no Yoroppashi," in *Jikokushi to Kekkaishi: Rekishi kyoiku no kokujika o motomete* (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1985).
- "Medical Knowledge and Urban Planning in Tropical Africa," *American Historical Review*, 90:594-613 (1985).
- "The External Trade of West Africa," in J.F.A. Ajayi and M. Crowder, *History of West Africa*, 3rd ed. (London, 1985), 1:624-47.
- "The Comparative World History Approach," *The History Teacher*, 18:520-27 (1985).
- "Span, Depth and Relevance," *American Historical Review*, 89:1-9 (1984).
- "Africa in a Wider Monetary World, 1250-1850," in J.F. Richards, *Precious Metals in the Later Medieval and Early Modern Worlds* (Durham, NC, 1983), pp. 231-268.
- "Nutrition in African History," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 14:371-82 (1983).
- "African Enterprise in the Mangrove Trade: The Case of Lamu," *African Economic History*, 10:23-33 (1981). Also published in Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, ed., *Enterprise et entrepreneurs en Afrique xixe xxie siecles*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1983), 1:129-40.
- "The Abolition of the Slave Trade from Senegambia," in David Eltis and James Walvin, eds., *The Abolition of the Slave Trade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981), 83-98.
- "Recent Trends in African Historiography and Their Contributions to History in General," in UNESCO, *General History of Africa*, 8 vols. (Paris, UNESCO, 1981- ), 1:54:72.
- "Obliczenia Wielkosci Atlantyckiego Handlu Niewolnikami," in *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego* (Prace, Poland, 1980), 96:113-34.
- "African History," in Michael Kammen, ed., *The Past Before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States*

- (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980, pp. 113-30.
- "The African Diaspora," in Micael Craton, ed., *Roots and Branches: Current Directions in Slave Studies* (Toronto: Pergamon Press, 1979), pp. 1-17. Also in *Historical Reflections/Reflections Historiques*, 6:1-17 (1979).
- "African History and World History," in Fundacao Calouste Gulbenkian, *Coloquio sobre Educacao e Ciencias Humanas na Africa de Lingua Portuguesa, a 20-22 de Janeiro de 1975* (Lisbon, 1979), pp. 259-280.
- "Postwar Migrations in Subsaharan Africa," in William H. McNeill and Ruth S. Adams, eds., *Human Migration: Patterns and Policies* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ.Northeastern University, Press, 1978), pp. 188-198.
- "Slavery and Empire," in Vera Rubin and Arthur Tuden, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Slavery in New World Plantation Societies* (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1977). Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, vol. 292, pp. 3-11.
- "Measuring the Atlantic Slave Trade Once Again," *Journal of African History*, 17:595-605 (1976).
- "The Use of Oral Tradition in Senegambia: Maalik Sii and the Foundation of Bundu," *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 15:189-212 (1975).
- "Measuring the Atlantic Slave Trade," in Stanley L. Engerman and Eugene D. Genovese, eds., *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), pp. 104-28.
- "Chronology of Events and Reigns in the Upper Senegal Valley," *Bulletin de l'IFAN*, ser. B, 36:525-558 (1974).
- (With Jean Boulegue, eds.) "Relation de Bambouc (1729)," *Bulletin de l'IFAN*, ser. B, 36:248-275 (1974).
- "The Black Experience of Imperialism and Colonialism," *Daedalus*, 103:17-29
- (Spring, 1974).
- "Africa: Old and New," *The 1973 World Book Year Book* (Chicago: Field Educational Enterprises, 1973), pp. 118-137.
- "The Lure of Bambuk Gold," *Journal of African History*, 14:623-631 (1973).
- "Prices and Market Mechanisms of the Senegambia," *Ghana Social Science Journal*, 2:19-41 (1973).
- (With David Robinson and James Johnson), "A Tentative Chronology of Futa Toro from the Sixteenth through the Nineteenth Centuries," *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 12:555-592 (1972).
- "African Studies: A Personal Assessment," *African Studies Review*, 14:357-368 (1971).
- "The Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1800," in J.F.A. Ajayai and M. Crowder, *History of West Africa*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1971), 1:240-268.
- (Editor) Saki Olal N'Diaye, "The Story of Malik Sy," *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 11:467-487 (1971).
- "Pre-Colonial Trading Networks and Traders: the Diakhanke," in Claude Meillassoux, ed., *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 228-239.
- "Jihad in West Africa: Early Phases and Inter-Relations in Mauritania and Senegal," *Journal of African History*, 12:11-24 (1971).
- "The Slave Trade and the Atlantic Basin: Intercontinental Perspectives," in Nathan I. Huggins, Martin Kilson, and Daniel M. Fox, eds., *Key Issues in the Afro-American Experiences*, 2 vols. (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1971), pp. 74-93.
- "Intellectual History and Comparative Studies: An Experimental Approach by the Joint Committee on African Studies," *Social Science Research Council Items*, 24:6-8 (March, 1970).
- "Epidemiology and the Slave Trade," *Political Science Quarterly*, 83:190-216 (June, 1968).
- "Field Techniques for Collecting and Processing Oral Data," *Journal of African History*, 9:367-385 (1968).
- (With Otto Pflanze), "Varieties of Nationalism in Europe and Africa," *The Review of Politics*, 28:129-153 (April, 1966).
- (With Jan Vansina), "Sources of the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic Slave Trade," *Journal of African History*, V, pp. 185-208 (1964).
- "African Art and African History," *African Studies Bulletin*, 5:25-27 (May, 1962).
- "The Origins of the 'White Man's Burden,'" *The Listener*, 46:412-415 (Sept. 21, 1961). Reprint of BBC Third Program Broadcast.
- "The White Man's Grave: Image and Reality, 1780-1850," *Journal of British Studies*, 1:94-110 (November, 1961). Reprinted in 1962 at the University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, reprint series, no. 14 and in *Journal of the American Medical Association* (May, 1964).
- "Scientific Racism and the British Theory of Empire," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 2:40-52 (December, 1960).
- "The Archives of Tropical Africa. A Reconnaissance," *Journal of African History*, 1:126-247 (1960).
- "The British Empire and Commonwealth in Recent Historiography," *American Historical Review*, 45:72-91 (October 1959). Reprinted in E.C. Furber, ed., *Changing Views on British History* (Cambridge: Harvard Press, 1966), pp. 379-400.
- "The Gold Coast: Five Years After," *Current History*, 30:294-398 (May, 1956).
- "The United States in the Caribbean," *Current History*, 29:364-370 (December, 1955).

"The British Sugar Duties and West Indian Prosperity," *Journal of Economic History*, 14:157-164 (Spring, 1954).

"A Survey of New Archaeological and West Indian Prosperity," *Journal of Economic History*, 41:49-63 (February, 1951).

"The Declaration of the Rights of Man in Saint-Dominique, 1788-1791," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 30:157-175 (May, 1950).

WHA

## THE MONOGRAPH IN WORLD HISTORY: PHILIP CURTIN'S COMPARATIVE APPROACH

Patrick Manning  
Northeastern University

Philip D. Curtin's numerous publications stretch across the five decades from the 1950s through the 1990s. His writings, centering on Africa since 1500 and its place in the world, have focused on social, intellectual, economic, and demographic history. He has also been a notably successful director of graduate studies, with perhaps two score of doctoral dissertations written under his direction. In this assessment of Curtin's impact, I seek to characterize his writings as monographic analysis in world history. Mine is therefore a limited and not a comprehensive characterization of his work.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, I think it selects the dimension of Curtin's oeuvre which has done the most to establish his reputation as a global historian.

Curtin is doubly a founding father of current historiography: both in African history and in world history. The field of African history organized itself formally in the 1950s, then grew with dramatic rapidity in the 1960s and 1970s. The literature on world history goes far back in time, but the organization of world history as a formal field of study began really in the 1960s, and rapid growth came only in the 1980s. For both African history and world history, Curtin has been important as an author of trendsetting studies, and as an architect of key institutions for graduate study. The latter include the

programs in African history and in comparative tropical history (subsequently comparative world history) at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and his later work in Atlantic history and world history at the Johns Hopkins University.

Defining African history presented one set of problems. The issue there was to show that historical studies of Africa could be carried out on a parallel with studies of other continents or culture areas. The jury is long since in: The more distinguished studies in African history are now recognized throughout the profession.<sup>2</sup>

Defining world history presented a different set of problems. The world is not just another continent, nor even just an accumulation of continents. It requires a level of analysis beyond that of the nation, the empire, or the culture area. All the basic categories of historical scholarship have therefore to be rethought for the case of world history. What are primary and secondary sources? What are sources and what are authorities? What is a monograph and what is a synthesis? What is an appropriate level of research for a dissertation?

While Curtin has in recent years offered some generalizations on the study of world history, he has not attempted a systematic or theoretical review. Curtin was influenced by the field of sociology, but he drew his lessons from the hands-on, comparative sociology of the postwar years, not from the theoretical sociology of the sixties and seventies. Instead, he addressed world history by choosing some likely points of entry and undertaking practical historical analyses. Hence, my review of his approach focuses mainly on the structure of his major books and articles, and only to a lesser degree on his methodological propositions.

As a simple conceptual framework for this discussion, I offer three sets of terms. First is the distinction between monographic and synthetic work in history.<sup>3</sup> Second are the distinctions among case studies, comparative studies, global studies, and interactive studies.<sup>4</sup> Third is the distinction between an author's method of analysis and method of presentation. On the latter point, for instance, Curtin's analysis in *Death by*

*Migration* took the form of a strict comparison of regional cases, but the results demonstrated a global phenomenon in declining death rates, and Curtin wrote up the book with the global element dominating the comparative.<sup>5</sup>

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Curtin's earliest published work indicates a clear interest in broad and interconnected historical interpretations — hence, in world history. But he had developed quite fully as a historian of the British empire and of Africa before he addressed world history formally. His approach to world history, as viewed through his writings, developed incrementally and out of his experience with African and British imperial issues.

### Intellectual History of the British Empire

Curtin presented his first book, *Two Jamaicas*, as a case study in intellectual history. The two Jamaicas of the book's title were the European and African societies of the island, which struggled to redefine their existences in the "revolution of emancipation" of the 1830s. Curtin traced the quarter-century of contention after the emancipation of 1838, during which the Europeans of Jamaica sought to transform their prior mastery over Africans into domination of a free-labor system, until the events of Morant Bay in 1865 led to the end of all local government.<sup>6</sup> While the focus on Jamaica was an innovation, this study appeared to fit easily into the postwar style of intellectual and social history.

For those who would look ahead, however, this book included a firm description of the economic base of Jamaican society, a social analysis based on caste rather than race, and a broad context for the study which relied on the notion of the culture area, as developed by anthropologist Melville Herskovits, and on Curtin's own notion of the South Atlantic System. These approaches would undergo development in his later studies.

Curtin's next project was clearly

affiliated with his first: It was at once more ambitious and more precisely defined. *The Image of Africa* focused on British ideas about Africa.<sup>7</sup> (African ideas, which had been central to the argument for Jamaica but not strongly documented, would in the African case be addressed only incidentally.) And it focused on the long and important period from 1780 to 1850. In the Age of Exploration and the Age of Humanitarianism, Curtin traced the emergence of a set of ideas, developed out of experience in West Africa, that Britons then projected onto the entire African continent with little modification for most of another century.

While the subplots of this long and complex tale lead the reader through many narratives of African politics and trade, the main story is the development of a coherent set of ideas within a small but influential sector of British society. It is a monographic study, relying heavily on primary sources and on authoritative publications of the era. It is a study in world history in the same sense as are many other studies of the British in the nineteenth century: Britain was then the leading world power, and British ideas and action both caused and reflected many of the key developments of the time.

It is intellectual history, and the sort of intellectual history made possible in a generation when those working in African history had a strong basic training in European history. The history of European ideas on Africa, further, implicitly includes a global sweep. The book embodied an attempt to seize upon an issue that was at a crucial nexus of historical developments, and to document it in detail. So it is monographic in that sense, despite its sweep.

Curtin's 1971 edited volume on imperialism gives a hint as to some further dimensions of his intellectual history research agenda. The selections in that volume, drawn from British and some French writers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, focused on "imperialism as the body of European ideas about the conquest and administration of non-Western countries and people."<sup>8</sup> After the appearance of this volume, however, Curtin set aside intellectual history as a major pursuit,

though it reappears as a subordinate and very fruitful theme, as in his analysis of nineteenth-century medical thinking in *Death by Migration*.<sup>9</sup>

### African History as World History

Curtin's two American Historical Association pamphlets on African history, published in 1964 and 1974, were influential in propagating and defining survey courses on African history.<sup>10</sup> His first publication in African history, the 1964 AHA pamphlet, thus came some years after he had begun teaching African history at undergraduate and graduate levels (and the same year as *The Image of Africa*). Curtin's slow movement into publication in African history serves as a reminder of the difficulty facing those who sought to establish African history as a legitimate field of study in the 1950s and 1960s. He had faced the formidable task of defining and reading in a field unassisted by any courses or teachers, and then faced the problems of publishing in this new field.<sup>11</sup> Curtin may in addition have adopted a cautious approach in response to these obstacles.

In both AHA pamphlets, his framework of presentation emphasized African history as a segment of world history. Even the uniqueness of Africa, such as the "lag" of Africa behind other civilizations, appeared in Curtin's treatment as an issue in the dynamics of world history rather than as a parochial problem.

In a 1967 edited collection, Curtin found another way to portray African history as world history — by collecting narratives of ten African men who survived the slave trade and who lived to write or recite their recollections of home.<sup>12</sup> The stories linked four continents, but with a West African focus.

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Curtin's main monographic study of the African mainland focuses on the economic history of Senegambia in the eighteenth century.<sup>13</sup> It is hardly necessary to emphasize now, as had to be done at the time of publication, that it focused on the lives of people born in

the region, and only secondarily on European merchants and other visitors. While the book is a comprehensive regional economic history (focusing more on trade than on production), the author emphasized that it "seeks the perspective of world history." This search was borne out in that the volume itself documented the balance between local factors and world economic links, and in that it has been drawn upon widely as a basis for comparison among African regions.

### Comparative Studies in Global History

Curtin's article on "Epidemiology and the Slave Trade" appeared in 1968.<sup>14</sup> My lecture notes from his survey classes suggest that the idea was clear in his mind by 1963: The immunities in African populations, resulting from their exposure to a difficult disease environment, gave African adults a demographic advantage over Americans and Europeans in the New World.<sup>15</sup> In an article that begins by invoking the world historical context of the South Atlantic System, Curtin documents his point with evidence on crew and slave mortality in the Middle Passage, and with the comparative military mortalities to which he would later return.

*The Atlantic Slave Trade* is Curtin's most influential book, partly because of its results, but more fundamentally because of the design of his research.<sup>16</sup> He showed that it was possible for a single researcher to pull together the national and local literatures on the volume of the Atlantic slave trade, to ask similar questions of each body of data, and to assemble them into a comprehensive picture of the rise and fall and the regional specificity of slave trade. Aside from the skillfully expressed preface and first chapter, the book is and reads like a series of explications of tables. No matter: It not only re-launched the debates on the volume of the slave trade, but served over the years to link the literatures on North America, the Caribbean, South America, Africa, and beyond.

In his preface, Curtin sought to offer reasons for the "gap between monograph and synthesis," and presented his analysis as "an intermediate level of synthesis . . . written with an implicit set

of rules that are neither those of monographic research, nor yet those of a survey.<sup>17</sup> For my present purposes, and without contesting his label, I propose to call the book a monograph in world history. I was tempted to go further and call it the paradigmatic case of the world history monograph, but there have not been many successors to it, though the principle now seems widely understood.

The volume on *Cross-Cultural Trade* was Curtin's first book explicitly intervening in the discussion of world history.<sup>18</sup> The method of presentation is that of a comparative set of case studies. The systematic analysis of trade diasporas gives the book a monographic dimension. Still, there is a synthetic element to the book, as Curtin argues that the phenomenon of the trade diaspora was appropriate within certain types of broader social organization, and that it died out with industrialization.

Curtin's study of nineteenth-century military demography, in *Death by Migration*, is set up with a comparative research design, treating each of the pairings of birthplace and region of military service (as of a given period of time) as a distinct case in the broad grid of his analysis. The conclusion to the study, however, is global — the pattern of sharp and simultaneous decline in mortality throughout the world suggests that some worldwide influence underlies each of the local changes. The follow-up study, *Disease and Empire*, nevertheless steps back from a single-issue approach to world history. This work shows that, while average mortality of European troops in Africa declined during the era of conquest from 1880, the decline was not consistent. Other factors, including political and strategic, must be included in explaining the timing of the partition of Africa.<sup>19</sup>

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In all his work, Curtin has held out to his readers, explicitly or implicitly, the objective of making sense of the world as a whole — understanding the broadest patterns one can apprehend. Bold as he has been in envisioning this goal for

historical scholarship, he has been prudent and patient in his tactics for reaching the objective.

The sort of narrative resulting from Curtin's approach links a wide range of phenomena, and can illustrate both complex interactions and broad overall patterns. But Curtin has not, in his writings, professed to be analyzing the main line of world history. Perhaps anticipating the direction of historical studies, he has sought to make broad generalizations but has avoided any attempt to construct a "master narrative" in world history.<sup>20</sup>

As a result, Curtin's studies, though imposing in their breadth, are nonetheless solidly enough grounded in a documentary base that they will stand the test of time. The most thoroughly tested of his books in this regard is *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, where significant modifications of his estimates in many important particulars by subsequent scholars have nonetheless left the field as a whole amazed by the dependability of his assertions.<sup>21</sup>

#### Monograph and Synthesis in Global Historiography

In the various national historical literatures, the nature of monographic and synthetic studies and a balance between them have developed over a century's academic efforts. In world history, we are still working out the appropriate contours of the monographic study.

Curtin's 1983 AHA presidential address, "Depth, Span, and Relevance," can be seen as a plea for broad and cross-cultural, rather than narrowly national, monographic studies.<sup>22</sup> In seeking a balance of depth and span, he criticized the trend toward overspecialization in historical studies, noting that Africanists had become as overspecialized as Americanists. He noted the efforts to develop a new survey course, but wagered that world history surveys would not work as well in our day as the Western Civilization survey did in its day. He praised Arnold Toynbee's search for the appropriate unit of historical analysis, but expressed disagreement with Toynbee's satisfaction that the "society" (or "civilization") provided the answer to his quest. Instead, Curtin suggested, historians

should search for "relevant aggregates" of variables in setting up their projects. The term "relevant," in this usage, indicates not relevance of an issue in the consciousness of the public, but relevance of historical factors to an analysis undertaken by a researcher.

Curtin's approach to historical research, as reflected in this address, shows a fundamental breadth informed by pragmatism and relativism. His relativism lies not so much in the philosophy of interpretation, but in setting the coordinates of historical study.

Meanwhile, world historians have also been working out the nature of the global historical synthesis: How to write and document interpretations of the main line of historical development. Among the authors one may readily cite in this arena are Arnold Toynbee, William McNeill, Immanuel Wallerstein, Eric Wolf and, to include an Africanist, Walter Rodney.<sup>23</sup>

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*Wallerstein's vision of the modern world-system has been among the most thoroughly debated of these synthetic and analytical world histories.*

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Wallerstein's vision of the modern world-system has been among the most thoroughly debated of these synthetic and analytical world histories. In the breadth of his assertions, Wallerstein attempted to construct a master narrative, and in so doing, met clear challenges from other scholars with other outlooks.<sup>24</sup> Such debates over the main line of world history, reliant as they are on the limits of current historical knowledge and on the short-term fluctuations in the political experience and the philosophy of authors, soon become dated. Monographic studies, in contrast, survive from generation to generation. But if historians do not make their best effort at broad synthesis and philosophy of history, our conceptual frameworks will remain unquestioned and anchored in the past.

Curtin has largely abstained from explicit philosophizing, and he has focused, in recent years, on demographic and commercial history where data are relatively objective and

quantifiable. His work has undergone a different sort of scrutiny from that of Wallerstein. He has been embroiled in no shortage of controversy and has been rebutted on sheer numbers in the slave trade, with varying results, but these debates, even if underscored by strong political feelings, had more to do with the holdings of archives than with the logic of historical change.<sup>25</sup> In contrast, Curtin has been less closely questioned on the dense tissue of modestly presented assertions he has offered on intellectual and economic history: His book on the Senegambia has received the most such scrutiny.<sup>26</sup> This acceptance by readers of the author's framework goes with the monographic terrain. To sharpen our sense of the overall structure of history, we do better to turn to studies set at a broader and more speculative level.

To phrase my point somewhat differently, I think that the particular strength of Curtin's approach to world history comes not just from its inherent merits, but from its symbiotic relationship with more global, synthetic and speculative studies in world history. The symbiosis has remained implicit, but I think it is nonetheless important. Perhaps I can illustrate it with a synthetic work by Curtin himself.

*The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex* is a venture into synthesis, both in that it draws on secondary sources and in that it presents a broad and general interpretation rather than focusing on some narrower but crucial issue.<sup>27</sup> It is a synthesis relying heavily on Curtin's own monographic work, and on his conception of how to integrate monographs into synthesis in world history. Curtin has been modest about this book, labeling it as the "pirating" of lectures he had given for years.<sup>28</sup> But the proof of the pudding is in the eating. I had the experience, in early 1992, of assigning the book to a group of graduate students who, soon thereafter, read about another rise and fall — Paul Kennedy's *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*.<sup>29</sup> I found, somewhat to my surprise, that the students had a strong preference for the precision and richness of the interactions delineated in Curtin's effort.<sup>30</sup> Kennedy's review of successions in great-power military and economic supremacy is, arguably, about

the main line of modern history; Curtin's review of much the same period centers (in a more interactive fashion) on elements of production, trade, and culture, that were important without necessarily being primary. Nevertheless, the texture of his presentation gave, to this group of readers, a more satisfying sense of the realities of world history. That suggests to me that we may look forward to the development of a style in world-historical synthesis, dense in interactive texture yet firm in outlining basic directions of change, reliant on the sort of world-historical monographic work of which Curtin has done much to break the path.

### ***The question of the balance between monographic and synthetic work in world history needs further debate.***

The question of the balance between monographic and synthetic work in world history needs further debate. Philip Curtin's work shows us the nature of the world-historical monograph, and shows us its power in influencing the thinking of historians. At the same time, there is a positive role to be played by historians willing to run the risk of making planetary generalizations, to bring other historians into the discussion of such generalizations and to improve them, gradually, rather than leave them in the hands of seat-of-the-pants analysts.

### **Graduate Training in World History**

Curtin has been directing graduate study in world history for years. He has been one of the very few to do so. In 1991 he wrote up his approach.<sup>31</sup> Both his practice and his article present us with a program for the comparison of large sub-units of human society — culture areas, nations, and continents. His approach emphasizes broad reading and interdisciplinary analysis, but it also emphasizes that Ph.D. candidates should have strong grounding in the empirical data and the literature on one or two world regions. Curtin presents a brief for comparative study in world history at the graduate level, and for the production of dissertations which are monographs in world history. The doctorates produced within this framework have included some excellent

and wide-ranging specialists.<sup>32</sup>

Curtin's approach to graduate training thus parallels his approach to historical research and writing: It is at once broad in scope yet limited in the range of issues it addresses. This approach, though demonstrably effective, may not exhaust the relevant approaches to graduate training in world history. In graduate training as in scholarly publication, the field of world history requires a symbiosis of monographic and synthetic work at the global level. While Curtin's volumes on the Atlantic slave trade and on Senegambia may include more of lasting value than Immanuel Wallerstein's *Modern World-System*, which appeared between those two, it is in the interplay of Wallerstein's theorizing and Curtin's monographic work that world history has grown as a field.<sup>33</sup> By the same logic, graduate study in world history should also pursue global and interactive approaches, as well as the comparative method.

The comparative approach leaves itself open to assumptions that the various regional cases have been independent of one another, and that one can elucidate general patterns and social science principles through comparisons. There remains much autonomy in the affairs of the world's regions, and the comparative research design is best for analyzing the generality of autonomous experiences. But the world is also rife with interactions among regions and societies, and our research frameworks need to account explicitly for the global as well as the regional level of experience. The rise and decline of racist ideology, for instance, took place not so much in any given country as in the interaction of many regions. To try to make sense of it by comparison of a set of national studies is to avoid addressing directly the issues of the international development of racism and the international campaigns against it.<sup>34</sup> I think, therefore, that the best investment of overall energies, in the establishment of doctoral programs in world history, is to find an appropriate mix of programs privileging comparative work and programs privileging global and interactive work. In each case the result of graduate study would be students skilled in conducting

and writing monographic research in world history.

In graduate education as in the writing of world historical monographs, Philip Curtin has taken the first solid step. And whatever the structure of future graduate programs for the study of world history, it seems assured that his works will be placed prominently in the reading lists.

#### ENDNOTES

1. For a review of Curtin's work touching on a wider range of issues and setting his work in more detailed context of the literature, see Craig A. Lockard, "The Contributions of Philip Curtin and the 'Wisconsin School' to the Study and Promotion of Comparative World History," *Journal of Third World Studies*, 11 (1994), 180-223.

2. Some of the leading and best-recognized monographs in African history include: A. I. Asiwaju, *Western Yorubaland Under European Rule, 1889-1945* (London, 1976); Sara S. Berry, *Fathers Work for their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility, and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community* (Berkeley, 1985); Frederick Cooper, *From Slaves to Squatters: Plantation Labor and Agriculture in Zanzibar and Coastal Kenya, 1890-1925* (New Haven, 1980); Eugenia W. Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa. Copper in Precolonial History and Culture* (Madison, 1984); John Iliffe, *The African Poor: A History* (Cambridge, 1987); Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison, 1989); Charles van Onselen, *New Babylon, New Nineveh: Studies in the Economic and Social History of the Witwatersrand* (London, 1982); Jan Vansina, *Pathways in the Rainforest* (Madison, 1990); Ivor Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century: The Structure and Evolution of a Political Order* (Cambridge, 1975).

3. The former gives emphasis to discovery and assembly of new data and assessment of their implications; the latter gives emphasis to constructing a comprehensive interpretation based on available information.

4. Case studies focus on the analysis of individual nations, cities, or other units. Comparison of two or more such units

enables the historian to observe the variance among the cases and to identify more securely the effects of different factors and variables. Implicitly, the cases under comparison are assumed to be independent of each other.

Global analysis goes beyond comparative analysis by fitting the various units into a broader pattern. It is the attempt to find overarching generalizations in history. The expansion-of-Europe vision of modern world history is an example of a global approach.

Interactive analysis goes beyond treating the various regions or other units as independent cases: it focuses on interactions among the sub-units as the means to elucidate patterns in the global system. Thus, one line of criticism of Wallerstein's world-system thesis has taken him to task for overemphasis on global analysis, and for insufficient emphasis on interactions among regions in the system. (See note 23 below.)

I make these elementary distinctions because it seems to me that historians were for long so locked into the logic of the isolated case study that they came to use the term "comparative" to refer to any and all work beyond the case-study level, thus conflating comparative, global, and interactive approaches.

5. Curtin, *Death by Migration: Europe's Encounter with the Tropical World in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1989).

6. *Two Jamaicas: The Role of Ideas in a Tropical Colony, 1830-1865* (Cambridge, 1955). Thomas Holt has now gone back over much of this ground, though with scant reference to Curtin, in his *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832-1938* (Baltimore, 1992).

7. Curtin, *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850* (Madison, 1964).

8. Curtin, ed., *Imperialism* (New York, 1971), ix.

9. Curtin, *Death by Migration*, 104-29.

10. Curtin, *African History* (New York, 1964); Curtin, *Precolonial African History* (American Historical Association, 1974). For a more detailed statement on African historiography up to about 1973, see Curtin, "Recent Trends in African Historiography and

their Contribution to History in General," UNESCO, *General History of Africa*, vol. 1 (London, 1981), 54-71.

11. As Curtin explained it to me, he intended to focus on African history from his entrance into graduate school, but it took time to implement his plan. Curtin, personal communication.

12. Curtin, ed., *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison, 1967).

13. Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade*, 1 vol. and supplement (Madison, 1975).

14. Curtin, "Epidemiology and the Slave Trade," *Political Science Quarterly* 83 (June 1968), 190-216.

15. I was in Madison as a graduate student from 1963 to 1966.

16. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, 1969).

17. Curtin, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, xvii.

18. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984). The book is neither sustained narrative nor a comprehensive analysis. Instead it is a series of illustrations of a single theme — the ethnically organized trade diaspora — and its reappearance in societies widely separated in time and space. In this and other work, Curtin has picked out key issues and has treated them comparatively, thereby giving emphasis to the fine-structure of world history rather than its overall contours.

19. Curtin, *Death by Migration*; Curtin, *Disease and Empire: The Health of European Troops in the Conquest of Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

20. The critique of the notion that all of history can be fit into a single "master narrative" has developed particularly in historical studies of women and of gender. For an authoritative review of gender studies, see Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91 (1986).

21. Modifications to Curtin's estimates have come particularly through work by Roger Anstey, Johannes Postma, David Richardson, and Jean Mettas; the sharpest controversy came with the debate initiated by Joseph Inikori's assertion that Curtin's figures were generally too low. All of these points

are summarized in Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Volume of the Atlantic Slave trade: A Synthesis," *Journal of African History* 23, 4 (1982), 473-501.

22. Curtin, "Depth, Span, and Relevance," *American Historical Review* 89, 1 (1984), 1-9.

23. Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History*, 10 vols. (London, 1933-48); William H. McNeill, *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community* (Chicago, 1963); Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, 3 vols. (New York, 1974-1989); Eric Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley, 1982); Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Kingston, Jamaica, 1972).

24. For two reviews of Wallerstein's analysis and the literature responding to it, one from a Europeanist perspective and one from an Africanist perspective, see Robert S. DuPlessis, "The Partial Transition to World-Systems Analysis in Early Modern European History," *Radical History Review*. 39 (1987), 11-27; and Bogumil Jewsiewicki, "The African Prism of Immanuel Wallerstein," *ibid.*, 50-68. The journal *Review*, under the direction of Wallerstein, has provided a forum for continuing debate on the world-system approach.

25. J. E. Inikori, "Measuring the Atlantic Slave Trade: An Assessment of Curtin and Anstey," *Journal of African History* 17, 2 (1976), 197-233; Curtin, 'Measuring the Atlantic Slave Trade Once Again,' *ibid.*, 17, 4 (1976), 595-605; Inikori, "Measuring the Atlantic Slave Trade," *ibid.*, 607-27.

26. Among the most detailed reviews are: Charles Becker, 'La Sénégambie à l'époque de la traite des esclaves,' *Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer* 64 (1977), 203-224; Jean Suret-Canale, 'La Sénégambie à l'ère de la traite,' *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 11 (1977), 125-134; and Claude Meillassoux, 'Une Géographie historique de la Sénégambie,' *Journal of African History* 18 (1977), 449-452.

27. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History* (Cambridge, 1990).

28. Philip Curtin, in conversation with the author.

29. Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (New York, 1987).

30. My undergraduate students liked Kennedy's book because they found it far better written and clearly argued than the other world history books they read. (They read Curtin's *Cross-Cultural*

*Trade*, but not his *Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex*.) The graduate students agreed with the undergraduate assessment of *Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, but thought it was too simple and programmatic an argument in contrast to the more nuanced and interconnected approach in Curtin's *Plantation Complex*.

31. Curtin, "Graduate Teaching in World History," *Journal of World History* 2 (1991), 81-9.

32. Two skilled world historians who completed dissertations with Curtin in the 1990s are William Storey and Helen Wheatley.

33. Curtin's *Atlantic Slave Trade* appeared in 1969 and *Economic Change* appeared in 1975; the first of Wallerstein's three volumes on *The Modern World-System* appeared in 1974.

34. Winthrop Jordan, in *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill, 1968), tried to analyze the rise of racism within the American national framework. His book stimulated an important discussion, but failed to account adequately for the rise of racist ideology because it assumed that the issue could be explained within the limits of North America.

## In Honor of Phil Curtin: Historian of Africa, and the World

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In reflecting on thirty-odd years of learning from Philip D. Curtin's sense of history, of Africa, and of the world, this student has a feeling of finally recognizing some of what the master had in mind all along. For twenty-five of those years, I have been collecting the bibliography for a still ripening book on slavery, originally planned to emerge from a workshop in "Comparative World History" that Professor Curtin led in Madison, Wisconsin, in the summer of 1975. The original project was to have compared "cases" of slavery throughout time and around the world, but it has since evolved into a "world history" of slavery. My developing "historical" approach to slavery contrasts with the "comparative" logic that has prevailed in most writing on the uses

that people have made of others by enslaving them, in the sense that it focuses on dynamic aspects of slavery that are, I think, fundamental to both the strategy of creating it and the experience of enduring it. I imagine the project as global in scale, in that it systematically contemplates the people who abused others as slaves in the broadest relevant contexts of the times and places in which they lived. And the more I think about doing world history in this way, the more I recognize lessons I might have learned in graduate school at the University of Wisconsin in the 1960s from Phil Curtin and, of course, Jan Vansina.

The trick in doing world history is doing it historically and in sensing how one combines global processes with events

that unfolded at the hands of subjects who seldom saw themselves as citizens of the world. With due respect to colleagues in the World History Association and contributors to H-WORLD who have written widely, thoughtfully, and with diverse understandings on the nature of this enterprise, my own sense of how we resolve this paradox to achieve distinctive and valuable insight into the human condition is generated from Phil Curtin's emphasis on simply being a rigorous historian. It is a cliché that, as historians, we deal with change, but we don't so often exploit the profound existential ephemerality in which our subjects lived, with imperfect recollections and minutely partial records of their pasts, of uncertain relevance to the half-

understood present in which they attempted to devise strategies to create or anticipate a naively imagined future; half of the interesting aspects of ourselves and our surroundings are constantly becoming, and the other half are dissolving as we attempt to cling to them. Only in our retrospective attempts to make sense of such temporal puzzlement do we abstract manageable, and therefore general, enduring, and stable institutions and theories. And these models are the siren songs of the social sciences, which lure historians into writing teleologically about change primarily as it leads to whatever the historian identifies as significant about how it all turned out. Contemplating change on global scales makes this temptation all but overwhelming, and one version or another of the "rise of the west," or earlier similar incorporative expansions, rest on largely foregone conclusions leading to the modern capitalist world. Africa fares particularly badly in such histories, in the sense that it remains on, or beyond, their peripheries.

But Phil Curtin always knew that historians work best when they research locally while thinking globally. For him, as for the embryonic world history of slavery in my computer, Jamaica and then Africa were sites where people schemed and dreamed in terms of their local understandings of the world at the same time as they acted and reacted to historical processes of global proportions evident mostly to the historian looking back on centuries in time and on continents in scale. One of the defining features of world history is its contemplation of human thought and action beyond the fundamentally ethno-centric energy of collective memory and of all regionally bounded historical fields, whether in terms of an English "image of Africa" that anticipated a current generation of studies of its "invention" and of the effects of its alterity by a quarter of a century, or in terms of images among people confronting "the West" from Africa and in the holds of slave ships, or — for enslaved Africans and enlisted Europeans alike — in movements from homelands to alien environments. In economic terms, for Curtin Africans engaged the currents of world trade from positions of strength within local economies they organized around trading diasporas, quantity bargaining, and other strategies distinctive from, though always comparable

to, the abstracted models of market economics. In all these ways, and others, Curtin showed us how to appreciate everyone's own ways of organizing their worlds while interacting across the conceptual, environmental, and political boundaries they created by doing so.

For historians, the implication of Curtin's understanding is that we have no other way of doing world history. We start by challenging our own imaginations to take account of all the empirical evidence we can find, and this inductive balance of subjectivity and externality distinguishes us from deductive theorizing, however amply illustrated it may be by reported examples. In all subjects but those most contemporary and narrowly conceived, and on all supra-ethnic scales, historians' evidence comes out of the distinctive subjectivities of their subjects who created it, removed from them in time and in culture. We have no way to understand them, through the hints they left us, other than through their own eyes. To exploit the inherent intersubjectivity of our discipline, world history develops its themes around interactions of these local and regional endeavors with processes — even unperceived ones — of transcending scale. The world historians' dilemma of breaking free from the Europe-centered origins of our discipline arises from privileging the premises of the modern "west," and the way out of it lies not in the negatively conceived effort to "de-center" but rather in affirming the fundamentally multi-centric contexts of everyone's life, of every group's story. Without seeing all the cultures of the world as parts of balanced dynamic relationships, systemic analysis becomes sociology, or economics; without the full range of broad background context that influenced our subjects, whether or not they were aware of it, our narratives lack the richness of motivation and ironies and ambiguities of human existence that historians generate from taking account of the full, contradictory circumstances of time and place in which the people whom we study lived. There may well be no history, even in the most ancient eras, without this supra-regional over-tone, and in recent millennia very few without a significant aspect of hemispheric scale, and for the last few centuries none without fully global preoccupations. Theology and psychology may contemplate the unity of the human spir-

it, but history considers human beings in the diversity of the ways in which they struggled to realize it for themselves.

Although history contemplates its subjects in their existential temporality, doing so on world scales tempts us to subordinate our proper emphasis on change to comparisons of statically conceptualized "institutions" and "civilizations." World historians contribute most when they view such familiar constructs from without, to reveal the processual ephemerality behind their displays of legitimating persistence and universality. World history falls short of its distinguishing potential when it accepts such claims on their own terms and contents itself with tracking movements of people — or microbes or ideas or technologies — between regions understood in such conventional regional terms. Rather, the opportunity lies in demonstrating the tensions within such constructs, how some adapted them at the expense of others or suffered within them to the benefit of others, or the expectations and ambitions that motivated these struggles. "Civilizations," for the historian, are tense creations of people acting out of historicized contexts, ways in which they engaged rivals who shared the discourses they defined as well as confronted others across the boundaries of their "cultures."

Slavery is the global process of this sort — not an abstract, static "institution," however intensely contested — of current interest to me. One understands a violation of human rights so alien in modern times only by sensing the distinctive tensions within societies unlike ours, built around direct control of other people, by community family heads, elders, or "big men." Ambitious juniors jumped ahead of their contemporaries in the queue of seniority only by controlling people from outside the internally ranked ordering; elders countered their challenge by demonstrating the unpleasant fates that befell captives from beyond the bounds of the communities they protected, and controlled. Outsiders became available even, and especially, to marginalized insiders at times of military or commercial expansion led, usually for other purposes, by the dominant interests in a community. At the beginning of such dynamic growth, captives taken home from intensifying contacts with alien groups and enslaved there were distributed in assimilably small numbers

among established interests, enhancing power and wealth that rested on earlier methods of control of local population and resources. But if such political and economic growth reached sufficient proportions and persisted long enough, marginal insiders took advantage of handling the slaves to retain enough of them to promote their own interests at the expense of their betters, even to succeed them and to build their own political clout on their control of continuing inflows of captives. People created "slavery" through human strategies that integrated the dynamic internal tensions and external circumstances of their immediate times and places.

The historical "slaveries" they thus constructed were equally processual in the evolving relationships of the slaves to their masters, and in the communities that the slaves worked out among themselves. Captives entered slavery in isolated, disabling ignorance of the circumstances in which they found themselves. Alone in their enslavement, they survived by learning the character of their masters and by ingratiating themselves, to such an extent that the most successful slaves of masters in positions of command became essential agents of their power. Captives introduced into gangs of slaves survived by seizing on any connection they could with others from similar backgrounds

and, in the longer run, by forging tight communities out of whatever it took to survive the intense pressures of their shared dislocation and subordination. The first captives to arrive, few in number and scattered in residence, thus had experiences very different from those of their successors, who entered established slave communities; new arrivals confronted their masters through strategies very different from those of seasoned veterans. The local knowledge of people who grew up in slavery so taxed methods of discipline devised to control newcomers that procedures of "manumission" usually allowed skilled individuals to purchase themselves, with former masters keeping both the returns from the personal value of freedom above market valuations of their labor, as well as usually also retaining the freed person's services as client. Only in the United States, for reasons arising from many distinctive historical circumstances of the American republic in the nineteenth century, did masters attempt to restrain people of local birth, Christian Americans, in slavery.

When Phil Curtin addressed the American Historical Association as its president in 1983, he spoke on "Depth, Span, and Relevance." This title was the aphorism through which he phrased the intersecting epistemological axes along which all historians operate, and they are the notions that I have come to recognize

as underlying my own notions of how world historians think particularly well. They also orient the processual approach to slavery that I hope to render as a presentably coherent historical narrative within the attainable future. Without deep knowledge of how the people whom we study thought of themselves and pursued their priorities of their own, we can't understand the human ways of realizing the global processes on which world historians look back; without an acute awareness that spans the differences between ourselves and our subjects, always through time but on the world stage significantly also across cultures, we don't see the ironies and incomprehensions of living amidst others unlike ourselves, as all of us have done and do. By acknowledging that we have to ask questions relevant to our own times and places (and it would be irresponsible not to do so), we take account of our own subjectivities, and thus enhance our ability to see those we study as themselves, to depict how they acted on their own behalves, to appreciate the contexts that gave them meaning from what they did. We also draw on the strength that world historians gain from hindsight, from the global scales of time and space that our subjects experienced but seldom perceived, but which global perspectives allows historians to add to our understanding of them.

## THE WORLD AND THE WEST: PAPERS IN HONOR OF PHILIP CURTIN

Lauren Benton

New Jersey Institute of Technology and Rutgers University, Newark

I am very pleased to introduce this trio of papers in honor of the contributions of Philip Curtin to the teaching of world history. Philip Curtin's scholarship has had, we all know, a profound influence on several generations of comparative and world historians. From his first book, the 1955 *Two Jamaicas*, to his prize-winning *Death by Migration: Encounter with the Tropical World in the Nineteenth Century*, published in 1989 (and followed by two still more recent books), Philip Curtin has made it almost routine in his career to break new ground — to mine new sources, explore new topics, open up new avenues for

historical investigation, and, of course, bring together separate regional histories under the rubric of world history. It would be distinction enough for most scholars to be able to claim one study as rich as Curtin's history of Senegambia, or one book as insightful as *The Image of Africa*, or one as innovative as *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*. Such achievements clutter Philip Curtin's list of publications — and I have not even mentioned his now classic and still unsurpassed contribution to the historiography on the slave trade, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*.

Our purpose in these papers, though,

is not to honor Philip Curtin's scholarship but instead another, perhaps less celebrated (though clearly related) contribution that he has made to the field of world history: his accomplishments as a teacher. It is first of all important to note that Professor Curtin has written a large number of highly readable and accessible books that have been used for decades as basic texts in courses in African history and in world history. *Africa and Africans*, written with Paul Bohannan and first published in 1971, was issued in a third edition in 1988. Curtin's *Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex*, published by

Cambridge in 1990, presents original insights in Atlantic history in plain language and has become an irreplaceable resource in teaching about the South Atlantic system.

But Philip Curtin's contributions go beyond even these achievements. Professor Curtin has been training students in world history since 1952. In doing so, he has not only had a significant impact on the development of the field by training many of its practitioners, but he has also found his own methods for teaching world history proliferated by his former students throughout the country.

These papers focus in particular on an enduring and especially useful model for teaching world history that Professor Curtin helped to design and that many of his students have adapted in varied institutional settings. In the fall of 1953, Professor Curtin taught a course called *The World and the West* at Swarthmore College. He later joined the faculty at the University of Wisconsin and taught the course there, under this name and others, as a required course in the program in Comparative Tropical History (later called Comparative World History), teaching it together with John Phelan, John Smail, Bob Fryhenberg, and others. The list of distinguished graduates from this program who are now prominent world historians is a long one. It includes David Sweet, whose paper follows; Michael Adas, of Rutgers University; and many others. Professor Curtin took the course with him to Johns Hopkins, where he taught it under its original title, *The World and the West*, in alternate years from 1975 through 1998. I took the course there as a graduate student in the early eighties, and Helen Wheatley, whose paper begins this set, took it in the nineties.

Like many of Philip Curtin's other students, all of us have adapted this course in different ways as a vehicle for teaching history. These papers explore our experiences and suggest some new uses for the approach introduced by the course. I will describe *The World and the West* in some detail in my own paper, as the others may also, so let me end here simply by saying that however these adaptations have succeeded, there is no question that Philip Curtin has

played a very special role in teaching us how to teach world history. Indeed, he has throughout his career set an example for all of those who are searching to pursue both a true dedication to teaching and a love of scholarship.

These papers were originally presented as a panel at the Seventh Annual International Meeting of the World History Association, at Fort Collins, Colorado, in June of 1998. The three panelists, as noted above, all had the honor of studying under Philip Curtin.

David Sweet is a professor of history at the University of California at Santa Cruz, and a specialist in early modern Latin America, Southeast Asia, and world history. He studied with Philip Curtin in the Comparative Tropical History Program at the University of Wisconsin in 1966-69 and received his Ph.D. in 1974. His most recent book is due to come out with the University of California Press and is entitled *A Rich Realm of Nature Made Poor: Transfrontier Colonialism in Amazonia, 1540-1760*.

Helen Wheatley completed her Ph.D. at Johns Hopkins in 1993, where she studied with Philip Curtin. Her dissertation, "Power Farming," was a comparative study of modern industrialized cotton production in the American South and West and Australia. Her current work is on the comparative analysis of the fur trade — what she has dubbed, borrowing from Curtin, the "fur trade complex." She has taught world history at Seattle University, and this summer will be a featured speaker at the NEH Institute on Environmental History and World History at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

Let me also introduce myself: I am an associate professor of history at the New Jersey Institute of Technology and Rutgers University, Newark, where I chair a joint history department shared by the two universities. I studied with Philip Curtin as a graduate student in history and anthropology at Johns Hopkins, and completed my Ph.D. in 1987. I am currently working on a book on comparative colonial law entitled *Law and Colonial Cultures: International Legal Regimes in World History, 1400-1900*.

## THE WORLD AND THE NORTHWEST: THE FUR TRADE, REGIONAL HISTORY, AND WORLD HISTORY

### An Essay Celebrating the Teaching and Scholarship of Philip Curtin\*

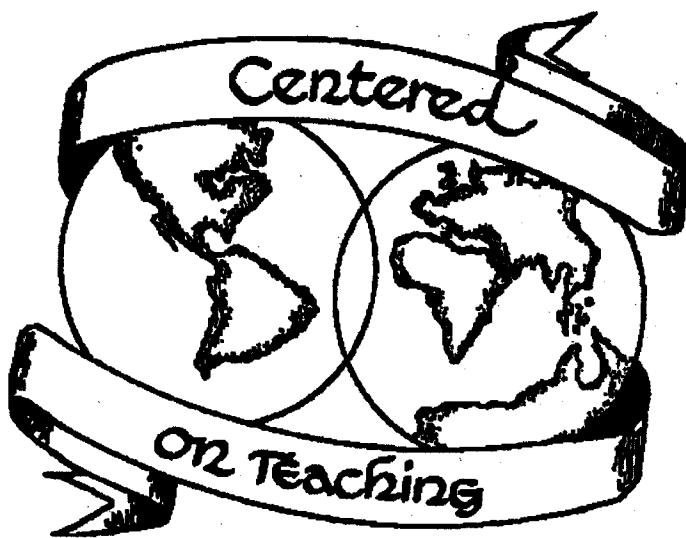
Helen Wheatley

Most of us face the challenge of teaching some kind of survey course, but we may not necessarily have the opportunity to teach anything like *The World and the West*. I have had both successes and failures in my efforts to translate Phil Curtin's subjects and methods into my own teaching. Oddly enough, I have had a harder time carrying his example into my freshman survey courses than into other classes that may, by title at least, have nothing to do with world history. I have pondered this seeming paradox for a few years now, and am grateful to Laurie Benton for offering me an opportunity to share my thoughts on it.

Speaking of paradoxes, let's take a look at Phil Curtin himself. Here is a man who seems to know and write about everything, yet he is no friend of dilettantes. He doesn't want us to think that world history means teaching or writing "a little bit about everything." Yet he feels perfectly comfortable describing *The World and the West* as a course "concerned with the impact of the West on the rest of the world since about 1000 C.E." — that is to say, a course spanning the globe over a millennium.<sup>1</sup> When it comes to the freshman world history survey, Curtin finds it entirely appropriate to cover about five thousand years in a couple of semesters. The key to this seeming paradox of achieving broad coverage while also demanding scholarly rigor, is

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\*Helen Wheatley, "The World and the Northwest: The Fur Trade, Regional History, and World History: An Essay Celebrating the Teaching and Scholarship of Philip Curtin," in Ross E. Dunn, ed., *The World History Teacher: Essential Writings in a Growing Field* (Boston: Bedford St., Martin's, 2000).



As teachers of world history, perhaps the most fundamental problem we face is that of instructional methodology: Of the infinite array of choices confronting us in terms of material for our students, how do we decide what to present and how best to present it? By what criteria do we make decisions as to what should be emphasized or discounted? How can we satisfy the multiple — and often conflicting — aims of facilitating cultural transmission, developing critical thinking, and fostering responsible citizenship, both in our own nations and the world?

In this issue of the *Bulletin*, we are pleased to feature the syllabi of Philip Curtin and his former students, Laura Benton, David Sweet, and Helen Wheatley. Each has studied with him at different times, and so as a group they represent a certain generational and conceptual continuity, while employing different perspectives and points of emphasis in their individual offerings. However much these may differ, their contributions are all based on the pedagogical strategies pioneered in Curtin's *The World and the West*: comparative approaches, case studies, a thoroughgoing immersion in cultural contexts, and a particular emphasis on multiple levels of interaction. As Curtin himself puts it, it is an approach to teaching world history that "concentrates on a process." We hope that in the process of reading them you, too, will find in these selections a rich store of instructional method and material on which to draw.

#### The Editors

**THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY**  
Department of History

**History 110.495**

**Fall Semester, 1996**

**Mr. Curtin**

**Monday and Tuesday at 10:00 am**

**Four Credits**

This course departs somewhat from the usual pattern in history courses. As a study of the ways peoples' cultures or ways of life change through time, it has elements of historical and anthropological studies. It also differs from both disciplines. The scope is too broad to leave room for an intimate picture of any culture or society, so that many anthropologists may feel unsatisfied. Nor will the course follow a sequence of events in any place through a substantial period of time, so that many

historians may be equally unsatisfied. The course is episodic of necessity, being a series of case studies illustrating general patterns. This implies a strong comparative element in approach and presentation.

The course also departs from the usual pattern in that most lectures are not delivered in the classroom but are available on tape at the audio-visual desk, A level, Eisenhower Memorial Library. Audio-visual department also lends cassette recorders, if you do not have your own. Outlines and illustrative material for each recorded lecture will be distributed early in the semester.

Some of these taped lectures, as used in the past, have been converted into essays in a book called *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History*. Rather than asking people to hear those lectures, they are part of the reading assignment.

The two class hours each week are used for discussion. As a way of giving structure to those discussions, each session will be opened by student presentation of a "discussion-opener." This is an informal paper, about six typed pages, double-spaced—or equivalent in handwriting if typing is not possible. Discussion-openers for Monday discussions must be available in the container outside the instructor's door by 4 PM on the previous Friday. E-mail distribution as a courtesy may also be possible, but it does not relieve a student of responsibility to make a hard-copy available on time. Please give the instructor's copy for Friday distribution to Shirley Hipley in the history office. Discussion-openers for the Tuesday discussion are distributed at the Monday meeting. Suggested discussion-openers are listed each week.

Each student is responsible for at least three discussion-openers during the semester, which may mean that two students may well address the same problem in some weeks. Even if you are not doing a written discussion opener in a particular week, you are responsible for working out an answer to the problem for possible oral presentation in the seminar. Students are urged to look ahead so as to pick dates and topics of their choice. Conflicting choices will be settled by appropriate tosses of the coin. Final grades will be based in equal parts on the quality of discussion-openers, the quality of class discussion, and the final examination.

Graduate students normally take the course without credit, but they are expected to read more than the assigned readings. The suggested possible further readings that are listed for some weeks provide a point of departure. Any student should feel free to consult the instructor about further readings on subject matter that strikes his or her interest, and other extensions beyond the normal course. My formal office hours are 1:00-2:00 PM, but I am in the office most of the time Monday through Wednesday. Students should feel free to drop in or call to make sure that I am in free.

There is no formal text, but a considerable part of the following will be read in the course of the semester. Most will be available for sale in the book center, but not all are available in paperback format; but copies will be on reserve.

C. A. Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire* (71 pages out of 221 are assigned)

P. D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (167 of 254 pages are assigned).

P. D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex*, all assigned.

P. D. Curtin, *Two Jamaicas*, all assigned.

John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680* (107 of 303 pages are assigned).

## TOPIC I – THE WORLD AND THE WEST: A SURVEY OF PAST RELATIONS

### First Week – The World of the Post-Classical Era

September 9 – Classroom lecture 1: Relations between Societies

September 10 – Classroom lecture 3: The Maritime Revolution

Assigned reading and taped lectures for the second week should be read or heard this week in preparation for discussion on September 18. (Note that lectures are not necessarily assigned in order and that lectures 6, 9, 13, and 16 are not assigned at all this year.)

#### Further Reading:

Parry, J. H., *The Discovery of the Sea*, esp. pp. 3-72.

### Second Week – Technology and Power in World Perspective

September 16-17 – Discussion based on:

Lecture 2 – Societies beyond Europe: Agriculture and Population

Lecture 4 – Technology and Power in Non-Western Societies

Marshall G. S. Hodgson, "Interrelations of Societies in History," in *Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam, and World History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 3-34.

McNeill, William, *The Pursuit of Power*, pp. 24-62 (Chinese Predominance).

Parker, Geoffrey, "Europe and the Wider World, 1500-1750: The Military Balance," in James E. Tracy (ed.), *Political Economy of Merchant Empires: State Power and World Trade 1350-1750* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 161-95.

Stephen Morillo, "Guns and Government: A Comparative Study of Europe and Japan," *Journal of World History*, 6:75-106 (1995)

Shaffer, Linda, "Southernization," *JWH*, 5:1-21 (1994).

#### Possible discussion openers:

- 1) Was the military revolution a result of gunpowder weapons, or were gunpowder weapons a result of social and political changes?
- 2) Where was the center of world power between about 1200 and 1500 and why?
- 3) Can "southernization" be a useful concept in analyzing the comparative technological success of China and Europe, or are other explanations more important?

#### Further Reading:

Elvin, Mark, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past*, esp. pp. 109-99.

Parker, Geoffrey, *The Military Revolution*.

Wolf, Eric R., *Europe and the People without History*, pp. 24-72.

Braudel, Fernand, *Civilization and Capitalism 15th-18th Century*, 3 vols., (esp. volume 1 on material life and volume 2, pp. 14-37).

Cipolla, Carlo M., *Guns and Sails in the Early Phase of European Expansion, 1400-1700*.

Wallerstein, Immanuel, *The Modern World System*, volume 1.

## TOPIC II – ASIAN TRADE AND WESTERN SHIPPING

### Third Week – Western Thought, Merchant Empires, and the Periodization of World History

September 23-24 – Discussion Based on:

Lecture 5 – Western Thought and the World Overseas

Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*, pp. 1-14, 109-35.

Douglass C. North, "Institutions, Transaction Costs, and the Rise of Merchant Empires," in James D. Tracy (ed.), *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires: State Power and World Trade, 1585-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 22-40.

Jerry H. Bentley, "Cross-Cultural Integration and Periodization in World History," *American Historical Review*, 101:749-770 (1996).

Patrick Manning, "The Problem of Interactions in World History," *AHR*, 101:771-782.

#### Possible discussion-openers:

- 1) Is the substantivist position of Polanyi and others still worth discussion, or is it a theory now passed over and worthy of dismissal?
- 2) What is the most appropriate solution to the problem of dividing history into periods like Ancient, Medieval, and Modern?
- 3) Does the expansion of Europe in the age of the merchant empires really come down to such a petty matter as transaction costs?

#### Further Reading:

Lach, Donald F., *Asia in the Making of Europe*, esp. vols. 1 and 2.

Steensgaard, Niels, *Carracks, Caravans, and Companies*.

Elliot, John H., *The Old World and the New*.

Pearson, M. N., *The New Cambridge History of India. Volume 1, part 1, The Portuguese in India* (1987).

Stearns, Adas, and Schwartz, *World Civilizations*, 1:257-263 (the post-classic era, 1-87 (the West and the changing balance)).

### Fourth Week – Missionaries in Asia

September 30 - Slides of maritime Asia - remains of the seventeenth century

October 1 – Discussions based on:

Lecture 7 – Missionary Aims and Achievements

Lecture 8 – Japan's Reception of Christian Missions.

Stearns, Adas, and Schwartz, *World Civilizations*, pp. 593-615 (Muslim Empires); 639-663 (Asia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries).

#### Possible discussion-openers:

- 1) It has been argued that Chinese dynasties rise and fall as a natural process like the individual passage from youth to old age. Could the same be said for the three Muslim empires that flourished in the sixteenth century?
- 2) Looking at Ethiopia, Timor, and Japan in the sixteenth century, were the missionaries more successful one place rather than another because they were more wise and skillful in their approach, or because local conditions favored their enterprise?
- 3) Why was Ming China unsuccessful in mastering Indian Ocean

trade in the way the Portuguese were to do? Or is the picture of greater Portuguese achievement overdrawn?

### Fifth Week – New Entrants and New Technology in Asian Trade

October 7-8 — Discussion based on:

Lecture 10 – Technology and Trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade*, pp. 158-206.

Steinberg, D. J., and others, *In Search of Southeast Asia* (Revised edition 1987) pp. 9-20, 49-59.

Bayly, C.A., *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire*, pp. 7-44.

Possible discussion-openers:

- 1) Africa and Southeast Asia were the last major regions to be brought into consideration as part of world history. Why should that have been the case for Southeast Asia?
- 2) How would you account for the comparative success of the Bugis and the Armenians as traders in this period? Was it tactics, geography, previous culture, or something else?
- 3) Was it Mughal weakness or European power that made it possible for the East India Companies to gain a foothold in India—or neither?
- 4) Was the impact of Western trade a major theme in Indian history of the eighteenth century, or merely a side-show hinting at the major influence of Europe on India a century later?

Further Reading:

Tracy, James (ed.), *The Rise of Merchant Empires* and *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires* (1990 and 1991).

Chaudhuri, Kinti N., *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (1985).

Chaudhuri, Kinti N., *Asia Before Europe: Economy and Civilization of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (1990).

### Sixth Week – Adjustments in Agriculture and Political Structure

October 14 - Fall Break Day - No Class

October 15 – Discussion of:

Lecture 11 – Asian Agricultural Adjustment.

Lecture 12 – Transition to Territorial Empire: Java and Bengal.

Steinberg and others, *Search for Southeast Asia*, pp. 146-59.

Bayly, *Indian Society*, pp. 45-78.

Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade*, pp. 230-54.

Possible discussion-openers:

- 1) Was European trade in Eastern Seas inevitably destabilizing to the Asian political and economic order, or was the new instability the result of European political and military policies? Or, finally, was the Asian political and economic no more unstable than usual?
- 2) Why did the Europeans switch from trading-post to territorial empire in Asia?

Further Reading:

Wallerstein, Immanuel, *Modern World System*, vol. 1, Chs. 6-7

(pp. 199-239 in text edition).

Sauer, Carl O., *Agricultural Origins and Dispersals*.

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay, *The Political Economy of Commerce: Southern India, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

### TOPIC III – THE RISE AND FALL OF THE PLANTATION COMPLEX

#### Seventh Week – Medieval Origins

October 21-22 – Discussion based on:

Curtin, *Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex*, pp. 3-28.

John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World 1400-1680*, pp. 43-97.

Crosby, Alfred, *The Columbian Voyages, the Columbian Exchanges, and their Historians*, pp. 1-25.

Possible discussion-openers:

- 1) Why did the Europeans keep sugar production under their own control, when they were content to let others produce tea, coffee, or cloves for sale?
- 2) Was the origin of the plantation complex an aspect of Linda Shaffer's "Southernization," or the beginning of "Westernization" under European control?
- 3) How important was the role of the state (both African and European)—as opposed to private enterprise—in the development of Atlantic commerce?

Further Reading:

Galloway, J. H., *The Sugar Cane Industry: An Historical Geography from its Origins to 1914* (Cambridge, CUP, 1989).

Verlinden, Charles, *The Origins of Modern Colonization*.

Phillips, William D., Jr., *Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade* (Minneapolis, 1985).

#### Eighth Week – Sixteenth-Century Transition

October 28-29 – Discussion based on:

Curtin, *Plantation Complex*, pp. 29-57.

Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, pp. 98-125.

Lockhart, James and Stuart Schwartz, *Early Latin America*, pp. 202-252 (Brazil in the Sugar Age).

Possible discussion-openers:

- 1) What conditions in Africa made that continent a desirable source of slaves, and what conditions in Brazil made African slaves more valuable than European or Indian labor?
- 2) It is sometimes said that the plantation regime in Brazil was dominated by the nature of sugar as a crop, which left little room for human choice about Brazilian development. Was this the case?
- 3) Was African slavery and the slave trade forced on Africa by outsiders, or was it an outgrowth of indigenous institutions?

Further Reading:

Russell-Wood, A. J. R., *The Black Man in Slavery and Freedom in Colonial Brazil*, pp. 267-303.

Schwartz, Stuart, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia 1550-1835.*  
 Mintz, Sydney, *Sweetness and Power.*

### Ninth Week – The Spanish Empire on the American Mainland.

November 4-5 – Discussion based on:

- Lecture 19 - Imperial Theory and Demographic Fact.
- Curtin, *Plantation Complex*, pp. 58-70.
- Lockhart and Schwartz, *Early Latin America*, pp. 59-85.  
 (From islands to mainland.)
- Knight, *The Caribbean*, pp. 66-87.

Possible discussion-openers:

- 1) Lockhart introduces a number of process-models to describe Spanish American history in this period. What are his principal process-models? Which are the weakest? Which are the least subject to criticism?
- 2) Imperial theory may be an interesting intellectual game, but did these theorists *really* have a serious influence on the course of history?
- 3) Why did the Spanish establish a territorial empire, while the Portuguese went for the plantation complex? Was it a matter of choice, or determined by demography and environment?

### Tenth Week – The Plantation Complex Established

November 11 – Discussion based on:

- Curtin, *Plantation Complex*, pp. 73-110.
- Knight, F. W., *The Caribbean*, pp. 120-158.
- Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Atlantic World*, pp. 129-151.

November 12 – Slides – West Africa and the West Indies.

Possible discussion-openers:

- 1) What caused transfrontier societies to emerge? Environment or human choice?
- 2) Why did the Caribbean develop such a varied pattern of castes and classes, compared to the two-caste society of the American South? Or were they really more alike than not?
- 3) Why did slavery move into North and South America beyond the plantation complex proper?

Further Reading:

Dunn, Richard S., *Sugar and Slaves*, p. 46-83, 188-262.

### Eleventh Week – Economics and Society in the Caribbean

November 18-19 – Discussion based on:

- Curtin, *Plantation Complex*, 113-143.
- Brathwaite, Edward, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica 1770-1820*, pp. 165-175.
- Curtin, P.D., *Two Jamaicas*, pp. 3-80.

Possible discussion openers:

- 1) How damaging was the slave trade to the health and well-being of African societies?
- 2) Why was the Asian process-model of "voyage, factory, fort, colony" not applicable to West Africa in the eighteenth century?
- 3) Aside from the division between master and slave, what were the most serious social cleavages in Jamaican society

of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries?  
 Did they matter?

Further Reading:

- Eltis, David, "Free and Coerced Transatlantic Migrations," *American Historical Review*, 88:251-80 (1982).
- Craton, Michael and James Walvin, *A Jamaican Plantation*.
- Paterson, Orlando, *Sociology of Slavery*.
- Debien, Gabriel, *Les esclaves aux Antilles Françaises*.
- Craton, Michael, *In Search of the Invisible Man*.

### Twelfth Week – The Democratic Revolution

November 25-26 - Discussion based on:

- Curtin, *Plantation Complex*, pp. 144-69.
- Curtin, *Two Jamaicas*, pp. 81-121.

Possible discussion-openers:

- 1) Were the revolutions in the Atlantic basin between the mid-eighteenth and the late nineteenth centuries really variants of a "democratic" or "liberal" revolutionary pattern, or did they merely use fashionable language for their diverse ends?
- 2) Slavery in Jamaica and Saint Domingue ended with some level of violence. Why was Jamaica so much less violent than Saint Domingue? Could slavery have been ended in either place without violence?
- 3) Were the changes in Jamaican society between 1830 and 1865 mainly imposed from abroad, or mainly an outgrowth of local conditions?

Further Reading:

- Geggus, David P., *Slavery, War, and Revolution*.
- Fick, Carolyn E., *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990).

### Thirteenth Week – The End of the Plantation Complex

December 2-3 – Discussion based on:

- Curtin, *Plantation Complex*, 173-203.
- Curtin, *Two Jamaicas*, pp. 121-209.
- Knight, F.W., *The Caribbean*, pp. 121-145.
- McNeill, John, "The End of the Old Atlantic World: America, Africa, Europe, 1770-1888, in Karras, Alan L., and John R. McNeill, *Atlantic American Societies: From Columbus through Abolition 1492-1888* (New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 245-268.

Possible discussion-openers:

- 1) What ended the Atlantic slave trade and what difference did it make to West Africa?
- 2) What ended the Plantation Complex in the Americas? Was it a single body of causes that were effective everywhere, or were different causes effective in each individual plantation region?

Further Reading:

- Higman, Barry, *Slave Population of Jamaica*.
- Higman, Barry, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean*.
- Conrad, Robert, *The Destruction of Slavery in Brazil*.
- Knight, Franklin, *Slave Society in Cuba during the Nineteenth Century*.
- Moreno Fraginals, Manuel, *The Sugarmill*.

Scott, Rebecca, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba*.  
 Eltis, David, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*.

#### **Fourteenth Week – Retrospect on the Plantation Complex**

December 9 – Discussion – The Atlantic System in Retrospect  
 Curtin, *Plantation Complex*, pp. 204-26.

Solow, Barbara, "Capitalism and Slavery in the Exceedingly Long Run," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 17:711-37 (1987).

Engerman, Stanley L., "The Atlantic Economy in the Eighteenth Century: Some Speculations on Economic Development in Britain, America, Africa, and Elsewhere," *Journal of European Economic History*, 24:145-175 (1995).

### **THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY Department of History**

**Professor Curtin**

**History 100:496**

**The World and the West: The Revolution of Modernization**

**Fall, 1995**

**Four credits**

This course departs somewhat from the traditional pattern of historical study. Instead of relating a series of events that took place in a given period of time in some particular part of the world, it concentrates on a process. That process is the interaction of Western culture and the other major cultures of the world since about 1500. The first half was concerned principally with the period in which Europe gradually changed its position from rough equality with other technologically proficient societies to that of a world leadership. By 1800, Europe was not yet in a position to dominate on a world-wide scale, but it was clearly on the way to industrialization—the first industrial society, which other societies had either to copy or resist.

The second half will be concerned with the industrial age. The chronological break at 1800 is not sharp. Some forms of interaction, such as the plantation complex, were traced well beyond 1800 during the first semester. Others, arising out of the wholesale migration of Europeans overseas, are mainly a nineteenth-century phenomenon, though their origins must now be traced back to the period before 1800.

The world and the West interacted in many different ways during the past two centuries. Needless to say, all of them cannot be traced in a one-semester course. The lectures and readings will therefore skip around among the multitude of possible examples, concentrating on culture change—on the manner in which people changed their ways of life in response to contact with culturally different environments. This subject not only takes in the non-Western people who respond to the impact of the West; it is also concerned with the changes in Western culture among the settlers who went overseas.

This course is taught with taped lectures in order to use

mechanical means to convey information, making more time available for actual face-to-face interchange of ideas. The normal weekly pattern of the course will therefore consist of two lectures on tape and two hours of discussion, on Monday and Tuesday mornings. This is why the course carries four credits, rather than three.

The tapes are available for loan at the audio-visual section of the Eisenhower Memorial Library. They can be played on a standard cassette tape recorder, which makes it possible to stop the lecture, make it repeat, and otherwise control the speed of information. Tape recorders may also be borrowed by those who otherwise have no access to one.

As a way of giving structure to discussion, each discussion session will be opened by student presentation of a "discussion-opener." This is an informal paper, about six typed pages, double-spaced, or equivalent in handwriting. It should be duplicated, one copy for each student in the seminar for distribution before the seminar meeting. Discussion-openers for Monday discussions should be in the box attached to the instructor's door by noon on the previous Friday, so that students have time to read them before class. Those with access to e-mail should send a copy to the instructor by noon on Sunday. Address is [Curtin@jhu.edu](mailto:Curtin@jhu.edu). Discussion-openers for the Tuesday discussion will be distributed at the Monday meeting. The syllabus gives a list of suggested discussion-opener topics with each week's assignment. Each student is responsible for three discussion-openers during the semester. It is possible, and even useful, to have two discussion-openers on the same topic, but each class meeting should have at least one discussion-opener. Students are urged to look ahead so as to pick dates and topics of their choice. Anyone wanting to invent his or her own discussion topic is free to do on consultation with the instructor. Conflicting choices will be settled by appropriate tosses of a coin. Final grades will be based in equal parts on the quality of discussion openers, the quality of class discussion, and the final examination.

For those interested in a deeper view of the material, additional readings are listed for some weeks as a point of departure. Any student should feel free to consult the instructor about further readings, subject matter that strikes his or her interest, and other extensions beyond the normal course. Office hours are Tuesday, 1:00 -2:00 PM, or whenever they find the instructor in his office and free of pressing work.

There is no formal text, but the following paperbacks are assigned in part and may be useful purchases:

Nelson Reed, *The Caste War in Yucatan* (Stanford), 182 pp., assigned.

James R. Scobie, *Argentina: A City and a Nation* (Oxford paperback) 123 pp., assigned.

Elizabeth Bacon, *Central Asia Under Russian Rule*, 124 pp., assigned (not in paperback).

Judith Tucker, *Gender and Islamic History*, 22 out of 35 pages assigned.

## C I - SETTLEMENT

### First Week - Introductory

Sept. 11 -Introductory Meeting

Sept. 12 - Discussion based on assigned readings in:

W. W. Rostow, "The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto," *The Economist*, August 15 & 22, 1959.

Marshall G. S. Hodgson, "Interrelations of Societies in History," in Hodgson, *Rethinking World History*, pp. 3-31.

Dean C. Tipps, "Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies," *Comparative Studies*, 15:199-206 (1973).

John Komlos, "Thinking about the Industrial Revolution," *Journal of European Economic History*, 18:191-206 (1989).

#### Additional Readings:

C. E. Black, *The Dynamics of Modernization*, pp. 175-199 (Bibliographical essay on modernization theory).

### Second Week - Population and Settlement

Sept. 18- Discussion based on:

Lecture 1 - Overseas Settlement before the Napoleonic Wars

Lecture 2 - Growth and Movement of Populations

Sept. 19 - Discussion based on assigned readings:

Komlos, John, "Nutrition, Population Growth, and the Industrial Revolution in England," *Social Science History*, 14:69-91 (1990).

Schofield, Roger, "The Impact of Scarcity and Plenty on Population Change in England, 1541-1871," in Rotberg and Rabb, *Hunger in History*, pp. 66-93.

McNeill, William H., "Historical Migration in Historical Perspective," *Population and Development Review*, 10:1-18 (1983).

Thistlethwaite, Frank, "Migrations from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in Rudolph J. Vecoli and Suzanne M. Sinke, *A Century of European Migrations, 1830-1930*, pp. 17-49.

#### Possible Discussion-Openers:

- 1) Was the European Migration out of Europe mainly a matter of push from European developments, or pull from the advantages to be had overseas?
- 2) Was there a "mortality revolution" in the nineteenth century, or can European population increase be accounted for better in other ways? If so, what caused it?
- 3) Was Malthus right?
- 4) [For veterans of history 100.495 only] Why was migration across the Atlantic mainly by Africans until the 1840s and mainly Europeans after that decade?

#### Additional Readings:

Rudolph J. Vecoli and Suzanne M. Sinke, *A Century of European Migrations, 1830-1930* (Urbana, 1991).

Pieter C. Emmer and Magnus Mörner, *European Expansion and Migration: Essays on Intercontinental Migration from Africa, Asia, and Europe* (New York, 1992).

Walter Nugent, *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870-1914* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).

### Third Week - European Overseas

Sept. 25 -Discussion based on:

Lecture 3 - Theories and Theorists of Colonization

Lecture 4 - New Colonies of the Nineteenth Century

Lecture 5 - Emigration and Culture Change

Sept. 26 - Discussion: Trans-Frontier Cultures

D. F. Sarmiento, *Life in the Argentine Republic*, Chapter 2.

Richard W. Slatta, *Gauchos and the Vanishing Frontier*, pp. 7-29.

Duncan Baretta, Silvio R. and John Markoff, "Civilization and Barbarism: Cattle Frontiers in Latin America," *Comparative Studies*, 20: 587-618 (Oct. 1978).

Joseph K. Howard, *Strange Empire*, pp. 23-45, 292-306.

Richard Elphick, *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*, (2nd ed., 1989), pp. 66-102

#### Possible Discussion-Openers:

- 1) Did the Wakefieldian theory of colonization serve as a significant guide to what the British actually did overseas, or was it simply an intellectual construct of interest only to the history of European economic thought?
- 2) Measured by the standards of the time, was Wakefield's theory of colonization good theory? What, for that matter, is the difference between good theory and bad?
- 3) Based on the process of culture change among the gauchos of the Plata basin and the métis of central Canada, what aspects of European culture were most likely to change beyond the frontiers? What aspects were least likely to change?

### Fourth Week - Frontier and Metropolis in Southern Africa

Oct. 2 - Discussion: Trans-Frontier cultures, plus slides of the environmental setting of South Africa

Oct. 3 - Discussion based on:

Lecture 6 - Frontier Expansion in the Nineteenth Century

Lecture 7 - New Metropolises and New Frontiers

Leonard Thompson, *History of South Africa*, pp. 1-109.

#### Possible Discussion-Openers:

- 1) Does the trans-frontier experience, of either white or Coloured *trekboere*, support the generalization

- about trans-frontier culture change arrived at last week? If it was different, how and why?
- 2) The lectures set up a model of two kinds of solidarity—corporate and status. Which was the stronger influence on South African urban-frontier relations in first half of the nineteenth century?
  - 3) Duncan somewhere gives this definition: "Frontiers are places where no one has an enduring monopoly on violence." Owen Lattimore and Frederick Jackson Turner had different ideas. Which definition has most explanatory value—or "none of the above?"

#### Additional Readings:

H. Giliomee, "Process in Development of the Southern African Frontier," in Howard Lamar and L. Thompson, *The Frontier in History*, pp. 76-119.

#### Fifth Week - Frontier and Metropolis in Argentina

Oct. 9 - Discussion based on:

Lecture 8 - The Port and the Pampa

Lecture 9 - The "Conquest and the Desert"

James R. Scobie, *Argentina: A City and a Nation*, pp. 36-159.

Richard W. Slatta, *Gauchos and the Vanishing Frontier*, pp. 180-192.

Oct. 10 - Discussion based on comparisons of South Africa and Argentina and on.

#### Possible Discussion-Openers:

- 1) Why did the cowboy, the gaucho, the Canadian métis, and the vortrekker all emerge as national symbols?
- 2) Marxism gives an explanation of conflict in society that may differ from the mainly "central-place" analysis of the lectures. Can the difference be reconciled? If not, which has the greater explanatory value, and why?
- 3) Part of Turner's frontier theory was that open, cheap land made for a safety valve and for a more democratic society. Why was this not the outcome in Argentina or South Africa before 1880? Or was it?

#### TOPIC II - CONQUEST

#### Sixth Week - The Roots of Imperialism

Oct. 16 - Fall Break Day

Oct. 17 - Discussion based on:

Lecture 10 - The Pattern of Territorial Empire

Lecture 11 - Development, Technology, and Military Power

P.D. Curtin (ed.), *Imperialism*, pp. lx-xxiii, 1-22 (Cuvier and Knox), 132-65 (Carlyle), 177-191 (Macaulay).

D. K. Fieldhouse, *Economics and Empire 1830-1914*, pp. 63-87.

Ronald Robinson, "Non-European Foundation of European Imperialism Sketch for a Theory of Collaboration," in Roger Owen and Bob Sutcliff (eds.), *Studies in Theory of Imperialism*, pp. 117-142.

#### Possible Discussion Openers:

- 1) Did capitalism or industrialism cause imperialism?
- 2) More theorists: what, if anything, can we learn by reading "the bad ideas of Western man," as represented by Cuvier and Knox?
- 3) Was either Carlyle or Macaulay correct in his assessment of the situation as he saw it (as represented by the assigned readings)? If not, why not?

#### Additional Readings:

Further reading in Fieldhouse.

Michael Barratt Brown, *Economics of Imperialism* esp. pp. 39-72.

Mommsen, Wolfgang J. and Jurgen Osaterhammel, *Imperialism and After: Continuities and Discontinuities* (1986).

#### Seventh Week - Imperialism and Culture Change

October 23- Discussion based on:

Lecture 12 - The Politics of Imperialism

Lecture 13 - Conquest and Culture Change: Soviet Central Asia

October 24 - Discussion of Soviet Central Asia based on:

Elizabeth Bacon, *Central Asia Under Russian Rule*, pp. 1-28, 92-188.

#### Possible Discussion-Openers:

- 1) Were the Russians "successful" colonizers of Central Asia, compared with other colonizers of other territories in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?
- 2) Leaving aside industrialism and capitalism, what were the other causes of imperialism? Why were they a) important, or b) unimportant?
- 3) Why was the historical development of Soviet Central Asia in the twentieth century a) so different from, or b) so similar to, that of South Africa?

#### Additional Readings:

Rhodes Murphey, *The Outsiders: Western Experience in India and China* (Ann Arbor, Michigan Press, 1977).

#### Eighth Week - Mexico and Southern Asia

October 30 - Discussion based on:

Lecture 14 - The Hispanization of Mexico

Lecture 15 - The Choice of Intermediaries and Social Change: Central Asia, Bengal, Java, and Malaya

October 31 - Discussion of cultural change in Yucatan

Nelson Reed, *The Caste War in Yucatan*, pp. 3-49, 159-226.

#### Possible Discussion-Openers:

- 1) Mexico, like Central Asia and South Africa, was a plural society. How and why was it so different from (or so similar to) the other two cases?
- 2) Can the Cruzob nation be taken as an example of successful non-Western defiance of the West? If so, why? If not, why not?
- 3) Why did the Cruzob retain some aspects of their culture

while shedding others in response to an external threat?

- 4) In the oasis states of Central Asia, and in Bengal, Indonesia, and Malaya, the Europeans introduce changes in government and land tenure. How significant was the difference between European intentions and outcome? Why?

#### Additional Readings:

The remainder of Reed

Edward Spicer, *The Yaquis: A Cultural History*

Evelyn Hu-DeHart, *Yaqui Resistance and Survival*

Maarten Kuitenhout, "Aristocracies Under Colonial Rule: North India and Java," in C. A. Bayly and D. H. A. Kolff (eds.), *Two Colonial Empires: Comparative Essays on the History of India and Indonesia in the Nineteenth Century* (Dordrecht: Nijhoff, 1986), pp. 75-94.

#### Lecture 18 - Varieties of Modernization Lecture 19 - Meiji Japan: Selective Modernization

November 14 - Discussion based on readings:

Fairbank, Reischauer, and Craig, *East Asia: Tradition and Transformation*, pp. 484-558.

#### Possible Discussion-Openers:

- 1) Was the Meiji Restoration a revolution in the sense of the French or Russian Revolutions, or was something else—distinctively Japanese?
- 2) Was the Meiji "revolution" caused principally by internal or by external pressures?
- 3) Taking four or five of the principal examples of cultural borrowing in the course (Buganda, Peter's Russia, Cruzob Maya, Yaqui, Japan, Central Asia, etc.) — what generalizations about cultural borrowing are possible. What was borrowed from the outside and why?

#### Recommended

G.B. Sansom, *The Western World and Japan*

Marius Jansen and Gilbert Rozman (eds.), *Japan in Transition*

Conrad Totman, *The Collapse of the Tokugawa Bakufu, 1862-1868*

#### Eleventh Week - The Modernization of Turkey

November 20 - Discussion based on:

Lecture 20 - Ottoman Reforms

Lecture 21 - Radical Reforms

November 21 - Comparative Discussion of Japan and Turkey

Roderic Davison, *Turkey*, pp. 53-168.

Judith Tucker, *Gender and Islamic History*, pp. 13-34.

D. E. Ward and D. Rustow, *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, pp. 434-468. (Catalogued under "Conférence on Political Modernization.")

#### Possible Discussion-Openers:

- 1) It has been said that "nationalism" is crucial for modernization. Hence, Japan was able to modernize rapidly because it had "national unity" under the Tokugawa, while Turkey was held back till it should shake off the multi-national Ottoman heritage. Argue forcefully for or against this proposition.
- 2) Mustapha Kemal seems to epitomize the "great man" theory of history more than any other leader we have studied—even Apolo Kagwa. Was he really a crucial determinant of change, or did circumstances simply make it possible for him to appear so?
- 3) Turkey tried to modernize in a series of efforts going back to the "New Order." Why did all such efforts fail until after 1919—even the Young Turks? Or did they all fail?
- 4) It has been argued that Japan "modernized" faster and more fully than the Ottomans and their Turkish successors, yet, paradoxically, Turkey of the 1990s was far more "Western" than Japan was. Is this true, if so, how can it be explained?

#### TOPIC III - CONVERSION

#### Ninth Week - Missionary Movements

November 6 - Discussion based on:

Lecture 16 - The Missionary Movement from Europe  
Re-record next time — old fashioned appearance.

Lecture 17 - Missionaries Overseas: East Africa Re-record next time — old fashioned appearance.

November 7 - Discussion based on:

Robin Horton, "The Rationality of Conversion," *Africa*, 45: 219-23.

Jessica A. Cope, "Religious and Cultural Conversion to Islam in Ninth-Century Córdoba," *Journal of World History*, 4:47-68 (1993).

Peel, J.D.Y., "Conversion and Tradition in Two African Societies: Ijebu and Buganda," *Past and Present*, no. 7, pp. 108-417 (November, 1977).

#### Possible Discussion-Openers:

- 1) Did the missionary movement cause imperialism, or did imperialism cause the missionary movement, or neither?
- 2) How different was the rationality of conversion in ninth-century Córdoba and twentieth-century Africa? (Based on Horton and Cope)
- 3) Is Peel's (or the lecturer's) discussion of conversion in Buganda and Ijebu consonant with what Horton or Cope have to say about conversion in Africa or Muslim Spain? If not, who is right?

#### Additional Readings:

C. Wrigley, "The Christian Revolution in Buganda," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2: 33-48 (October, 1959).

Holger Bengt Hansen, *Mission, Church, and State in a Colonial Setting: Uganda, 1890-1925* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984).

#### Tenth Week - Conversion from Within

November 13 - Discussion based on:

### Additional Readings:

Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (graduate students should substitute Lewis for Davison assignment).

## TOPIC IV - THE REVOLUTION OF MODERNIZATION

### Twelfth Week - The Non-Western Revolt

November 27 - Discussion based on:

Lecture 22 - Non-European Resistance and European Withdrawal

Lecture 23 - Economic and Social Reintegration in the Post-Colonial Era Lecture 24 - Millennial Movements

November 28 - Discussion based on readings in Adas, *Prophets of Rebellion*, xvii-xxvii, 3-91, 183-189.

### Possible Discussion-Openers:

- 1) Were millennial movements a positive or a negative influence on successful modernization? —on independence movements?
- 2) Did any of the revolts in Adas' discussion ever have the slightest chance of succeeding? If so, which one or ones? If not, why not?
- 3) None of Adas' revolts was truly millennial. What makes some revolts move in this direction, while others become millennial?

### Additional Readings:

Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound*, pp. ix-xix, ll-16, 32-48, 75-92.

D. A. Low, *Eclipse of Empire* (1991)

### Thirteenth Week - "Nationalism": Indonesia

December 4 - Discussion based on:

Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, pp. l-38, l37-43.

W. Travis Hanes III, "On the Origins of the Indian National Congress: A Case Study of Cross-Cultural Synthesis," *Journal of World History*, 4:69-98 (1993)

O. Pflanze and P. D. Curtin, "Varieties of Nationalism in Europe and Africa, *Review of Politics*, 28:129-53 (April, 1960).

December 5 - Discussion based on:

Lecture 25 - The Indonesian Revolution and its Setting

Lecture 26 - Indonesia Under the Early Republic

Bernard Dahm, *The History of Indonesia in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 20-109

### Possible Discussion-Openers:

- 1) Is nationalism caused by industrialism, by capitalism, or by something else?
- 2) Is "nationalism" (by whatever definition) necessary to "modernization" by some definition?)
- 3) Was nationalism in India inspired by Western culture, or

would it have come anyhow, even without the Theosophical Society?

- 3) Why did "Islamic fundamentalism" fail in Indonesia? Or did it?
- 4) Why did the PKI fail in Indonesia? or did it?
- 5) Compare Sukarno with the leaders of Adas' revolts. What accounts for his comparative success?

### Additional Readings:

John Darwin, *Britain and Decolonization: The Retreat from Empire in the Post-War World* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988).

Karl Deutsch, "The Growth of Nations," *World Politics*, 5:168-196.

E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Anthony J. S. Reid, *Indonesian National Revolution, 1945-50* (Longman: Hawthorn Australia, 1974)

### Fourteenth Week - "Nationalism": Ghana

December 11 - Discussion based on:

Lecture 27 - The Creation of a Nation

Lecture 28 - The Creation of a Nationalism

Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History* (abridgment of vols. vii-x by D. C. Somervell), pp. 144-88, 219-40. (London, OUP, 1957).

Charles Issawi, "Empire Builders, Culture Makers, and Culture Imprinters," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 20:177-196 (1989).

### Possible Discussion-Openers:

- 1) What are the really important differences between the rise of nationalism and the independence movements in Indonesia and Ghana?
- 3) From the perspective of the Seminar's discussions, what is good and what is bad in Toynbee's analysis?

### History 100.494

Helen Wheatley

Spring Semester, 1993

Johns Hopkins University

### MAKING THE DESERT BLOOM: The Western Encounter with Arid Lands

From the Great American Desert to the Australian Outback, arid lands presented one of the greatest challenges to Western settlement. With the global expansion of European empires, these lands were opened up to unprecedented levels of occupation and exploitation. The result brought lasting wealth to some regions and ecological disaster to others.

Through comparative analysis of modern efforts to conquer deserts and drylands, this course explores some of the classic themes of environmental history: The Western encounter with poorly understood ecological regimes; the social struggle for control over resources; and the cultural clash between Western concepts of land use and indigenous peoples' ways of sustaining

their livelihoods. It also examines the motives behind the settlement and transformation of arid regions, from imperialism to utopianism.

Students will take midterm (20% of grade) and final (35% of grade) exams. You will present a research paper (35%) toward the end of the term on a topic of your own choosing. Participation in discussion (10%) is also expected.

All books except Norris Hundley's *The Great Thirst* and Peter Wild's *Desert Reader* are available on reserve; several are also available for purchase.

### Reading Sources

- David Anderson and Richard Grove, eds. *Conservation in Africa* (Cambridge Univ, 1987)  
 Peter Goin, *Nuclear Landscapes* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press 1991)  
 Daniel Headrick, *The Tentacles of Progress* (New York: Oxford University Press 1988)  
 Norris Hundley Jr., *The Great Thirst: Californians and Water* (Univ. of California 1992)  
 Marilyn Lake, *The Limits of Hope: Soldier Settlement in Victoria* (Oxford U. Press 1987)  
 T.E. Lawrence, *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (Dorset Press, 1985)  
 William H. McNeill, *The Great Frontier* (Princeton University Press, 1983)  
 Robert Milliken, *No Conceivable Injury* (Ringwood, Victoria; New York, Penguin 1986)  
 Alan Moorehead, *Cooper's Creek* (Harper & Row, 1963)  
 Paul A. Olson, ed. *The Struggle for the Land: Indigenous Insight and Industrial Empire in the Semi-Arid World* (University of Nebraska, 1990)  
 Richard Slatta, *Gauchos and the Vanishing Frontier* (Univ. of Nebraska, 1983)  
 Peter Wild, *The Desert Reader* (University of Utah, 1991)  
 Donald Worster, *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (Oxford U. Press, 1979)

### Calendar

Jan. 25-27. Encountering the drylands

Judeo-Christian roots and the Mediterranean heritage  
 Rise of European Imperialism

Read: McNeill, *The Great Frontier*, pp. 3-61  
 Hundley, *The Great Thirst*, pp. 1-62  
 T. E. Lawrence, *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom* ch. 1-3 (optional)  
 Feb. 1-3; Feb. 8-10. Empire, pastoralism, and mining. Case Studies

Peru, Argentina, Mexico  
 South Africa, Australia

Read: Week Two: Slatta: *Gauchos and the Vanishing Frontier*  
 Week Three: Moorehead, *Cooper's Creek*

HOLIDAY February 15. Presidents' Day

Feb. 16-17; Feb. 22-24. The Changing Frontier: Agriculture and Settlement

Heightened Conflict with Indigenous Peoples  
 Learning to Use the Land: From the Great American Desert to the American Heartland  
 Discovery of the Problems of Soil and Climate in Marginal Lands: Lessons from the Dust Bowl and from Australia

Read: Week Four: Olson, *The Struggle for the Land*

Week Five: Worster, *Dust Bowl*

### MARCH 1 MIDTERM

March 2-3, March 8-10: The Irrigation Revolution

Changing Attitudes: From (Oriental) Despotism to Development  
 Irrigation and Empire in the Nineteenth Century; Case Study: The Punjab

Irrigation and Social Engineering: Utopias and Their Discontents;  
 Case Studies: Mormonism, Zionism, soldier settlements

Read: Week Six: Lake, *Limits of Hope*

Headrick, *Tentacles of Progress*, pp. 171-208

Week Seven: Hundley, *The Great Thirst*, 63-200

March 15-17: The New Hydraulic Civilization? River Valley Development

The American Century: TVA, Colorado River, Columbia Basin and Central Valley Project

The U.S. as Development Model: Irrigation in Morocco, Mexico, Africa

The Aswan Dam

Read: Hundley, *The Great Thirst*, pp. 201-298

### SPRING VACATION, March 22-28

March 29-31: Trouble in Paradise

Environmental Degradation; Case study: The tragedy of the Aral Sea.

The problem of Groundwater  
 Competition for Resources

Read: Hundley, *The Great Thirst*, pp. 299-422  
 PAPER PROPOSALS DUE MARCH 31

April 5-7: Wastelands

Environmentalism and the New Desert Aesthetic

Read: Wild, *The Desert Reader*

April 12-14: Deserts as Dumps: The Impact of Nuclear Science on Arid "Wastelands"

The American West

Australia

The Soviet Union

Read: "Edie and Darlene: The Story of the Aborigines," from Milliken, *No Conceivable Injury*

Goin, *Nuclear Landscapes*

April 19-21: Student presentations

April 26-28: Rethinking the Problem of Arid Lands: The Lessons of Africa

Drought and Famine in Africa: Changing Interpretations

The Problem of Conservation

Read: Anderson and Grove, *Conservation in Africa*, pp. 79-209; 293-344

May 3: review

**FINAL EXAM**

## CULTURE AND HISTORY: THE WORLD AND THE WEST

Lauren Benton  
New Jersey Institute of Technology

**A note on the sample syllabus that follows:** The following syllabus provides one version of the course, The World and the West. Instructors may design their own units and emphasize other themes. This syllabus is designed for a version of the course that emphasizes economic and cultural interactions. The first unit outlines the main patterns of shifting maritime trade involving Europeans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It shows the connections between Asian, African, European, and American trade, while also focusing attention on the emergence of plantation agriculture in the Americas. The second unit actually introduces two case studies of conquest and colonization: The Spaniards in the Americas, with special attention to the encounter with the Mayans in the Yucatan, and the British in India. Despite the different timing and nature of these early moves toward territorial empire, the cases provide, in particular, an opportunity to explore questions of cultural change. The monograph by Clendinnen is sophisticated yet accessible to undergraduates. It suggests that the imbalance of power erected enormous barriers to cross-cultural communication. In Indian history, in contrast, the materials and discussion offer an opportunity to investigate the central political and economic role of Westernizing elites, and the special problems of cultural "in-between-ness." Finally, in the last unit, we cover the changing economic relation between the West and other world

regions. Students write research papers on topics they choose within two rubrics: Case studies of agricultural production for Western markets in the nineteenth century, and case studies of new global commodities in the nineteenth century. For the first rubric, it is important to get a good distribution of research topics so that some students are writing about Asia, others about Africa, and still others on the Americas. For the second, geographical distribution is less important than representation of both studies of non-agricultural commodities produced outside the West (e.g., metals), and studies of the creation of markets in areas of formal and informal empire for industrial commodities produced in the West. Some discussion of the broad economic trends involved should take place early in the course, including in the first week, and students should be encouraged to read the articles from Week 13 in advance and as preparation for their research papers. Discussion in the last unit will revolve around attempts to choose/build a compelling analytic framework for understanding global economic change in the period (by now students have been introduced to a variety of perspectives).

I want to emphasize that there are many other ways to teach this course. I have done so using themes such as technological change, population movements, and environmental shifts. The amount of reading may obviously also be varied depending on the nature of the undergraduate population. The syllabus does not list lectures, but these form an essential part of the course by providing contextual background to the case studies, and occasionally by introducing material not covered in the readings. For example, the sample syllabus here includes no readings on China or Japan. Without attempting to "cover" their histories of interactions with the West, I would nevertheless bring these cases into lectures and discussion where appropriate, and I would make certain that they are chosen by a fair number of students for research papers and introduced into class discussion in that way. Similarly, I always include a lecture on European conquest in Africa, and African response, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, though there is no reading on nineteenth-century African colonialism in this version of the course.

**NJIT**

**HSS 212**

**Culture and History II: The World and the West**

### Course Objectives

This course examines the changing relationship between Europeans and the peoples they encountered in Africa, Asia, and the Americas, between around 1500 and 1900. The course does not aim at comprehensive coverage of particular periods or regional histories. We will instead focus on a series of case studies of global interactions and use them to evaluate various approaches to the study of global economic and cultural change.

This semester the course is organized around three broad topics. The content and themes of these units overlap, so that we will approach familiar historical materials and problems from different angles over the course of the semester. The topics are arranged, however, in loose chronological order. We will examine: (1) new currents of long-distance and overseas trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and their impact, with

special attention to trade in the South Atlantic; (2) the peculiar dynamics of territorial conquest and colonization, and the cultural meanings of "high" colonialism; and (3) the shifting economic relation between Europe and its overseas territories in the nineteenth century.

In addition to completing all reading and participating actively in class discussion, students will be required to write two papers. The second will be a research paper (about ten pages long) on a topic related to the third unit. Students will present their findings in class during the last two weeks of the term, and the class will compose a grid for comparing features of the case studies. There will also be several in-class map exercises, a mid-term examination, and a final.

### **Books and Readings**

Substantial sections of the following books will be used in the course. Books may be purchased in the campus bookstore, and are also on reserve, as are any articles or individual chapters listed as course readings. Reserve materials may be borrowed for up to two hours, or photocopied at student expense.

*The World and a Very Small Place in Africa*, Donald Wright

*The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex*, Philip Curtin

*Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680*, John Thornton

*Ambivalent Conquests*, Inga Clendinnen

*The Making of India: A Historical Survey*, Ranbir Vohra

*A Passage to India*, E. M. Forster

### **Course Schedule**

#### **Week 1: Introduction and Overview; and Introduction to Topic I**

Reading: John Cell, "Europe and the World in an Expanding World Economy, 1700-1850" (reserve)

#### **TOPIC I: Expanding Global Trade**

#### **Week 2: Strengths and Weaknesses of a World-Systems Perspective**

Reading: Wright, *The World and a Very Small Place in Africa*, Part I, Chapters 1-3

#### **Week 3: The Place of Europe in Asian Trade**

Reading: Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex*, Chapters 1-4

#### **Week 4: The Beginnings of an Atlantic World**

Reading:  
McNeill, "The Age of Gunpowder Empires 1450-1800" (reserve)  
Curtin, "The European Entry into the Trade of Maritime Asia" (reserve)

Andre Gunder Frank, "World Division of Labor and Balances of Trade" (reserve)

#### **Week 5: Africa and the Slave Trade**

Reading:  
Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, Part I  
Curtin, *The Rise and Fall*, Chapters 9,10  
Wright, *The World and a Very Small Place*, Chapter 4

#### **Week 6: The Atlantic World: New Cultures, New Worlds**

Reading:  
Thornton, Chapters 5-10  
Curtin, Chapters 6,8

#### **TOPIC II: Territorial Rule and Colonial Identities**

#### **Week 7: Introduction to Topic II: The Shock of Conquest**

Reading:  
Curtin, Chapter 5  
Portilla, *Broken Spears* (selections on reserve)

#### **Week 8: Spaniards and Mayans**

Reading: Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests*, Chapters 1-5  
(Mid-term examination)

#### **Week 9: Mayans and Spaniards**

Reading: Clendinnen, Chapters 6-10

#### **Week 10: Transition to Territorial Rule in India**

Reading: Vohra, *The Making of India*, Chapters 1-3

#### **Week 11: "High" Colonialism in India**

Reading: Vohra, Chapters 4-6

#### **Week 12: Colonial Identities**

Reading: Forster, *A Passage to India*

#### **TOPIC III: The Nineteenth-Century World Economy**

#### **Week 13: Introduction to Topic 3**

Reading:  
Morawska and Spohn, "Moving Europeans in the Globalizing World" (reserve)  
Hobsbawm, "Britain in the World Economy" (reserve)  
Wolf, "The New Laborers" (reserve)  
Barrett Brown, "The Economics of Imperialism" (reserve)  
Frank, "Development and Underdevelopment" (reserve)

#### **Week 14:**

Student presentations: Nineteenth-century plantation agriculture case studies

#### **Week 15:**

Student presentations: Global commodities and markets case studies.

### **THE MAKING OF THE MODERN WORLD PARTS ONE AND TWO University of California, Santa Cruz**

History 121A/221A  
MWF 9:30-10:40 AM

Prof. David Sweet

#### **The Making of the Modern World Part I: Before the Industrial Revolution, 1400-1763**

This upper-division course is the first in a two-quarter sequence on the transformation of life everywhere in the world that has been wrought by human beings during the past six centuries.

Beginning in the "early modern" period on which this first quarter is focused, we have brought about a communications revolution that has helped to make many "worlds" one. An explosion of technology has given us a leg up in the age-old struggle with the rest of nature for subsistence and material comfort, while at the same time vastly increasing our capacity for wanton destruction. The mushrooming city has become the center of political, cultural, and economic power on every continent; and it has by now absorbed into itself most of humanity. The numbers of people trying to survive and make a living on every corner of the earth have increased exponentially, as has the consumption of goods and services by a privileged minority. All of these changes have both fueled and been fueled by the rise of a capitalist world economic system that has dazzled us with its ability to organize the production and distribution of goods and services, and to generate wealth — while at the same time broadening and deepening the inequality that separates human beings everywhere.

Europeans have played a large role in all of these developments, to such a degree that until recently it has been customary for the (mostly European) historians of every country to think of these six centuries as the age of the "expansion of Europe" (and more recently of the Euro-Americans). We will of course be learning quite a bit about the enterprising Europeans and their colonial adventures and predations around the globe during the next twenty weeks; but our main objective at every stage will be not so much to affirm the "impact" of Europe on the world as to explore the patterns of interaction between peoples.

During this first quarter, after taking stock of the state of the world in the fifteenth century, we will be studying the interactions of Europeans with the peoples first of maritime Asia, then of West Africa and America, and then of the less populated Great Forest regions of the globe, between the "voyages of discovery" of the 15th and 16th centuries and the world war of the mid-eighteenth century. Through that war, fought in many theaters, Europe shook the world on the eve of the American and French industrial revolutions, which were the pivotal events that would usher in the "modern period" with which this course will be concerned next quarter.

Our method in dealing with both readings and lectures, by and large, will be to dig out and seek to understand a few of the larger social, cultural, economic, and biological processes that were at work in the transformation of the early modern world—not by discussing them in the abstract, but by examining closely a few particular cases drawn from the histories of widely divergent peoples and places. This method is comparative: each story will provide us with a detailed picture of experience in one part of the world that can be useful in helping to understand experiences elsewhere. It may also serve to remind us throughout that the real subject matter of history is neither a collection of "cold facts" nor a body of disembodied theory. Rather, it is the lived experience of real peoples involved in real struggles with real successes and failures, struggles that are in themselves vitally interesting to anyone who seeks to understand the human struggles of today.

We will see, too, that whenever and wherever these struggles have been waged, and no matter who has waged them, they can be examined closely and both learned about and learned from

today. This can be accomplished by anybody who has the patience to read or listen to their stories, to think about them carefully, and to discuss them with friends. That kind of learning requires a real stretch of the mind for most Americans today — blinded as we are by our national disdain for history and geography, by our shameless ethnocentrism, and by the withholding from us or distortion of information by the mass media and the sterile discourse of plutocracy. But those who engage in it come to understand little by little that the world's history is all of a piece, and that our own struggles in late twentieth-century California, and those that await us in the new millennium, are as much a part of world history as any others.

**Required Readings** (all but the last two of these are on 24-hour reserve at McHenry Library; those with an \* are available at the Bay Tree Bookstore)

Sections on the period 1400-1750 in a world history textbook (list to be given out in class).

- Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*, chs. 1-10
- Jonathan Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*
- John Thornton, *Africa & Africans in the Making of the Modern World*
- Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640*
- Richard White, *The Middle Ground. Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*, chs. 1-7

At least one individual life story from the early modern period (list to be given out in class). At least one good film or work of fiction focused on the early modern period (lists to be given out in class).

**Graduate students:** All of the above, except the life story and film or work of fiction, and:

Eric Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History*

Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *Rethinking World History*

Selected journal articles to be distributed in the graduate section

One volume of the following five:

Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System, Vol. I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the 16th Century*; or *Vol II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750*; or Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th C.*, *Vol. I: The Structures of Everyday Life*, or *Vol. II: The Wheels of Commerce*; or *Vol. III: The Perspectives of the World*

Weekly reading assignments will be determined within the graduate seminar section itself.

**Serendipity:**

This critical dimension of an undergraduate or graduate education is often neglected by students; but it is invaluable for the study particularly of history, and, if you like, you can give it a serious workout in this course. For those not familiar with the

word, the *American Heritage Dictionary* defines it as follows: "The faculty of making fortunate and unexpected discoveries by accident." (The word comes to us from a Persian fairy tale, and the fact that we use it in English today is itself a sign of the early modern global interactions between peoples with which this course is concerned.) Such discoveries make you feel as if you're "doing your own thing" in the study of history, and they will whet your appetite for further study.

The best way to get your serendipity sharpened up during this quarter will be to spend a half-hour to an hour a week of your McHenry Library time simply browsing in the places where the materials for early modern world history are to be found. One such place is the extensive bibliography for graduate students that is on reserve for this course. Pick a few titles that seem promising to you, and simply find the books and handle them for a while. Another place is the G section of the stacks, on the ground floor by the Map and Slide Rooms, where the collections of Early European travel accounts are kept — especially the fantastic blue-bound collection published by the Hakluyt Society in London. Explore also the bound volumes of scholarly journals, especially those focused on our subject, such as the *Journal of World History*, *Comparative Studies in Society & History*, *Past & Present*, the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, the *Journal of African History*, *Modern Asian Studies*, the *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, and many others, the current issues of which are shelved near the reserve desk. When you make a "fortunate and unexpected discovery" during one of these exercises, be sure to report on it in discussion section.

#### **Written Assignments:**

- 1) A one-page prep sheet for each week's discussion section meeting on the required readings and lectures, and occasional quizzes in section. Instructions for both to be provided in section.
- 2) A 3-5 page review essay written insofar as possible from a non-European perspective on either Spence, Matteo Ricci, or another book concerning the world of early modern Maritime Asia which you found on the grad student browsing list (due not later than Friday, October 31 for those who have chosen to do assignment #3 in November), or on Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples*, White, *The Middle Ground*, or another book from the grad student list (due not later than Wednesday, November 26 for those who have done #3 in October).
- 3) A 10-15 p. research paper on a finite topic in the history either of the Indian Ocean and Maritime Asia (due Friday, October 31) OR of the Atlantic World or Great Forests (due Monday, December 1). Students are urged to write this paper on a topic for which they have not had any previous coursework. Lists of feasible topics for each region will be given out in class, or you can pick one on your own. Be sure to go and talk with David Sweet about your topic as soon as you've chosen it, to get some assistance with focusing and finding sources, before undertaking the work. Papers must follow the stylistics guidelines laid out in \*Rampolia, *Pocket Guide to Writing in History*.

OR, a bibliography of ten published individual life stories (books or articles) from the early modern period of world history (1400-1763) with which this course is concerned, items not included in the list to be given out in class, and which you have

annotated for the student of world history with a 250-word page for each item. No more than half of these lives may be European.

OR, an annotated filmography of five historical films not included in the list to be given out in class, which you have seen and think would be useful for the teaching of this course, with a 2-page (500) word argument for each.

OR, an annotated bibliography of five historical novels not included on the list to be given out in class, which you have read and think would be useful for the teaching of this course, with a 2-page (500 word) argument for each.

4) A take-home final exam based on the required readings and lectures. The exam (questions will be given out in class on Mon., December 1, and due Mon., December 8) will ask you to write 500-750 word, 2-3 page, responses to each of three essay questions, with several choices for each (one on Maritime Asia, one on the Atlantic World and the Great Forests, and one on the world as a whole).

Note: The final will be optional for those who have attended and participated actively in 90% or more of both the lectures and the discussion sections, and who have handed in all written assignments on time.

#### **Graduate students:** In lieu of the above:

- 1) Four short (3-5 p.) essays on questions raised by our readings and seminar discussions.
- 2) A 15-25 p. research paper on a topic in the early modern history of the region in which your studies are focused, which explores the possibilities for situating that history in a world-historical context. OR, a 15-25 p. review essay on a body of literature in early modern world history, to be worked out in consultation with David Sweet before you embark on it. Due Monday, December 1.

#### **Course Schedule:**

9/26 F Introduction. Go to the Reserve Desk, choose a world history text from the list to be given out in class, and spend a couple of hours reading quickly through the sections on the period 1400-1770 to get a sense of how it is treated, in preparation for your first section meeting on Monday. Plan to revisit this text, or another from the list, towards the end of the quarter.

Week I: The 15th-Century World. Sections will discuss your initial impression of the treatment of world history, 1400-1770, in the several textbooks and world histories. Students planning to do Written Assignment #3 (research papers) on Maritime Asiantopics during the month of October, choose topics right away and see David Sweet for a "feasibility check" and bibliographical suggestions. Those planning to do their research papers on Atlantic World or Great Forest topics in November, begin now working on Written Assignment #2 (the review essay). Read for discussion in Week 2: Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade*, chs. 2&3; and Thornton, *Africa & Africans*, chs. 1-3.

9/29 M Demography

10/1 W Political Economy

10/3 F Technology

**Week 2: Africa's Encounter with the Iberians (15th-17th c.).** Sections will discuss Curtin, chs. 2-3 and Thornton, chs. 1-3. Get busy with research paper or review essay. Read for Week 3: Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade*, chs. 4-9.

10/6 M The Atlantic Islands  
10/8 W Zambezia  
10/10 F Ethiopia

**Week 3: Maritime Asia & the Portuguese (16th c.).** Sections discuss Curtin's treatment of the trading world of Asia in *Cross-Cultural Trade*, chs. 4-9. Complete research for long paper, or write the review essay. Read for Week 4: Jonathan Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*, chs. 1-5.

10/13 M Goa  
10/15 W Malacca  
10/17 F The Moluccas

**Week 4: The Encounter of Religions (16th & 17th c.).** Sections discuss Spence, Matteo Ricci, chs. 1-5. Read for Week 5: the remainder of Spence, Matteo Ricci. Write research paper on the world of early modern Maritime Asia, or complete your essay.

10/20 M India  
10/22 W Japan  
10/24 F Luzon

**Week 5: Factories & Forts (17th c.).** Sections discuss the remainder of Ricci. Those who did research papers in October, choose book for the review essay (Written Assignment #2). Those who have the research paper (Written Assignment #3) to do in November, choose your topic and talk with David Sweet about it right away. Read for Week 6: Thornton, *Africa & Africans*, chs. 4-10.

10/27 M Sri Lanka (Ceylon)  
10/29 W Java

10/31 F Formosa. Last day to hand in research paper on Maritime Asia, or a review essay on Matteo Ricci or another book on the world of early modern Maritime Asia.

**Week 6: The Appropriation of America (16th c.).** Sections discuss Thornton, *Africa & Africans*, chs. 4-10. Carry out research for Written Assignment #3. Read for Week 7: Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples*.

11/3 M Reconnaissance & depopulation  
11/5 W "Conquest"  
11/7 F Settlement & metizaje

**Week 7: The Reorganization of Production (16th & 17th c.).** Sections discuss Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples*. Finish research for Written Assignment #3. Read for Week 8: White, *The Middle Ground*, chs. 1-2.

11/10 M Silver mining at Potosí  
11/12 W Gold mining in New Granada  
11/14 F Manufacturing in Quito

**Week 8: The Encounter of Religions (16th & 17th c.).** Sections discuss White, *The Middle Ground*, chs. 1-2. Start writing on research papers. Read for Week 9: Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade*, ch. 10 & White, *The Middle Ground*, chs. 3-7.

11/17 M Guatemala  
11/19 W Florida  
11/21 F Paraguay

**Week 9: Forest Peoples & World Markets (16th-18th c.).** Sections discuss Curtin, ch. 10, and White, *Middle Ground*, chs. 3-7. Finish writing either review essays or research papers. Read for week 10: Mintz, *Sweetness & Power*.

11/24 M Amazonia  
11/26 W Siberia. Last day to hand in review essays on Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples*, White, *The Middle Ground*, or another book on the early modern history of the Atlantic World or Great Forests.  
11/28 F Holiday (Thanksgiving)

**Week 10: The 18th-Century World.** Sections discuss Mintz, *Sweetness & Power*.

12/1 M The world's impact on Europe. Last day to hand in research papers on the Atlantic World or Great Forests. Hand out essay questions for final exam  
12/3 W The world and the origins of capitalism  
12/5 F The Seven Years' War and a "New World Order"

Hand in final exams not later than 5 p.m., Monday, December 8.

History 121B  
Mr. Burke

Winter 1998  
12:30 MWF

### The Making of the Modern World Part Two: The Modern Age, 1750-1950

This course covers the history of the world and its interactions with the West from 1750 to 1950. There is no prerequisite, although some knowledge of modern history is desirable. By 1800, Europe was on the verge of global hegemony as a result of far-reaching changes deriving from the industrial and democratic revolutions. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed the export of this dual revolution to the rest of the world. One result, despite continual resistance, was the establishment of an international division of labor and the incorporation of most world societies into the world economy.

A second result was the unprecedented expansion of white settlement in the Americas, Southern Africa, and Australia, and the division of the globe by the chief European states into spheres of influence, and formal and informal empires. How this occurred, and to what effect, forms the subject matter of this course.

Two concepts, nationalism and imperialism, provide us with a way of discussing the interaction of the world and the West during the past two centuries. What is imperialism? What was

its impact upon the old societies of Asia and Africa? What is nationalism? How did world societies seek to resist Western domination, and how were they eventually able to achieve independence?

**Required Written Work:** There will be weekly quizzes on the assigned readings, plus two map quizzes on world geography.

- 1) A 4-6 page paper on a topic to be assigned. Due: January 23
- 2) A 4-6 page paper on a topic to be assigned. Due: February 23
- 3) **Either a take-home final or a term paper** on an approved topic (must go through two drafts). Due: March 16

### Required Reading

The following required books are available for purchase in the Bay Tree Bookstore. All are in paperback. There is also REQUIRED READER.

Peter N. Stearns, et al., *World Civilizations, Vol II, 1450 to Present* (Harper Collins)

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (Verso)

Eric Foner, *Nothing But Freedom* (Louisiana State University Press)

George Frederickson, *White Supremacy* (Oxford)

Kenneth Pyle, *The Making of Modern Japan*, 2nd ed. (D.C. Heath)

Alfred Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism* (Cambridge)

Rabindranth Tagore, *The Home and the World* (Penguin)

### Schedule of Readings and Lectures (\*=in Class Reader)

Jan. 7 The Dual Revolution: Industrial and Democratic  
Lectures: The Dual Revolution: A Global Perspective  
Revolutions in the Americas

Readings: \*Curtin, *Plantation Complex*, chs. 11-12

Stearns et al., *World Civilizations II*, 172-191

Also: Hodgson, *Rethinking World History*, ch. 1

Jan 12 Slavery & Abolition in the Atlantic World  
Lectures: The Haitian Revolution in Retrospect

Jamaica and the Old South Compared

Emancipation and the Struggle for Freedom

Readings: Foner, *Nothing But Freedom*, entire book

Stearns et al., *World Civilizations II*, ch. 27

Also: Wolf, *Europe and People Without History*, ch. 9  
Thomas Holt, *The Problem of Freedom*, selected chs.

Jan. 19 White Settler Colonies: South Africa and the Old South  
Lectures: Martin Luther King Holiday (no class)  
South Africa as a Settler Colony

Herrenvolk Democracy in S. Africa and the Old South

Readings: Frederickson, *White Supremacy*, ch. 5

Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*, chs. 6-9

Also: Frederickson, *White Supremacy*, ch. 5

Stearns et al., *World Civilizations II*, 192-197

Jan 26 Self-Strengthening: Turkey and Japan

Lectures: The Ottoman Empire

The Meiji Restoration

The Liberal Project in Turkey and Japan

Read: Pyle, *Making of Modern Japan*, chs. 5-8

\*Davison, *Turkey*, chs. 5-6

Stearns et al., *World Civilizations II*, chs. 32-33

Also: Pyle, *Making of Modern Japan*, chs. 1-4

\*Davison, *Turkey*, chs. 1-4

Feb. 2 Latin America: Progress and Cultural Conflict

Lectures: Liberalism in Mexico: The *Reforma* and the *Porfiriato*

The Mexican Revolution

The Liberal Project in Latin America in Retrospect

Read: Stearns et al., *World Civilizations II*, 31, 38

\*Wolf, *Peasant Wars of the 20th Century*, "Mexico"

Also: Burns, *Poverty or Progress*, chs. 1-2, 7

Wolf, *Europe & TPWH*, ch. 11

Feb. 9 The Culture of Colonialism

Lectures: The Culture of Colonialism

Neo-Europes and Ecological Imperialism

Slide Show: Orientalism and Empire

Read: Stearns et al., *World Civilizations II*, ch. 30

\*Margaret Strobel, "Gender, Sex, and Empire"

Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*, chs. 10-12

Also: Nicholas Dirks, *Colonialism and Culture*

Feb. 16 Liberal Nationalism: Theory and Practice

Lectures: President's Day Holiday Exchange Day: Feb. 17

Technology and British Imperialism in India

Nationalisms in India to 1914

Indian Nationalisms in Perspective

Read: \*Headrick, *Tools of Empire*, chs. 8-13

Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, chs. 1-5

Tagore, *The Home and the World* (entire book)

Also: Stearns et al., *World Civilizations II*, chs. 37, 39

Mar. 2 World War II and the Revolt Against the West

Lectures: World War II & the Revolt Against the West

Understanding the Chinese Revolution

The Cold War and the Developmental State

Read: \*Wolf, "China," in *Peasant Wars*

Stearns et al., *World Civilizations II*, chs. 40-41

Mar. 9 The Years of Crisis (1975-1995)

Lectures: Economic Globalization

The World Environment at Risk

California Society: A Microcosm of Global Change

Read: \*A. J. McMichael, *Planetary Overload*

\*Jeremy Brecher, "The Dynamics of Globalization"

Mar. 16 World History and the Next Century

Lecture: World History and Responsible Citizenship

Read: Stearns et al., *World Civilizations II*, ch. 42

that Phil Curtin is flexible about subject matter, but firm about method. He has always had a very clear and straightforward message about teaching world history: Teach comparatively.

What is comparative method? The method is empirical. To be more specific, it is based on inductive reasoning. In a course taught in the Curtin style, you learn to generalize from case studies, moving from the particular to the general. As an environmental historian, I think of this as a natural history method, as opposed to a laboratory method. With natural history, you refine your observation skills. You learn to search for patterns in what you observe. If you have seen them aright, these patterns might lead you to some useful theories about what caused them to develop. This is quite different from a deductive laboratory approach where you start out with a theory of causation and then develop experiments to test the theory.

Phil Curtin would argue that his inductive method is properly called comparative history. As he has explained elsewhere, his World and the West course uses comparative method on a number of his favorite subjects: cross-cultural trade, plantation societies, frontiers, cultural assimilation, and responses to colonialism. In his introduction to the book, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*,<sup>2</sup> which was drawn from The World and the West course, Phil Curtin spelled out his approach very clearly and simply. Historical work is comparative if it abstracts particular phenomena by defining a comparative subject. The method of abstraction is to observe similarities and differences.

### ***The world dimension is added by making sure that the study is not ethnocentric.***

The world dimension is added by making sure that the study is not ethnocentric. The abstracted subject itself (such as the plantation complex), rather than the historical experience of any particular society, defines the point of view. One of Phil Curtin's preferred techniques for escaping ethnocentrism is to focus upon cross-cultural phenomena. He also prefers to look at historical

change over long periods of time. Like the cross-cultural approach, the long time frame is not necessary for doing world history, but it is certainly effective.

The comparative method of teaching or research calls for a thematic design. For this reason, I have found the approach more amenable to upper division courses than to introductory surveys. The course must be defined by the comparative questions rather than by other criteria — usually some form of cultural literacy — which most often motivate institutions to offer introductory history courses in the first place. There are many reasons why a redesign toward a truly comparative course might not be possible at the introductory level, including the weight of tradition, the politics of the survey as a breadth or core offering which helps sustain the department, or the logistics of teaching large classes. This is not to say that a comparative introductory world history course is not possible or desirable. But a radical redesign of curriculum toward comparative questions may prove a hard sell.

In my own teaching situations, I have found it much easier to use The World and the West as a model for upper-division courses. Advanced courses are more open to structuring around topical themes than many introductory courses. Thematic courses such as family history lend themselves easily to comparisons across time and across cultures. For example, I once taught an environmental history course which explored forest use comparatively. I used the inductive comparative method of working with case studies. My students did not know that they were taking a world history class.

Even regional history courses can be taught by structuring them around comparative themes. In the history of the American west, a subject that I have taught from time to time, I find that the comparative structure is an excellent way to escape ethnocentrism — one of Curtin's criteria for doing world history. I have been interested for some time in designing a world comparative approach to the history of the Pacific Northwest. My environmental history course looking at forests was an experiment in

this process, since my main goal was to help my Seattle students understand the historical dynamics of this critical industry. The course led us as far afield as Africa, Japan, and India. With the fur trade, true to the open spirit of Phil Curtin's method, my research has led me to such seemingly unrelated matters as the lives of the Vikings and imperialism in China, among many other things. Let us see how comparison can get us there.

If comparison is the fundamental method of world history, what does it mean to look for similarities and differences? Again, following the inductive method, it means that we use cases to look for patterns in history, and for variations in those patterns. To accomplish this, we create an abstract tool, a filter for our observations, by defining a subject area. The filter creates a model of history, rather than a mirror of history.

### ***The filter creates a model of history, rather than a mirror of history.***

By definition, the filter excludes many historically important events, letting in only those that are germane to the subject. The tradeoff for this loss is that we are better able to see how a place (in the case of regional history) fits into a wider variety of historical patterns, depending on which comparative lens we use.

Because I am interested in the Pacific Northwest, it makes sense for me to use a comparative subject such as forestry. Another good subject for the region is the fur trade. Phil Curtin has tackled this himself in *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*. He has pointed out that the North American fur trade was part of an expansion of the world fur trade which also included the boreal forests of Siberia. The American and Siberian fur trades can be compared very fruitfully. Areas of broad similarity between the two regions include the following, according to Curtin:

**Disease gradient.** Bearers of luxurious fur, especially martens, otter, and other members of the family of mustelidae, exist mainly in the taiga, or boreal zone, where human populations have tended

to be sparse and relatively isolated. Thus, the fur trade was also an interaction between the high-disease and low-disease areas of the intercommunicating zone. This had profound significance for the historical dynamics of the fur trade.

**Depletion of fur-bearing animals.** Fur animals were "open access" resources. A pattern developed of essentially "mining" the animals and moving on, rather than conserving them. Phil Curtin himself does not go into great detail on this matter, but William Cronon made the good point, in his book on the settlement of New England called *Changes in the Land*, that incorporation into the world trade system meant that a finite resource — the local animal population — was used to supply a relatively infinite market demand.<sup>3</sup> This was the basis of the "mining" dynamic.

**Types of animals exploited.** In the Eurasian taiga, sable was the most valuable target. Luxurious pelts were deliberately associated with nobility, as shown by the passage of sumptuary laws in European countries restricting the wearing of certain types of furs to the noble classes. The sea otter filled a similar luxury role in China. It is very important to look at the types of animals and the reasons why they were valued for the long-distance trade. In doing so — although again, Curtin did not take it this far in his own study — we find an important connection between fur and fashion as a display of status. Borrowing a page from Sidney Mintz's *Sweetness and Power*,<sup>4</sup> we can trace fashion trends in fur as a dimension of the expansion of the world trade over time: merchants, the middle class, and finally even the lower classes entered the fur-consuming market as trade grew in the pelts of cheaper and more numerous "critters" such as squirrel, beaver, wild hares, and muskrats.

**Role of tools/technology in the spread of hunting and trapping.** Curtin observes that Europeans introduced iron and steel tools to the Americas, making it easier to kill animals and changing indigenous cultures in the process. To my knowledge, no one has done a study of the changes in the technology of

Siberian hunting and the impact of technology on the "small peoples," as the Russians call indigenous societies, except perhaps investigation of the use of guns. I will note that Eurasian boreal and sub-arctic peoples were not completely isolated, and I have seen reference, for example, to an ancient north-south trade exchanging finely crafted steel harpoons for walrus-tusk ivory. At any rate, technology gained importance for everyone in the eighteenth century and afterward, and transportation technology was especially critical. It provided access, especially to the maritime mammals. It lowered costs, and pulled the boreal and sub-arctic zones into a tighter feedback loop with global markets by creating denser networks of communication.

This short list of similarities is enough to illustrate the unique powers of comparative methodology to both broaden and refine our view of the past. When applied to regional history, its value comes expanding the range of perspectives that can move us, especially, beyond the relatively narrow scope of nation-histories.

My concern about the teaching of Northwestern history as regional history was first aroused by the simple observation that while the maritime fur trade is of enormous historical significance to the Pacific Northwest, the subject of fur is usually treated as part of a story that I call, in shorthand, "White Men Move West." It centers the Pacific Northwest fur trade in the experience of European migration, starting with the so-called "mountain men" who followed the inland rivers and trails from east to west in a pattern similar to the west-to-east expansion of Russian traders into Siberia. This perspective is not averse to comparison. The pattern linking the fur trade to settler colonialism can be found in both North America and Siberia. Yet while I believe that settler colonialism might make a great third theme for a course on the Pacific Northwest, it is not the best way to view the fur trade. Precisely because my starting point is the region itself, I know that the settler colonialism model leaves out too much fur trade history. If we make the fur trade our starting point, we see a lot more of what really happened in the region.

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The "fur trade" question is better than "settler colonialism"....

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The "fur trade" question is better than "settler colonialism," because it gives better account to the role of maritime trade. In particular, it unlocks the communication networks of the Pacific, patterns that are virtually invisible when we view North American history as a "westward ho" sweep across the continent from the Atlantic side. The most interesting result of using the comparative fur trade model is that it actually puts the Pacific Northwest at the heart of the story during the Pacific maritime phase. By contrast, the settler colonialism model keeps the Pacific Northwest far out on the periphery.

In brief, my own view of the fur trade complex is this: A significant cross-cultural trade in fur and marine mammal ivory developed in conjunction with the general rise of long-distance trade. In essence, the exploitation of human beings (slaves) and animals were the means by which the northern boreal zone was able to enter into world trade networks. The fur trade intersected with the Silk Road — walrus tusk ivory was used to make the hilts of Persian scimitars, for example — and with networks of trade in Europe which would become increasingly important over time. The Volga River basin, which ultimately linked the Silk Road to the Baltic Sea, was the first major arterial of the long distance fur trade. (This is where the Vikings enter the story, when they lay claim to a share of this trade network.) As world trade expanded and intensified, so too did the range and intensity of exploitation of boreal zone and sub-arctic animals. The development of maritime trade created new dimensions of the fur trade: first in the form of Atlantic and Pacific trade networks, and second in the nature of animals opened up to exploitation and introduction to the world market, notably the North American beaver, the northern fur seal, and the sea otter.

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The Pacific Northwest enters the story as a nexus of the world maritime fur trade.

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## THE WORLD, THE WEST, AND THE CORE CURRICULUM

### Teaching Comparative Methods in Introductory Courses

Lauren Benton  
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Before talking in some detail about my efforts to adapt The World and the West course to the core undergraduate curriculum, I would first like to talk about the aspects of the course that I think are most innovative and important. As Curtin taught it — at least during the years I was a graduate student at Johns Hopkins — the course was divided into two semesters, a first semester spanning roughly from 1400 to 1800, and a second semester covering material from 1800 to the present. The course never had “coverage” as its goal; that is, it was not designed to be a comprehensive world history course, but rather a course organizing case studies grouped around one large theme — the interactions of the West with the “rest” of the world — and a set of smaller themes, for example, the formation of the South Atlantic system, or colonial resistance.

Anyone who pays attention to cultural politics can readily imagine possible objections to such an approach. The World and the West does not cover Western history closely enough to satisfy those who think that Western civilization should form the core of undergraduate teaching in history. And because the course is organized around Western interactions with the regions outside the West, the course might also be labeled as reproducing a Eurocentric bias with a different twist. The course does not treat the history of any world region independently of its relation to the West. In some cases, this emphasis is potentially distorting. For example, the proportion of Asian trade that passed through European hands in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries was only a very small part of a much larger Asian economy. But in The World and the West, the focus would be precisely on this piece of the Asian trade and its development, even though the larger context of the region’s economy would receive careful comment.

I do think, however, that these dangers

— belittling the achievements of the West or incorporating other regions into a Western-centered narrative — are offset by the benefits of the unifying focus on Western and non-Western relations, particularly during the period from the fifteenth through the late-nineteenth centuries. The emphasis on Western and non-Western interactions serves as an organizing rubric that is truly global, but that highlights regional interconnections and comparisons. The approach thus avoids the sense of overload that students may get from global history courses that move from one world region to another without a unifying theme or narrative. Further, the approach allows one to build into the course analytical exercises of comparison and contrast. These comparisons can be used to juxtapose regional histories or they can illuminate changes in the same region over time. Finally, I have found that The World and the West rubric can be adapted to incorporate different substantive emphases. One may stress economic shifts and cultural change, as Philip Curtin liked to do, or one may also incorporate unifying themes such as political conflict, institutional development, technological change, or biological and environmental trends.

Although Professor Curtin taught The World and the West mainly as an advanced undergraduate elective or as the basis for graduate seminars, the flexibility of the course and its compatibility with lessons in comparative analysis make it extremely useful as a lower-level undergraduate history course. Of course, debates about the virtues and biases of the course become more heated when it is made part of the core curriculum and occupies the place of either Western civilization or more traditional world history courses.

I would like to report to you briefly on one effort to establish The World and the West as a centerpiece of the undergraduate core curriculum at a small, public-research university, the New Jersey Institute of Technology. I will argue that it is not only possible to use The World and the West as a core undergraduate course, but that the course has great advantages over many alternatives. I will also caution,

however, that its adoption will not always be possible and carries with it some new, though not insurmountable, problems.

In 1992, I joined the history faculty of a joint department at the New Jersey Institute of Technology and Rutgers University, Newark. I found that at NJIT, where I did the undergraduate portion of my teaching, all students were required to take a two-part course called Culture and History, which had traditionally been taught as Western Civilization I and II, enlivened by the inclusion of a few novels in each semester. The course was even taught with a prescribed text, then Spielvogel’s *Western Civilization*. If any of you are familiar with this book, you will know that it is an impressive tome, which could easily be classified as a dangerous weapon if dropped from a height of even a few feet. I soon discovered that no matter how I tried to enliven the course, the students were nearly hysterical with boredom. I had already taught The World and the West to undergraduates at the University of Washington at Bothell, and though I introduced the course at NJIT as an elective, it seemed to me infinitely preferable as a core course to what was being offered.

Over the next two years, a faculty committee in the humanities and social sciences, which I chaired, met to reform the core curriculum. After considerable debate, and I believe near-violence on several occasions, we agreed to phase out Western Civilization and in its place introduce three courses, any two of which could be selected by an undergraduate to fulfill university requirements. The first of the trio was The Pre-Modern World; the second, The World and the West, 1400 to 1900; and the third, The Twentieth-Century World. Clearly one of our objectives was to make the curriculum more global. But we went farther than this in outlining the objectives for these courses. We wanted to design the courses in such a way that there would be some continuity in structure and approach, but not specific guidelines for coverage. We thus decided to emphasize flexibility in the design of the courses and the shared goal of all the courses of teaching comparative analysis.

The design of each course, we

nined, would be similar in ure. A first unit of one to three s would offer a condensed view of the period under study. would be followed by three units, modules, of several weeks each, bring different sub-topics. gnments would stress comparisons ss the sub-units. Instructors would free to design and select their own s, would be encouraged to use ographs and readings packets rather

textbooks, and would be ouraged to choose overarching mes for the courses. Thus, a entieth-Century World course might ve "war and revolution" as a unifying eric and cover modules on World War the Russian Revolution, and the war in etnam.

Now, I know full well that this makes me of you squirm in your seats. What bout coverage, you say? Aren't we mply multiplying the ranks of college aduates who don't know who Rousseau was, or who cannot follow ews coverage of Indonesia because ey cannot begin to find it on a map? I would reply that these shortcomings are ot going to disappear. But in my xperience, traditional textbook pproaches to teaching, even if done with the best world history textbooks, lso leave students with very little information that sticks and, what is worse, run the danger of leaving them minspired and critically challenged.

As a veteran of Philip Curtin's class, I took initial responsibility for training instructors to teach The World and the West as a core course. My own versions of the course, which I continued to modify as I have taught it, condense the time at the beginning of the course devoted to an overview of Western and non-Western interactions during the period but do call attention to major shifts in global interactions that will be revisited in the case studies. I have used a number of different units, but a typical course might include one on European trade in Asia from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries; a second on the Spanish empire in the Americas; and a third on so-called high colonialism of the nineteenth century, with a special emphasis on British colonialism in Africa. In each unit, I balance more general materials with readings of

monographs that cover a particular case study. Across all these cases, I choose to focus especially on culture change and on indigenous reactions to European expansion, although in some semesters I have experimented with other unifying themes such as technological change, and economic development. In addition to teaching the course myself, I compiled a folder of syllabi, photocopied materials, suggested readings, and some lecture notes and made these available to other faculty members and instructors.

I do not have any reliable way of judging the success of this core course, nor of the new global curriculum as a whole. My own experiences have been overwhelmingly positive. The World and the West course, I have found, produces in some students experiences of near-epiphany. They begin to see the colonial background as a continuing influence on world events. They spend a good deal of time studying maps of places they perhaps knew little or nothing about. The comparative format provides them with obvious and well-structured opportunities for writing about course materials, and it allows me to teach specific methods for formulating arguments and utilizing supporting evidence. I have remained unconcerned about issues of coverage. I use general histories and my own lectures strategically in the course to provide context to the case studies so that students do not come away with a purely idiosyncratic or selective view of world history in these centuries.

Having said this I should also note a few reservations I have about the experiment. Part of the benefit of the flexible course design is that it allows instructors to teach the aspects of Western experience outside the West that most interest them. At the same time, the lack of standardization means that the course can veer substantially away from even this loose rubric. In preparation for coming here, I collected and reviewed the syllabi for all the sections of the course that have been taught since its introduction as a core course in 1994. In most cases, the thrust of the course seems consistent despite variation. One faculty member incorporates a unit on Ottoman expansion; another, an Americanist, devotes the middle of the course to the

American Revolution, then places the Revolution in a global context; a third begins with a unit on "the impact of European penetration of Central and West Africa, especially the Congo region from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries." Most of the syllabi look interesting and coherent. But in a few cases, one wonders whether the unifying theme of the world and the West would be apparent to students at all. Some variations veer toward reproducing either traditional Western civilization courses with simply greater attention to global interactions or more standard world history formats, with a comparative civilization approach. (For example, one course description reads, "This course will attempt to create a balanced picture of human history from the beginning of the modern period to the end of the nineteenth century. It will illustrate the social, religious, intellectual, artistic, and technological elements of the West and other significant world civilizations." This description takes us very far indeed from Philip Curtin's model.)

A second qualification that should be offered up is that I am quite certain that it would be politically impossible to adopt this sort of model in all institutions. In fact, a short time after our committee concluded its reforming work, the participating departments began to return to a more normal state of mutual suspicion, and subsequent joint curriculum efforts fizzled. One of the curious benefits of this state of affairs is that it is likely that The World and the West will remain forever a part of the core curriculum at NJIT. But the experience also indicates the huge obstacles that can be encountered in adopting new core courses, particularly unorthodox courses.

If the second set of obstacles can be overcome at a particular institution, however, I think that in most cases the first set of problems about consistency and quality control can also be addressed successfully through measures designed to enhance sharing of course content and methods among faculty members.

The benefits of teaching The World and the West as a core course, or at least as a prominent part of the undergraduate curriculum, make the struggle to

overcome these problems worthwhile. To hear a room full of freshmen and sophomores debate the factors in the decline of the plantation complex, compare English commercial strategy in India with Dutch policies in Indonesia, or analyze the causes and consequences of imperialism in Africa — these experiences remind us that our discipline can serve both to transport a genuinely global perspective into the curriculum and to engender analytical skills with wide applicability. Philip Curtin's model course, *The World and the West*, is a proven and still promising vehicle for achieving these goals.

**THE WORLD  
AND THE WEST:  
Teaching Modern World  
History at UC Santa Cruz,  
1978-1998**

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

It is a pleasure to have the opportunity of joining in this discussion and celebration of the great influence Philip Curtin has had on the teaching of world history in this country. To explain his influence on my teaching, I'll begin by saying that I have been the beneficiary of Phil's work for no fewer than forty years, since I was a mediocre senior history major, aspiring to be a professor, at Oberlin College in 1958. My teacher, George Kren, then a recent University of Wisconsin graduate, took note of the curious fact that I was trying to study Chinese, Southeast Asian, and every other kind of history except that of the U.S. and Europe, upon which Oberlin's curriculum was then firmly focused. He showed me a brochure for the new graduate program in Comparative Tropical History at Wisconsin. From then on I never wanted to continue my studies anywhere else. Having been turned down in my first application, I applied again every other year until, on the fourth try (I spent the intervening years as a student of history and a rural community development worker in Latin America), I was admitted, and with a fellowship that made it possible to accept.

Those years abroad had been critical for my education, convincing me that poor people in poor countries have histories that are as interesting and important as any others — something that none of my teachers up to then appeared to have understood — and that these histories should be studied by historians and taught to Americans. I'd guessed already that this would probably require forging new tools, drawing on new sources, and developing new ways of telling history along the way; and the conviction that all that was possible for me was sustained by the very existence of Phil Curtin's pioneering program, far away in the North.

When I went to Madison as a "re-entry" student with language skills, considerable field experience, and a family to support, I tackled that long-awaited opportunity with great zeal and determination. Coming from a leftist and activist background and descended from preachers, I had a tendency to look for the moral lessons and the practical political uses of history; and I always thought of myself as an apprentice teacher first, a public citizen second, and a scholar third — though thanks largely to Phil Curtin I soon came to love scholarship, and have practiced it erratically ever since as a sort of consuming hobby for which there is never enough time, while making my living as a teacher.

With this mind-set I was purposeful from the beginning about watching my teachers at work, and making notes for myself about what they did that I could emulate, and what I would do differently when I got to doing the job on my own. In Phil's case this created an extraordinarily productive dynamic, because on the one hand he presented a vision of the global past that was astounding, compelling, and subversive of existing paradigms. And he did so wonderfully. On the other hand, it seemed to me always that he was "soft on imperialism," complacent about the rise of capitalism and the damage it had done to the world. So while entranced by his pedagogy, I would also sit there muttering to myself about how to improve upon it.

Since Latin America was my principal and Southeast Asia my secondary field as a graduate student, I spent more time in

Madison with the three very teacherly and supportive Latin Americanists, from whom I learned a great deal, and with the Southeast Asianist John Smail, than I did with Phil Curtin. With Phil I did only *The World and the West* course and one topical seminar, an unforgettable exploration in truly splendid company, of social mobility in slave societies. I did put in some time as research assistant for his Atlantic Slave Project, and that allowed me for a bit to watch him at work at his scholarship.

***But in both style and approach to teaching, Phil Curtin and John Smail were my principal mentors.***

But in both style and approach to teaching, Phil Curtin and John Smail were my principal mentors. It was they who persuaded me by example that no matter what the particular subject of historical inquiry may be, the whole of human experience in the world as a natural environment is its context. Because of Phil Curtin my house is full today of tens of thousands of 5x8 cards, note slips, and photocopied articles on every subject under the sun. Because of him I have understood that "expertise" is not the sine qua non of intellectual work, and that given a couple of days in the library a serious history teacher ought to be able to deliver a cogent talk on most any historical subject. Because of him I believe to this day that the proper way to conduct a seminar course in history is to have a really interesting topic for comparative study, get everybody to do some common reading — that is conceptually rich and provocative, and have everybody dig into the primary and secondary sources on a well-focused topic as exhaustively as possible in the time available. Next, you have them write bigger papers than they thought they had in them, distribute all papers to everybody for constructive criticism, and then have them rewrite those papers before the end of the term. Because of Phil Curtin, too, I've spent a lot of my life trying to bone up on arcane subjects like epidemiology, tropical forest botany and zoology, limnology, ethnology, theology, and missiology, in order to be able to write a modest book of history on the early modern history of the Brazilian Amazon.

In 1971 I got my first, and as it turned out only, teaching job at the new Merrill College of the University of California in Santa Cruz. The other Third World historian there was Middle Easternist Terry Burke. My close friend and colleague from the start, Terry's more traditional training at Notre Dame and Princeton had been focused first on Europe, and then on Arabic language and Islamic studies and early twentieth-century Morocco. His background was very different from mine; but we shared the conviction that history-teaching has a moral dimension and a political purpose. Terry admired Marshall Hodgson (whose editor and interpreter he has since become), and he was good friends with world-historian Ross Dunn, another product of the Wisconsin program. But he always claims that I aroused his enthusiasm for world history by talking about my experiences in Madison.

A few years and many hours of talk later, emboldened by Phil's having given me a copy of his lecture notes for the epoch-making *The World and the West* course as a farewell present when I defended my dissertation in 1974, Terry and I decided to develop a world history course of our own. Rather than tackle from the start the really difficult problems of making this into an introductory course (for students who generally arrive in the university, at least in California, with very little prior knowledge of either history or world geography), we decided on a capstone course that was designed to help smart juniors and seniors integrate what they had learned in other courses on modern history and the social sciences. This was *The World and the Imperialist West*, which we launched, with fanfare, a respectable enrollment, and confidence in its revolutionary potential, in 1977 or 1978. (During the Reagan years, the sober-minded Terry, with a weather-eye to the market, renamed our course *The Making of the Modern World*, under which banner it navigates to this day.)

Merrill College had been established to organize undergraduate education around the study of the Third World and its relationship to the United States. It had a small, young, interdisciplinary faculty. The traditions of the profession weighed on us like a feather, and nobody

told us what to teach. But Merrill was a politically lively, intellectually stimulating place, a self-conscious citadel of anti-imperialism in an astoundingly multiethnic state, for about a third of whose inhabitants the Third World was home. California was different from the East and Midwest in having many more Asians than African Americans, and many more Latin Americans than both of these combined. In the years since we designed our course, it has, in fact, become the first state in which persons of exclusively European ancestry are in the minority. The Vietnam War was just ending; everybody around us was following events in Chile, Central America, Southern Africa, the Middle East, and so on. At Merrill we had an introductory core course called Social Change in the Third World and an activist student body that seemed as if it was sure to respond well to our project. In that heady environment, we expected that our radically innovative course might soon establish itself as a part of the core curriculum of our college, and of our department.

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*In that heady environment, we expected that our radically innovative course might soon establish itself....*

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Getting started was hard in one way during the late 1970s, because despite the good work being done at Wisconsin, the profession (and our colleagues in history at UCSC in particular) was not at all ready for this approach to the study of history. We were welcome to offer such a course if we liked; but even though we were committed by that time to offering quite a bit of non-Western history at Santa Cruz (maybe a third of the total number of courses), to try and organize a specialty in world history, and to invite both our students and our colleagues to take such a thing seriously, proved to be a bit too much.

In the first place, the college system at UC Santa Cruz underwent a tremendous battering in the late 1970s, and most of its unique features (including the possibility for organizing an intellectual community of faculty and students around something like the study of the Third World and its relationship to the

United States) went out the window. The college core course and other residual features of the original vision remained; but faculty energies were for the most part refocused on career advancement within traditional departments. This was the end of the idea of our course as a core offering for students in Merrill College.

Shortly after launching our undergraduate course, Terry and I took the lead in instituting an M.A. program in Comparative World History that was built around it. This seemed to us to be a way to put our small institution on the map as a place for training historians for the twenty-first century. And we did succeed in attracting a small number of excellent students to that program over the period of some five years, among them Helen Wheatley, whose paper is included in this set. The students thrived, and they produced theses of a very high quality; but the two colleagues who had initially joined and seemed willing to work with us on this project did not in the end stick with it. And the remainder always viewed it with suspicion.

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*And the remainder always viewed it with suspicion.*

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The result was that after a few years' time the department moved to cancel our innovative graduate program, and replaced it with a more conventionally conceived Ph.D. program centered on Europe, and later the United States. So the graduate and undergraduate teaching of world history at Santa Cruz has been centered for twenty years on *The Making of the Modern World* course alone, and on the small graduate seminar that is associated with it. And the few graduate students who are interested in world history are encouraged to take those courses and prepare it as a teaching field. I was very discouraged by these set-backs, and withdrew for a decade to do my own world-history teaching in the context of Latin American and Southeast Asian history courses. But Terry Burke soldiered on with *The Making of the Modern World*, and in recent years I have rejoined him in offering it with enormous pleasure and satisfaction.

There were few models available to us in the late 1970s for designing our

course; and none seemed anywhere nearly as satisfactory to us as Curtin's was. No textbook seemed adequate to our needs; and we didn't know enough between us about the history of most of the world to strike out on our own. So we worked with Phil's syllabus, and often enough with his very lecture notes, while getting our bearings at the start, and for this reason a good many pieces of it are with us still. We were obliged to cram his semester-length course into our quarters, but at the same time we sought to stretch it. The World and the West was not really a world history course at all; and we hoped to make it more of one, without abandoning the great strength of its thematic approach to the subject. We thought that Phil had privileged the commercial exchanges and played down the cultural exchanges too much, and that by focusing on frontier interactions in the early modern portion, he had largely ignored the principal cultures and polities. But at the same time we, too, eschewed the chronological "civilizations" approach, as well as the Eurocentrism which appeared to dominate all the world history textbooks. We steeped ourselves in McNeill and Boxer and Parry and Braudel, and later in Stavrianos and especially in Al Crosby. But in the end, though making considerable use of their stories, we did not follow any of these very far in their view of the broader outlines of the making of the modern world.

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### *Where were the people, where was the history, in Wallerstein and Wolf?*

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A Merrill colleague was a student of Immanuel Wallerstein's, so we were encouraged by discussions with him to think about the rise of capitalism rather than the expansion of Europe as the main story — even before Wallerstein's first volume appeared. But in the face of that we retained the historian's skepticism about tidy systems, and the Third World historian's even deeper skepticism about the idea of cores and peripheries. Eric Wolf later on seemed largely to confirm our approach, but in the end did not seem to us satisfactory as a text for students. Where were the people, where was the history, in Wallerstein and Wolf?

Later we expected graduate students to familiarize themselves with all of these writers; but we could not build our course around any of them.

So we followed Curtin in focusing on detailed case studies while trying to borrow piecemeal or develop our own schematic representations of the big picture, inviting our students to join in that process and avoiding getting too attached to any scheme. A productive tension between Terry Burke's versions of both halves of the course and mine is that he tends to "macroize" more, and reach for the comprehensive explanation; whereas I tend to "microize" and expect students to get caught up in the stories themselves. And I either work in the patterns or save the explanations for later on. Both of us, nonetheless, have sought to ground our stories as Phil had done in *Africa Remembered*, in the concrete experiences of ordinary people. This in turn has led us both into thinking about social biography in colonial and neo-colonial contexts, and eventually to assembling the *Struggle and Survival* books that both of us have edited to open windows for students in our more regional courses on the broader patterns of world historical experience.

We wanted to move beyond the white guilt and sometimes perfunctory anti-imperialism of the Vietnam War years, and so responded with enthusiasm to Curtin's imagining of the vital interconnections between societies, his projection so to speak of Hodgson into the Southern Hemisphere. He showed us that the Atlantic slave trade story was more complicated and more African than previously imagined. He fascinated us with the details of the world of Indian Ocean trade. Both of these subjects are, of course, much more thickly imagined and more accessible to students now than they were then, as a result to some degree of Phil Curtin's impetus. He introduced us in Canada and Siberia to what we have called the Great Forest System, which we have extended to Amazonia and Zambezia. When *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* appeared, it fit our enterprise like a glove; and it has been a big hit with our students ever since. He wove the important story of Christian missions into a world-historical narrative, and we

have expanded on that theme as well.

Our own dissertation researches and John Smail's "Autonomous History" article also had a big impact on our thinking about world history, encouraging us to move even farther away than Phil had from the "expansion of Europe" as a model of early modern history, and to conduct a series of never fully satisfactory experiments in looking at the world from shifting, non-European perspectives. We have tried to bring Chinese, Hindu, Buddhist, and Islamic as well as Animist and ordinary European experiences of the transformation of the world more clearly into view, without attempting to introduce or characterize those civilizations per se. But as in Phil Curtin's vivid storytelling about Ethiopia or Timor or Malacca, we probably do a better job with the small places; and we have introduced a good many of these ourselves as seemed appropriate: The Canaries, Paraguay, Potosí, the Philippines, Formosa, and so on. In general, not surprisingly, we pay more attention to mainland Latin America, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East in all periods than Phil did. The Spanish colonial labor system constructed around silver and gold mining gets as much attention, for example, as does plantation slavery.

The first quarter of our course, as was true I think of Phil's, is more coherent and more effectively destabilizing for students; and the exponential growth of the social and cultural historical literature for all of the regions it addresses has only served to strengthen it. This has enabled us, nowadays, to have students reading Richard White's *Middle Ground*, for example, and Jonathan Spence's *Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*, and Steve Stern's *Peru's Indigenous Peoples*, and John Thornton's *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World*.

Our second course, like Phil's, moves from the comparatively intimate worlds of the early modern frontiers to the more complex and larger-scale realities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. But here we have been less satisfied with the course as inherited from Phil, and even more inclined to try and reconceive the patterns. Our Santa Cruz ambience has given central place to the demolition of

modernization theory, which was very influential in framing the old World and the West (and to which I had already grown hostile while working in rural Latin America before ever taking Phil's course!). So we have come to organize the treatment more in terms of the diverse struggles of the world's peoples around the implementation of the Liberal Project, viewed as a process that on balance has proved more destructive than liberating for most of the world. Brad Burns' *Poverty of Progress*, focused on Latin America, has helped to set that tone.

Our course still begins with the French and industrial revolutions; and through the 1980s it more or less followed Hobshawn's story of the making of the modern world. While still featuring the Meiji and Tanzimat reforms, it focused, too, on the Mexico of Porfirio Diaz. It then foregrounded nationalist movements as responses to incorporation into the world capitalist system, with the Third World attempting in the twentieth century to do what Europe had done in the nineteenth. The Chinese, Indian, and Algerian revolutions received considerable attention.

### **The Chinese, Indian, and Algerian revolutions received considerable attention.**

We have always thought that this course should really end in 1914 and have a sequel dealing with decolonialization and neocolonialism. But we've not found the colleague who is willing to make a commitment to this; and we must sustain a three-course sequence on our own. So the second quarter of our course has always seemed to end and awkwardly with the Europeans getting kicked out, and to do some justice to the contemporary period.

In the 1990s, we have come to see the colonial and neo-colonial state as doing some of the same work as Meiji and Tannimat, and the role of local economists looms much larger. So the story is now not so much about imperialism and anti-imperialism as about rethinking modernity itself. The older focus on class and the industrial revolution does not seem sufficient; the Enlightenment is, of course, not only

discipline and punish, it is also liberation. But the state and the world economy are nevertheless increasingly and ever more oppressively dominant. The Mexican Revolution has proved especially useful as a context in which to explore these themes for young Californians. We have also grown more concerned in both quarters with the ecological dimensions of every phase of the story, and with exploring the evidence that capitalism is intrinsically destructive not only of humanity, but of nature as well. Finally, we are intrigued by the continuing relevance of religion in human affairs, and in general by the role of ethnicity and of "non-Western cultures" in the world. And we feel obliged to assist our students in imagining the backgrounds for those elements of the worldwide resistance to capitalism and modernity as well.

The purpose of this whole enterprise, we have learned over the years, is not to encourage students to join us in playing our own explanatory games, or anybody else's, as we attempt to understand the history of the modern world. Rather, it is to get them to think about history more vividly in terms of interactions between equally real and vibrant peoples and cultures, and to free them up for observing those continuing interactions closely throughout their lives, and figuring them out on their own. We think that the first part of our course, as of Phil Curtin's course, is much better on the whole than the second, because teaching it is a more engaging and more clearly humanizing endeavor. Even capitalism is revealed there as a joint product, the result of activities on all sides that is eventually "bigger than anybody." Whereas in the second half of the course, capital and the state appear almost inevitably as juggernauts; and it is harder to keep the eyes focused on the particular human experiences, and the particular interactions of peoples and cultures from which students can learn most and from which they can derive most hope.

The Making of the Modern World has been offered during most academic years over the past two decades, to a total of perhaps a thousand undergraduate, and a few dozen graduate, students. It has not achieved a core status in any program, and its enrollments unfortunately do not

reflect the huge student interest in both history and the Third World which are evident on our campus. Most history students don't take our course; and most students of the social sciences interested in Third World affairs are reluctant to study history. But though viewed by students as an exceptionally demanding course, and also perhaps as a bit of a "downer" because of its sometimes depressing subject-matter, it has enjoyed a modest following over the years — especially among the brighter and more ambitious history majors (many of whom plan to continue on to graduate school and become history teachers themselves, or look forward to careers in journalism or the law). They, having gotten a good background in European or North American or East Asian history, now feel the need for a broader view that can help them begin to understand the whole world, and the new "global economy" of today. For Terry Burke and myself, it has been a durably exciting, challenging, ever-changing pedagogical endeavor, and, at the same time, a sort of continuing education program for working historians, one that has proved entirely beneficial to the advancement of "our own work." So in those senses at least, and despite the painful absence of a broader institutional support or mass following for the enterprise, it has seemed to us to be a considerable success.

WHA

The committee which will award next year's prize for the best 1999 book is chaired by David Chappell, book editor of the *World History Journal*. Members of the committee are:

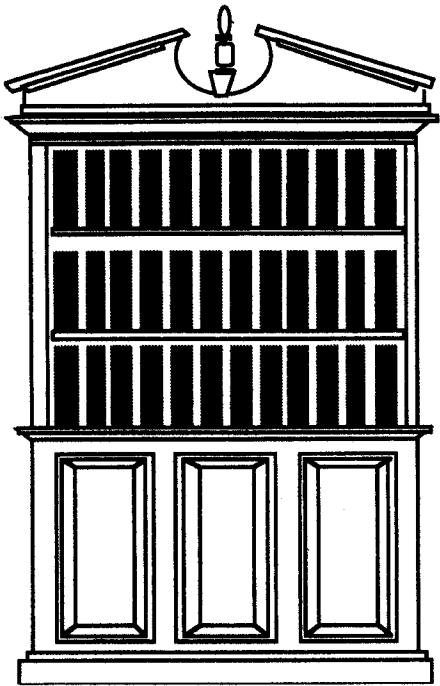
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Henry Ford Community College

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Christina Michelmore  
Book Editor, *World History Bulletin*  
Chatham College

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Indiana State University



## BOOK AND FILM REVIEWS

### Primary Sources for Students: A Review of *The Global Experience*

Philip F. Riley, et al., eds. *The Global Experience*. Vol. I: *Readings in World History to 1500*. (3rd ed., Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1998).

History teachers at all levels face the dilemma of how to engage their students' interest in primary sources. A well-chosen primary source has the potential of driving home the feel and nature of a long-forgotten event better than any other means. A perennial question arises whether to employ a wide sampling of brief selections to introduce the student to the sources and period, or to select a few more extended selections to provide deeper immersion. The obvious danger of using highly condensed selections is that the few pages or paragraphs may not be representative, or will be excessively fragmented. I suspect that, ideally, many would prefer to use longer, more complete works. However, in the workaday world most of us inhabit, anthologies of reading have become the usual way we expose our students to primary sources. As world history courses have multiplied, publishers have hastened to meet the demand for such readers.

What are the requirements of a good primary source reader in world history? First of all, the documents should offer an accurate and representative picture of each society examined. Because of constraints of space this is no easy task. Second, the volume should include sufficient commentary that students will be able to comprehend the reading. This explanatory material should provide some historical background to introduce each period and society, brief introductions to each document, and a concise list of questions/points the student should consider while reading the selections. Footnotes to explain obscure references in the readings, as well as a glossary, are also very helpful. Finally, the readings should offer truly global coverage, with a balanced treatment of all the major societies/civilizations. There are obvious difficulties in achieving such balance, particularly in pre-modern history, where written sources are abundant for some early societies (Mesopotamia, China, Greece), but almost nonexistent for others (ancient Africa and pre-Columbian America).

These remarks are preliminary to our consideration of one of the most widely used readers in world history courses, Philip Riley's *The Global Experience*, now in its third edition. To what extent does Riley's anthology meet the requirements for a good world history primary-source reader? Since I teach the first half of the world history course only, I will focus my remarks upon volume one.

Organized by key civilizations and global themes, the readings in Riley's volume begin, appropriately enough, with creation stories from four early societies (Hebrew, Greek, Japanese, and Indian), concluding 359 pages later with key documents from the Spanish conquest of Native America. The familiar classics are well-represented (*Epic of Gilgamesh*, *Odyssey*, *Bhagavad Gita*, *Analects*, Herodotus, *Koran*, Marco Polo), but Riley's anthology also includes selections from less familiar sources meant to reveal aspects of everyday life. Examples include a selection from an Egyptian papyrus schoolbook, an eleventh-century Persian ruler's discussion of the purchase of slaves, and a vivid account of

foot-binding by a Chinese woman in the 1930s. (Was there no account from the Tang or Song dynasties, when this unusual practice took hold?) I like the Riley reader because the selections from primary sources are balanced and sufficiently long to get the sense of the document, while commentary is kept brief. In some source books the explanatory material actually exceeds the space allotted to the primary sources. In preparing this review, I discovered that several new readers have added significant visual materials to the primary texts. Provided that the reproductions are truly first-rate — which was not the case in most readers I examined — the addition of images can be a major plus. Some readers also incorporate secondary interpretations as a further aid to understanding the primary sources. More traditional in approach, the Riley book concentrates on primary texts only.

I have now used *The Global Experience* twice in my World History to 1500 course. The fact that the class regularly enrolls 125 students has imposed some constraints on my use of the reader that would not pertain in a smaller class. While regularly referring to the readings in class, I have utilized the reader primarily as a means of getting students to write and to confront primary sources, requiring them to write one- to two-page reaction papers every other week. In each assignment, the students are presented with a carefully focused question that they must discuss. Thus, for the readings on ancient China, students were asked to describe Sun Tzu's advice on the conduct of war in his classic, *The Art of War*, proceeding to comment upon the extent to which his views remain relevant to modern warfare. Again, for the readings on early Christianity, students were to discuss St. Paul's views on women and sexuality, responding to the modern charge that Paul has had a negative influence upon Western attitudes. In every case I sought to get students to relate their readings to present-day attitudes and practices.

How successful were the short papers based on the documents in Riley? At the very least, the paper assignments seemed to force the students to read the selections. Though only one to two

ges in length, the papers clearly revealed how closely the students did the reading. Since my teaching assistant and I made an effort to note the more egregious writing errors, students had opportunity to improve their writing over the course of the semester — and I believe a fair number did. Most students enjoyed writing assignments; happily, the quality of the papers seemed to eliminate the "grade inflation" factor. Student evaluations of Riley in the class I administered at the University of Texas were reassuring. Asked specifically what they most liked/disliked about the course, students cited the Riley reader and the brief papers as the second-most positive aspect of the class. In conclusion, I would like to offer some suggestions for anyone who is considering the use of Riley or a similar primary source reader. First of all, carefully key the readings to your class lectures and discussions, so that the student has the necessary background to make sense of the selections. Second, relate the readings to contemporary concerns. Though sometimes difficult, there is always a way to bring the readings to bear on present issues. Third, use brief writing exercises to focus the readings. The readings should always be discussed in class, but there is real value in also requiring the students to confront the readings through a written assignment. If properly designed, a short paper will require the student to consider the documents more carefully, while promoting deeper reflection of their significance.

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### **Essays for the Classroom: A Review of *Islamic & European Expansion: The Forging of a Global Order***

Michael Adas, ed., *Islamic & European Expansion: The Forging of a Global Order* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 1993). Pp. xvi + 379. ISBN: 1-56639-068-0, paper \$18.95) and 1-56639-067-2, cloth \$69.95).

Michael Adas' *Islamic & European Expansion* is an important contribution

to modern world historiography, and it should be a highly valuable tool for instructors and advanced students. While Adas' collection of essays does not quite fit the bill for an introductory text for modern world history courses, it goes a long way in assisting instructors in making sense of a rapidly growing historiography, creating lesson plans, and relating a vast and complex field to a largely entry-level group of students.

Of course, Adas did not intend for his collection of essays to be used as an introductory text. He states quite clearly in the introduction that his purpose was really to provide a research tool to instructors, especially high school teachers. I think he has done this more than adequately. I also think he has started down the road toward creating a relatively short, coherent, thematic introductory text which can be used in world history courses.

Adas begins the book with an introduction in which he briefly recounts how global history before the 1960s was so heavily oriented toward a study of Western civilization. Explaining how important political changes in the 1960s in the United States were to the emergence of the "new" history of the American historical profession, Adas then emphasizes how events such as European decolonization changed the direction of world history toward a more global approach.

#### ***Eaton asserts that Islam is a "truly global civilization."***

Each of the essays in the volume then takes a combined thematic and chronological approach to various topics in world history. The University of Arizona's Richard Eaton writes about Islamic history as global history because Islam's influence on world events has been so far reaching and long lasting. Detailing how European historiography has typically painted Muslims as an "other," Eaton demonstrates that Islam's cultural influence has outlasted its political and military power. In fact, far more important in Eaton's view is Islam bequeathing science and technology, agricultural practices, bureaucratic organization, and exploratory knowledge to the Europeans and Africans. For this reason, Eaton asserts that Islam is a

"truly global civilization."

Along similar lines, Georgetown University's Judith Tucker explodes numerous Western stereotypes and myths about Muslim women in the Arab Middle East, both in the past and in the present. Tucker explores women's roles during the "Golden Age" of Islam (750-1250 C.E.), the period of Ottoman rule (1500-1800 C.E.), the expansion of Europe into the area after 1800, and the political and religious revolutions of the twentieth century. What Tucker has found is a highly complex world for women in which Western visions of the *harem*, exclusion, and sexual exploitation did not match the reality of different socio-economic levels creating different worlds for various groups of Islamic women. Tucker does a fantastic job of demonstrating when, how, and why Islamic women participated in politics, war, economics, and social decision making, at least until Victorian Europeans came to "liberate" them and wound up oppressing them more than they had been previously. Tucker concludes by describing the same kind of complexity in Islamic nations in the Middle East today, where TV news cameras do not tell us about women actively participating in both fundamentalist political revolutions and demonstrations for more equitable educational and economic opportunities.

Janet Lippman Abu-Lughod, of the New School for Social Research, uses Immanuel Wallerstein's world systems approach, first used to describe economic changes in the modern world, to explain the thirteenth century in a non-European context. She finds that the European powers at this time were nowhere near approaching great power status, that there was no way of knowing at this time that these nations would become so dominant by the late 1800s, and that if predictions had to be made about which future great powers would affect world affairs, the thirteenth-century empires selected would have been China, India, and the Arab Middle East. Abu-Lughod's essay is another historiographical lesson for twentieth-century historians not to read too much back into history, but to take their respective time periods on their own terms.

The University of Chicago's William McNeill has also included his classic

essay on the European gunpowder empires between 1450 and 1800. McNeill explores why the European powers pulled so far ahead of the Chinese, Indians, Muslims, and even Africans by the early 1800s when, in fact, they had been co-equal or weaker than these other powers in 1500. Sharply discounting racial or cultural factors, as historians before him had emphasized, McNeill instead finds the answer in Europe's abundance of resources, mining processes, and bureaucratic organization, combined with the fact that many of the non-European empires were beginning to experience political, social, and economic decay. When combined with Paul Kennedy's thesis that the Europeans pulled ahead because their world was so militaristically unstable, violent, and chaotic compared to the world's other pre-1500 empires, McNeill's essay goes far in dispelling myths about European military supremacy.

The University of Texas-Austin's Alfred Crosby writes an essay particularly oriented toward high school history teachers who may not have had the benefit of graduate or even thorough undergraduate education in the new social history. Crosby describes the "Bardic" or traditional interpretation of the Columbian Exchange in which "great white men" predominated and "settled" a continent for the ultimate good of societies like the United States. Completely ignoring the roles played by non-whites, and the damage done by the Europeans, the Bardic interpretation has given way to the "Analytic" interpretation in which the new social history and the techniques of the Annales School have gone far in determining the affects of transferred plants, animals, and peoples. In fact, Crosby goes further and provides the reader with a clear view of biological and ecological exchange, mostly one-sided and negative for the Indians, but an exchange nevertheless in which the Atlantic Basins became a much more interconnected world between 1500 and 1800 in terms of peoples, plants, and ideas. Crosby adds realism and accuracy to the old William Prescott-Samuel Eliot Morison paradigm by recording the agency, complexity, and multilateralism found in primary sources from that time period.

Johns Hopkins' Philip Curtin's essay can also be nicely summed up by the word "complexity." Writing about the Atlantic slave trade, Curtin — through text, statistical form, and graphics — demonstrates that the slave trade was not a "triangular trade" but a multilateral one, that numerous European and distinct African nations were involved in it, and that Europeans derived the slaves from African traders who were well conversant and largely in control of an age-old continental trade in human beings. Curtin rightly emphasizes the role of Caribbean sugar and the growing European capitalistic ethos to explain the never-ending need for African slave labor. He is also quick to point out that the trade was Atlantic-wide, that the vast majority of the slaves went to locations in Central America, South America, and the Caribbean, and that it continued for years in other parts of the Americas after the American Civil War brought it to an end in the United States.

Carnegie Mellon University's Peter Stearns' essay on the industrial revolution is a shorter version of his book on the same subject. Stearns explains how the industrial revolution began in Great Britain in the late 1700s, why Britain may have been the society first affected, and how the change spread to other regions and countries. Herein are Stearns' two major messages: First, that the industrial revolution spread to Western Europe and the United States, then Japan and Russia, and, finally, in the twentieth

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*We must, again, get at the complexity and layered nuances of the real history of real people.*

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century, to what scholars during the Cold War called the "Third World"; in other words, the industrial revolution is still going on. His other clear message is that we must continue to explore the positive, negative, and sometimes neutral changes industrialization had on both elites and commoners alike. We cannot sum up industrialization, "development," or "modernization" as wholly positive because they were not always positive to all people. We must, again, get at the complexity and layered nuances of the real history of real people.

The New School for Social Research's Louise Tilly carries out some of this research by comparing industrialization's effect on gendered economic inequality in Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, China, and the United States. While the data are complex and at times conflicting, she has found that industrialization had a negative impact on women, children, and livelihood in general. Gender separation and restrictions on making a living became more pronounced, more severe, and less porous than in the pre-modern period. Perhaps industrialization was not, as Stearns suggests, an entirely positive phenomenon, as we were all taught in grade school? The twentieth-century Western notion of "progress" does indeed have to be questioned and explored before being accepted.

Adas himself and the University of Illinois-Chicago's Margaret Strobel conclude the volume with two essays on the changes in the historiography of imperialism. The changes have been as vast as the ones detailed by McNeill, Curtin, and Crosby in their areas. Imperialism is no longer seen positively or progressively, as it was one hundred or even fifty years ago. The world wars, the Cold War, and European decolonization have changed the way in which the history is researched and written. So has the idea of "agency" and the richness of debate which is now trying to get beyond blame for imperialism and honestly attempting to explore root causes, changes in both metropole and colony, and the multilayered contexts in which colonized and colonizer influenced one another.

All of these essays have been written by top-notch historians. Each essay is well footnoted, employs both primary and secondary sources, and, a major plus for non-specialist instructors, has extensive secondary bibliographies for further research and reading. In the case of McNeill, Curtin, Crosby, and Stearns, the essays are shorter versions of already existent monographs and the reader has the advantage of exploring original works by four "founding members" of modern global historiographical writing.

What I found missing was additional commentary or at least integrative introductions and conclusions tying each of the essays together. Of course, Adas may have been prevented from doing so by his publisher, or he may have desired to let the essays stand on their own. More material from the editor would have been helpful. However, I want to emphasize to the reader that I think Michael Adas has done the entire world history teaching profession an overwhelmingly positive service. He has begun to break us away from that deep, deep desire that potentially exists in all of us to write a textbook that is "concise," yet somehow reaches 1,000 pages of material! Granted, Adas' book does not have all of the glitz maps, pictures, and graphs that a typical world history text does, but it is also not overwhelming in length or price.

I have used the Adas text in my modern world courses because I have dealt with the coverage problem by deciding that I cannot cover everything. Instead, I try to use a thematic-chronological approach with a dozen or so themes in which the class "stabs down" and explores various issues at various times in various contexts. Adas' book was attractive to me because, interestingly what he did: I do not mean the book especially sounds good because of the lack of... [redacted] on historical methodology. I think Adas, given his skills, could produce a thematic text... [redacted] pages which [redacted] sink... [redacted] approach. That is to say, a broad understanding of... [redacted] cultural history, which Gary [redacted] to produce *Red, White, and Black*, could probably be employed for this purpose. It is hoped that Adas is attempting thinking about attempting this project. We need it, our students need it, and the profession needs it.

## Review: Postcoloniality in Plain English

Philip D. Curtin. *Disease and Empire: The Health of European Troops in the Conquest of Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998. xiii+249 pp.

Philip Curtin has little patience for theory. He regards theoretical invocation as the last resort of uncreative minds, and he treats current postmodernist debates as little more than faddist exercises in participant obfuscation. When his own students sprinkle their writings with polysyllabic Latinisms borrowed from Homi Bhabha or Michel Foucault, Curtin lauds the virtues of good old Anglo-Saxon and suggests a refresher course in the maxims of Messrs. Strunk and White. If these same students justify their theoretical indulgences by arguing that they are merely engaging with new currents of historiography, Curtin will draw the line with a characteristically sharp retort: "I don't care what you write, and I don't care what you argue, as long as you back it up with solid evidence and put it in plain English."

As one of Curtin's graduate students, I have often bled from the unsympathetic cuts of his editor's pen. How exactly can one write a dissertation on the social and cultural history of sexually transmitted disease in colonial Africa if one's advisor circles bread-and-butter words like "discourse" and "sexuality," dismissing them as obtuse neologisms that conceal more than they reveal? And how should one respond when one's grand exposition on the complex interlinkages between ideas of fertility, pathology, and social hierarchy receives the dry comment: "Use 'links.' Use 'disease.' Go back and correct passive voice?" To my chagrin, I have found the process of going back and explaining exactly what I mean has made me a better thinker, a better writer, and a better historian. It has forced me to engage with the theory I use, rewrite it in my own words to fit particular contexts and variables, and, in the process, make it my own. Curtin himself is not completely averse to

theory. He will, on rare occasions, invoke the grand epistemological frameworks of noted scholars, but only when those scholars have managed to say something important about how the world works in a way that is more elegant and economic than anything he himself could have devised. Curtin remains devoted to the idea that while history is a social science, it is still literature, and good literature demands clear, strong writing. In his view, acknowledgments and conceptual explanations belong to the underworld of footnotes.

While some would liken Curtin's muse to Thomas Gradgrind or Joe Friday, the transparency of his style and his unabashedly direct approach to argumentation tend to make one forget that his works tackle very big questions, questions that are, interestingly enough, of central concern to the postmodernist and postcolonialist scholarship that he eschews on stylistic grounds. His latest book, *Disease and Empire: The Health of European Troops in the Conquest of Africa*, is a prime example of Curtin's readiness to address topics that have deep historical implications with nothing more than solid evidence, well-supported observations, and a no-frills narrative. It is also a fine example of what historians can do with complex issues when they know how to select their data and ask the right questions.

Historians of late-nineteenth-century European imperialism have long asserted that advances in medical science and technology dramatically lowered death rates among whites in the tropics and paved the way for the direct occupation of large swaths of Africa and Asia. Yet few historians have ever sought to test the validity of this assertion despite its obvious importance to explaining how and why Europe's major powers committed themselves to a whole new type of colonialism in the 1870s. Perhaps scholarly reluctance to engage this fundamental question reflects the continuing power of late-nineteenth-century imperial propaganda, which justified colonialism as the inevitable march of science and progress into hitherto benighted wildernesses.

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Curtin has never had much use for assumptions. In 1969, his modestly titled volume, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*, recalibrated the historiography of modern slavery by providing, for the first time, a fairly accurate estimate of the total number of Africans who left their homelands as forced laborers between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> Like *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, Curtin's latest work has sifted through the best-available data to provide a direct answer to a crucial chicken-and-egg proposition: Which came first, successful applications of European medical technology to the tropics or the New Imperialism? His answer should provide a fruitful jumping-off point for a new generation of scholarship concerned with the social and cultural history of colonial medicine.

*Disease and Empire* extends and qualifies the findings of Curtin's earlier study of the historical epidemiology of tropical colonization, *Death by Migration* (1989).<sup>2</sup> In that work, Curtin demonstrated that successful initiatives to control infectious disease among Europeans living in the tropics began long before the rise of germ theory and the discovery of specific pathogens for malaria, typhoid, typhus, dysentery, and yellow fever. Military medics managed to reduce the average annual death rate for white troops stationed overseas by almost ninety percent between 1815 and 1914 using nothing more than basic hygiene and sanitation reforms. These measures included efforts to relocate permanent barracks away from swamps, towns, and other reputed sources of "miasma," and the mandatory boiling and filtering of camp water supplies. Curtin's careful analysis of published military medical reports showed that the gap in average life expectancy between soldiers stationed in Europe and those stationed in the tropics narrowed dramatically.

The findings of *Death by Migration* raised serious questions about Thomas McKeown's assertion that improvements in diet were the main factor behind falling death rates and population increase during the so-called "mortality revolution" of the nineteenth

century.<sup>3</sup> McKeown argued that European medicine prior to the 1870s was not sophisticated enough to have any measurable impact on mortality, but as Curtin has demonstrated, McKeown's thesis ignored the positive impact of unheralded empirical advances in public health. Curtin's reassessment of changing mortality patterns thus raised serious questions about how scholars have defined the boundaries of nineteenth-century "medicine" and evaluated the historical impact of medical interventions.

Nonetheless, as Curtin demonstrates in *Disease and Empire*, the benefits of these public health improvements usually only applied to soldiers while they were living in the barracks. European troops on campaign, by contrast, continued to suffer appallingly high rates of morbidity and mortality from infectious disease even after the development of effective preventive and curative technologies based on the new science of bacteriology. Military medics were not authorized to provide soldiers with immunizations, quinine prophylaxis, and mosquito nets until the first decades of the twentieth century. Thus, while post-germ theory medicine made Africa and Asia less costly to administer, it did not make the tropics cheaper to conquer.

Given that the human costs of colonial conquest remained so high, how do we explain the enthusiasm that statesmen and military officers exhibited for tropical campaigning? As Gladstone learned in 1885, deadly and disastrous campaigns like Wolseley's failed rescue of Gordon could have serious political consequences at home. Curtin notes, however, that British politicians, military men, and popular journalists were generally willing to forgive high death tolls as long as the wars of conquest in which their armies were engaged produced the desired outcome. The nineteenth-century definition of "acceptable losses" was much less stringent than today's, especially when those who died in the greatest numbers were either members of the disenfranchised working classes or non-European carriers and camp attendants. Military officers judged the performance of doctors on campaign

not according to recorded rates of death and disease, but according to how effectively their medics could treat combat casualties or resolve the suffering of soldiers already felled by attacks of fever or diarrhea. Less heroic preventive measures received scant interest or attention.

Curtin shows that the surprisingly low death rates sustained during two mid-Victorian campaigns, the march on Ethiopia in 1867-68 and the attack on Asante in 1873-74, received enthusiastic press coverage in Europe and were subsequently used to justify further forays into the interior. He also notes, however, that the impressive health achievements of these two campaigns were probably more a reflection of good luck and favorable natural conditions than good planning. High typhoid death tolls during later British and French campaigns in Egypt (1882), Madagascar (1895), the Sudan (1896-98), and South Africa (1899-1902) ultimately revealed just how little attention military officials had paid to the dangers of dirty water.

Overall, Curtin concludes that cultural preoccupations with curative medicine, and a general lack of interest in basic public health measures, laid the groundwork for unnecessarily high death rates among the men who conquered Africa in the name of empire. He also argues that European officials ignored the continuing disease hazards of tropical campaigning by employing a dismal calculus that valued the lives of men of certain classes and colors more highly than others. Through a thorough reanalysis of military medical statistics during the "Scramble for Africa," Curtin has found room to suggest that the conquest of Africa was moved more by a misplaced faith in the religion of progress than by actual triumphs of applied science.

Bryan Callahan

Department of History, Johns Hopkins University

## ENDNOTES

Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969). For an appreciation of how Curtin's statistical examination of slave exports influenced scholarship, see Paul Lovejoy, ed., *Africans in Bondage: Studies in Slavery and the Slave Trade* (Madison: African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin, 1986).

Philip Curtin, *Death by Migration: Europe's Encounter with the Tropical World in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge, 1989), pp. 104-61.

Thomas McKeown, *The Modern Rise of Population* (New York, 1976).

## *Amistad*: A Film and Literature Review with Reflections on Cinema as Historical "Texts"

*Amistad*: DreamWorks Pictures, 1997, directed by Steven Spielberg. *Mutiny on the Amistad: The Saga of a Slave Revolt and Its Impact on American Abolition, Law and Diplomacy*, by Howard Jones (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), revised ed.

During the 1990s, theater audiences around the world have had the opportunity to view several films pertaining to events, themes, and periods in world history. *1492*, a film released to mark the quincentennial of the Spanish arrival in the Americas, offers a colorful, albeit less beatific image of Christopher Columbus — a religiously devout, complex individual in the service of an ambitious kingdom flexing its imperial might in the aftermath of nearly seven centuries of Moorish rule. *Braveheart* is yet another cinematic representation; in this instance, concentrating on the life of William Wallace and Scotland's struggle to maintain its independence from the land of Edward I. *Amistad*, directed by Steven Spielberg and released by DreamWorks Pictures in late 1997, presents yet another powerful cinematic re-creation of a significant episode in both American and world history. This essay offers a review of the film and recommended literature about the case, thoughts about the

*Amistad* events' relevance in world history, and reflections on the utilization of history films as "texts."

The DreamWorks production of *Amistad* depicts the August 1839 revolt of fifty-three Africans aboard the Spanish vessel, *La Amistad*, as it was en route from a slave market in Havana to a plantation in northwestern Cuba. Breaking free of his shackles in the cargo hold one tempestuous night, Sengbé (called "Cinque" by his Spanish captors) leads a rebellion in which the Africans take control of *La Amistad* in the hope of returning to their native Sierra Leone. The Spanish navigator of the ship, however, sails westward toward Africa by day, but veers the ship northward by night, in anticipation of possible contact with American vessels patrolling the high seas. After several weeks of travel in the Atlantic, the *Amistad* crew is eventually intercepted by an American naval patrol off the coast of Long Island and taken to New Haven, Connecticut, where the Africans stand trial for murder and mutiny in an American court of law. Due to the advocacy of American abolitionist Lewis Tappan and the legal expertise of attorney Roger Baldwin and former President John Quincy Adams, the *Amistad* captives' case is heard by the United States Supreme Court, which orders the immediate release and return of the Africans to their homeland.

*Amistad*, the film, was first conceived in 1984 by co-producer Debbie Allen, who had studied two volumes of essays and articles by African-American writers, historians, and philosophers called *Amistad I and II*. Deeply inspired by the story of Sengbé, Allen optioned the rights to *Black Mutiny*, a fictionalized account of the *Amistad* saga written by William A. Owens in 1953. After researching the *Amistad* case for more than a decade, Allen met with director/producer Steven Spielberg, who, along with Allen, could readily envision the historical event adapted into cinematic form. "I believed in the power and the truth of this story," Allen writes. "I believed that the enormous tapestry upon which it occurred related to all our ancestors — the Africans, the abolitionists, the pro-slavers, the Spanish, the Cubans, the British...it tells us all a lot about our history."<sup>1</sup>

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*Indeed, the film serves as a richly visual text highlighting several themes in nineteenth-century world history...*

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Indeed, the film serves as a richly visual text highlighting several themes in nineteenth-century world history: the trans-Atlantic system connecting four continents commercially, culturally, and politically; the African diaspora; the contemporaneous issues of property and mercantilism; the socio-political influence of abolition movements; the dynamics of American and European diplomacy; the diffusion and practice of Christianity, Islam, and traditional African religions; the regional and political issues precipitating the American Civil War; and the tenuous interrelationship between democratic and monarchical traditions. The Middle Passage, the journey withstanded by enslaved Africans across the Atlantic to the Americas and the Caribbean, is conveyed powerfully in *Amistad*; those scenes create a profound emotional impact and intensity. The film illustrates the tact with which the nascent American republic, having recently engaged in the War of 1812, negotiated diplomatic relations with two formidable naval powers (Britain and Spain), who had conflicting perspectives on property and mercantilism. Shortly after the rebellion aboard *La Amistad*, the African men on deck are shown kneeling and united in prayer, a significant reference to Islam's diffusion among the Mende and other tribal groups in eighteenth-century, pre-colonial Sierra Leone. Although the film takes artistic license and intermittent departures from the historical record (the African-American abolitionist Joadson, played by Morgan Freeman, for example, is fictive; John Quincy Adams' Supreme Court defense lasted over eight hours, instead of five minutes, as illustrated in the film), Spielberg, Allen, and screenwriter David Franzoni drew heavily upon historical scholarship to reproduce the events for the silver screen.

Since the December 1997 release of *Amistad*, many historians have engaged in extensive debate upon the historical lacunae, misrepresentations, and

inaccuracies of the film. A good deal of this dialogue appeared in the May 1998 edition of *The History Teacher*. In the article titled "The Question of Agency," Jesse Lemisch writes, "This atrocious movie denies agency to the rebels, having them standing by while benign whites make them free," asserting that the film serves as a signifier "of the bad times in which we live."<sup>2</sup> From another critical vantage point, Sally Hadden enumerates several inaccuracies at work in the screen production of *Amistad*, contrasting the former with references made to Howard Jones' written documentation of the *Amistad* case, considered the most reliable narrative of the event.<sup>3</sup> In addition to critiquing the actual study guide which has recently been published by Steven Spielberg's DreamWorks and Lifetime Learning Systems as an instructional adjunct to the film, historian Howard Jones makes a salient point about what the Spielberg production of *Amistad* has actually created: A dialogue over race that demonstrates again that the struggle for equality is not over.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the affective dimensions of this powerful cinematic rendering of the case have, and will continue to, stimulated a continued discourse upon the legacy of slavery in the history of the United States. It is hoped that an ensuing, constructive discourse will supersede the debate over historical accuracy or misrepresentation. Indeed, the questions of "historical accuracy" and "authenticity" are in and of themselves quite questionable issues, given the partiality and varied multi-vocality of not only historically based films, but history texts as well. Questions pertaining to representations and historical "objectivity" are certainly most valuable for all students pursuing historiographical inquiry.

Film productions of historical events and periods can be viewed as "partial texts"<sup>5</sup> of history, and when used in conjunction with carefully researched historical literature can augment both the critical/analytical thinking skills and historiographic awareness of secondary and community college students. In a recent publication, Nicholas Thomas, a prominent scholar in Pacific Island studies, takes inspiration from scholar

Greg Dening, in reflecting upon the limitations and partiality involved in the process of historical inquiry. "Histories do not merely differ and enrich knowledge through complementary diversity," Thomas writes. "Rather they reflect interests in practical projects, in legitimizing or destabilizing; they entertain, and perhaps perform some symbolic violence with respect to those

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*The Amistad case in film or writing, therefore, represents varying facets of a texted past event in world history*

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who are spoken about but whose own voices are absent; histories are partial in the sense of being culturally and politically interested, and must be exposed to commentary and debate."<sup>6</sup> The *Amistad* case in film or writing, therefore, represents varying facets of a texted past event in world history.

Media utilized to convey meanings of historical events can be understood as "partial" because they are situated in particular cultural and political contexts, reflecting the agendas and perspectives of those involved in the endeavor of reproducing history.<sup>7</sup>

The trans-Atlantic slave trade was a historical reality that influenced the histories of four continents: North and South America, Africa, and Europe. This event, however, may be interpreted quite differently by ruling chiefs and elders of a Wolof or Mende community, a Portuguese planter in Brazil, or a nineteenth-century female abolitionist from Vermont. One historical event may be interpreted in multiple ways, depending on the orientation, time, and space of the viewer. By posing critical questions of historical sources and their creators, students can discern the partialities and limitations of media, such as texts, in reproducing the past in the present: An important lesson in historiography for secondary and community college students. While presenting historically based films, I usually assign Video Focus Questions to help concentrate students' attention to pertinent themes and issues reflected in the films. In the spirit of historical inquiry, students can ask themselves some of the following questions: Which

actors, and what aspects of their lives, are rendered central? Where are they situated? What kind of belonging characterizes their relations with places and landscapes? What differences among them energize conflict and change? What moral or political value is that change accorded, and what future does it lead toward?<sup>8</sup>

The medium of film in conjunction with primary and secondary sources, as well as basal texts, can aid students in high school and community college settings to explore critically such questions. John Quincy Adams, for example, can be viewed as a historical figure whose actions were in many ways invoked by the cultural "scripts" and ideologies of his day and age. In analyzing the *Amistad* case, a student might pose the following questions: What contemporary socio-political values motivated Adams' defense of the Africans in the United States Supreme Court during the 1940s, and what role did the justices' decision "play," as it were, in the future of slavery in the United States? Moreover, how do cinematic representations of history differ from those of primary sources, and how have textual and cinematic depictions of the past changed in the present? It is a meaningful endeavor to evaluate these "scripts" as revealed in historical records and the medium of film.

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*It is a meaningful endeavor to evaluate these "scripts" as revealed in historical records and the medium of film.*

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As Ronald Briley writes, *Amistad* may be a useful tool for introducing the topics of the slave trade and slavery, and for stimulating students to pursue the subject through additional readings and research, engaging them to investigate the "higher truths" involved in the *Amistad* affair.<sup>9</sup> This approach would be most positive in the context of an American history class, but due to the nature of the *Amistad* case, and the period in which it takes place, a more comprehensive world historical approach would contextualize the event more effectively, given the interdependent trans-Atlantic network concomitant with the slave trade.

*Mutiny on the Amistad*, written by Howard Jones, stands as one highly recommended historical text with which secondary and community college students can engage in closer, more detailed study of the *Amistad* case's relevance in world history. Published by Oxford University Press in paperback in 1987, Jones' study marshals a broad variety of primary sources from American, Spanish, and British archives, in addition to those housed in the Amistad Research Center, currently under the auspices of Tulane University in New Orleans. Jones' prose is delivered in a clear, engaging style that mitigates the legal and diplomatic complexities of the case which captured the attention of an interconnected Atlantic world. Jones' narrative clearly demonstrates how the rebellion served as a catalyst which unleashed both diplomatic and domestic political tensions in Atlantic nations during the nineteenth century. As one of the last jewels of the Spanish crown, Cuba's destiny was of key concern to the United States' security and integrity, due to its geographic proximity, trade, and slave-based economy. The British, on the other hand, had recently promulgated emancipation laws in its Caribbean possessions (in 1807), in contrast to Spanish Cuba, where slavery still existed to support a prosperous plantation elite whose interests closely corresponded with those of their American neighbors across the Florida Straits. The destiny of a group of Africans who fought for liberty "...and the pursuit of happiness" by overthrowing "tyranny" (in the idiom of the day) had serious ramifications for slave-owning societies and international diplomacy in the Western hemisphere during the nineteenth century: If the *Amistad* Africans were vindicated by the United States Supreme Court, would their release set a "dangerous" precedent for enslaved Africans in the Americas? Or, if the "murderous and mutineering" Africans were extradited to Cuba for execution under Spanish decree, would Britain utilize Spain's illegal involvement in the slave trade as a pretext for possible naval invasion and domination of Cuba, in violation of the recently declared Monroe Doctrine?

Jones' study negotiates the delicacies of these international and regional questions, and provides compelling evidence of the impact of the *Amistad* case upon the public opinion of an increasingly divided American citizenry on the eve of the Civil War.

Although Howard Jones does illustrate insightful documentation of Sengbe's interpretations and participation in the American court proceedings, the text could be enhanced by contextualizing the historical event from the vantage point of nineteenth-century indigenous West African societies torn asunder and destabilized by the slave trade. In light of the renewed historiographic interest in the *Amistad* case in American and world history, Jones' research in *Mutiny on the Amistad* will, it is hoped, be augmented by contemporary, indigenous African scholarship on the impact of the trans-Atlantic system upon pre-colonial West African societies.

In high school and community college courses, where smaller student/teacher ratios in the classroom setting have the potential of creating a more interactive, close-knit learning environment, teachers and students can integrate multi-media approaches in world history curricula that convey a crucial message about the study of history itself: The fact that there are various possible interpretations and methods toward understanding the past. Students' exposure to multi-media sources can assist them in discerning the ways in which historical events, periods, and actors have been represented across times. The utilization of film in conjunction with the analysis of more traditional bases of historical research (archival records, diaries, ships' logs, and government documents and secondary sources) provide a multi-dimensional aspect to the learning experience in an effort to derive more holistic understandings of the unfolding drama of world history.

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## ENDNOTES

1. Debbie Allen. DreamWorks Pictures' *Amistad* Web site: <http://www.amistad-themovie.com>.
2. Jesse Lemisch, "The Question of Agency," *The History Teacher*, Vol. 31, No. 3, May 1998, p. 386.
3. Sally Hadden, "How Accurate is Film," *The History Teacher*, Vol. 31, No. 3, May 1998, pp. 376-389.
4. Howard Jones, "Amistad: Movie, History and the Academy Awards," *The History Teacher*, Vol. 31, No. 3, May 1998, p. 380.
5. Nicholas Thomas, *In Oceania: Visions, Artifacts, Histories* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997), p. 36.
6. Nicholas Thomas, "Partial Texts: Representation, Colonialism, and Agency in Pacific History," *In Oceania: Visions, Artifacts, Histories* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997), pp. 35-36.
7. Ibid., pp. 34-36.
8. Ibid., p. 28.
9. Ronald F. Briley, "The Study Guide Amistad: A Lasting Legacy," *The History Teacher*, Vol. 31, No. 3, May 1998, pp. 390, 394.

WHA

The College Board has approved an AP World History test in the year 2001.

Complete information concerning this course will be covered in the 1999 fall edition of the *World History Bulletin*.

# BULLETIN BOARD



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To subscribe to the WHA list serve affiliate H-World, set your Web browser to the H-Net Web site, at <http://h-net.msu.edu>. Click on "discussion lists," and you will be directed to fill out a subscription form. After submitting this form, you will receive a membership form. On replying with information on the membership form, you will automatically be subscribed to H-World. The service is free. The co-editors are Whitney Howarth, world history doctoral candidate at Northeastern University; Patrick Manning, Director of the World History Center at Northeastern University; and Kenneth Pomerantz, Department of History at the University of California, Irvine. To submit postings, send them to:

[H-WORLD@h-net.msu.edu](mailto:H-WORLD@h-net.msu.edu)

THE WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION OF TEXAS  
ANNOUNCES A CONFERENCE

### WORLD 2000: TEACHING WORLD HISTORY AND WORLD GEOGRAPHY AND ITS ANNUAL MEETING

Friday and Saturday, 11-12 February 2000

Hyatt Regency on Town Lake, Austin

Recognizing the enormity of the challenge facing those who must teach courses encompassing all regions of the world and all periods of time, the World History Association of Texas and the National Council for Geographic Education have arranged this conference to offer help. Specifically, it will offer advice from specialists, both regional and thematic, as to what they consider is most important for survey course instructors to try to communicate to their students about major topics. Outstanding teachers will then conduct separate sessions on how to implement in the classroom the ideas suggested by the regional and thematic specialists. In addition, several sessions will address methodological problems posed by courses of such enormous scope. There will be about 75 sessions in all. Among those scheduled to take part are Eric Foner, Roger Louis, Immanuel Wallerstein, Alfred W. Crosby, William H. McNeill, Philip D. Curtin, Peter N. Stearns, L. Michael White, Michael Adas, Peter Hugill, Harm deBlij, Herman Viola, James F. Petersen, Richard Boehm, and Fred W. Shelley.

More information, including the preliminary program and registration information, is available on the conference Web site: <http://www.dla.utexas.edu/world/2000>.

## MANUMISSION IN THE ATLANTIC WORLD

### CALL FOR PAPERS

The College of Charleston's Program in the Carolina Lowcountry and the Atlantic World will host an international conference from October 5-8, 2000, on Manumission in the Atlantic World.

Direct proposals for papers should be sent to: Professor Rosemary Brana-Shute, Department of History, College of Charleston, 66 George St., Charleston, SC 29424. Phone: 843-953-5563; phone/fax: 843-766-7929; e-mail: [brana-shuter@cofc.edu](mailto:brana-shuter@cofc.edu). The deadline for proposals is March 1, 2000.



# MORE BULLETIN BOARD

## THE BLACK WORLD IN 1900

The Black and Asian Studies Association (BASA), with the support of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies (University of London), is planning a conference, The Black World in 1900, to be held in about two years' time.

By the "Black World" we mean Africa and the African diaspora. 1900 — and the years immediately before and after — was a very exciting time. Think, for example, of the Pan-African Conference held in London, which was attended by Africans, African Americans, and Caribbeans! On the negative side were, e.g., the Boer War, but one of the results of this was that political organizations were formed in order to attempt to influence events.

We would like the conference to address those years as broadly as possible. Please send comments and suggestions, and publicize this as widely as possible. Thank you!

For those of you who have not heard of us: BASA was formed in 1991; we publish a newsletter three times a year; have run our own conferences on various aspects of the history of Black peoples in Britain; and played a key role in organizing the 1995 conference to commemorate the 1945 Pan-African Congress, and in the Paul Robeson conference held earlier this year. We are currently organizing a national conference to look at the issue of Ethnic Minority Archives in Britain.

For further information, please contact: Marika Sherwood, Institute of Commonwealth Studies by e-mail: <[marikas@sas.ac.uk](mailto:marikas@sas.ac.uk)>.

## OHIO STATE SUMMER WORKSHOP ON MIDDLE EASTERN CULTURES

Summer Workshop on Middle Eastern Cultures, June 21-July 2, 1999, is a two-week course offering 6 quarter credit hours of graduate-level work at The Ohio State University. Through lectures, presentations, readings, discussions, films, and cultural activities, the course introduces pre-collegiate social studies teachers and interested others to cultural patterns and issues of contemporary society in the Middle East, i.e., the Arab world, Iran, Israel, and Turkey. No prior knowledge of the target cultures or their languages is necessary. Application deadline is May 15, 1999, but applications will be accepted thereafter on a rolling basis according to space available. For information, applications, and financial aid opportunities, contact Kim Schreiber at 614-688-4406; e-mail: [schreiber.38@osu.edu](mailto:schreiber.38@osu.edu).

## SOCIETY FOR INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION INTERNATIONAL INTERDISCIPLINARY CONFERENCE CALCUTTA, INDIA 1-4 AUGUST 2000

### CALL FOR PAPERS

The Society for Indian Philosophy & Religion will hold an International Interdisciplinary Conference in Calcutta, 1-4 August 2000. The conference theme is Language, Thought and Reality: Science, Religion and Philosophy.

The theme can be addressed critically, reflectively, and creatively by the philosophical, religious, and scientific traditions of the world's great civilizations. The program will include plenary addresses, volunteered papers, invited papers, and panel discussions. Registered participants who are members of professional associations or societies are encouraged to submit proposals for holding meetings in the conference on behalf of their associations or societies. The organizers are committed to upholding the highest academic standards with emphasis on the exchange of ideas and face to face dialogues among thinkers drawn from a wide range of the world's cultural traditions and movements.

Some suggested topics: Knowledge and Reality, Appearance and Reality, Alternative Logics, Relativity and Relativism, Relativism and Absolutism, Moral Relativism, Ontological Relativism, Epistemological Relativism, Cultural Relativism, Deconstructionism, Existential Phenomenology, Culture and Meaning, Emptiness, Theories of Truth, Theories of Meaning, Theories of Consciousness, Eternal Sound, Realism and Idealism, Materialism and Spiritualism, Artificial Intelligence, Cognitive Science, Transcendence and Immanence, Skepticism, Agnosticism, Mysticism, Esotericism, Sociology of Religion, Science and Religion, Science and Philosophy.

The Advisory Board is comprised of: Kisor K. Chakrabarti (USA), Willem Derde (Belgium), Owen Flanagan (USA), Michael Ferejhon (USA), Jonardan Ganeri (UK), Robert Goldman (USA), Michael Howard (USA), Gerald Larson (USA), Chris Ross (Canada), Isaac Nevo (Israel), Leon Schlam (UK), Sukharanjan Saha (India), Braj Sinha (Canada).

Program Committee: Guy Beck (USA), Anjan Dasgupta (India), Linda Bennet Elder (USA), Devasish Mukherjee (India), Kim Vaz (USA), Peter Westbrook (USA).

Arrangements have been made for airline tickets, at substantial discounts, and a seven-day trip inside India. Interested persons should contact the organizers. Hotel reservations during the conference have also been made. Information will be available online at <http://www.elon.edu/chakraba>. Registration: The advance registration fee for the conference is \$80, and on-site registration is \$120.



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## THE EMERGENCE OF THE ATLANTIC ECONOMY

### CALL FOR PAPERS

The College of Charleston's Program in the Carolina Lowcountry and the Atlantic World will host an international conference from October 14-16, 1999, on the emergence of the Atlantic economy in the late medieval and early modern periods. In recent years, a substantial body of new work has been published by Europeanists, Africanists, and Americanists on aspects of this topic, and the time seems right both to bring together these findings and to attempt to analyze and interpret Atlantic exchange and production relations at higher levels of historical generalization. At the conference we hope to provide a forum for new micro studies and for broader examinations of the systematics of the emerging Atlantic economy as a whole.

Please send paper proposals to: Professor Peter Coclanis, Department of History, Hamilton Hall, CB# 3195, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3195. Phone: 919-962-9824; fax: 919-962-1403; e-mail: coclanis@unc.edu.

For registration information contact: Professor Randy J. Sparks, Department of History, College of Charleston, 66 George St., Charleston, SC 29424. Phone: 843-953-8273; fax: 843-953-6349; e-mail: sparksr@cofc.edu.

## UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER, UNITED KINGDOM INTERDISCIPLINARY CONFERENCE

**Colonial Places, Convict Spaces: Penal Transportation in Global Context  
ca. 1600-1940  
December 9-10, 1999**

### CALL FOR PAPERS

On December 9-10, 1999, the Department of Economic & Social History, University of Leicester (UK) will host an interdisciplinary conference, Colonial Places, Convict Spaces: Penal Transportation in Global Context, ca. 1600-1940. Its aim is to draw together scholars researching the penal transportation of convicts in European and colonial context. Geographically, it will span Europe, the Americas (including the Caribbean), Australia, India, Southeast Asia, and the Indian Ocean. Themes explored will include: The significance of convict labor to colonial expansion, the nature of convict societies, issues of colonial control/disciplinary strategies, gender, "race" and transportation, convict art and narratives, and convict "resistance" and "identity." Proposals for papers on any aspect of penal transportation and/or convict societies are, however, invited.

Abstracts of not more than 800 words (for papers of approx. 20 minutes) should be e-mailed to the conference organizer: Clare Anderson, ca26@le.ac.uk (as a cut-and-paste NOT an attachment); or posted, on Mac-compatible disk, to: Clare Anderson, Department of Economic & Social History, University of Leicester, Leicester, LE1 7RH UK. In addition, please include the following details: name, current position/title, address, e-mail address, and research interests.

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