

World History Bulletin

Spring 2004

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Letter from the President

Spring 2004

Dear WHA members,

Becoming president of the World History Association has forced me to contemplate the nature of this great organization as well as my own capacities to head it. At the top of my list of what makes the WHA great are our members. Not only are WHA members deeply committed to world history, but our cordiality and cooperation also makes our meetings both collegial and fun. WHA members regularly undertake all sorts of initiatives to advance the field of world history and to help others keep up with its scholarship. We are a bottom-up organization.

Volunteers. I feel reassured by these qualities in the WHA's members when I contemplate the many daunting duties that I face as president. Because WHA officers are unpaid volunteers, too, and hold down full-time jobs, the elected leaders cannot hope to undertake major projects on their own. Sensing this constraint, my immediate predecessors as president, Carter Findley and Ralph Croizier, created a new administrative center and helped raise enough funds to keep it afloat for the foreseeable future (i.e., my own term in office). Our hard-working Executive Director Kieko Matteson (now a new mother) and her equally diligent administrative assistant, Jenna Dearth (who managed brilliantly during Kieko's maternity leave) have managed to give the WHA a greater clarity of organization, a polished professionalism, and the well-organized files to keep us on an even keel. However, our two part-timers in Hawaii are not a power center but an administrative one, dedicated to helping the membership do what we do best: network and build world history.

New Teaching Journal. I am happy that one of my first official acts as president has been to sign an agreement bringing *World History Connected: The EJournal of Learning and Teaching* into the WHA family in a more formal way. The journal was the brain-child of Heidi Roupp, one of the most energetic and productive members (and past presidents) of the WHA. Under the agreement authorized by the Executive Council in January, *World History Connected* will now be designated an official WHA publication, although it will remain a separate legal entity. Under the able direction of WHC's editors, Heather Streets (Washington State University) and Tom Laichas (Crossroads School), one issue has appeared and another is in the offing. Check it out at <www.worldhistoryconnected.org>.

Other WHA publications. Our older publications, and the volunteers who sustain them, have run up enviable records. Jerry Bentley is now in his fifteenth year as editor of the *Journal of World History*. The *Journal* begins 2004 by doubling its frequency of publication to four issues a year, which will help it reach its ever-growing readership among our membership and interested folks outside. Our oldest publication, the *World History Bulletin*, is now in its twentieth year of publication. Micheal Tarver, who has ably managed the *Bulletin* since taking the helm in 2002, will be stepping down as editor with this issue. I want to thank Micheal and his staff for their heroic efforts to get the *Bulletin* out on time and in a form that makes us proud. We greatly need to find a replacement for Micheal to carry on that work. **Any volunteers out there?**

A committee is rethinking the content of the *Bulletin* as the result of changes two decades have brought since the *Bulletin* began as the WHA's only publication. In particular, the existence of our new on-line teaching journal, *World History Connected*, will require close coordination of the "Teaching Forum" feature to avoid dupli-

cation of efforts. In addition, the need to get news and other communications out to the membership on a more timely and frequent basis makes it likely that some news and announcement functions will be taken over by electronic communications from the Executive Director to all members. However, it seems likely that the *Bulletin* will continue as the publication of record of what WHA members are thinking and doing.

Conferences. The years 2004 and 2005 are set to see some impressive conferences. The conference on "World History: The Next Ten Years," organized by another WHA stalwart Pat Manning is about to take place as I write this letter. Hosted by World History Center at Northeastern University, and co-sponsored by the WHA and the American Historical Association, it is the first of what we hope will be regular conferences organized around issues of research and teacher training in world history. The fourteenth annual WHA meeting, taking place this June 17-20 at George Mason University, promises to be bigger and better than ever (see elsewhere in this *Bulletin* for the details). As previously announced, the fifteenth annual WHA meeting in Cape Town, June 26-28, 2005, will be our first gathering on the continent of Africa.

Finances and budgets. The finances of the organization continue to remain strong. Under Carter V. Findley's skillful management our endowment during 2003 has increased from about \$16,000 to about \$21,500. Since this is only about \$15 per member, we need to work to increase that fund to ensure the stability of the WHA in the future. A reasonable goal would be an endowment fund of \$100,000. To achieve that goal we must rely on the continuing generosity of our members. I hope that those who review their estate plans during the coming months will also keep the WHA in mind.

As our hard-working Treasurer Roger Beck reports, the WHA's operating expenses during 2003 were nearly in balance with our expenses, due partly to a healthy surplus generated by the well-attended 2003 meeting at Georgia State University. Budget projections for 2004 anticipate a similar outcome, with only a slight deficit, which our assets can easily absorb. My projections for 2005 are not so rosy since we cannot hope that attendance at the Cape Town conference will yield more than a slight surplus. However, there is hope that foundation grants may cushion that situation, while providing some additional funds to subsidize some participants travel to South Africa. I will let you know if we are successful in obtaining outside funding.

Let me close by encouraging your activism from below:

- Keep up your good work; build local networks to encourage the growth of world history.
- Support our publications by your readership and submissions.
- Volunteer to be the new editor of the *Bulletin*.
- Come to our conferences to learn, teach, and find allies.
- Keep us solvent by your generous contributions and by recruiting new members.

Sincerely,

David Northrup

Editor's Note: This issue of the *World History Bulletin* marks the final issue under my editorship. I have endeavored to build upon the successes of my predecessors and create a *Bulletin* for the future that the members of the World History Association would be proud of. I hope that I have at least partially achieved this goal. My thanks to all of my friends and colleagues who assisted me over the past few years in this project. Peter Dykema will continue as Book Review Coordinator, thus providing some continuity for the new Editor. With best wishes,

*Micheal Tarver
Arkansas Tech University*

**World History Association
Executive Committee Meeting
January 7, 2004
Marriott – Wardman,
Washington, D.C.**

Present: David Northrup, Ken Curtis, Roger Beck, Deb Johnston, Pat Manning, Ralph Croizier, Jenna Dearth, Michele Forman, Ken Pomeranz, Ane Lintvedt, Alfred Andrea, Heather Streets, Howard Spodek, John Richards, Pat Manning, Steve Gosch, Susan Douglass, Jerry Bentley, Linda Black, Jacky Swansinger

Meeting began at 3:00 p.m.

Ralph Croizier introduced newly elected Executive Council members and offered his congratulations to the new President, David Northrup, and the re-elected officers, Roger Beck and Jacky Swansinger.

2. Outgoing president's final remarks

The meeting opened with Ralph Croizier's final comments on his presidency.

Inner City Initiative (ICI) – Kieko Matteson and Annette Palmer are developing contacts with social studies coordinator in the DC district. The possibilities are still being explored. Although this item is not on the agenda, President Croizier did wish to inform the council of its existence. The working group for this action consists of Anand Yang, Howard Spodek, Ken Curtis, Annette Palmer, and Michele Forman. A lunch meeting will be held on Saturday, January 9.

Croizier said the most significant accomplishment of his presidency was to establish procedural and administrative structures. The last two years saw the set up of headquarters in Hawaii and development of communication with members. In the past eight months, the focus has been on creating a strategic plan. It will be up to the incoming administration to set priorities.

On a more serious note, at the present time, the WHA is discussing funding possibilities for ICI. An AHA representative will be meeting with the WHA during this conference to discuss this initiative.

The WHA's funding is in good standing. The budget projections were distributed to the committee by email. Although we are presently running a small deficit, about 3%, there is no tremendous loss, nor bleeding from the revenue fund. Although President Croizier said he did not wish to nor could he tell the new administration what to do, he would suggest

they could do worse than to tighten up the money. There remains a need to be cautious. The organization needs to use administrative resources more efficiently.

Ralph concluded by proposing a new motion: That the WHA Executive Council creates an honorary membership for Kieko Matteson's new baby daughter, Amika Matteson, born December 30th. (Howard Spodek moved the motion, Swansinger seconded). Motion approved unanimously, with full sympathies extended to Amika (laughter).

President Croizier concluded by thanking all of the members of the Executive Council for their work, their confidence and their support.

3. David Northrup assumes the presidency.

President Northrup thanked Ralph for his leadership and service.

Approval of the minutes of the June Executive Council meeting was moved to the next meeting, since the official copies were printed in the Bulletin and not available to the Council at this time. [Note: these minutes were actually already approved via electronic vote in October. K.M.]

4. Treasurer's Report: Roger Beck

The Treasurer's Report was forwarded to the Executive Council via email.

The emailed report indicated \$70,000 in revenues from dues. However, a large number of membership renewals were filed in December and raised the organization's end of year revenue figure. Discussion ensued regarding the revenues and expenses of December, not included in the report.

The distributed profit and loss statement shows the organization with a loss of \$22,000, but did not include December's figures.

Discussion followed on the possibility of arranging yearly audits and their potential costs. Additionally, questions were raised regarding the various organization accounts in more detail.

David Northrup made a motion to approve the Treasurer's report – Howard Spodek moved, and Deb Johnston seconded. David Northrup commended Roger Beck. Motion approved, no negatives, no abstentions.

5. Executive Director's Report - Jenna Dearth reported for Kieko Matteson

The call for papers for the 2004 WHA Conference to be held at George Mason June

17-20 is available on the WHA web site. All submissions can be sent to headquarters in Hawaii. Advertisement and discussion of the conference has been on the back burner during the fall, but will move to a higher profile this spring.

New members and renewing members can now pay on line, using their credit card. Members can also choose to download the WHA membership form and send it by regular mail to the Treasurer.

Roger Beck believes this new format will make a difference in our membership numbers. This is a secure on-line registration and we are hoping to develop on-line conference registration in the near future.

Database – We reported during an earlier meeting about our contredemps with the effort to institutionalize a WHA database. Presently, we are working to reorganize and develop our database and are testing a beta version for bugs and functionality. We have every expectation that the database will be up and running within the next couple of months. It should have past, present and future data on members. It will archive more of our institutional information, such as awards, conferences, prizes, etc.

Discussion followed on workload and staffing issues at headquarters during Ms. Matteson's temporary absence. Members of the Executive Council said they would be happy to help.

6. Discussion of relevant issues raised by Committee Reports (circulated by email prior to meeting):

WHA annual Conference Report: George Mason University (June 2004) – Proposed keynote speakers include Peter Stearns, Joseph Harris of Howard University on Diaspora, and Thomas Barfield on Central Asia. Unfortunately, Professor Barfield is committed to being in Afghanistan for the elections to be held this summer. There is a strong possibility that he will have a schedule conflict. The Council chose to release Professor Barfield from his commitment to the WHA and inquire if Professor John Mears would consider speaking on empires in antiquity.

An agreement has been reached with Hyatt-Fairfax for housing during the conference.

2005 Conference in Capetown – This is additional information for members who are considering attending the WHA annual conference in Capetown, South Africa and who might consider adding the International Congress of Historical Sciences ((ICHS) conference to their agenda. Sydney, Australia is hosting the ICHS on July 5, 2005. This is a conference that

occurs every five years. Dave Kennedy is chairing the program - there are forty of fifty affiliated societies that probably do not have their programs finished, if members should wish to get on that program.

General comments on committee reports:

Prize Committees Reports – The Student Paper Prize Committee received six submissions, including both graduate and undergraduate categories. The Committee is beginning to see serious submissions in world history proffered from middle school, high school and college level. The Committee coordinates with Phi Alpha Theta.

NCSS – The NCSS conference will be held in Baltimore in Fall, 2004. This could be an opportunity to introduce more teachers to various interpretations of world history, particularly since teachers are now beyond their first reaction to what and how to teach world history. Ane Lintvedt would be happy to discuss or aid anyone interested in proposing sessions for this conference. Deb Johnston indicated that team teaching would be a good way to initiate this discussion.

7. Discussion of “Procedures Manual” and of the function of the WHA committees.

The Council held a general discussion on membership figures. Are they growing? Are they stagnating? Is there a high turnover rate? The Membership Committee, the Treasurer and the Executive Director’s office expect that these questions will be better answered when the database is operative.

Members raised questions about the existence and function of the Grants Committee. A suggestion was offered that it be dismantled and restructured under the purview of the Executive Director. A similar process was made in regards to the Fundraising Committee, since it too, should be closely articulated with headquarters.

Discussion focused on the function of the Grants Committee, to make sure that the central office is not being overwhelmed with requests and commitments, without making the gatekeeping function autocratic.

Suggestions were offered for creating granting opportunities in regards to the Northeastern Conference in March 2004, or for a Fulbright-Hayes in conjunction with the conference in South Africa, or for teaching institutes in the spring.

The fundraising committee could compose a letter describing the resources of the WHA and its members that could be used to explore the

possibility for seminars with business people.

8. Assisting WHA affiliates

It was moved that “the WHA make available to existing or new regional affiliates grants of not more than \$750 per meeting to provide transportation expenses for keynote speakers and/or members attending that meeting or conference. Affiliates will have to apply to the Executive Council, through the Executive Director, not less than three months before the said meeting. Priority will be given to organization of new affiliates and restarting those that have become inactive. International affiliates will be eligible to apply for grants to assist their members, especially elected officers, to participate in WHA sponsored conferences in North America.”

Ken Pomeranz moved the motion, Steve Gosch seconded.

An enthusiastic discussion followed that centered on how to help affiliates in their efforts to proselytize and organize regionally in the field of world history. Although money is necessary and useful to this function, it is not as necessary as committed people. The original motion was amended through the following changes: John Richards offered to amend the sum from \$750 to not more than U.S. \$1000, seconded by Steve Gosch.

All approved, no abstentions. Motion passed. Friendly amendment – Instead of stating, “existing or new regional affiliates” insert “existing affiliates” could apply for \$1000. This change opens the field to international affiliates.

Motion further amended from “to provide transportation expenses for keynote speakers” to “provide expenses for keynote expenses”.

Motion amended to indicate that the “WHA will make available to existing affiliates U.S. \$1000 for expenses of keynote speakers and/or members attending that meeting or conference. Priority will be given to revitalization of affiliates.” Passed, no opposition.

9. Publications

The *Journal of World History* is doing well, having recently moved from a semi-annual to a quarterly publication. The very success of the publication mandates it seek more submissions to maintain its quality.

David Northrup brought a motion to the Council regarding an agreement between *World History Connected* (e-journal) and the WHA. The council’s discussion included description of the e-journal, relationship between University of Illinois press and WHC,

the nature of the membership for WHC, and a recapitulation of the history of the agreement. The Council concluded this was a very straightforward agreement and looked solid. A few questions were raised regarding the form and content of the legal contracts and status of the ejournal.

David Northrup described the agreement as a first step in creating a relationship between WHC and WHA. The relationship may or may not open up, but this was a good beginning. Ane Lindveldt seconded the motion. Motion is for an agreement based on principles listed in under publications (circulated by email), subject to providing information requested (agreements, incorporation) to exec board. All passed, no objections or abstentions.

Future of the *World History Bulletin*

Roger Beck opened the discussion by pointing out that the *Bulletin* needs an institutional home. Comments included possibilities that the WHA could outsource it to lower costs. Further discussion led to questions regarding the nature of the *Bulletin*’s mandate.

A recommendation was made to create a committee to look at options for the *Bulletin*. Items that should form a part of the inquiry would be: *Bulletin* as a setting for public relations and institutional news (although this could be provided electronically), how to make membership worth for the price, need for teaching columns, reviews, conferences, etc.

Other Business items

WHA Committees and procedures

A document listing all the WHA committees and members was distributed by email prior to the Executive Council meeting. This opportunity was taken to request discussion and motions that might alter, change or improve the structure. The policy suggested by the Executive Committee is that committee chairmanships should be rotated every three years. This will allow more talent and more sharing of responsibilities throughout the WHA. Ane Lintvedt added that this kind of rotation would be nice for the Committee on Committees.

A workshop or panel for the affiliates could be developed at the George Mason Conference. This would be in line with our past efforts to make workshops available for members.

New Business

A brief discussion of brochures and table staffing for the AHA conference occurred.

Adjourned: 6:30 pm.

**General Business Meeting
of the
World History Association
January 8, 2004
Marriott – Wardman,
Washington D.C.
5:00 pm**

Opening Comments – David Northrup, new President

President Northrup opened the meeting by welcoming all present and introducing the new members of the Executive Council and WHA officers. His opening remarks focused on defining the new administration.

He described how proud he was to assume the mantle of the presidency of the WHA. This honor is not simply another line on a resume, but rather an opportunity to continue discovering and discussing the future and the past. The World History Association is about as good a balance between what the past says for itself and what we can learn from it.

Additionally, the WHA has proven to be an organization of the most highly committed people he (David) has ever encountered. This field remains free of ideological disputes, and members remain humble, careful to listen to each other – in case some one should discover something s/he did not know – and show humility without fear of intimidation.

Immediate predecessors, who have worked well and hard and efficiently – have transformed the organization into something very different from where it was just a few years ago. Ralph Croizier has transformed the organization. It is intimidating and humbling to follow in the steps of a long-line of successful, committed and effective leaders.

Northrup noted that it is also intimidating to know that he has a full-time job and must find time for new initiatives, his job, and research. There is no support that exists beyond the Executive Director, but the center can only do so much, for we all have limits. “I have every hope that the spirit of volunteerism, which is so amazing, will once again rise to the fore and meet this new challenge. This organization is full of members who have their own activities, projects, agendas and plans.

“WHA members need to know that they can come to me [David] with suggestions and ideas, but they also need to come with a list of what they will do to accomplish these new ideas and who will be working with you to realize them. This is a great organization, but we need to understand that the administration cannot do it alone.”

Business Meeting

1. Approval of General Business Minutes at Atlanta. Passed unanimously.

2. Treasurer’s Report

The deficit at the end of the year was approximately \$5,000. Adding 50 –75 new members could remedy this over the course of the next year. Registration for new and renewing members is now available on our web site, <http://www.thewha.org> and we hope to accommodate registration for the conference at George Mason University this June this way as well.

3. Motions Passed by Executive Council

A new motion was passed to make grants of U.S. \$1,000 available to WHA Affiliates for expenses to increase viability and membership. Revitalization of affiliates is a key item of this action.

A second motion was passed to approve in principle an agreement between the WHA and WHC (*World History Connected*, an e-journal for teaching) to establish an official relationship.

4. *World History Bulletin*

Micheal Tarver, the editor of the *World History Bulletin*, is unable to continue in his present capacity due to increasing responsibilities at his home institution. This appears to be a good moment to discuss the future of the *Bulletin*. A committee is being established to examine the future of the *Bulletin*. Questions that have been raised include: the need for more frequent communication with the membership, electronic news, teaching needs, conference news, etc. The committee would like to hear from the membership regarding any particular concerns and/or recommendations they would like to make regarding the publication.

5. Conferences

March 12-14, 2004 – NEH and WHA sponsoring a conference in Boston – World History: The Next Ten Years: Research, Teaching and Graduate Education.

April 17-19, 2004 — NERWHA conference, Salem, Massachusetts, in conjunction with the New England American Studies Association. Theme: “Globalizing U.S. History.”

June 17-20, 2004 – WHA Thirteenth Annual Conference at George Mason University. The call for papers is available on the WHA web site.

Themes for conference in June:

Peter Stearns – Social history in world history
Joseph Harris – African Diaspora
John Mears – Empires in world history before 1500

June 2005 – Fourteenth annual WHA Conference in Cape Town will be co-sponsored with two other organizations, the South African Historical Society and Safundi, the scholarly group behind the *Journal of South African and Comparative American Studies*.

6. *Journal of World History*

The *Journal* changed last year from a bi-annual publication to a quarterly. Members should consider and encourage submissions to the *Journal*.

7. Maggie Favretti, chair of the Teaching Prize Committee, encouraged everyone to submit or nominate world history teaching prize candidates. The deadline is April 15.

8. Readers are needed for the Advanced Placement world history test readings in Nebraska this summer. College professors are particularly encouraged to participate.

9. Questions and discussion of WHA finances occurred. Various suggestions were made to seek sources and encourage funding for the South Africa conference.

Meeting adjourned at 5:50 pm.

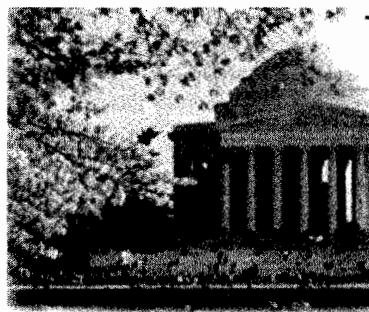
Member News Item

On February 19 Heidi Roupp hosted a College Board AP Central online professional development workshop entitled “Africa’s Discovery of Europe, 1450-1850.” The event featured a presentation by David Northrup, who answered questions submitted in advance and online, based on his recent Oxford University Press book of the same title. The event is archived at <http://collegeboard.horizonlive.com> under “Archived Sessions.”

There are numerous works which need to be reviewed. If you are interested, please contact Peter Dykema at peter.dykema@mail.atu.edu.



The World History Association 13th Annual Conference
June 17-20, 2004
George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia



The World History Association (WHA) will hold its 2004 Annual Conference at George Mason University (GMU) in Fairfax, Virginia. The themes of this year's conference are: *Social History as World History*, *Diasporas in World History*, and *Empires in World History before 1500*. The featured keynote speakers will be: Peter Stearns, George Mason University; Joseph Harris, Howard University; John Mears, Southern Methodist University.

Conference events will run from Thursday, June 17th to Sunday, June 20th and will include a two-day book exhibit, lunch, various panel and roundtable discussions, and receptions. *Please note that lunch is included in the registration fee, however conference-goers must pre-register for the conference by June 4th to guarantee their lunch.*

The GMU campus is a short metro ride from Washington, D.C. and offers plenty of hotel accommodations, including the Hyatt Fair Lakes Hotel in Fairfax, Virginia, the official conference hotel. For reservations, call 1-800-233-1234 or 703-818-1234 and ask for the special WHA conference rate of \$99 per night, plus tax. Internet reservations can be made at <http://fairlakes.hyatt.com/groupbooking/whac>. The Hyatt will provide complimentary transportation to George Mason University during the conference. Please make your hotel reservations early!

Information about reserving dormitory rooms at GMU will be posted shortly on the WHA website, <http://www.thewha.org>. For additional accommodations close to GMU that are served by public bus service linking the campus and DC's METRO Orange Line, see the Visitors' Center on the university's website, www.gmu.edu/vcenter and follow the links to "Hotel Information" as well as links to "Directions" and "Campus Maps."

To pre-register for the 2004 WHA Conference, please complete the corresponding form, or visit the WHA website at <http://www.thewha.org> to print out a form or register on-line. Please direct all questions and concerns regarding the 2004 Conference to the WHA Headquarters, 808-956-7688 or the-wha@hawaii.edu.

REGISTRATION FORM
World History Association Annual Conference
George Mason University, Fairfax, VA
June 17-20, 2004

NAME _____ *(As you wish them
to appear on badge)*
AFFILIATION _____
MAILING ADDRESS _____

PHONE _____ FAX _____ EMAIL _____

REGISTRATION

REGISTRATION FEE*

AFTER MAY 1, 2004**

WHA Members	\$110	\$_____
Non-Members	\$130	\$_____
Students (w/photo ID)	\$35	\$_____

*Refundable via written request up to May 15, 2004. Price includes lunch.

**One-day rates will be available on-site.

HOUSING

The official hotel of the 2004 WHA Conference is the Hyatt Fair Lakes Hotel in Fairfax, Virginia. For reservations, call 1-800-233-1234 or 703-818-1234 and ask for the special WHA conference rate of \$99 per night, plus tax. Internet reservations can be made at <<http://fairlakes.hyatt.com/groupbooking/whac>>. Please make hotel reservations early! Dormitory accommodations and parking information will be available shortly on the WHA website, <http://www.thewha.org>.

TOTAL ENCLOSED: \$_____

PLEASE MAKE CHECKS / MONEY ORDERS PAYABLE (IN U.S.\$) TO THE WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION

CREDIT CARD INFORMATION

Visa/MasterCard/Discover:# _____ *(Sorry, AmEx not accepted)*

Expiration Date: _____

Signature: _____

SEND YOUR COMPLETED FORM & PAYMENT TO:

**World History Association
Sakamaki Hall A203
2530 Dole Street
University of Hawai'i
Honolulu, HI 96822 U.S.A.
Fax: (808) 956-9600 Tel: (808) 956-7688**

Email: thewha@hawaii.edu



Announcing World History for Us All

<http://worldhistoryforusall.sdsu.edu>

The Department of History at San Diego State University and the National Center for History in the Schools at the University of California, Los Angeles, announce the launching of *World History for Us All*, a web-based model curriculum for world history in middle and high schools. *World History for Us All* will be available to all educators and the public on **15 July 2004**.

K-12 history and social studies educators are looking for ways to teach world history that are coherent, logical, and engaging for students. *World History for Us All* offers an innovative model for comprehensive, conceptually integrated study of the human past from remote times to the present.

As a field of teaching and learning, world history ideally embraces all humanity. To make the global past intelligible, teachers must define concrete subject matter, questions, time periods, and themes, then investigate them in systematic ways. Too often, teachers find themselves moving from one topic, country, and civilization to another arbitrarily and to the neglect of larger patterns of historical meaning. *World History for Us All* connects subject matter anchored in specific times and places to a conceptual frame of guiding ideas and organizational tools.

This framework includes

- Learning objectives
- Rationales for study
- Principles of selection
- Conceptual overviews and background essays
- A world-scale periodization
- A guide to critical skills development
- A glossary
- A set of themes and essential questions

This superstructure is then integrated with a logically organized selection of teaching units, including lesson plans, activities, handouts, assessments, and resources. All units and lessons on the web site will be available in PDF format for easy classroom use.

World History for Us All:

presents the human past as a single, integrated story rather than as multiple, unconnected stories of different civilizations and countries.

helps students relate the histories of particular civilizations and regions to world history as a whole.

helps teachers cover subject matter specified by district, state, and national standards within a conceptually coherent framework of ideas.

offers a treasury of teaching units and lesson plans.

guides teachers in addressing history from early times to the present without excluding major peoples, regions, or time periods.

helps students understand the past by linking specific subject matter to larger historical concepts and patterns.

Is founded on up-to-date research in world and comparative history.

Includes correlations to state and national standards and to widely-used textbooks.

Is applicable to either middle or high school classes and to either one-year or multiple-year programs in world history, culture, and geography.

The World History for Us All Approach

In developing world history courses, educators typically draw on a wide variety of resources. At one level, are the general guidelines put forward by education agencies and public interest groups. These include content standards, curriculum frameworks, core knowledge guidelines, and topical checklists. On another level, teachers have a wealth of print, visual, electronic, and institutional resources and opportunities to help in developing specific units and lessons. *World History for Us All* integrates these two levels of resources by providing a specific, detailed intellectual and organizational plan for teaching and learning about the human past.

World History for Us All is founded on the rapidly growing body of scholarly literature in the field. This research employs innovative methods of analysis and interpretation to enrich our understanding of cross-cultural and global patterns. The model curriculum also draws on recent educational research on how children learn, interpret, and understand history. This work has shown that students remember and understand the past more effectively when they make cognitive links between specific subject matter and larger patterns of historical significance.

World History for Us All is a resource for all middle and high school classrooms. It draws substantially on the organization and content of the National Standards for History, Basic Edition (National Center for History in the Schools, 1997). Its approach is also compatible with the Advanced Placement World History course.

World History for Us All organizes the global past in nine major Big Eras:

1. Humans in the Universe (13,000,000,000 - 200,000 Years Ago)
2. Human Beings Almost Everywhere (200,000 - 10,000 Years Ago)
3. Farming and the Emergence of Complex Societies (10,000 - 1000 BCE)
4. Expanding Networks of Exchange and Encounter (1200 BCE - 500 CE)
5. Patterns of Interregional Unity (300 - 1500 CE)
6. The Great Global Convergence (1400 - 1800 CE)
7. An Age of Revolutions (1750 - 1914 CE)
8. A Half Century of Crisis (1900 - 1950 CE)
9. Paradoxes of Global Acceleration (1945 - present CE)

The World History for Us All Project

World History for Us All is an ongoing multiyear collaboration among middle and high school teachers, university historians, and specialists in educational technology. A core team of eighteen educators has guided development of the site during the past three years.

The project has been supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Ahmanson Foundation, the National Center for History in the Schools, and the San Diego State University College of Arts and Letters. The project director is Ross E. Dunn, Prof. of History, San Diego State University. The Associate Directors are Edmund Burke, III, Prof. of History, University of California, Santa Cruz, and David Christian, Prof. of History, San Diego State University. The project manager is Laura Ryan. World History for Us All is a collaboration of SDSU and the National Center for History in the Schools (UCLA), Gary B. Nash, Director.

Two-Phase Release of the Model Curriculum

World History for Us All is a continuing project whose instructional resources will continue to grow in the coming years. As of the 15 July 2004 release date, all major elements of the model curriculum for Big Eras One through Five will be complete. All elements of the curriculum for Big Eras Six through Nine will be completed by the summer of 2005.

Teachers and schools interested in piloting all or part of World History for Us All are invited to email Laura Ryan, World History for Us All Project Manager at lorabell56@aol.com. The web site under construction is currently password protected, but educators may contact Laura Ryan for access information.

Please send any news you wish to share with other WHA members to: The World History Association, Sakamaki Hall A203, 2530 Dole Street, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI 96822 U.S.A. Fax: (808) 956-9600 Tel: (808) 956-7688 Email: thewha@hawaii.edu

RECENT EVENT OF INTEREST

Globalizing U.S. History: A NERWHA Conference

The Northeast Regional World History Association, in joint sponsorship with the New England American Studies Association, recently present the conference "Global New England: The Meaning of Region in the Nation and the World" at the Peabody-Essex Museum of Salem, Massachusetts and Salem State College's Downtown Center, April 16-18.

With origins stretching back to the late eighteenth century's East India Marine Society, the Peabody-Essex is the United States' oldest world-history museum. Appropriately located in

one of New England's historic port cities, the Peabody-Essex is dedicated to the history of maritime trade and travel beyond the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn and is famous for its China-trade artifacts and one-of-a-kind treasures from Oceania. The museum's most recent acquisition is the Yin Yu Tang, a late Qing dynasty merchant-family residence, which offers an intimate glimpse into Chinese daily life over the past two centuries.

Keynote speaker at the conference was Maggie Favretti, a long-time member of the WHA and former WHA Executive Council member. A high school teacher for over 20 years, Maggie teaches both U.S. and world history at Scarsdale High School.

Fourteenth Annual WHA Conference

South Africa, Africa and the World: Global and Comparative Perspectives

June 2005, Cape Town, South Africa

The WHA's fourteenth annual conference will take place June 26 through June 28, 2005 at the University of Cape Town. It is co-sponsored by the WHA, the South African Historical Society (SAHS) and Safundi, an online community of scholars, professionals, and others that publishes the *Journal of South African and Comparative American Studies*.

Accommodations will be available at the Breakwater Lodge on the UCT Business School campus. For more info on local housing, see: http://www.iall.org/iall2003/Hotel_Information.pdf

Registration will be separate for the members of each organization. WHA members and non-members submitting papers through the WHA should register on the WHA website. (Note: the call for papers for SAHS has already been announced, as its members require a year's advance notice to secure funding, which depends on an already-accepted paper.)

Stay tuned for the call for papers and further details regarding accommodations and registration, which will be posted on the WHA website later this year, at <http://www.thewha.org>!

Teaching Forum

1204 Seen from 2004: Teaching the Fourth Crusade

Presented at a joint AHA/WHA Session
January 10, 2004

Introduction by A. J. Andrea, Chair

Eight hundred years ago today a crusader army and fleet was camped along the northern shore of the Golden Horn. Today it is the charming district of Pera, which attracts tourists in search of fine restaurants, a vibrant night life, luxury hotels, consulates, and buildings that retain much of their nineteenth-century splendor. In 1204, however, it was an unattractive extramural suburb of the city with more open space than not, and the crusaders who were camped there were angry, bewildered, and increasingly desperate.

The young Greek prince whom they had raised to the imperial purple and on whom they had pinned their hopes for substantial contributions to their crusade had turned against them. Just nine nights earlier, on January 1st, the young emperor had, for the second time, launched fireships against them in an unsuccessful effort to destroy their fleet and, thus, cripple the crusaders beyond recovery. Just three days earlier, on the 7th, the Westerners had beaten back a Byzantine attack on a crusader contingent that was placed outside the city's northwestern land-walls.

Despite this victory, the crusaders could not have been sanguine regarding their chances. Here they were, a force of about 30,000 soldiers, sailors, and marines, facing a city that contained many times that number of men able to bear arms. Constantinople just might be the most unsuccessfully besieged city in the annals of history. Almost since its dedication as the New Rome in 330, it faced and beat back Goths, Huns, Persians, Avars, Slavs, Pechenegs, Arabs, Rus, Vikings, Turks, and a wide variety of other enemies. For eight and a quarter centuries it met and successfully resisted the best that its would-be conquerors could throw at it. Its massive triple landwalls were apparently impregnable, and its sea and harbor walls were only a little less imposing.

Yes, if I were laying odds eight hundred years ago today, I would have to say that the crusaders were 99 to 1 dark horses. But I have never been good at handicapping horses, so why should crusaders be any different?

As we all know, through sheer courage and with a lot of good

luck (and never discount fortuna as a factor in human history), the crusaders captured the city on 13 April, thereby ushering in the Latin empire of Constantinople, which would enjoy a precarious existence down to 1261.

*The Fourth Crusade is an event or, better, series of events of great significance to world historians. Among other things, it was the launching pad for the creation of a number of new Western colonies and states in the eastern Mediterranean—some of which continued into the seventeenth century—and it made possible direct Western access to the Black Sea and the rich Silk Road markets of Inner Asia. It was the event beyond all others that made final the rupture between Western Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Christianity. It also crystallized trends of decentralization that had been working to pull apart the Byzantine empire for more than a century. Although the Byzantines regained Constantinople in 1261, the recovered empire was a pale shadow of its former self. Simply put, the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 was intimately connected with the city's capture in 1204. As Michael Angold has recently argued in his masterly study, *The Fourth Crusade* (London: Pearson, 2003), 1204 witnessed the shattering of a civilization.*

For all of its significance, however, the Fourth Crusade remains misunderstood and, I might add, generally poorly taught in our schools and universities—if it is taught at all.

Today under the joint sponsorship of the World History Association and the AHA, one of the world's leading scholars of the Fourth Crusade and two master teachers have joined forces, as it were, to help us understand better how we might teach the Fourth Crusade in our world history courses, and how we might use it to help students explore and become comfortable with the complexities and ambiguities of history.

*Our first speaker today is Thomas F. Madden, professor of History at the University of Saint Louis. Among his voluminous publications, many of which have shed new light on the often-misunderstood Fourth Crusade, are two books that deserve special note: 1) the 1997 book, *The Fourth Crusade*, 2nd edition, which he coauthored with the late Professor Donald Queller; and 2) his recent biography of Enrico Dandolo, doge of Venice and a prime actor in the Fourth Crusade. Professor Madden has chosen as his topic “The Enduring Myths of the Fourth Crusade.”*

Our second speaker is Maggie Favretti, a teacher at Scarsdale High School. Ms. Favretti has been teaching and developing courses in world history for 20 years, is a past member of the WHA's Executive Board, and currently serves as chair of the WHA's Teaching Prize Committee. I should also point out that she claims descent from several participants of the Fourth

Crusade. She has chosen as her topic, "Constantinople: A Sitting Duck for Crusaders in a Venetian Blind? Teaching the Politics of Memory and the Fourth Crusade."

Our third speaker is Lorraine Lupinskie-Huvane, who recently assumed the position of chair of Social Studies at Calhoun High School in New York. Her service to world history includes not only teaching AP and non-AP world history to a variety of students, but she is also a hard-working member of the WHA's Membership Committee. She has chosen as her topic, "The Fourth Crusade: A Case Study in What Went Wrong?"

Madden: The medieval Crusades are today tightly bound up in a web of popular myths that seem impervious to attempts to dispel them. Perhaps no Crusade, however, is as encrusted in myth as the Fourth Crusade. It pervades the popular media, including most popular histories, and often appears in otherwise fine textbooks, which in turn inform our teaching. The Fourth Crusade attracts myths for two reasons. First, it is a complex event that was powered by complex men with often complex and contradictory motives. It is easier and in some ways more satisfying simply to label the historical actors as “good” or “bad” and thus explain the Crusade. Secondly, the outcome of the Crusade – the conquest and sack of Christian Constantinople – naturally lends itself to emotional responses like moral outrage, bitter recrimination, or dismissive condemnation. These, in turn, color the entire perception of the Crusade as it is read from back to front.

In this paper I will examine some of the enduring myths of the Fourth Crusade – myths that have long since been dispelled by scholars yet live on in classrooms and the media.

It was once possible to speak of two schools of scholarly thought concerning the Fourth Crusade. The Treason School held that some actor or group of actors worked behind the scenes to divert the crusade from Egypt to Constantinople. Some fingered Pope Innocent III as the villain, while others accused Philip of Swabia or Boniface of Montferrat. Most, however, blamed the Venetians, led by their old and blind doge, Enrico Dandolo. The Accidents School argued that there was no villain or conspiracy, but simply a series of unforeseen events that led to the diversion of the crusade. Both schools of thought had their favored sources: treason theorists focused on the account of Nicetas Choniates, a Byzantine senator in Constantinople at the time, Ernoul's continuation of William of Tyre's Chronicle, written some years later in the crusader states, and the *Gesta Innocentii*, a contemporary history of Innocent III's pontificate. Accident theorists, on the other hand, cast doubt on the ability of these second-hand accounts to discern motives or even accurately to report the facts on the ground. Instead, they favored accounts written by the crusaders themselves, such as Geoffrey of Villehardouin, Robert of Clari, or Hugh of St. Pol.

The debate over the diversion of the crusade began to be settled with the publication in 1977 of Donald E. Queller's *The Fourth Crusade*.¹ The best researched treatment of the event thus far, Queller's book demonstrated that the complexity of events surrounding the crusade made it simply impossible for anyone to control them. The Venetians, Queller argued, were not responsible for diverting the crusade, but instead were attempting to manage a disastrous situation not of their making. Queller by no means convinced everyone. Reviews of his book praised its erudition, but some criticized it for engaging in special pleading for the Venetians. Donald M. Nicol, one of the last true Treason theorists, virtually ignored Queller's work in his own

later book, *Byzantium and Venice*, published in 1988. But new scholarly research, much of it produced by Alfred J. Andrea as well as others, only reinforced Queller's conclusions. Thus, by 1997, when Queller and I published a second edition of *The Fourth Crusade*, the treason/accident question was no longer controversial among historians of the event.² In a recent summing up of Fourth Crusade historiography, Michael Angold accepted the 1997 book as the last word on that particular subject. It is simply no longer tenable, he maintained, to believe that the Venetians, or anyone for that matter, willfully diverted the crusade against Constantinople.³ Today, I know of no crusade historian who accepts any sort of treason theory to explain the outcome of the Fourth Crusade. All current general histories of the crusades written by scholars present the Fourth Crusade without a hint of conspiracy.

I should hasten to point out, though, that the settling of this one question by no means puts an end to all scholarly disagreements concerning the Fourth Crusade. But it does indicate that rigorous scholarly investigation can and does produce tangible progress. One question may be settled, but there are many, many more with which to wrestle.

Crusade scholars may have rejected the Treason School of thought, but it is still alive and well in popular accounts of the Fourth Crusade. In part this is just one facet of a much larger disconnect between scholarly understanding of the crusades in general and the popular perception of them as portrayed in books and the media. Crusade historiography was both blessed and cursed by the publication in the 1950s of Sir Steven Runciman's three-volume epic *A History of the Crusades*. Blessed, because Runciman gave an eminently readable account of the great sweep of the crusades to a broad audience. Cursed, because Runciman's work was so successful that his vision of the crusades has become etched into popular consciousness. In the media interviews that I have given after the attacks of September 11, reporters and hosts were invariably surprised to learn that a great many of their assumptions about the crusades had long ago been disproved. Those assumptions were Runciman's assumptions, held by people who in most cases had never heard of the man. They remain frozen in time, seemingly impervious to half a century of new scholarly research.

As far as the Fourth Crusade is concerned, Runciman belonged squarely in the Treason School. Philip of Swabia, he maintained, conspired to divert the crusade so as “to make the Eastern Empire client to the Western.” Boniface of Montferrat, “a man of few Christian scruples,” was also part of the plan. Enrico Dandolo and the Venetians, Runciman claimed, had secretly made a treaty with the sultan of Egypt to keep the crusade from arriving there. Dandolo, who Runciman reported had been blinded by the Byzantines, was willing to help divert the crusade to Constantinople in order to exact his revenge. Thus the Fourth Crusade was little more than “a scheme hatched between the Venetians and the friends of Philip of Swabia.”⁴

Runciman did not invent these myths, but he did more than anyone else to perpetuate them. They are, however, myths. Scholars have known for more than a century that the so-called “False Treaty” between Venice and Egypt never existed. The origin of the mirage was a confused reference to a later treaty between the two states made several years after the conclusion of the Fourth Crusade. Similarly, numerous scholars have cast doubt on the story of Dandolo having been blinded by the Byzantines. Based on recently uncovered archival documents I have demonstrated elsewhere that Dandolo's blindness had nothing at all to do with the Byzantines, but was the result of a blow to the head which he suffered in 1174 or 1175.

Nevertheless, in one form or another, Runciman's interpretation of the Fourth Crusade is the one found in most popular accounts. Since Philip of Swabia is somewhat obscure, however, he is usually dropped in favor of placing all of the blame on the crafty Venetians. That is how the crusade is presented by Terry Jones in his truly horrible BBC/A&E documentary, *The Crusades*. It is also the basis for narratives in Ernle Bradford's *The Sundered Cross* (also titled *The Great Betrayal*) and John Godfrey's *1204: The Unholy Crusade*.⁵ Alan Gordon uses it in his popular medieval murder mystery, *Death in the Venetian Quarter*. The news media does the same. Fortunately, the Fourth Crusade is not often in the news. However in May 2001 when Pope John Paul II traveled to Athens to meet with Greek Orthodox prelates newspapers around the world gave historical background to the tensions between the two Churches, which of course included the Fourth Crusade. *The Times* of London was typical, reporting that the Venetians forced the crusaders to attack Constantinople. The city was then brutally sacked by the "rapacious Venetians." (For some reason *The Times* also reported that Philip of Swabia was the leader of the crusade...).⁶

It is perhaps not too surprising that popular accounts cling to the now vacant Treason School of thought. A dark conspiracy led by a blind, vengeful old man is much more entertaining and easier to understand than the intricate web of errors, misunderstandings, and cross-purposes that actually drove the Fourth Crusade.

Interestingly, and perhaps hopefully, the most recent popular history of the Fourth Crusade, W. B. Bartlett's *An Ungodly War*, actually rejects the conspiracy theories. Nevertheless, the book is still riddled with errors.

What about the classroom? Have the fruits of modern research on the Fourth Crusade made it there or do the same myths prevail? I asked that question almost ten years ago in an article published in *The International History Review*.⁷ Then I surveyed the ways in which the Fourth Crusade was portrayed in a number of introductory and upper-division text books. Although I found factual errors in all of the accounts, only one of twelve blamed the diversion on a conspiracy – hatched by the Venetians, of course.

For this paper I decided to do a similar survey. I asked two of my colleagues at Saint Louis University, Charles Parker and Philip Gavitt, if they would loan me some of those examination copies that presses so frequently send faculty who teach freshman surveys. The next day I found two giant mountains of books on my office desk. I would like to thank both of them for their help. Here is what I found:

First I collected fifteen world history or western civilization text books. Of those fifteen, six had no substantive errors. These were Cannistraro and Reich, *The Western Perspective*; Chambers, Hanawalt, Rabb, Woloch, and Grew, *The Western Experience*; Kishlansky, Geary, and O'Brian, *Civilization in the West*; and McKay, Hill, and Buckler, *A History of World Societies*.⁸ The two best accounts of the crusade were in Winks, Brinton, Christopher, and Wolff, *A History of Civilization*; and Hollister, McGee, and Stokes, *The West Transformed*.⁹ This is undoubtedly due to the presence of top-notch medieval scholars on these teams, namely C. Warren Hollister and Robert Lee Wolff.

I was surprised to discover that of the other nine introductory textbooks I examined, all employed the treason theory to explain the outcome of the crusade. Greer and Lewis's *A Brief History of the Western World* puts the blame on a widespread conspiracy. "But the leaders, while on their way, plotted with the Venetians to switch the expedition from its original objective. They knew

that Constantinople was a richer prize than all the Holy Land — and that it could be taken more easily. ... Thus long-desired and ill-concealed goals were momentarily realized by the papacy, the Venetians, and the French aristocracy — all at the expense of Byzantium."¹⁰

The other eight introductory textbooks that I examined were unanimous in blaming only the Venetians. Interestingly, most of the old myths used to explain Venetian culpability, which still live on in popular accounts, are not used in these modern textbooks at all. So, for example, none accuse the Venetians of having made a treaty with the sultan of Egypt to divert the crusade. None assert that the Byzantines blinded Doge Enrico Dandolo, who then used the crusade as the tool of his revenge. Instead, it is commercial and financial interests that cause the Venetians to divert the crusade in these textbooks.¹¹

In Kagan, Ozment, and Turner's *The Western Heritage* (which I use myself), the authors describe the French crusaders as "poor soldiers of fortune who were unable to pay the price the Venetians demanded for their transport," thus implying that they were overcharged – something disproved by Queller more than thirty years ago. I can think of no way in which the crusaders could be understood as soldiers of fortune. In any case, the authors claim that the crusaders "allowed Venice to seduce them into storming the most important Christian city in the east, Constantinople."¹² In their expanded world history text, Craig, Graham, Kagan, Ozment, and Turner, *The Heritage of World Civilizations*, they state simply, "The Fourth Crusade became an enterprising commercial venture manipulated by the Venetians."¹³

Two textbooks, Coffin, Stacey, Lerner, and Meacham, *Western Civilizations*; and Bulliet, Crossley, Headrick, Hirsch, Johnson, and Northrup, *The Earth and Its Peoples*, state (incorrectly) that because the crusaders had failed to pay their debts to the Venetians, the latter diverted the crusade to Constantinople in order to settle accounts.¹⁴ This is simply incorrect. After the capture of Zara the crusade leaders could go where they wished. It was the crusade leaders, not the Venetians, who negotiated the deal with Alexius the Younger and agreed to divert the crusade to Constantinople.

Two of the textbooks I examined cast the Byzantines and the Venetians as commercial competitors. The crusade was diverted, therefore, because the Venetians wanted to crush their rivals. Spielvogel, *Western Civilization*, states that "The Venetian leaders of the Fourth Crusade saw an opportunity to neutralize their greatest commercial competitor, the Byzantine Empire."¹⁵ Similarly, Brummett, Edgar, Hackett, Jewsbury, Taylor, Bailkey, Lewis, and Wallbank, *Civilization: Past and Present*, claims that "in order to eliminate Byzantine commercial competition, the Venetians pressured the crusaders to attack Constantinople itself."¹⁶ This, too, is not right. From the Venetian perspective, Byzantium was not a competitor, it was a market. In fact, for Venice it was the largest market in the world. The vast majority of overseas Venetian trade went through Byzantine ports. Venetian doges, including Enrico Dandolo, negotiated meticulous commercial treaties to insure that trade in Byzantium remained lucrative.

Recognizing this fact, some textbooks report that the Venetians diverted the crusade to Constantinople because they wanted to acquire a monopoly on trade there. This seems to have originated with Ostrogorsky's *History of the Byzantine State*, which, while more than three decades old, is still used in Byzantine history courses. He wrote that "As long as there was a Byzantine emperor in Constantinople, Venice could never be sure that it would keep its position of monopoly. The only solution seemed

to lie in the elimination of the Byzantine Empire, and the best means of achieving this was to take part in a crusade and divert it to the conquest of Byzantium.”¹⁷ Aside from the fact that there is no evidence to support that this “solution” was ever envisioned in Venice, it is also not correct that Venice had a “monopoly” of any kind in Byzantium. Venetians had trade agreements and privileges there, but so too did other European merchants. Venetians did plenty of business in Constantinople, but so too did their competitors from Genoa, Pisa, Amalfi, Bari, and elsewhere.

The allure of a monopoly is also cited by Tierney and Painter in *Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, with one modification. Instead of seeking to *preserve* a monopoly, as Ostrogorsky alleges, Tierney and Painter accuse the Venetians of wanting to *establish* one in Constantinople. They write, “the Venetians were far more interested in their own commercial enterprises than in the recovery of the Holy Land, and especially in securing for themselves a monopoly of the lucrative trade with Constantinople. From the beginning the Venetians perverted the crusade.”¹⁸ This is followed by Hunt, Martin, Rosenwein, and Smith in *The Making of the West*, who report that “The Venetians then turned their sights toward Constantinople, hoping to control it and gain a commercial monopoly there. They persuaded the crusaders to join them.”¹⁹ This monopoly, though, makes as little sense as Ostrogorsky’s. It is not clear how any state could impose a monopoly on Byzantium’s vast market. It is worth pointing out that after the conquest of Constantinople, when Venetians were part of the new imperial government, that they never had anything like a monopoly on trade there. If a monopoly was indeed their motivation for conquering Constantinople, why did they not impose it?

Upper-division medieval history text books, not surprisingly, do better. Of the five I examined, only Tierney and Painter blamed the diversion of the crusade on the Venetians. Backman, *The Worlds of Medieval Europe* gives a confused account, apparently conflating the attacks of 1203 and 1204 (a common error in introductory textbooks), but no myths are perpetuated.²⁰ The accounts in Cook and Herzman, *The Medieval World View* and Peters, *Europe and the Middle Ages* have no errors, although both are quite short.²¹ The best account in any textbook is found in C. Warren Hollister’s *Medieval Europe: A Short History*.²²

Traditionally, Byzantine history textbooks have been the most likely to accuse the Venetians of having diverted the crusade to Constantinople. This is probably because Byzantinists know best the Greek sources, which are invariably hostile to Venice. As I mentioned before, Ostrogorsky places the blame firmly on the Venetians and their doge. Browning’s more recent textbook, *The Byzantine Empire*, says much the same thing. Dandolo, Browning claims, was “not in the least interested in ousting the Moslems, with whom Venice carried on a lively and profitable trade. But he was eager to eliminate the empire, which he saw as the last obstacle to securing Venetian supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean.”²³ One might ask, however, if Venetians indeed wanted to avoid having the crusade attack their trading partners, why would they favor sending it against Byzantium, their greatest trading partner? The most recent Byzantine history textbook, though, breaks with this tradition. Treadgold’s *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, provides an excellent account of the crusade based on the very best research available. No myths here.

The Fourth Crusade is an important event, but it is only one of a great many. I do not wish, therefore, to be overly critical of authors of introductory textbooks who are, after all, trying to relate all of human history in one volume. Anyone who writes a textbook is going to make mistakes. I certainly did when writing

mine on the crusades – a much more modest topic. My interest here, though, is attempting to discern what effect scholarship on the Fourth Crusade has had on the way it is explained in the classroom. If textbook content is any indicator, and I think it is, then it appears that it has had some effect. Secret treaties, personal vendettas, and clandestine conspiracies appear nowhere in these textbooks. Those myths have not endured – at least not in the classroom. Yet there appears to remain a strong reluctance in many texts to part with the idea that it was the Venetians who diverted the crusade for their own ends. Their guilt seems to stem from the fact that they were businessmen. The unspoken assumption here is that Venetians, because they were capitalists, were inherently concerned only with the bottom line. Commercial interests, therefore, are simply incompatible with the idealism of the crusade. This, in turn, is one part of the much larger myth of Venice, a subject that goes far beyond crusade historiography.

Nevertheless, one need not believe that capitalism corrupts all that it touches (and I do not) to legitimately ask whether Venetian commercial interests did indeed lead it to divert the crusade. This question has, in fact, been explored quite a lot in the last two decades by scholars such as Donald Queller, Louise Buenger Robbert, David Jacoby, John H. Pryor, and others. These studies have shown that prior to the Fourth Crusade the overriding Venetian interest was in preserving the extremely profitable status quo in Byzantium. From the Venetian point of view, Egypt was a much preferable destination for the crusade, since Venetian merchants did almost no business there. The risks to Venice, therefore, were minimal and the opportunities for reward enormous. The Venetians built a fleet uniquely designed to capture Egypt. The inability of the crusaders to pay their bills, however, caused a crisis in both time and food, forcing the crusade to find some other means of support.²⁴

Two books published just this year also take on this question. The first is my own, *Enrico Dandolo and the Rise of Venice*, in which I demonstrate that the Venetians were in no way the proponents of a diversion to Constantinople.²⁵ The plan, instead, was presented to Dandolo and his countrymen *after* it had already been negotiated with Alexius the Younger and the agents of Philip of Swabia. Of course, Dandolo could have refused to go along with the plan. But to do so would have meant the dissolution of the crusade since the leaders would not accept being dropped off in Egypt with no provisions or fleet. The Venetians agreed to the diversion in order to keep the crusade alive. They did so, however, at great risk to Venice’s economic well-being, since an unsuccessful coup attempt might well lead to the expulsion of Venice’s merchants in Byzantium. In other words, Venetian commercial interests argued *against* a diversion to Constantinople. Only the survival of the crusade argued in favor of it.

The other new book is *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context*, by the Byzantine historian, Michael Angold.²⁶ This is an excellent work that places the events of the crusade into a much larger context. Angold points out that prior to the crusade Venice was very pleased with its economic position in Byzantium. Venetian efforts were focused, therefore, on expanding their share of other markets, particularly in the crusader kingdom and Muslim states where the Pisans and Genoese had a strong presence. The Fourth Crusade, therefore, offered the Venetians an excellent opportunity not only to serve God and his Church, but also to gain a foothold in the rich markets of Egypt. Venice, Angold argues, had a real need to restore Zara to obedience. But Venice had no interest in championing a new emperor in Constantinople, particularly since the current one had just con-

firmed all of Venice's commercial privileges there. Angold posits that Dandolo may have agreed to the diversion to Constantinople as part of a quid pro quo agreement with the crusade leaders. If they would help him capture Zara he would help them in Constantinople. If true, then the inability of the crusaders to pay for their passage may, in fact, have had little or no impact on the outcome of the crusade. In any case, a large body of research now makes clear that it was not the Venetians who convinced the crusaders to go to Constantinople, but the other way around.

Myths have surrounded the Fourth Crusade for the past eight hundred years. In that time some have been put to rest, but many more remain. More than a century ago the French medievalist Achilles Luchaire called on historians to stop investigating the Fourth Crusade, since it constituted "an insoluble problem." Fortunately, historians ignored this advice. And a new generation of scholars is preparing to do the same.

¹ Donald E. Queller, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople, 1201-1204* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977).

² Idem and Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

³ Michael Angold, "The Road to 1204: the Byzantine Background to the Fourth Crusade," *Journal of Medieval History* 25 (1999): 257-78.

⁴ Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953-57), 112-17.

⁵ John Godfrey, *1204: The Unholy Crusade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).

⁶ *The Times*, May 4, 2001 (Michael Binyon).

⁷ Thomas F. Madden, "Outside and Inside the Fourth Crusade," *International History Review* 17 (1995): 726-43.

⁸ Philip V. Cannistraro and John J. Reich, *The Western Perspective*, second ed. (Thomson Wadsworth, 2004), 280; Mortimer Chambers, Barbara Hanawalt, Theodore K. Rabb, Isser Woloch, Raymond Grew, *The Western Experience*, eighth ed. (McGraw Hill, 2003), 282-8; Mark Kishlansky, Patrick Geary, and Patricia O'Brian, *Civilization in the West*, 5th ed. (Longman, 2003), 278; John P. McKay, Bennett D. Hill, and John Buckler, *A History of World Societies*, 4th ed. (Houghton Mifflin, 1996), 371.

⁹ Robin W. Winks, Crane Brinton, John B. Christopher, and Robert Lee Wolff, *A History of Civilization*, 9th ed. (Prentice Hall, 1996), 178-79; C. Warren Hollister, J. Sears McGee, Gale Stokes, *The West Transformed* (Harcourt, 2000).

¹⁰ Thomas H. Greer and Gavin Lewis, *A Brief History of the Western World*, eighth edition (Forth Worth et al.: Harcourt, 2002), 312.

¹¹ In addition to those cited below, see also Steven Hause and William Maltby, *Essentials of Western Civilization* (Wadsworth, 2001), 166.

¹² Donald Kagan, Steven Ozment, and Frank M. Turner, *The Western Heritage*, Brief Edition, 3rd edition (Prentice Hall, 2002), 134.

¹³ Albert M. Craig, William A Graham, Donald Kagan, Steven Ozment, Frank M. Turner, *The Heritage of World Civilizations*, 3rd ed. (Macmillan, 1997), 422.

¹⁴ Judith G. Coffin, Robert C. Stacey, Robert E. Lerner, and Standish Meacham, *Western Civilizations*, 14th ed. (Norton, 2002), 320; Richard W. Bulliet, Pamela Kyle Crossley, Daniel R. Headrick, Steven W. Hirsch, Lyman L. Johnson, and David Northrup, *The Earth and Its Peoples*, 2nd ed. (Houghton Mifflin, 2001), 272.

¹⁵ Jackson J. Spielvogel, *Western Civilization*, fifth ed. (Thomson Wadsworth, 2003), 269.

¹⁶ Palmira Brummett, Robert B. Edgar, Neil J. Hackett, George F. Jewsbury, Alastair M. Taylor, Nels M. Baily, Clyde J. Lewis, and T. Walter Wallbank, *Civilization: Past and Present*, 9th ed. (Longman, 2000), 205-6.

¹⁷ George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, revised ed. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1969), 413-14.

¹⁸ Brian Tierney and Sidney Painter, *Western Europe in the Middle Ages, 300-1475*, 6th edition (McGraw Hill, 1999).

¹⁹ Lynn Hunt, Thomas R. Martin, Barbara H. Rosenwein, R. Po-Chia Hsia, and Bonnie G. Smith, *The Making of the West* (St. Martin's, 2001), 414-15.

²⁰ Clifford R. Backman, *The Worlds of Medieval Europe* (Oxford UP, 2003).

²¹ William R. Cook and Ronald B. Herzman, *The Medieval World View: An Introduction*, second edition (Oxford, 2004), 191; Edward Peters, *Europe and the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (Prentice Hall, 1997), 346.

²² C. Warren Hollister, *Medieval Europe: A Short History*, 8th ed. (McGraw Hill, 1998), 201-2.

²³ Robert Browning, *The Byzantine Empire*, revised ed. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1992), 187-88.

²⁴ See, e.g., Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, "Some Further Arguments in Defense of the Venetians on the Fourth Crusade," *Byzantion* 62 (1992): 433-73; Louise Buenger Robbert, "Venice and the Crusades," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton (Madison et al., 1969); David Jacoby, "Italian Privileges and Trade in Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade: A Reconsideration," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 24 (1994): 349-69.

²⁵ Thomas F. Madden, *Enrico Dandolo and the Rise of Medieval Venice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

²⁶ Michael Angold, *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context* (London: Longman, 2003).

Favretti: In one popular college-level textbook, the Fourth Crusade "against Egypt was diverted, at the instigation of the

Venetians, and against the orders of the Pope, to sack and divide Constantinople, which led to the western domination of the Byzantine empire for half a century." (Spodek). In another commonly-used book, Italian domination of eastern Mediterranean trade grew out of the Venetian-inspired assault in 1204 against the city of Constantinople, "...misleadingly named the 'Fourth Crusade.' This assault by Latin Christians on Greek Christians had little to do with the religious differences between them and much to do with Venice's desire to gain better access to the rich trade of the East" (Bulliet, et al). So how is this Crusade remembered? At least from these two sources, students might legitimately glean that Venetian greed and commercial ambition was the main instigation, and that religious differences played little or no role. They might also assume that the Pope forbade such conquest of other Christians, and that the Venetians manipulated the unsuspecting crusaders into a violation of papal edict. But the primary sources tell a significantly more complicated and in many ways different story. Actually, they tell several different stories, and many voices are not heard from at all. What is a student to think?

The Fourth Crusade provides an excellent opportunity to teach students about how memory is constructed in both private and public spheres. Most students erroneously credit primary sources with being the truth. But even the private narration inside one's own head is influenced by the wider world. And once the story is narrated to an audience, it takes on another shape. In its new, more highly politicized form, the story becomes a collective memory. The generation that read Villehardouin or Gunther of Pairis would rely on these tales to construct their narrative memories of the Fourth Crusade, even if they had been there themselves. Sam Wineburg's research into historical memory tells us that current generations of both 50-somethings and teenagers remembers Vietnam by quoting the film *Forrest Gump*. In March of 2003, the majority of my ninth-graders remembered 9/11 as the day that Saddam Hussein attacked the United States. So how can we best teach our students to understand the public nature of memory, in primary as well as secondary sources? How can we teach students, when even the strongest among them struggles to recognize the influences on their own memories, to read all narratives of the Fourth Crusade in their political and cultural contexts?

Try to imagine that, without fanfare, and while I was still laboring through my introduction, a young woman walked in here, asked Al to stand up, removed his chair, and walked out. I would stop, explain that sometimes you just have to acknowledge what presents itself, and ask you to write two or three sentences in your notes about what happened and why. This is your "private" narrative. When we shared these eyewitness accounts, some inevitable differences would emerge. Young pragmatists among you might see the act as the practical need for that particular chair in another room. Young feminists may see it as a victory. This view is shared by the Marxists among you, and those who revel in small victories of the young against the old, or the beauty against the beast. Some will detect a whiff of a set-up. The point is, that every interpretation will be slightly different, resulting in a discussion about why this is the case. What kind of story did you construct in your own head? What were the influences on that story? What did you assume about the woman? About Al? Why did you make those assumptions? What is the "lens" through which you view events in the world? Through this discussion, we can begin to see some of the public influences on our private memories, and we can safely assume that people living in

1204 might also have had influences on their private memories. What might some of those influences have been? Can we identify some of the influences on the specific narrators we know? And whose perspectives are missing? Can you imagine how some of the Muslims living near their mosque must have felt when it and their homes were torched in the dreadful August fire? Would they say it was collateral damage which was the result of the crusaders' need to create a firescreen between themselves and the more numerous Greeks, or would they say that this was a Christian outrage? How would a Genoese merchant living near the Bosphorus comment on the affair? How fascinating might it be to get inside the head of the blinded Emperor Isaac's wife, who would become later the wife of the Crusader Boniface de Montferrat? That, I suppose, will be the plot of my next unpublished novel, but for now, never forgetting those missing views, we have to focus on the evidence we DO have.

One good way to teach the next step, or the further politicizing of memories once they are shared, is to choose another situation familiar to many students, and to raise the tension a little bit. Ask the students to write down what grade they would consider to be a "bad" grade. Then ask them to imagine they have just received this grade for an essay that will carry heavy weight in their final grade. In notes, have students write down what they would tell their father and their mother (it may be a different tack for each), what they would say to their teacher, what they would say to a friend who likes the teacher, and what they would say to a friend who does not like the teacher. Suddenly, the narrative of the bad grade spins many ways, each one requiring the narrator to understand his or her audience. It's amazing how instinctively good students are at this spin-control. Depending on the nature of their parents, parental responses easily move from "Mom, I didn't get a great grade, but I've already made an appointment to see what I can do to improve it," to, "Mom, you know how we were saying that my teacher hates me?" Comments about the teacher run the same gamut, largely depending on a combination (again) of original perspective and audience. Discussion produces questions such as, why did you vary the telling? What was to be gained by adjusting the spin? How easy was it to change the spin of the story? How conscious are you of doing this when it's not part of an assignment? How did your memory of the event change as you told various people about it? And how will your telling of the story influence *their* memories of the grading experience? Students begin to see that audience influence on interpretation of events is assumed by the narrator, and the telling of a publicly appropriate narrative becomes second nature.

Now students are ready to begin reading primary sources, in this case about the Fourth Crusade. While there are many available sources, it's usually wise not to overwhelm students with them. A nice comparative group from which to study how memory and narrative works within a political and cultural context is the trio of Geoffrey de Villehardouin, (the Marshal of Champagne and then Romania, the Crusader-held areas of the Byzantine Empire), Gunther of Pairis, (the Cistercian brother and poet from the Alsace commissioned by Abbot Martin to record the abbot's narrative), and Niketas Choniates, a Senator in Constantinople. One fun and fairly quick point of view exercise to do after the narrators have been introduced is to pick three accounts of the same situation, say, the looting of the city and its relics, and give them to the students without telling them who the narrators are. Students then have to try to identify the author by the clues to the authorial perspective within the narrative. One account tells us that more booty was collected than in any other conquest in the world, and expresses the concern that the divi-

sion should be fairly and properly carried out. Another grieves for the loss of beautiful classical antiquities and accuses the crusaders of rampaging greed and fellow citizens of banality, returning to this theme over several pages. The third explains that the local clerics were relieved to have sacred objects stolen by men of the cloth rather than the secular alternative. Discussion can bring out the length of time after the event the accounts were composed, the intended audience, and identification of the specific clues to the "lens" through which the author saw or heard about the event. What likely assumptions did the author make? Why? To what extent did the intended audience influence the telling of the tale? In the case of the looting sections, when Villehardouin narrated his account (there is no evidence that he was able to read or write himself), he was already the Marshal of Romania, charged with fair resolution of feudal disputes. Choniates had had to flee Constantinople under the most dire circumstances, and Gunther composed his piece about Abbot Martin with the understanding that other clerics and monks would be the primary audience. Another level of the game is to try to identify the audience from the clues about spin in the text.

Other revealing sections are those having to do with the reasons for the sack of Constantinople, representations of the enemy, the need for regime change, and the nature of the conflict in the streets. I give students long sections from the three sources for homework (length depending on sophistication of students), with different groups reading different sources. A good way to start discussion the next day is to ask what happened, and whose fault was it? In all three of the sources, God plays a significant role. Choniates argues that the Greeks were punished for their own transgressions; forgetting about God in their thirst for power resulting in God's temporarily "forgetting" about them. Villehardouin asserts that God bestowed benefits upon those who remained loyal to the army. Gunther vows that God brought great punishment against the sacrilegious Greeks who had turned against Rome, and wanted to have the sacred relics returned, presumably to the hands of the true Church. Students must then consider why the stories are told this way.

The accounts vary predictably concerning the bloodiness of the conflict...Gunther reports very few Greek deaths at the hands of the Crusaders, Villehardouin gives a more balanced report, perhaps even understating Crusader losses, and Choniates relates bloodshed, rape, and terror. Students can reflect on why Villehardouin's account and Gunther's vary significantly, and why their assessment of the enemy is so different. Villehardouin seems most concerned about the enemy within, those Crusaders who did not keep their promises, and those who tried and in large part succeeded in eventually finagling their way out of continuing with the rest of the army. This problem fascinates him about the Greeks, too, as in a few places he says that people who betray each other in these ways do not deserve to govern great empires. Gunther's is uniformly filled with hatred of the Greeks and, even though he acknowledges that they are also Christian, sees them as lost and is unable to see them as an adversary worthy of respect. What do these accounts tell us about the public memories these men were trying to create?

Perhaps most remarkably, given our contemporary textbook accounts, in none of the three accounts are the main reasons for attacking Constantinople given as Venetian greed. Villehardouin blames those Crusaders who did not fulfill their financial obligation for the debt that bound crusaders to help the Venetians sack Zara. But efforts to restore young Alexius of Constantinople to the throne stolen from him by his uncle came from Alexius' appeal through his brother-in-law, King Philip of Swabia, directly to the Crusaders' sense of feudal justice. The Crusaders made

an agreement based on outrageously generous promises of riches to be gained and assistance in attacking Egypt and eventually regaining and protecting the Holy City. The promise to return Constantinople to the Roman Catholic realm pleased Pope Innocent. The Doge of Venice promised to help. After internal and external struggle placed the young Alexius on the throne, the Crusaders would not leave until they had received their due. The murder of the new Emperor Alexius was an act of war, and the crusaders conquered the city to relieve it of what they had been promised, and much more, for good measure. So why would the shorthand public memory have evolved into a motive based on Venetian greed? Who would stand to gain from the story being told with a little more culpability in the hands of the Venetians, already widely known for their commercial ambition, and a little less of it in the hands of the Crusaders? It is no surprise that the story might have been retold over the years to lift the blame off of the Pope's and the Crusaders' shoulders, especially to a supportive Roman Catholic and western European audience.

Skills for reading through the creation of public memory are necessary for understanding the past and the present. How many of our students will remember 9/11 as the day Saddam Hussein attacked the United States? Sadly, many of them already do. But perhaps if we spend some time using key historical sources like the narratives of the Fourth Crusade to teach about the politics of memory, our students will be better readers of the present, as well.

Lupinskie-Huvane: As a high school world history teacher, I admit that I rarely spend more than a day or two studying the Crusades in general and most of that time the focus is on the economic consequences. When Al asked me to be on this panel, I quickly accepted, thrilled at the chance "to hang with the big kids" (i.e. college professors and other academics), only later did I realize that he had said something about the Fourth Crusade – something that not only had I never taught, I knew virtually nothing about.

With Al's assistance, we sketched out the abstract for this session. I then began to do some preliminary research, meaning I "Googled" the Fourth Crusade. With the title of the abstract, "Holy War Gone Wrong" in mind, I researched, took notes, compiled a bunch of questions, and sent them on to Al. This was most likely a trying time for Al, as my questions clearly indicated that I had no firm grasp of what the Fourth Crusade was really about. As I recall, I was in the process of developing a plan that showed how this was a holy war gone wrong. After all, I read that the Crusade was called by the pope to get back control of Jerusalem and ended with the sack of Constantinople. Christians killing Christians? Pillage and plunder of holy relics? How could this *not* be holy war gone wrong? After sharing my thoughts with Al, he politely (while mentally cursing me and his decision to invite me to be a part of this panel!), emailed me back, something along the lines that he thought the session title was "tongue in cheek."

So, I locked myself in the library for a half day, focusing on some of the more recent scholarship on the events, and concluded that, indeed, I *was* missing the point. I also concluded that my thought process was reflective of how many others probably would perceive this crusade – at both the high school and college levels, students and teachers alike – in that, when examined as Event A, Pope Innocent III call in 1099 to free Jerusalem from the Infidel, and Event B, the sack of Constantinople and the

installation of a Latin ruler in the Eastern Empire, it would be easy, and not surprisingly so, to conclude that this *was* holy war gone wrong. With this in mind, I developed a series of activities that require students to examine and reexamine their perceptions (and misconceptions) of this holy war. The activities, taken together, allow students to explore the entirety of the crusade, almost exclusively from documentary evidence, in order that they might draw their own conclusions. The aim of the lesson is for students to see that this was not holy war gone wrong but, as Donald Queller and Thomas Madden have suggested that a fundamental mistake by the crusaders led to a series of erroneous and unfortunate decisions, decisions which paradoxically kept the crusade together. Of course, if in the end, your students don't conclude that it was not holy war gone wrong, just have them email Al, he'll set them straight.

As noted earlier, I began my research, as many of our students do, by plugging in the Fourth Crusade to a variety of search engines. Here's a sample of what I came up with:

In *Byzantium, Venice and The Fourth Crusade*, found in *The Southeastern Review* Donald M. Nicol's writes:

"The Greeks at the time were surely right in suspecting that it was the Doge of Venice, Enrico Dandolo, who steered the crusaders to Constantinople and then arranged things in such a way that they had a moral pretext for conquering it. As a general rule the Venetians considered crusades to be bad for business, unless they could see some financial profit to be made out of them. The Fourth Crusade was the most expensive gamble that they had ever undertaken; and it proved to be unbelievably good for business."

Serban Marin of the Romanian Institute of Humanistic Culture and Research writes:

" . . . the opinions that the Venetians provoked the 'deviation' of the crusaders' route, that the crusaders became nothing more than Venetians' mercenaries, that the Venetians were the central element in a well organized plot, and all the other positions that definitely blame the Venetians are only myths, for the same simple reason that the Venetians were also crusaders."

In the *History of the Christian Church, Volume V: The Middle Ages. A.D. 1049-1294*, Philip Schaff writes:

"It would be difficult to find in history a more notable diversion of a scheme from its original purpose than the Fourth Crusade. Inaugurated to strike a blow at the power which held the Holy Land, it destroyed the Christian city of Zara and overthrew the Greek empire of Constantinople. Its goals were determined by the blind doge, Henry Dandolo of Venice. As the First Crusade resulted in the establishment of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, so the Fourth Crusade resulted in the establishment of the Latin empire of Constantinople."

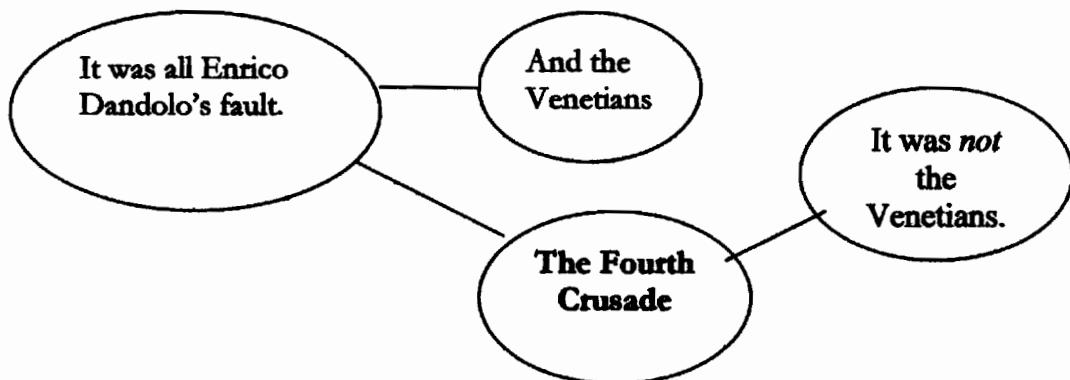
According to his editor's note, Thomas Madden indicates that Sir Steven Runciman argued:

"The crusades were "nothing more than a long act of intolerance in the name of God." Furthermore, in regard to the Fourth Crusades' conquest of Constantinople in 1204, "Runciman does not blame the West . . . he accepts that the popes sincerely wanted to assist their Christian brothers in the East and instead blames

gross misunderstandings between the sophisticated culture of Byzantium and the simple people of Europe."

In the first activity, I would use these samples, or comparable ones you may be familiar with in order for students to begin to see the varying views on this crusade. I would give each student only one of the quotes to examine and then call on students to summarize for the class the main idea of what they have read – perhaps recording these on a web. (See example). Students would then use this information to generate a series of questions that arise as a result of these "facts".

EXAMPLE:



Students may not immediately conclude, as does E. L. Skip Knox of Boise State University, "that the Fourth Crusade is one of the most important of all the major crusades", but they should see, as suggested by Knox, that it is "one of the most complex and certainly one that is easily misunderstood."

In the next activity, students examine a timeline of events beginning with Pope Innocent III's proclamation in 1198 and ending with Baldwin's coronation as the Latin emperor in May of 1204. Although most of the main events are on the timeline, important details and explanations are missing. After examining the timeline, students record their broad conclusions about the Fourth Crusade and generate another list of questions based on the information (or lack of) from the timeline. For example, although the timeline indicates that a treaty was concluded in early 1201 between the Venetians and envoys for the crusaders, the details and circumstances of the treaty are not provided.

At this point, students should have a fair grasp of the events of the crusade and a sense that there is limited agreement as to why these events progressed as they did and they have questions. Now is the time for them to explore the crusade through the documentary evidence.

A study and understanding of the documents allows students to find answers to the questions that they generated and forces them to consider any conclusions that have been drawn previously and even if they themselves have not yet drawn any conclusions, they are aware of the differing perceptions historians have of the Fourth Crusade.

Documents from the following sources will be examined: Robert de Clari, Gunther of Pairis, Baldwin I, Crusader let-

ters to King Otto IV and Pope Innocent III, Geoffrey de Villehardouin, and Niketas Choniates. For this document-based activity, I suggest having small groups of students look at all of the documents, perhaps completing a document analysis sheet for each. In groups, students read and edit the documents. Edited documents are then combined into a single Document Based Essay Question asking, "Was the Fourth Crusade Holy War Gone Wrong?" For the final assessment, there are several options: the teacher could use the students work to create a single DBQ which would then be used as a take-home question or in class assessment for individual students, or the teacher could have groups exchange the DBQ's they created. Regardless of which option is chosen, a whole class discussion should follow. The discussion should return to the quotes examined at the start of the lesson and the questions generated in the initial activities.

Comments by Andrea: I do not know how many of you have had the dubious pleasure of viewing Terry Jones's four-part video *The Crusades*. In my estimation, it does a terrible disservice to the crusades and to history on several levels, not least of which is the writer's propensity to indulge in facile generalities and black-and-white characterizations of the persons and events connected with some two hundred years of crusading in the Levant. Additionally, many of its supposed facts are based upon faulty sources or myths long ago proved false. Of all of the crusades that it touches upon, the Fourth Crusade is undoubtedly the one that is most distorted and misrepresented. Rather than attempting to deal with the complex interplay of persons and events that drove the crusade, Jones takes us to a *Carnivale* party in Venice where, shades of *Amadeus*, the doge of Venice, Enrico Dandolo, is portrayed as a devious masked individual who assumes command of the crusade army and then perverts it to suit the mercantile interests of Venice, all the while hoodwinking the simple-minded crusaders from the north. This might be good *commedia dell'arte*, but it is not good history.

Each of our participants today has put the lie to Jones's distorted version of history and has underscored something that each of us as historians and instructors of history must keep in mind: Our job is to help students become critical thinkers who understand the complexity of life and are comfortable with ambiguity. And the Fourth Crusade is a marvelous vehicle for doing just that. First of all, as the schema that I handed out suggests, it

is an extremely complex phenomenon with layers within layers. Second, almost all of the relevant and important primary sources for the crusade have been translated into English. Although this body of source material is too large for a survey course in world history or Western civilization, as both Maggie and Lorraine have demonstrated, the instructor can judiciously choose from among a variety of sources that present differing viewpoints and values and that allow students to discover for themselves the multiple factors and series of difficult decisions that led up to the events of 12-13 April 1204. I hope and trust that both Lorraine's and Maggie's equally fine lesson plans will soon be made available in the pages of the *WHA Bulletin*, so that you and others can benefit from them.

Tom's first-rate survey of how textbooks currently treat the Fourth Crusade has helped us to understand better how we all must ever be wary of the neat generalities that, of necessity, fill our textbooks. I do, however, want to point out one glaring lacuna in his survey. He failed to look at Andrea and Overfield, *The Human Record*, 4th edition, Volume I, where the Fourth Crusade figures prominently. He and I will discuss this privately—outside.

There is another, far more significant textbook that escaped Tom's radar: Lefton Stavrianos's classic *A Global History*, 7th edition (Prentice Hall, 1999). Anyone who knows Lefty realizes that the nickname fits him well, given his Socialist leanings and quasi-Marxist reading of history. To him the Fourth Crusade was the "businessmen's crusade," which was "characterized by the economic scheming of Venetian merchants,[and] the quest for loot and lands by Western adventurers" (Vol. I, The World to 1500, p. 207).

I do not want to single out Lefty, for whom I have the deepest respect, but along with Tom I want to underscore a verity that all three of our participants have suggested: the crusaders of 1202-1204 were driven by many different emotions and motives, and to reduce the crusade to an economic enterprise is to reduce its historical reality.

As Maggie and Lorraine have suggested in their lesson plans: When we fail to expose our students to life's complexities, contradictions, and shades of gray; when we fail to ask them to look at evidence critically and analytically; when we fail to try to help them get into the minds of people whose cultures and values differed substantially from our own; when we allow our students or ourselves to be satisfied with neat and simple stories that tie up the past into easily digested morality plays with heroes and villains, perpetrators and victims, then we have failed our students and we have failed history.

Tom Madden is now beginning what promises to be a long and fruitful research project in the archives of Venice as he seeks to write the history of medieval Venetian piety. And there is much for him to discover there. To my mind, when hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Venetians spontaneously joined their doge in assuming the crusader's cross on 8 September 1202, they did so not because of any desire to increase their city's profits but, rather, out of a genuine desire to serve their God and their Church. Regardless of what you or I might think of holy war and holy warriors, the religious fervor that drove probably most crusaders is a reality that we must keep in mind as we study this and every other crusade from 1096 to whenever we date the end of the crusading era.

Let me put it another way: When we forget or fail to see the piety and, yes, religious fervor, that drove the vast majority of crusaders to undertake a mission that offered them very bad odds when it came to survival, then we fail to do justice as historians to the past. As all three of our participants have suggested in one way or another, the Fourth Crusade, deserves better. Certainly our students deserve better.

I applaud all three of our participants for having reminded us that even such an apparently simple phenomenon as the Fourth Crusade—the crusade that went awry; the crusade that was supposedly perverted for economic gain; the crusade that was unholy—is simple only if we fail to look at it critically and in depth.

Graduate Award Opportunity

The Coordinating Council for Women in History and Berkshire Conference of Women Historians are pleased to announce the 14th annual competition for two \$500 Graduate Student Wards to assist in the completion of dissertation work. The awards are designed to support either a crucial stage of research or the final year of writing.

The CCWH/Berkshire Award is for a woman graduate student in a history department in an U.S. institution. The CCWH/Ida B. Wells Award is for a woman graduate student in a U.S. institution in any department, who is working on a historical topic.

The application deadline is October 1, 2004. Application forms for both awards are available at the CCWH website: <<http://theccwh.org/awards.htm>>. Any questions should be directed via email or telephone to Professor Ann Le Bar, CCWH Awards Committee Chair: alebar@mail.ewu.edu or 509-359-7952.

The World History Association Annual Book Prize for 2004

The 2003 WHA Book Prize has been awarded to Dr. Victor Lieberman, Professor of Southeast Asian History at the University of Michigan, for his *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800-1830*. Volume 1: *Integration on the Mainland* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Strange Parallels
Southeast Asia in Global Context
c. 800-1830



Congratulations Professor
Lieberman!

Victor Lieberman

Who Said That?!?

Voices from the fourth crusade

*M. Favretti
Scarsdale High School*

Was it Geoffrey of Villehardouin, a knight and Marshal? Appointed Marshal of Champagne, his main role was to resolve feudal disputes. With a reputation for fair-mindedness, he was not prone to exaggeration. After the Fourth Crusade, he was made Marshal of Romania, lands near Constantinople. He narrated his account.

Was it Gunther of Pairis? Gunther was a Cistercian scholar and poet who lived in the Alsatian abbey run by Abbot Martin. After Martin returned from the Fourth Crusade, he commissioned Gunther to compose his account so as to show the ways of God.

Was it Niketas Choniates? Highly cultured and literate, Niketas created his own account. He was a government official in Constantinople, whose observations of the royal family and rebel leaders are provided based on inside knowledge. He shared a home with a Venetian, who, by pretending to be a part of the invading force, protected Niketas and his family long enough that they could flee to safety once the city had fallen.

Read the attached accounts. Identify the narrative voice, and the audience, if you can. Identify the narrative clues (the “spin”) that led you to your conclusions.

ON LOOTING

Document One

“The rest of the Army, scattered throughout the city, also gained much booty; so much, indeed, that no one could estimate its amount or its value. It included gold and silver, table services and precious stones, satin and silk, mantles of squirrel fur, ermine and miniver, and every choicest thing to be found on earth. [I] here declare that, to [my] knowledge, so much booty had never been gained in any city since the creation of the world.

Everyone took quarters where they pleased, and there was no lack of fine dwellings in that city. So the troops of the Crusaders and the Venetians were duly housed. They all rejoiced and gave thanks to our Lord for the honor and the victory He had granted them, so that those who had been poor now loved in wealth and luxury.”

Document Two

“With an inward calmness yet in a truly terrifying voice, [x] thundered violently: “Come, faithless old man, show me the more powerful of the relics you guard. Otherwise, understand that you will be punished immediately with death.” The old man was truly terrified by the shouting rather than the words, inasmuch as he heard the former but could not understand the latter....Then, examining [x]’s face and dress and thinking it more tolerable that a man of religion violate the holy relics in awe and reverence, rather than that worldly men should pollute them, possibly with bloodstained hands, the old man opened for [x] an iron chest and showed him the desired treasure, which [he] judged pleasing and more desirable to him than all the riches of Greece. ...both he and the chaplain filled the folds of their habits with sacred sacrilege.”

Document Three

“The report of the impious acts perpetrated in the Great Church are unwelcome to the ears. The table of sacrifice, fashioned from every kind of precious metal and fused by fire into one whole—blended together into a perfection of one multicolored thing of beauty, truly extraordinary and admired by all nations—was broken into pieces and divided among the despoilers, as was the lot of all the sacred church treasures, countless in number and unsurpassed in beauty. They found it fitting to bring out as so much booty the all-hallowed vessels and furnishings...they led into the sanctuary of the temple itself mules and asses with packsaddles....

...Even more culpable were those who had raised the cross to their shoulders, who had time and again sworn by it and the sayings of the Lord...in truth, they were exposed as frauds.”

ON THE ENEMY

Document One

“Their inordinate hatred for us and our excessive disagreement with them allowed for no humane feeling between us.

.....Above all, it was a difficult and arduous task to mollify the barbarians with entreaties and to dispose them kindly towards us, as they were highly irascible and bilious and unwilling to listen to anything...He who spoke freely and openly was rebuked, and often the dagger would be drawn against him who expressed a small difference of opinion or who hesitated to carry out their wishes.”

Document Two

“Judge for yourselves, after hearing of such treachery, whether people who could treat each other with such savage cruelty would be fit to hold lands or would deserve to lose them?”

Document Three

“It certainly seemed proper that this people, which otherwise could not be corrected, should be punished by the death of a few and the loss of those temporal goods with which it had puffed itself up; that a pilgrim people should grow rich on the spoils from the rich and the entire land should pass into our power; and that the Western Church, illuminated by the inviolable relics of which these people had shown themselves unworthy, should rejoice forever.

...Greece, the scum of scum—a people impious to Greek kings,
Whom it is ont to butcher or blind.

An evil city, full of deceit and unworthy of the sun’s light.
Constantinople: A hardworking folk—but only for flim-flam;
A people ignorant of government, happily subject to no law;
Citizens of sacrilege, a people impious to its own king...”

THE ROLE OF GOD

Document One

"God allowed our jaws to be constrained with bit and curb because all of us, both priest and people, had turned away from Him like a stiff-necked and unbridled horse.

...I affirm that what is needed is not a writing of divorce given us by God, nor should we consider the ensuing horrors a grafting of the barbarians as a wild olive tree onto our good olive tree. What is needed is a small chastening which God knows how to lay on."

Document Two

"Break in! Now, honored soldier of Christ, Break in!
Break into the city that Christ has given to the conqueror,
Imagine for yourself Christ, seated on a gentle ass,
The King of Peace, radiant in countenance, leading the way.
You fight Christ's battles. You execute Christ's vengeance,
By Christ's judgment. His will precedes your onslaught.
Break in! Rout menaces; crush cowards; press on more bravely;
Shout in thundering voice; brandish iron, but spare the blood.
Instill terror, yet remember they are brothers
Whom you overwhelm, who by their guilt have merited it for some time.
Christ wished to enrich you with the wrongdoers' spoils,
Lest some other conquering people despoil them."

Document Three

"All the clergy, particularly those who had a special mandate from the Pope, agreed in pointing out to the Barons and the other Crusaders that anyone guilty of such a murder had no right to hold lands, while those who consented to such a thing were accomplices in the crime; and over and above all this the Greeks as a people had seceded from the Church of Rome. 'We therefore tell you,' said the clergy, 'that this war is just and lawful; and if you fight to conquer this land with the right intention of bringing it under the authority of Rome, all those of you who die after making confession shall benefit from the indulgence granted by the Pope.' The barons and all the other Crusaders were greatly comforted and encouraged by this assurance.

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The Fourth Crusade's Notable Events

Prepared by A. J. Andrea

1198

15 August: Pope Innocent III (r. 1198-1216) proclaims a new crusade and entrusts its overall supervision to two papal legates, Cardinals Peter Capuano and Soffredo.

5 November: The pope grants Fulk of Neuilly, a charismatic evangelist and crusade preacher of Paris, permission to enlist monks and other churchmen in his work.

1199

28 November: Led by Thibault, count of Champagne, a group of French lords assumes the crusader's cross at a tournament held at Thibault's castle at Ecry-sur-Aisne. It is likely that Fulk of Neuilly and/or Cardinal Peter Capuano (whom the pope had sent to France in 1198) influenced this decision.

31 December: Pope Innocent renews his crusade appeal.

1200

Early 1200: The three major crusade leaders, Counts Thibault of Champagne, Baldwin of Flanders, and Louis of Blois, along with other lords of France, meet at Soissons and decide on the strategy of first capturing Cairo, the capital of a weakened Ayyubid empire. Once Egypt is taken, Jerusalem and other areas of the Holy Land in Ayyubid hands will quickly fall.

1201

Winter 1200-1201: The three counts dispatch six plenipotentiaries, one of whom is Geoffrey of Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne (see the bibliography), to Italy to secure transportation to Egypt.

February/March: The plenipotentiaries conclude a treaty with the Venetians (the *Treaty of Venice*), who agree to transport and provision 33,500 warriors and 4,500 horses for up to one year in return for a fee of 85,000 marks (42,500 pounds) of silver payable in four installments. Additionally, Venice will provide fifty war galleys at its own expense and participate as a full partner in the crusade, earning half of all booty. The agreed embarkation date is 29 June 1202.

May: Pope Innocent III confirms the *Treaty of Venice*.

May: Thibault of Champagne dies.

May 1201-June 1202: Venice suspends all commercial activity to construct an invasion fleet of about 200 vessels (some 150 horse transports and 50 galleys), and it drafts by lottery about 31,500 sailors and marines to man the fleet. On their part, the French crusader lords miss each of the four contractual payments, which are due on 1 August 1201, 1 November, 20 February 1202, and at the end of April 1202.

Early Summer: The crusader lords invite Marquis Boniface of Montferrat in Lombardy to join the crusade as its nominal overlord, in essence as first among equals.

Late Summer: Marquis Boniface assumes the crusader's cross at Soissons.

Late summer/early Fall: Prince Alexius, teen-age son of the deposed, blinded, and imprisoned emperor of Constantinople, Isaac II, flees from the company of his uncle, Emperor Alexius III, and makes his way to the West.

September or October: Assisted by his sister, Irene, Prince Alexius arrives in Germany at the court of his brother-in-law, Duke Philip of Swabia, claimant to the crowns of Germany, Italy, and the western empire, and requests aid in unseating his uncle from the Byzantine throne. Philip, who has been excommunicated by the pope, can offer only moral support.

Christmas: Boniface of Montferrat, a kinsman and vassal of Philip of Swabia, spends Christmastide at Philip's court at Hagenau in Alsace. There he meets Prince Alexius and hears his story.

1202

February?: Prince Alexius arrives in Rome and appeals directly to Pope Innocent III for aid. The pope rebuffs his entreaties.

March: Marquis Boniface appears in Rome to discuss the crusade and in the course of his conversations with the pope argues the case of Prince Alexius. Innocent says "no."

May: Fulk of Neuilly dies. Most of the large amount of money that he raised in support of the crusade is sent directly to the Holy Land to aid in the rebuilding of fortifications. A little of it is distributed to poor crusaders to enable them to finance their expeditions.

June: Crusaders begin arriving in Venice and are transported to an encampment on the island of San Nicolò (the Lido). By 29 June, the planned departure date, fewer than one-third of the projected 33,500 crusaders have arrived.

22 July: Cardinal Peter Capuano arrives in Venice; Cardinal Soffredo is on his way to the Holy Land to prepare for the expected crusade army.

July-August: Crusaders trickle into Venice, as the situation becomes more desperate for all parties. Venice, which has not been paid yet for its investment, faces financial ruin; the crusaders are suffering and dying on the sun-baked Lido. To get the crusade moving by meeting the fee owed Venice, the leaders collect passage money from the crusaders, who, by tradition, are responsible for financing their individual crusade expenses. With so few crusaders on hand, the total raised is 51,000 marks (34,000 marks, or 40 percent, short of what is owed), despite the leaders' giving all that they have and borrowing beyond that in order to meet their obligation. There is a race against time. Soon winter conditions will prevent travel on the sea.

15 August: Boniface of Montferrat finally arrives in Venice.

August/September: Prince Alexius, hovering around Verona, sends envoys to Boniface and the French crusade counts. The envoys recount the prince's story and request help to restore him and his father to their rightful throne. Boniface feigns surprise at this "unexpected" overture; the French counts, not in on the story of Alexius's earlier meeting with Boniface and the two unsuccessful overtures to the pope, send back their own envoys, who accompany Alexius to his brother-in-law's court in Germany. At this point, only Boniface and now a few French lords have entered into negotiations with Alexius the Younger and Philip of Swabia.

Late August/early September: The Venetians offer a solution to the crisis besetting the crusade. To pay for the delayed payment of eight and a half tons of silver (34,000 marks) and as recompense for its continued financial risk, the city will allow the Frankish crusaders (the army is largely French but has German and Italian elements, hence it is "Frankish") to pay their remaining debt out of crusade spoils (a rather problematical source of income), if they render Venice one service: Help it recover the rebel port city of Zara (Zadar, Croatia), a (Latin!) Christian city now subject to King Imre (or Emerich) of Hungary, a sworn crusader. As a crusader, Imre's possessions are under papal protection. Despite objections by some crusaders, the Frankish crusader leaders agree to the compromise.

8 September: Doge Enrico Dandolo unexpectedly assumes the crusader's cross, and a large number of unscripted Venetians spontaneously join him. Dandolo is now the head of about two-thirds of the crusader force (the Venetian sailors and marines), but his is only one voice, albeit a respected one, in the councils of the crusade leadership.

September: Cardinal Peter Capuano counsels several troubled crusader churchmen to remain with the army and to try to stop or to mitigate the violence at Zara. Although Cardinal Peter is eager to get the crusade underway, he is opposed to the attack on Zara. The Venetians, perceiving his ability to potentially wreak this compromise with the Frankish crusaders, inform him that he may remain with the army as a preacher but not in his capacity as papal legate. Refusing to accept this insult to his authority, Cardinal Peter leaves Venice and reports back to the pope in Rome. The pope drafts a letter forbidding the attack on Zara.

Late September: Probably unhappy with the Zaran adventure because his family was allied with Genoa, Venice's rival, Boniface of Montferrat leaves for Rome to consult the pope before the fleet sets sail.

1 October: The fleet begins to sail from Venice.

October: The fleet slowly sails down the Balkan coast, accepting tokens of loyalty from its subject cities, putting on additional supplies, and taking on more sailors. In Rome, Boniface fruitlessly pleads Alexius's cause again. On his part, Pope Innocent entrusts his letter forbidding the attack on Zara to a clerical companion of Boniface, who will deliver it to Zara the following month.

10-11 November: The fleet arrives in two squadrons at Zara.

13? November: Abbot Guy of Vaux-de-Cernay produces and publicly reads the recently arrived papal letter that forbids the army to attack Zara under threat of excommunication. Some Frankish crusaders refuse to participate in the siege, but most soldier on.

24 November: After a five-day bombardment, Zara surrenders and is sacked. The crusaders settle down to wait out the winter.

27 November: Street brawls break out between some Venetian and Frankish crusaders; the latter are likely angry at not receiving what they think is their rightful share of Zara's spoils. By the time the fight is over, almost 100 lie dead.

Late November or early December: Automatically excommunicated because of their attack on Zara, the Frankish crusaders request and receive absolution from the bishops and abbots traveling with the army.

December? Because the army's clerics have no authority to lift a papal ban, the Franks cover their bet and send a delegation to Rome to beg papal forgiveness. The Venetians refuse to acknowledge any wrong doing and do not seek forgiveness at this time. Sometime in either November or December, Boniface of Montferrat rejoins the army at Zara.

1203

Early January: Envoys from Duke Philip of Swabia arrive in Zara on 1 January, bearing a new proposal for the crusaders' aiding the Byzantine prince and his father. If they successfully manage to restore his father and him to power, Alexius will place the Greek Church under papal

authority, will provide the crusaders with provisions for an entire year, will pay the crusaders 200,000 marks, will raise an army of 10,000 and join the crusade, and will maintain 500 knights in the Holy Land for the rest of his life. After heated debate, a small faction of crusade leaders, led by Boniface, Dandolo, Baldwin of Flanders, Louis of Blois, and Hugh of Saint-Pol, accepts the proposal. The envoys, accompanied by two crusaders, return to Germany but promise that Alexius will arrive at Zara on or before 20 April.

Late January-February: Envoys from the Frankish army arrive in Rome. An angry Pope Innocent grants the Franks provisional absolution and reconnection, provided that they make full restitution to the king of Hungary and beg his forgiveness, and that their leaders warn the army not to attack any Christians in the future, except in the most extraordinary circumstances (largely self defense) and then only with papal guidance. The crusade lords must also swear to obey future papal orders and deliver sealed oaths to Cardinal Peter or his deputy that testify that they and their heirs will render full satisfaction for this crime.

January-March: Significant numbers of dissident crusaders leave Zara, either returning home or traveling to the Holy Land by other means.

February: The envoys return from Rome to Zara.

March-April: The crusader lords render the demanded oaths and the army is forgiven. For the unrepentant Venetians, Cardinal Peter, who is still in Italy, transmits the pope's formal bull of excommunication by means of an envoy. The crusader leaders suppress the letter of excommunication issued against the Venetians and also do not inform the rank and file of the pope's clear orders regarding attacks on Christians.

7 April: The army leaves Zara and encamps outside its walls.

7-20 April: The Venetians destroy Zara. Despite the oaths of the Frankish crusade leaders, an intact Zara and its treasures are never returned to King Imre. There is no evidence the pope pressed the matter after April 1203.

20 April: The fleet sets sail before Alexius's arrival. Dandolo and Boniface remain behind to await the prince.

25 April: Alexius arrives.

Late May: Alexius, Boniface, and Dandolo join the main fleet at the island of Corfu. At Corfu Alexius makes a direct appeal to the Frankish army, most of whom are ignorant of the plan to divert to Constantinople. A majority shouts its disapproval and withdraws from the crusader encampment, determined to head straight to the Holy Land (most were ignorant of the leaders' plan to capture Egypt first). A tearful and humble plea from the crusade leaders and support for the proposal by the army's chief clergy combine to persuade the dissidents to relent—to a degree. They will go to Constantinople but only for one month, unless they later decide to extend their stay. The leaders agree, and Alexius swears to keep all of his promises.

24 May The crusaders set sail for Constantinople.

24 June: The fleet sails up the Bosphorus and by Constantinople, anchoring on the Asian side of the straits.

26 June: They move farther up the Bosphorus and camp at Scutari, where they await the expected coup in the city.

1 July: The first clash with Byzantine forces. A crusader victory.

2 July: A delegation from Alexius III visits the crusader camp and offers money and provisions if they promise to leave. Otherwise, he promises to destroy them. The crusaders retort that they have come to render justice for Prince Alexius and will beg the prince to allow his uncle a comfortable retirement, if he abdicates.

3 July: The crusaders sail down to the walls of the city and display the young Alexius. They are met by insults and missiles. It is now clear that they must fight to restore the prince.

5 July: They cross the Bosphorus and land on the European shore.

6 July: They capture the Tower of Galata and break the chain that protects the harbor of the Golden Horn. The crusaders now are within the shelter of Constantinople's main harbor and face its weakest fortifications—the harbor walls (see the map).

17 July: The crusaders launch a two-pronged attack on the city. The Franks attack the land walls near the Blachernae Palace, and the Venetians attack the harbor walls in an amphibious assault. The Venetians capture 25 towers and enter the city but are forced to retreat back to the wall. To cover their retreat, they set a fire, which becomes the first of Constantinople's three Fourth Crusade conflagrations. The Franks can make no headway against the almost impregnable landwalls. When Emperor Alexius III orders a counterattack against the Franks, the Venetians are forced to abandon the walls to aid their comrades. With the Venetians back on their ships, the emperor withdraws his forces into the city. The crusaders decide they will attack again on the 18th.

Midnight 17-18 July: Alexius III flees the city. He takes with him gems, gold, his favorite daughter, and a few choice concubines but leaves behind his wife and two other daughters.

18 July: The Byzantines restore Isaac II to his throne, and he sends word to the crusader camp, inviting his son to join him. The crusaders allow Alexius to do so, but only after Isaac II has reluctantly ratified the young man's promises. The city is now thrown open to the crusaders.

19 July: The crusaders agree to camp across the harbor in order to minimize the risk of disputes with the city's inhabitants. The memory of the anti-Latin riot of April 1182, in which Western residents (largely Pisans and Genoese) and a papal legate were attacked and murdered in Constantinople, is still fresh.

1 August: Alexius is crowned co-emperor and is now Alexius IV;

Early August: Shortly after his coronation, Alexius IV gives the crusaders 100,000 marks. Out of their half, the Franks pay off their 34,000 mark debt to the Venetians. But after this, Alexius has trouble raising more money to meet his lavish promises. In consequence, and wishing to secure the empire's hinterlands, Alexius IV asks the crusaders to remain in his service until March 1204. After much debate and quite a bit of rancor from rank-and-file crusaders who wish to leave for the Holy Land immediately, the crusader leaders agree. Alexius IV hires the Venetian fleet for another year, thereby extending the *Treaty of Venice* until 29 September 1204. The crusader dissidents reluctantly go along with the plan.

18 August: While Alexius IV, Boniface, and a fair number of Franks are off campaigning in Thrace against Alexius III, tempers boil over in Constantinople against the crusaders and their Latin co-religionists who reside in the city. In addition to age-old animosities between Byzantines and Latins, this anger is also fueled by the policies of Alexius IV, who is beggaring the empire to pay off the crusaders and who also has promised to submit the Byzantine Church to papal authority. Mobs of Byzantines attack and burn down portions of the Latin Quarter, where Western Christian merchants reside. Many flee across the harbor to the crusader camp.

19 August: In retaliation, a band of Westerners—disposed residents of Constantinople and crusaders—crosses the harbor and attacks a mosque. When Byzantines rush to protect their Muslim neighbors, the Latins begin setting fires. The result is a massive conflagration—one of the worst in history—that destroys the homes of about 100,000 Constantinopolitans. In the wake of the disaster, an estimated 15,000 Latin residents of the city seek protection across the harbor in the crusader camp.

11 November: Alexius IV and Boniface return to the city after an only partially successful campaign. By now Alexius realizes that, despite his robbing churches of their treasures in order to raise funds to pay the crusaders, he cannot begin to meet the extravagant promises he made. The honeymoon is over, and he begins to distance himself from his benefactors. Meanwhile, Isaac II has suffered a breakdown and is losing his grasp on reality.

1 December: Fighting breaks out in the city between some Latins and Byzantines that results in the murder and mutilation of some Latin captives (including women, children, and the elderly), and a battle ensues in the harbor between Venetian and Byzantine ships, in which the Venetians prevail.

Early December: A delegation of six crusaders formally offers Alexius an ultimatum: Honor his commitments or the crusaders will take by force what is owed them. When Alexius proves unable to comply, the crusaders begin pillaging the countryside and coastline and skirmish with Byzantine troops intermittently.

Ca. 20 December: The Byzantines unsuccessfully attack the Venetian fleet with fire ships.

1204

1 January: Another unsuccessful attack on the fleet with fireships.

7 January: Alexius Ducas, called Mourtzouphlus, leads an attack on crusader forces that results in a Byzantine rout. Despite his failure, he emerges as a heroic champion of the empire in the eyes of the people of Constantinople.

25 January-2 February: A mob takes possession of *Hagia Sophia*, declares Alexius IV deposed, and names a hapless young man, Nicholas Canabus, as his successor. Alexius IV, in a panic, reconciles with Boniface of Montferrat and together they plan to have crusaders chase the mob from its power base at the *Hagia Sophia*-Bukoleon Palace complex and occupy key areas of the city. Seeing his opportunity, Alexius Ducas informs the Varangian Guard, the imperial bodyguard, of Alexius IV's perfidy and has him seized and imprisoned. He now declares himself emperor. On 2 February Alexius Ducas has Canabus seized and executed. Sometime after Alexius IV's imprisonment Isaac II dies, possibly of natural causes.

5 February: Alexius Ducas is crowned as Alexius V. That same day he leads a large force intent on ambushing a crusader raiding party. The attack miscarries, his army suffers casualties, and Alexius beats a hasty retreat back to the city, abandoning on the field his imperial helmet and standard and a precious icon of the Virgin that Byzantine emperors carried into battle.

7 February: Alexius V meets with Enrico Dandolo and tries, without success, to negotiate a crusader withdrawal. Among other demands, Dandolo requires restoration of Alexius IV and 5,000 pounds of gold (the equivalent of 100,000 marks). In the midst of the negotiations a crusader cavalry force tries unsuccessfully to ambush and capture Alexius V.

8-9 February: During the night Alexius V has Alexius IV strangled. Shortly thereafter the crusaders learn of his death.

Shortly after 9 February: The crusaders consult their clerics about the righteousness of their cause and are told that this war against Constantinople is "just and right" and all who confess their sins and die in battle will share in the plenary crusade indulgence granted by the pope. Constantinople has now taken the place of Jerusalem. The crusaders are determined to conquer the city and its empire or die meritoriously in the attempt.

Mid-February and March: Both sides prepare for battle: The Byzantines strengthen the harbor walls and the Venetians refit their ships.

March: The Frankish and Venetian crusaders draw up the *March Pact*, which sets out a new contract between the Venetians and the Franks. In essence, it establishes how they will divide the city and its spoils, how they will choose from their ranks a new emperor and patriarch of Constantinople, and how they will divide up the rest of the empire. It also stipulates that all crusaders will remain in the empire until March 1205.

9 April: The combined Venetian and Frankish forces assault the harbor walls and are beaten back in bloody defeat.

12 April: After several days of rest and refitting, the crusaders again assault the harbor walls, and this time gain entry into the city. As night falls, the situation is still in doubt because they are greatly outnumbered, even though the enemy is dispirited. During the night, an anonymous German count starts a fire to protect the crusader perimeter, and the fire becomes the third conflagration visited on the city by the crusaders in less than a year. In all, about one-sixth of the city and about one-third of its dwellings are destroyed in the three fires (see the maps).

12-13 April: Alexius V flees during the night of 12/13 April, taking with him the once-abandoned wife of Alexius III and her daughter, Eudocia, who is his lover. In the morning the crusaders find themselves masters of Constantinople.

13-15 April: By military custom, the crusaders sack the city for three days. The riches taken are beyond measure. Geoffrey of Villehardouin estimates that the worth of the common pool of pillaged goods exceeds 400,000 marks, but probably an equal or greater amount is carried away secretly by individuals. Persons who wish to view some of these purloined treasures should visit the treasuries of San Marco in Venice and the Cathedral of Saint Stephen in Halberstadt, Germany. The number of destroyed Classical Greek, Hellenistic, and Byzantine art works is also beyond counting (although Nicetas Choniates, a Byzantine nobleman and historian, makes an effort to catalogue them). The outrages—murder and rape among them—also defy description, although an angry Innocent III tries to do so in July 1205 after learning of the crusaders' crimes.

9 May: Twelve Venetian and Frankish electors (six from each camp) meet to choose a new emperor. The two leading candidates are Marquis Boniface of Montferrat and Count Baldwin of Flanders. At some unknown date thereafter they elect Baldwin, probably because the Venetian electors found the pro-Genoese Boniface unacceptable.

16 May: Baldwin is crowned as Emperor Baldwin I in *Hagia Sophia*. The Latin empire of Constantinople will last until August 1261, when the Byzantines retake the city. However, other portions of the Byzantine empire will remain in Latin (especially Venetian) hands until the end of the seventeenth century.

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WHA PRIZE-WINNING LESSONS

A World History Research Education Project Adaptable for Honors, Advanced Placement, or Collegiate World History Classes

*Jessica Young
Oak Park and River Forest High School*

Students in Honors and Advanced Placement World History courses, and indeed, students at the beginnings of their undergraduate careers, need to do sophisticated research. Too often students write papers based on the books they can find rather than the books they need. Too often the most recent works, especially journal articles, are ignored. Students do not know what periodical literature is available or important. If they do, they do not know how or where to get it.

This curriculum teaches world history students the process of research in current historical journals and monographs. The research skills have two foci: historiographical research (“What has been said and by whom on this important topic?”) and current research. (“What is being said right now about this important topic?”)

This project has benefited by our school’s use of technology funding to provide college-level data bases in JSTOR and Project Muse. Previously our students were directed to local college libraries that graciously share with our students. Having now acquired the databases within the high school, my colleagues in the library can offer lessons in their use, a huge advantage. For schools without such access either directly or in partnership with local colleges or junior colleges, students can be directed to the indexes of the Journal of World History, the American Historical Review and other publications, and learn to do the research the old-fashioned way.

In World History teachers must address the idea of historiography since so much debate surrounds the historical issues. World History, a comparatively new field, arose from a profound critique of “Western” or Euro-centric history, and also from the development of new approaches to understanding the dissemination and interaction of people, ideas and commodities. For World History to be understood, the context in which it arose is important. For student research in World History to be valid, it must get the students to the most current work. World History is too new, and growing too fast, to allow students to settle for resources that are decades (or more) out of date.

History teachers can add explicit introduction of the Review Essay as a tool to understand the history of an historical debate and the changes in trends of interpretation. Annotated bibliographies in articles and textbooks also provide a chance for students to become familiar with the idea that any historical debate has changed over the years and, more importantly, has been shaped by the theses of several significant historians.

World History teachers already assign students research papers. This project addresses the issue of the *quality* and the *recency* of the sources as well as the quantity and diversity of the sources. It requires (and enables) students to put the current research in the context of a “World History” way of looking at things. Students will use of up-to-the-minute college level resources, both paper and electronic, to discover the historiographical background of an issue as well as the most recent scholarship on an historical topic. In addition to enabling our students to better understand World History and, of course, to write better papers, experience in the use of sophisticated databases such as Project Muse and JSTOR will give our students a distinct advantage when they arrive at college or continue their undergraduate history education.

Following are a series of exercises to teach students to approach history from a World History perspective. They guide students through the process of discovering the historiographical background of a topic and of researching the current articles and monographs on that topic. The exercises involve a combination of classroom and library time and result in useful lists of articles and more confident, competent students. More importantly they also result in improved understanding of what World History is all about, and especially how its approach to historical questions is new and different from what has been done before.

WHAT MAKES WORLD HISTORY WORLD HISTORY? EXERCISES TO DO AT THE BEGINNING OF THE COURSE

The idea is to demonstrate the rationale behind World History so that students understand why it is new and important. Any of these exercises will lead students to useful conclusions about the value of a more inclusive approach to World History. Choose the one or ones that are most appropriate for your students' reasoning skills, prior knowledge and maturity.

Exercise I:

Provide your students with photocopied text on several historical periods from one or more old-fashioned World History textbooks, of the sort that is more "West-and-the-rest." Have your students compare the old fashioned approach with comparable text from a selection of new World History books. Of course you will be sure that the texts are of comparable difficulty to make the comparison fair. Ask your students, individually or in small groups, to compare the relative importance given to Western and non-Western cultures, and to make conclusions about the author's feelings about, or judgments of or knowledge of the non-Western cultures.

Exercise II:

Have students in small groups compare two textbooks, one more traditional and one with a World History perspective, for content coverage of a particular topic. Let them count pages, graphs, primary sources and other parameters to measure the extent of attention paid to Europe compared to other places. Allow them to make conclusions and report to the class.

Exercise III:

Have students compare the *emotional* content of two textbooks as above. How do the books address issues of agency, responsibility, or guilt? Topics might include the Holocaust, the Scramble for Africa (and late 19th century colonialism in general,) the Columbian Exchange, the African slave trade.

RESEARCH IMPROVEMENT ACTIVITY FOR WORLD HISTORY

Due:

Points:

Tools: Bentley's, Bulliet's or Stearns's annotated bibliographies from their respective World History textbooks (or another annotated bibliography from a similar style textbook); Jerry Bentley's *Shapes of World History in Twentieth Century Scholarship* (American Historical Association: 1996); AHA Guide to Historical Literature; JSTOR, Project Muse or other data bases.

Your goal is to understand and summarize the historical debate and the newest scholarship surrounding a given incident, issue or person.

You will produce a short (3–5 page) summary of the historiography of your topic AND a bibliography of the most important scholarship prior to 1995 with a sample (minimum of 5 journal articles) of contemporary scholarship.

Read the Stearns, Bulliet or other textbook annotated bibliographies, and the AHA entries on your topic. You should get a beginning idea of what the issues are and who the most important authors are. Make a complete bibliographic listing, using the Chicago Style (also called Turabian style) of citation for each book you think is important. I will give you a cheat sheet for this format.

Use the databases to search for a “Review Article” in the AHR, JWH or other appropriate journal that summarizes the history of the history. Remember, at the beginning, it is the historiography more than the history that you are looking for. Such an article will probably refer to the books you have discovered after you completed the first step of the project, and it will tell you roughly what the historians were saying, arguing over or adding to the debate. A good Review Article is a new researcher’s blessing indeed!

Get a couple of the books, read *at least* the introductions and the bibliographies to see what the author thinks he or she is adding to the debate. Add books or articles the author discusses to your list of relevant titles.

As you proceed, summarize the views of each person or school of thought. Look for the “classical” or original interpretation(s) of your issue and also for disagreements among historians, or the emergence of “revisionist” views. Be able to identify the dates and titles that mark these changes. (Hey! You are periodizing an historical debate!) Naturally if you found a Review Article your work will be much easier. **Of course anything you write will be in your own words and any words or ideas you get from your Review Article or anywhere else will be formally credited with footnotes!**

When you are satisfied that you know what the most important people were saying about your topic prior to 1995 (the date of the AHA Guide) go to the library and use JSTOR, Project Muse or other data bases to locate what is being said right now on the same topic. You need to find at least 5 articles and the more recent the better. You can tell they are good if they are referring to the articles, historians and ideas you have collected and summarized in your previous steps. Summarize each article, focusing on its place in the larger debate. What does it add or challenge? Add your articles to your bibliography according to the correct form.

When you have collected your bibliography and figured out what the issues are, write a short discussion (3–5 pages) of the historiography of your topic and discuss the contributions made by the most recent scholarship. Submit both your discussion and your bibliography.

EXTREMELY SHORT LIST OF TOPICS FOR HISTORIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH IN WORLD HISTORY

Select your topic from the list below or choose another *with my approval.*

East Indian Trade

Columbian Exchange

Slavery in Africa and in Western Hemisphere

African Slave Trade

Environmental History

Periodization in World History

Spread of diseases, and consequences for demography and society

The importance of, or the power of, "The West"

Different responses to colonialism and imperialism

Topics in the history of Islam

Roles of and education of women in different societies

Differences in the response to colonialism and decolonization

Roles of trade and traders in social, political and economic interactions

Role of technology in social, economic and political change, especially boats and guns

"Globalization" as an experience or as a contested historical concept

Changing ideas about fundamentalism

Historical background of terrorism

SELECTED VERY SHORT LIST OF HEAVY HITTERS FOR WORLD HISTORY

As you do your research on the historiography of a topic in World History, you will know you are on the right track if you see some of these authors mentioned as having produced "seminal works." The list is NOT exhaustive. ASK ME if you need help identifying other scholars you have concluded are "heavy hitters."

Janet Abu-Lughod

Michael Adas

Jerry Bentley

Fernand Braudel

Richard Bulliet

K. N. Chaudhuri

Alfred W. Crosby

Philip Curtin

Kenneth Curtis

Ross Dunn

David Hackett Fisher

Andre Gunder Frank

Marshall Hodgson

Paul Kennedy

David Landes

Patrick Manning

John R. McNeill

William H. McNeill

Barrington Moore

Arnold Pacey

Kenneth Pomeranz

Kevin Reilly

Edward Said

Lynda Schaffer

Thomas Sowell

Oswald Spengler

L.S. Stavrianos

Margaret Strobel

Peter Stearns

Steven Topik

Arnold Toynbee

Immanuel Wallerstein

Eric Wolf

The Economic Role of Women in World History: 600-1914

by Linda Black
Cypress Falls High School

Editor's Note: Linda's award-winning lesson is 76 pages long. It is composed of 6 different lessons using both primary and secondary excerpts, each of which is approximately 12-16 pages in length. These cannot be shortened because of the sources involved in the group analysis. The lesson was written by Linda at a College Board summer institute and is available on the College Board website for sale because they obtained the permissions from various sources to publish it this way <<http://apcentral.collegeboard.com>>. Linda thinks the lessons are about \$8.00

Author's Synopsis: This unit is a change over time unit encompassing six lessons about women and their economic role that can be used at differing points throughout a world history course. Each lesson takes one or two class periods of approximately 50 minutes.

Lesson One contains an introductory reading and pertinent vocabulary about women and gender that is used in any world history course.

Lessons Two-Four covers three time frames, 600-1450, 1450-1750 and 1750-1914, and includes multiple handouts from both primary and secondary sources with group and individual analysis sheets.

Lesson Five illustrates one type of cumulative assessment with material for a graded seminar discussion.

Lesson Six is another type of assessment containing one example of a change over time essay about women's economic role.

Lessons are appropriate for both secondary and college level courses. There is also an extensive bibliography of helpful sources for teaching about women's roles in world history.

Timing is everything: When should high school students take World History?

Christopher Ferraro
Spring Valley High School

Three years ago the College Board took a bold step forward in education with the creation of a brand new course, Advanced Placement World History. Daring in its breadth and scope, this course was designed to change the way students viewed the world and its development. Gone would be the 'West and the rest'

model of history that had pervaded many classrooms over the past decades. The 'History of the victors' would be replaced by a study of trends and methods of change and the impact they had on the world as a whole. Many noted historians lauded this approach to teaching history to secondary students in the twenty-first century. New York along with many other states had already adopted a less Eurocentric approach to its Global Studies course in 1998 for freshman and sophomore high school students.¹ Replacing what had once been European Cultural Studies, Western Civilization and eventually Global Studies, New York opted for a more-complete world model. The new AP World History course was a logical extension of this course to students seeking a

greater challenge.

While teachers welcomed APWH the course was met with a touch of apprehension by some administrators for several reasons. First, many schools already had a well-established Advanced Placement program in place and this course would threaten to upset the delicate balance that had become the norm over the course of decades in some cases. An average American high school Social Studies/History department was already offering AP European history to sophomores, AP U.S. history to juniors and AP Government and Economics along with myriad other AP courses to seniors that met the requirements. Immediately the question was raised of when was the best time for World History to be offered to

students. Many New York schools simply swapped European History for World History and in some cases dropped the former altogether. Other schools added APWH to their current course list but offered it only to freshmen, thereby preserving European history while other schools have made this a senior level class. Some secondary schools simply offered European history and World as senior electives letting the students decide for themselves which course was more to their liking. Placement of World History in a school's curriculum has also led to a debate with regards to the level at which this course should be taught to high school students to achieve optimum results. From students to teachers and college Professors opinions vary wildly on this topic.

Noted author and historian Peter Stearns offered his take on the debate. "Results show that juniors and seniors do best, but sophomores have a respectable performance and we recognize this is when [the] course fits most school curricula best. Freshmen do less well, though there are some striking performances from individual classes" he said.²

University of Hawai'i history professor and stout proponent of the new world history course Jerry Bentley offers another take.

"I can't see any reason not to introduce kids to the larger world at a very early age. Not necessarily always via [AP] world history, world geography could also have a role here. At some point serious world history should also come into play," he stated leaning towards students taking APWH after they have completed some sort of non-advanced placement history course first. "For most students, ninth and tenth grades are really too early for AP world history. Obviously some students can handle real AP world history in those grades, and some kind of world history is certainly appropriate. But when honestly taught, AP world history is a college-level course that presumes more knowledge and experience than most kids that age have under their belts."³

For the most part it seems that high school administrators agree that such a course as world history is less appropriate for freshman. Of the more than 34,000 students that took APWH in 2002-2003 only 1,203 were freshman, while 25,295 sophomores, 4,172 juniors, and just 2,594 seniors took the class according to the College Board.⁴ The glut of sophomores taking the exam must be attributed to the fact that APWH is in fact replacing some type of Global/World history that is

deemed mandatory by the respective states at that grade level. What this really means is that the majority of the students taking APWH are preparing for a college-level course while having almost no background in secondary-level world history. Such circumstances only create a situation of added pressure for both the teacher and the students alike.

While there is no clear consensus on where and how APWH should be introduced to secondary students it is obvious that schools, teachers and administrators are developing some inventive ways to meet this challenge. The following is a small sample of the methods devised to introduce students to this course.

The Two-Year Approach

The Social Studies department of White Plains High School (N.Y) has created a two-year world history program. To get this program up and running a core group of teachers were trained at various workshops and then developed a two-year APWH program. Students are selected in junior high by performance, teacher recommendation as well as an entrance exam that tests writing skills. In freshman teachers are responsible for the first two phases of the course, the foundations period, and 600-1450. Without the pressure of completing the course in one year, White Plains freshmen are introduced to the major concepts of the course over a longer period of time while focusing on developing their essay writing and critical thinking skills. Much time is devoted to improving these skills through writing projects. Sophomores in this program briefly review earlier materials before moving on to the final three parts of the course. With less pressure in the second year on teachers more time can be devoted to content. Teacher Pat Cutaia finds this approach to be successful.

"For us this works very well because we are a diverse high school. Our goal is to offer the course to as many students that have the skills necessary to be successful in the program." This format, she believes, enables more students to get to that level. "My vision is that 9th grade is the pre-AP program." Nearly 85 percent of students that took part in the two-year program at White Plains scored a grade of three or higher. This format is less practical for schools where communication between middle and secondary schools is not as good and requires an increased workload on the middle school teachers. Many other schools throughout the country are adopting a similar model.⁵

The Advanced Placement Summer Academy

Spring Valley High School in Rockland County, N.Y. is more typical of how many secondary schools have approach APWH. All freshmen take the State's mandated Global History I course which follows a world approach and ends the first year with absolute monarchies of the early 17th century. Students that show ability at the honors level as freshman are then selected by teachers for APWH as sophomores. In order to promote the maximum level of diversity of students taking Advanced Placement courses East Ramapo Central School District, Spring Valley's parent district, has setup the Advanced Placement Summer Academy. The academy's goal is to get as many students as possible ready for the rigors of College Board courses. This six-week program is geared towards helping incoming sophomore students develop the skills necessary to be successful in APWH and beyond. The course focuses on document analysis, thesis and essay writing as well as study skills and time management. Though this process has produced good results many sophomores are still surprised by the level and scope of the course they are placed into that fall. Since its creation the Summer Academy has helped more than one hundred students that might not have been considered AP caliber take their skills to the next level.

The Selective Approach

Another approach taken by some schools is to offer APWH to freshman. This may not be as radical as it sounds. World History, though large in scope, is not as factually intensive as European or U.S. history courses that follow it. According to College Board statistics 7,508 freshmen took some type of Advanced Placement course in 2002-'03.⁶

While this number is far less then all the other grade levels, indicating that only the cream of the freshman crop were selected, over sixty-six percent of these remarkable young students scored a three or higher on an Advanced Placement exam; that is by far a smaller number of students than other grades however, it is a higher percentage than all other grade levels taking part in Advanced Placement. What this proves is that if freshmen are chosen very selectively and given the proper training and have a good level of dedication a high degree of success is possible. Offering a world history-type course to young students is not a new concept to longtime professor of secondary education Jack Zevin of Queens College (CUNY) in

Flushing, N.Y.

"I think anytime is good for a world studies course, but certainly not 12th grade when students have senioritis, get them right away [as freshman] and maybe, just maybe we can combat what I call the three evils of humankind, econocentrism, egocentrism, and ethnocentrism, all of which are curable by a truly interconnected, world history, non-centric, course, meaning no culture or nationality is privileged over anyone else. I would like to see all 5th and 6th graders have an intro to the world as one, rather than regional and such or Western with Eastern pieces."⁷ Perhaps if grammar school students were introduced to the world-concept model of history in an appropriate fashion we could create students better able to handle APWH on any level. Such a program would have to be organized and implemented at the district level first and then at the primary and secondary level. It would require hundreds of hours of training and planning as well as a good deal of money allocated for resources.

One school that has taken the idea of early introduction to AP history courses to heart is George Washington High School, Cedar Rapids (I.A.). This school had initially allowed freshmen to take world history as an elective but after three years of what they deemed poor results qualified students will be placed in AP Geography starting in 2004. George Washington teacher Sigrid Reynolds feels this is a much better approach.

"[World History] is a one year course which follows a less than rigorous 8th grade US History course the middle school language arts curriculum is primarily creative writing; there is no homework in middle school; and to top it off, there are no F's in our middle schools; it's against policy."⁸ Such factors were producing freshmen that simply were not ready but Reynolds feels that AP Geography will help put students into the proper mindset for world history.

Regardless of the method employed by schools in just three short years APWH has entrenched itself as part of the core of many secondary school's Advanced Placement course offerings. Each year the number of participating schools and students shows a large increase with significantly impacting other courses. According to the College Board the number of students taking European history has been largely unaffected over the last three years. When taking Advanced Placement history courses as a whole or, in world history terms-looking at the big picture-, it is clear that the addition of our course is

helping to create more well-rounded secondary history students that are better prepared to meet the world of the twenty-first century.

¹ *Social Studies Resource Guide with Core Curriculum*, The State Education Department, the University of the State of New York. 1999. P. 42-57

² Stearns, Peter. 26 Dec. 2003. E-mail to the author. 28 Dec. 2003

³ Bently, Jerry. 27 Dec. 2003. E-mail to the author. 28 Dec. 2003

⁴ AP Central.com. 28 Dec. 2003. The College Board. <http://www.apcentral.collegeboard.com/members/article/1,3046,152-171-0-22533,00.html>

⁵ ...according to Pat Cutaia (personal communication, January, 2004)

⁶ AP Central.com. 28 Dec. 2003. The College Board. <http://www.apcentral.collegeboard.com/members/article/1,3046,152-171-0-22533,00.html>

⁷ Zevin, Jack. 2 Jan. 2004. E-mail to the author. 4 Jan. 2004

⁸ Reynolds, Sigrid. 4 Jan. 2004. E-mail to the author. 7 Jan. 2004

minor changes within societies and broader movements across societies.

As the new world history completes what we may call the first phase of historiographical contributions to history and theory, has it been able to absorb the conclusions of women's history and is women's history finding an essential place within the field. For some historians familiar with the questions, methods and sources of both world and women's history, it seems that the effort to integrate women's history into world history faces some extra challenges. The task seems even more daunting in the case of Latin American, African and Asian women's history, where, arguably, world history has an even greater responsibility to explain global phenomena as the efforts of all of humanity. The problems of integration seem to revolve around the selection of questions and problem sets and the kinds of methodologies and sources the fields employ.

First, the new world history is most often addressing questions about economic and political processes between continents and across oceans and there seems to be less interest in questions of cultural history. World history literature has been excellent in examining long-distance trade, major demographic movements, militarism and military technology and transmissions of germs and transfusions of agriculture and technology, among others. But the local and domestic support and impetus for these movements, where we find the more typical questions and concerns of cultural history, are not always clear. For example, world historians can tell us a good deal about the movement of silver, cotton, tobacco, sugar, and slaves as they left or entered Latin American shores. The story is cut a bit short, however, when it comes to detailed cultural and social dynamics of the varied Latin American tribes, villages, cities and countries contributing to and impacted by these sweeping global movements.

Yet this was where Latin American women were most likely to be encountered. Moreover, what was happening locally was a critical element of the global processes themselves. How did women's roles in marriage, family, communities, religion and philosophical ideas or even individual productivity in places like Lima, Mexico City, Buenos Aires, and São Paulo advance interchanges and participation within emerging global processes? Or the reverse, was it possible that local economies, where women had more production or market power, or spe-

Nineteenth-Century Latin American Women and World History

Patricia Lopes Don
San José State University

One of the more interesting queries in the early years of women's history was whether the field would be integrated into the history profession as a central contributor to the great questions and formulations of history and theory or whether it would be relegated to the status of addendum, obligatory but not really essential. With the early guidance of some outstanding women historians and the innovative use of sources and methodologies, however, women's history has surmounted the challenge and managed to address broader historical processes and questions through the examination of gender relations and women's roles. In the hands of women's historians, women's historiography has demonstrated how women's power in setting tastes and consumption patterns and the organization of their labor in the first global manufacture, textiles, influenced domestic and trans-oceanic economies. The field has shown that the perception of women's roles was fundamental to the philosophical development of modern nationalisms. It has explained how women's contestation and manipulation of marriage and childbirth shaped ethnicity and social class. These among many theoretical formulations demonstrated that gender relations were very close to the cultural core of societies and, therefore, essential variables in both

cific cultural milieus, where women held sway, were unable or unwilling to respond to outside market demand or change ideas introduced from abroad and thus affected the course of global processes? In terms of the kinds of questions asked, it is as though world history is focused on the actual movement of global processes and analyzes at the macro level, while women are at the receiving or giving end of these global processes and are more visible at the micro level.

Second, some methodologies women's historians have used to bring women's stories to the forefront are not employed often in world historiography. Women's historians have always had to struggle with the problem of a lack of sources. In response, they have made innovative use of the sources available in letters, diaries, household and local commercial economic data, newspapers, autobiographies, travel accounts, and court cases. Broad social histories of women have emerged, but perhaps the most exciting methodological development has been the use of the micro history – the history of individual historical actors and their agency, which elucidates the larger processes of continuity and change in societies. When effectively done, the micro history not only provides a driving narrative, it breaks down and explains macro historical processes on a human scale. It examines the intersection of broad and specific social processes and women's agency in them and achieves the goal of explaining the broader processes through women's stories.

The methodology of micro history and the detailed description and analysis of individual agency, however, have not been typical of the new world history with its emphasis on macro historical treatments and the "big picture." A research and writing strategy that might combine the methodologies of world history and women's history could be the comparative analysis of women's micro histories from various parts of the world within a global process, such as, world trade, revolution or rebellion, global environment, imperialism, religious conversion, etc. These may be described as comparative cultural world histories. Few monographs have attempted this and it is not clear how successful they would be. Nevertheless, it is worth speculating how Latin American's women's history could fit into such a project, if not for monographs, perhaps in the classroom?

For historians of Latin American women, the lack of sources has been an even greater problem than for women's

history generally. Unlike many northern European cultures, the Spanish and Portuguese did not have a literary tradition before the twentieth century that included collecting letters, writing autobiographies or preserving household accounts. Therefore, the history of nineteenth-century Latin American women is primarily preserved in travel accounts, court cases and, in the second half of the century, urban newspapers. Probably the most useful of these are travel accounts. Travel accounts of the Latin Americans can be classified in three groups – accounts by European and indigenous men, accounts by European and North American women, and accounts by European-educated Latin American women that were partly autobiographical. The second and third are most useful as they are more likely to have the detailed information about the lives of peasant to upper class Latin American women that would be needed. (In *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Mary Louise Pratt observes that male travel writers of Latin America tended to emphasize natural resources for commercial exploitation, while female writers tended to observe people and especially other women.) In the cases of both European women and European-educated Latin American women, the accounts are highly critical of the social lives of Latin Americans but also very observant, informative and surprising.

Three typical nineteenth-century world history or macro historical questions that could be modified to take advantage of the methodology of micro history and the sources in travel accounts are world immigration and demographics, emerging global economy and labor and Atlantic political philosophy and legal stability in the post monarchical era. We tend to think of the Spanish and Portuguese colonial period as an age of racial mixing or miscegenation. However, in 1800, the end of the colonial period, more than eighty per cent of Mexican women were pure indigenous. In Latin America as a whole, there were more women of African descent than Europeans. Not until the late nineteenth century did large numbers of European women immigrate to Latin America and in some quarters there were surprising numbers who were forced into indentured servitude as well as prostitution as the price of their immigration. As Donna Guy and Thomas E. Sheridan demonstrate in *Contested Ground: Comparative Frontiers on the Northern and Southern Edges of the Spanish Empire*, the late

colonial and early nineteenth century also saw the immigration of women away from cities into frontier areas where they exercised considerable power in local hierarchies. The movement of Latin American women is parallel to larger demographic movements in the nineteenth century that world historians have dramatically described and analyzed. Following the women can give us a more nuanced picture of world immigration patterns.

The nineteenth century can be split almost in half with regard to Latin American women's participation in global economy and labor. The first half of the century continued the economic patterns of the colonial period. Women were central to the domestic labor force in textiles and more peripheral to the great world trade products of sugar and silver. They were effective urban merchants and domestic retailers. Some of the more enterprising were madams in brothels as well as slaves, as Christine Hunefeldt discusses in *Paying the Price of Freedom: Family and Labor Among Lima's Slaves, 1800-1854*. In the latter half of the century, Latin America nations entered into a neocolonial relationship with the world market, mobilizing their economies to respond to world market demand for natural resources, such as, guano, copper, precious stones, cacao, salt beef, etc. In turn their domestic markets began to open up to manufactured products from developed countries, especially clothing and textiles. While Latin American textile production weakened, it did not collapse. Women continued to hold their own in domestic labor, retailing and production. However, travel accounts and micro histories of Latin American women who lived and worked near the mines and the plantations of neocolonial production demonstrate the gradual impact of the world economy on Latin America labor and consumption. An example of this is Deborah Kanter's discussion of the downside of the nineteenth-century economy for women in "Native Female Land Tenure and its Decline in Mexico, 1750-1900."

Finally, one of the exciting areas of women's history has been the study of women's roles and the perception about women in the transition from monarchical to liberal political republics in the nineteenth century. Women's historians in Europe and America have found that initially liberal democracies of the nineteenth century were not very liberal with women. Liberal philosophers regarded the family as the central unit of democracy and, therefore, women's range of activities were restricted for the welfare of the

republic. In Latin America, independence from the Iberian monarchies in the first half of the century was accompanied by the phenomenon of *caudillismo*, strong man rule and the highly charged masculine culture of gangs and male bonding. Consequently, Latin American women fared rather poorly in terms of civil rights and political power. After the middle of the century, as liberal leaders began to gain the upper hand and implement European-style republics with elements of liberal institutions, Latin American women, ironically, found that Latin American male leader's perceptions about their rights and roles were not all that dissimilar to those of the *caudillos*. The colonial period had at least afforded unmarried women some individual protections based on their status as religious, widows, nobles and even prostitutes. Liberal governments, however, lumped them together as "dangerous" women and began to crackdown on them. Donna Guy gives an especially detailed account of aspects of this phenomenon in *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family and Nation in Argentina*. There was a silver lining, however. Following the standard liberal philosophy and the American example, liberal leaders, such as Justo Sierra in Mexico and Diego Sarmiento in Argentina, introduced public education opportunities for women mostly in the urban areas and, thus, established a foundation for Latin American women's higher profile in the twentieth century.

Whether the problem of merging world history with women's history is resolved in some fashion in the literature, world history educators must begin to employ strategies that work towards a synthesis for two reasons. First, students increasingly demand a human face to their history instruction. They prefer the narrative and they understand the abstract processes better when these are presented and explained in an individual story. Thus, micro history is a very effective teaching tool. Second, students of today are very interested in women's history. Both men and women students want to know the contribution of and impact on gender roles in various historical phenomena. As many teachers know some of the most popular lessons are those that deal with gender issues, because younger students can relate their own experiences a little more readily to the historical cases. Therefore, the classroom is a strategic place to think about integrating the new women's history into the new world history and to overcome some of the inherent disparities of the two fields in terms of

problem sets, questions and methodology.

World history educators can access a number of very good primary sources of nineteenth-century Latin American women, especially travel accounts, on the web. But a particularly good basic hard copy source is June E. Hahner's *Women through Women's Eyes: Latin American Women in Nineteenth-Century Travel Accounts*. Another effective source is Judith Ewell's and William H. Beezley's *The Human Tradition in Latin America: The Nineteenth Century*. The following bibliography provides English-language readings in the history of Latin American women of the long nineteenth century.

General

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WANTED

(Preferably Alive)

Editor

World History Bulletin

For More Info See

Sheriff Northrup
or
Deputy Matteson

CORRECTION: The photographs from the Fall 2003 issue of the *Bulletin* were from the WHA Meeting in Atlanta not Chicago.

WHA at the AHA

January 8-11, 2004

The World History Association (WHA) was well represented this January at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association (AHA) in Washington, D.C. The WHA hosted five well-attended panel discussions, and a reception. The WHA reception, co-sponsored by Prentice Hall and Houghton Mifflin, attracted over one hundred members and non-members alike. The panel entitled "World History for the 21st Century" featuring talks by Ane Lintvedt, J.R.McNeill and Jerry Bentley, welcomed an audience of well over one hundred people and led to a very spirited discussion, moderated by Ken Curtis, on the current state and future challenges of world history. Other WHA sponsored panels included: *From Teachers, Recommendations to the Academy for Teacher Training; 1204 Seen from 2004: Teaching the Fourth Crusade; The Year China Discovered America; Smuggling, Clandestine Political Economies, and Public Authority in the First Global Age: Iberian Monarchies, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries.*

"The Year China Discovered America: A Roundtable Discussion" focused on Gavin Menzies' book entitled *1421: The Year China Discovered America*. The panelists were: Valerie Hansen of Yale University, John E. Wills Jr., University of Southern California, and Benjamin B. Olshin, Germantown Academy. Dr. Olshin was a last minute replacement for Patricia Seed and David Woodward who could not make the meeting. Anand Yang chaired the session. Gavin Menzies was the commentator.

Hansen and Wills, both historians of China, and Olshin, a historian of cartography and early discovery, all raised questions about Menzies' use of evidence and about his contention that part of Zheng He's fleet rounded the Cape of Good Hope and even came to North America and the Caribbean. They noted, however, that the Ming fleet had the capability to reach the Americas. In responding to these critics, Menzies maintained that he had appropriate evidence and, furthermore, that he had not fully revealed all his sources.

The session was attended by about a 100 people or so, a mix of postsecondary and precollege teachers. As one teacher recently observed on the AP Listserv, it "was a fun session."

Reviews of Classroom Materials and Books

A Brief History of Ancient Greece: Politics, Society, and Culture, 1st ed. By Sarah B. Pomeroy, Stanley M. Burstein, Walter Donlan, and Jennifer Tolbert Roberts. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. 360 pages.

On the back cover, this book is described as providing "a lively and up to-date account of Greek civilization and history . . . from the Bronze Age through the Hellenistic Era, and integrating the most recent research in archaeology, comparative anthropology, and social history." The description is accurate; the text is well written, and the bibliography includes the latest available sources. The authors make a point that no student should ever forget when reading material: "no historian is ever truly impartial" (page 7).

The text is supplemented by a number of excellent illustrations that are reproduced quite clearly. While the use of color would have made them more striking, the cost of the book would be significantly higher also. Some of the pictures are not commonly seen in textbooks: the boar's tusk helmet (page 32); the bronze statuette of a Spartan girl running (page 97); the lion burial monument to the Thebans who died at Chaeronea (page 265); and Alexander the Great being captivated by the love of Roxane (page 285).

There are many helpful contemporary quotations scattered throughout this text; for example, the very vivid description by Thucydides in reference to the terrible slaughter at Corcyra (page 206). Students will appreciate the extensive glossary (pages 331-340) that not only defines many terms but explains their significance as well. For example, the value of

Athenian coins is identified, and the reader learns how much money would be required and/or paid for certain items or services.

The text is an easy, enjoyable read; the discussion on the making of papyrus (page 3) is particularly interesting, along with information about the average life expectancy for Greek men and women, the dowry, and the institution of marriage. The reader may be struck by the statement that "For respectable girls there was no alternative to marriage . . ." (page 159). Some statements, while referring to one event, can easily be applied to many others as well, such as "A leader who keeps more than his due risks losing the respect of his followers. He cannot afford not to appear generous and openhanded" (page 48).

For students who have trouble remembering dates and connecting them other happenings in history, the authors have provided a very helpful Time Line that covers major military events, political/social events, and cultural developments. As an example, the Peloponnesian War (a military event) is listed from 431-404 B. C., but 431 B. C. is also listed as the time when Thucydides began his *History of the Peloponnesian War* (a cultural development).

Among the many other strengths of this textbook are the maps, floor plans, and a fine document collection. The maps are quite detailed, particularly those that deal with the Persian and the Peloponnesian wars; and the floor plans indicate the layout of some of the most famous structures from ancient Greece: the Minoan palace at Knossos (page 17), and the Parthenon (page 172). In each chapter, the document collection provides excerpts from writers of the period. With help from the instructor, this material will provide a source for much stimulating class discussion, as in "Document 9.1," in which Socrates states that "there is no occupation concerned with the management of social affairs which belongs either to woman or to man, as such" (page 246).

At the end of each chapter are a number of Selected Readings, which provide ample material should the reader desire to learn more about the topics covered in that chapter. The brief annotations for each source are quite useful.

Often in abridged textbooks helpful details are omitted, with the result that a

basic understanding of an event can be difficult. In this work, however, there is surprising depth; the coverage of the assassination of Philip of Macedon is refreshingly thorough (page 268). By providing such details throughout their text, the authors supply not only basic factual material but the reason behind events and thereby increase the reader's interest in history.

The text has been cleanly edited, although there is a statement on page 135 (paragraph 2, line 15) that "Xerxes' forces were led by Mardonius was totally destroyed . . ." Fortunately, such an entry is the exception rather than the rule.

In summation, the authors have put together a very fine publication. It is a work that should appeal not only to teachers and their budding scholars but to a significant element of the general public, because of its well organized, very readable coverage of a subject that will always be of interest due to the legacy of the ancient Greeks to our civilization today.

David W. Krueger
Arkansas Tech University

Now with Bill Moyers: Struggles and Solutions in the Middle East. Part I: Justice and Jihad; part II: Islam vs. Islam. Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 2002. VHS, \$159.95; DVD, \$179.95.

Videos that contain "talking heads" present instructors with positive and negative challenges. When one sits to view *Now with Bill Moyers*, there is a heightened level of expectation. Moyers is, arguably, the finest interviewer working in television today. He comes to his sessions prepared, thoughtful, curious, open. He knows generally how to focus questions in such a way that will allow the viewer to get the most information possible from the guest(s), to learn the most possible from the topic under discussion.

Should his position differ diametrically from that of the subject(s) of the interview, Moyers is, without exception respectful of the perspective of the other. In the two videos under review here, Moyers is barely present. Perhaps this is so because the videos are the result of a

conference held at The Aspen Institute. The occasion of the gathering was to bring together a small group of thinkers to try to make sense out of the Arab and Islamic worlds in light of 9/11.

Justice and Jihad presents us with an intellectual free-for-all, rather than a thoughtful, respectful discussion. The approach borders on the chaotic, even occasionally reflecting sexism, in that one of the panelists interrupted the women far more frequently than he did the men. Perhaps it was simply a matter of being inspired more by their remarks than by those of his other colleagues. Moyers did raise the occasional pointed question, which, when heeded and responded to, improved the quality of the discussion.

The panel members for the tapes were representative of all three of the standard political perspectives: conservative, moderate, and liberal. The approach is a good opportunity for instructors to teach differing intellectual viewpoints. This point may be the only positive one that can be made about *Justice and Jihad*. While the panelists brought impressive backgrounds and credentials to the circle, the overly free-flowing discussion would likely make it most difficult to hold student attention. Most students will probably lack the proper background to follow the discussion. Even the more knowledgeable will have difficulty. The panelists, Eric Rouleau, Kenan Makiya, Fareed Zakaria, Geneive Abdo, Seyla Benhabib, Akbar Ahmed, Charles Krauthammer, and David Aikman, are each intelligible when they speak without interrupting one another. The conversation ranges widely over several topics that have relevance to the Middle East, to the foreign policy of the United States, and to the theory of democracy.

From a pedagogical standpoint, here's the rub. A great deal of reading and discussion as background work would be required before use of this tape. The comments that are delivered assume a reasonably high level of knowledge. To come at the program cold would likely lead to frustration. If a reasonable book is assigned beforehand, some good might come from viewing the tape. Statements such as, "America's support for Israel inflames the Islamic world," and, conversely, "America supports Israel as a moral imperative," are more likely to confuse than clarify. As the program is direct-

ed toward thoughtful students of the subject matter being explored, more awareness of that material is assumed than probably is the case.

Nevertheless, interesting points are made. "The United States is in danger of becoming the global Robocop." "The Islamic world wants the United States out of their lives." "There are three areas that require reform in the Islamic world: education, democracy, and the mass media." The program ends in the middle of the discussion, a situation that may leave the viewer disappointed, confused, and relieved.

The second tape takes its title from a remark of a panelist that what exists now in the Islamic world is a question of "Islam vs. Islam." The approach of the panelists here is more "rational" than is true of Part I, - well almost. One of them believes that Islam is hopeless, corrupt, and evil as a faith and therefore is responsible by its very nature for fundamentalism. Such an approach is certainly less than thoughtful, yet it does permit the viewer to measure the approach for herself when she compares that approach with others put forth. For those attempting to understand the purpose of destroying the World Trade Center, they would do well to consider the suggestions made by some of the panelists. The structures were viewed by Bin Laden as the Tower of Babel, and also they represented opposition to free trade. To suggest that "the key" to understanding the hostility to the United States "is Islamic fundamentalism" is to commit the fallacy of identifying "fundamentalism with Islam." The suggestion that most of the current problems in the Middle East and the Islamic world can be laid at the feet of "Islamic ideology," as one panelist suggested, is simplistic and willfully misleading.

This second tape is far more useful for pedagogical purposes than the first. The instructor who employs it will be required to do less by way of background preparation than with the first tape. Of course, there is always the pause button as well should questions arise or should she wish to interject her own comments. I have two technical complaints: my copies are fuzzy, though the second tape seems to straighten out about two-thirds of the way through; on my second tape the sound was inconsistent. My other complaint is with the cost. I find exorbitant \$159.95 for

tapes each of which is 55 minutes in length. Should one adopt the tapes, the first, if at all useful, will work better in a course that deals with the modern Middle East or International Relations than with a World Civilization course. The second tape would work well in any of the three types of courses just mentioned.

Joseph Aieta, III
Lasell College

**Frank Lodge, *Atlas of World History*,
Atlas of World History, Inc., 2002-04.**
Free educational software: download from
atlasofworldhistory.com.

Frank Lodge has produced map animation software that is free and available for easy download from the website, atlasofworldhistory.com. Developed with a federal grant and the support of several WHA members, *The Atlas of World History* includes maps, timelines and brief narrative descriptions. It is very user-friendly and has great potential as a teaching tool for secondary-level courses in social studies and college-level surveys of world history. It is the best basic historical atlas I have seen.

Every textbook contains maps showing the geographic extent of kingdoms, empires and nation-states. Varying shades of color are often used to show the growth and decline of these political units over time. *The Atlas of World History* improves greatly on textbooks by providing maps of Europe, Africa and Asia for every year from 3000 BCE to 1000 CE and, most helpful of all, by allowing its users to put the maps in motion, to see empires expand and contract and to see peoples migrate across continents (nomadic peoples are represented by dots moving on the screen). It is quite impressive to run the atlas's animation for the period 600-750 CE and watch Arab armies (or at least the red tone used to represent Arab armies) pour out of the Middle East and spread quickly to the Pyrenees and the Hindu Kush. The long-term stability of ancient Egypt is strikingly contrasted with the—literally—flash-on-the-screen brevity of Alexander's empire. Users can access timelines and short narratives by clicking on nation and dynasty names found on the maps.

The atlas has obvious limitations. The Old World maps cease at the year 1000 while the Americas are not included at all (the author has plans to expand and extend

the coverage). The narrative descriptions are quite basic (exactly as promised by the instructions) and I was unable to discern any difference between the 'standard' text level and the 'advanced'. The atlas presents the strengths and weaknesses of political regimes only in terms of geographic control: acreage and square miles. A few more specialized maps would help greatly to fill out the big picture. For example, maps showing trade routes and cities with populations of over 10,000 in the year 1000 would reveal clearly that the Muslim world was not only larger than medieval Europe but also possessed many more sizeable urban centers linked by complex commercial ties.

But these are mere quibbles. The maps themselves are accurate and fairly detailed. The focus is clearly on those regions that figure most prominently in world history narratives. Users may choose to view all of Eurasia-Africa or concentrate on individual regions: east Asia, west Asia, the Mideast, North Africa, east Europe or west Europe. Users also select when to begin the map animation and the speed at which it proceeds (1, 2, 5, 10, or 50 year increments). Since one can pause the animation or run it backwards, this is a truly interactive atlas. For my future world history surveys, I plan to have every student download the atlas and complete short map assignments based upon it. *The Atlas of World History* is a breeze to download, easy to use, and provides reliable information in a format that clearly shows change over time.

And did I mention that it's free?

Peter Dykema
Arkansas Tech University

Membership Committee Report

Membership in the WHA currently stands at around 1300, a plateau from which the association seems unable to rise, despite the committee's efforts. The good news is that the WHA does not seem to be losing members in terms of absolute numbers. For every person who drops a membership, another signs up, either as a new member or as a long-lost returnee.

Over the past six months the committee has conducted several promotions, offering discounted memberships (viz. discounts of \$10) to teachers attending summer world history institutes and the

November meeting of the NCSS. The chair has also made several direct membership appeals over H-World and has offered on several occasions back issues of the *Bulletin* and the *JWH* to persons joining or rejoining the WHA. Overall results from all of these efforts have resulted in about 75 new members to date. Such promotions will continue and, one hopes, will produce increasingly positive results.

One factor that would greatly aid the committee in such promotional efforts is if its chair were to receive a full list of world history institutes well in advance of summer. In the past the committee has had to do its own research to ascertain the places, times, and coordinators of these institutes. In each case, its list was incomplete and tardily compiled. If ETS or the chair of the Teaching Committee has prior knowledge of these institutes, it would be a great boon if either or both would share that information with the Membership Committee.

Thanks to the efforts of the committee, the WHA exchanged a free membership advertisement with The Historical Society. The WHA's ad appeared in *Historically Speaking*, and the THS's was printed in the *Bulletin*. How many, if any, new members joined the WHA as a consequence is unknown. The committee plans to pursue and expand this avenue of membership activity (i.e. seeking out more learned associations with which to exchange free advertisements), and will try to come up with some simple method of tracking the success of these efforts.

Because of the committee's incessant importuning of our overworked Executive Director, the WHA has now installed a secure system on its web site for persons to join or renew their memberships. Over time, this system should help to raise the WHA's membership numbers and to reduce the number of persons who allow their memberships to lapse. At least that's the theory.

Again, because of the chair's shameless hectoring of the Executive Committee, the WHA now allows persons to pay for lifetime memberships (\$1200) over the course of three years (\$400 per annum). The committee hopes that this will encourage members to consider seriously this form of membership that benefits financially both the individual and the association.

The committee has also added to its numbers two new members, both of whom volunteered to join at our June meeting in Atlanta: Eddie Corson and Frank Tipton. Not only do they give the

committee broader geographic representation, but by virtue of being teachers, they now even out the committee's membership to 4 and 4--teachers vis-a-vis professors.

Those are some of the committee's successes, but among its failures must be counted its not adding any members representing community college instructors and, more seriously, its not having launched any program to increase community college membership in the WHA. For this the chair blames himself and offers only the excuse of too many other commitments over the past six months.

In addition to wanting to reach out in more meaningful ways to community college instructors and k-12 teachers, the committee also wants to work closely with our regional affiliates. At the very least, we can exchange membership lists and, possibly by way of promotions, help expand one another's membership rolls. Thanks to the efforts of Brian Todd Carey, the new vice-chair of the reconstituted Rocky Mountain World History Association, the committee has begun preliminary efforts at cooperation with our Rocky Mountain affiliate. This is a first step; much more needs to be done with RMWHA and all other affiliates.

As a final note, the committee urges members of the WHA to support the *Bulletin* and the efforts of its editor, Micheal Tarver, to turn it into a first-rate pedagogical journal. By offering our members more in the way of tangible assistance when it comes to teaching that terrifying subject known as world history, the WHA will attract and keep more young members of the profession, especially those who face the prospect of teaching world history for the first time and with little or nothing in the way of academic preparation. Senior teachers and scholars should consider submitting lesson plans and essays to the *Bulletin* as a way of contributing to the enrichment of the profession and as a service to the WHA's members.

Al Andrea, Chair

Support the WHA & Become Active!

WORLD HISTORY PAPER PRIZE

PHI ALPHA THETA HISTORY HONOR SOCIETY, INC. and THE WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION continue to cosponsor two awards in the amount of \$200 each as a student paper prize in World History.

An award of \$200 will given for the best undergraduate world history paper composed during the academic year of 2003-2004, and an additional award of \$200 will be given for the best graduate-level world history paper written in the same period.

A world history paper is one that examines any historical issue with global implications. Such studies can include, but are not limited to, papers that consider the exchange and interchange of cultures, papers that compare two or more different civilizations or cultures from an historical perspective, or papers that study in a macrohistorical manner a phenomenon that had a global impact. By way of example, a study of the trans-cultural impact of the Silk Road in the time of the Roman and Han empires, a comparative study of Irish immigration in two or more areas of the world, a comparative study of the Ottoman and British empires, and a study of the global impact of the Influenza Pandemic of 1919 are all world history topics.

To qualify for this competition, students must be members of EITHER the WHA OR Phi Alpha Theta and must have composed the paper while enrolled at an accredited college or university during 2003-2004.

All submitted papers must be no longer than thirty (30) double-spaced pages of text, exclusive of the title page, endnotes, and bibliography. All pages, except for the title page, must be numbered, and all endnotes must conform to standard historical formats. Parenthetical notes are not to be used. The author's identity is to appear nowhere on the paper. A separate, unattached page identifying the author (along with the title of the paper) and providing that person's home address, collegiate affiliation, graduating year and status (undergraduate or graduate student) and the association (WHA or PAT) to which the person belongs is to accompany each submission packet. Additionally, a letter

from a relevant history faculty member (the supervising professor, the chair of the department, or the PAT Chapter advisor) attesting to the fact that the paper was composed during the academic year of 2002-2003 must accompany the paper. Each submitted paper must also be accompanied by a one-page (250-word) ABSTRACT.

EITHER mail four (4) copies of the paper and abstract, postmarked no later than 15 August 2004, to: Professor Alfred J. Andrea, Department of History, The University of Vermont, Burlington, VT 05405-0164 OR, preferably, submit 1) an electronic copy of the paper, 2) its abstract, 3) the separate page that identifies the author, and 4) the required supporting letter in MS Word to Professor Andrea at <Alfred.Andrea@uvm.edu>. All materials submitted electronically must be sent on or before 15 August.

ABSTRACTS OF THE WINNING PAPERS WILL BE PRINTED IN THE SPRING 2005 ISSUE OF THE *BULLETIN OF THE WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION*.

LIST OF WHA-RELATED RESOURCE LINKS

The World History Association
(WHA)

<http://www.thewha.org>

H-World (Internet Discussion)

<http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~world/>

Journal of World History

<http://www.hawaii.edu/uhpress/journals/jwh/>

Advanced Placement World
History

<http://www.collegeboard.org/ap/worldhistory>

World History Center at
Northeastern University

<http://www.whc.neu.edu>

World History Connected (World
History E-Journal)

<http://worldhistoryconnected.press.uiuc.edu/>

WHA/Phi Alpha Theta Student Paper Prize in World History 2002-2003

A spirited competition that witnessed the submission of ten papers (five in each category) resulted in the following awards:

Undergraduate Category:

Kathleen Vazoulas, Marist College, "Complexity of Relations: Mexico and the United States, 1938-1942."

Graduate Student Category:

Christopher J. Lee, Stanford University, "Current Concepts in the Red Atlantic: World History as Political Practice in Cape Town, South Africa, 1943-48."

The paper prize competition continues for the academic year 2003-2004. Rules governing the competition can be found in the above article.

WHA Book Prize

As mentioned above, Victor Lieberman was awarded the 2004 WHA Book Prize for the remarkable first volume, "Integration on the Mainland," of his *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800-1830*, published by Cambridge University Press. The WHA Book Prize was created in early 1999 and the first prize awarded later that year. The prize recognizes new scholarly studies of history from a global or transregional perspective that make a significant contribution to the growing field of World History. The award of \$500 is normally presented at the annual summer meeting of the WHA. Nominations for the 2005 Book Prize are now open for books published in 2004.

To nominate a book contact: Gregory Blue, Chair, WHA Book Award Committee, Department of History, University of Victoria, P.O. Box 3045, Victoria BC, V8W 3P4, Canada. Email: blueg@uvic.ca

Who can nominate? Authors, publishers, WHA members, or other interested parties may nominate books published in the current calendar year. Anthologies may be nominated, but single or dual-authored works are preferred.

Deadline: Nominations must be received by October to allow time for juror evaluations. Works published after that month will be placed in the following years pool of candidates.

Past Winners:

- 2003: Laura Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400-1900*
- 2002: Mike Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Nino Famines and the Making of the Third World*
- 2001: John McNeill, *Something New Under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth Century World*.
- 2001: Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*
- 2000: James McClellan III and Harold Dorn, *Science and Technology in World History: An Introduction*
- 1999: Andre Gunder Frank, *Re-Orient: Global Economy in the Asian Age*

Advanced Placement Workshops and Summer Institutes in World History

For more information, visit the College Board website at <http://apps.apecentral.collegeboard.com>

Title	Start Date	Location
AP European History; World History - World History	06/14/2004	University of Denver
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History	06/14/2004	Kennesaw State University (Kennesaw, Georgia)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History	06/14/2004	The Community School of Naples (Naples, Florida)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History	06/20/2004	Carleton College (Northfield, Minnesota)
APSI - University of Arkansas at Little Rock - World History	06/21/2004	Arkansas School for Math & Science, (Little Rock)
APSI - University of New Mexico - World History	06/21/2004	University of New Mexico (sponsor: AP-NM NMHU) (Albuquerque, New Mexico)
Pacific Advanced Placement Institute - World History	06/21/2004	Notre Dame de Namur University (Belmont, CA)
University of Northern Colorado Summer Advanced Placement Institute - World History	06/21/2004	University of Northern Colorado (Greeley)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History	06/27/2004	University of North Carolina at Charlotte (Charlotte)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History	06/28/2004	Montgomery College WD & CE (Rockville, MD)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History	06/28/2004	Rochester (SUNY Brockport) - Gates Chili Central School Dist (Rochester, New York)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History	06/28/2004	George Mason University (Fairfax, Virginia)
APSI - University of Oklahoma - World History	06/28/2004	University of Oklahoma (Norman, Oklahoma)
Pacific Northwest Advanced Placement Institute - World History - for experienced AP teachers	06/28/2004	Newport High School (Bellevue, Washington)
Pacific Northwest Advanced Placement Institute - World History - for new AP Teachers	06/28/2004	Newport High School (Bellevue, Washington)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History	07/05/2004	Taft Educational Center (Watertown, Connecticut)
APSI - Region 2 Education Service Center - World History	07/05/2004	Education Service Ctr, Region 2 (Corpus Christi, TX)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History - for new AP Teachers	07/06/2004	University of Central Florida (Orlando, Florida)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History - for experienced AP teachers	07/11/2004	Lawrence University (Appleton, Wisconsin)
AP by the Sea Summer Institutes - World History	07/11/2004	University of San Diego-Manchester Center (San Diego, California)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History	07/12/2004	Butler University (Indianapolis, Indiana)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History	07/12/2004	Fordham University (New York, New York)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History	07/12/2004	Morchead State University (Morehead, Kentucky)
AP Summer Institute - Rice University - World History - for new AP Teachers	07/12/2004	Rice University (Houston, Texas)
APSI - Texas Lutheran University - World History	07/12/2004	Texas Lutheran University (Seguin, Texas)
AP National Conference - Preconference Workshop - World History - for experienced AP teachers	07/16/2004	Walt Disney World Swan and Dolphin (Lake Buena Vista, Florida)
AP National Conference - Preconference Workshop - World History - for new AP Teachers	07/16/2004	Walt Disney World Swan and Dolphin (Lake Buena Vista, Florida)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History	07/18/2004	St. Johnsbury Academy (St. Johnsbury, Vermont)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History - for new AP Teachers	07/18/2004	Xavier University of Louisiana (New Orleans)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History	07/19/2004	Fitchburg State College (Fitchburg, Massachusetts)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History	07/19/2004	LaSalle University (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History	07/19/2004	The American Forum for Global Education (New York, New York)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History - for new AP Teachers	07/19/2004	Oglethorpe University (Atlanta, Georgia)
APSI - Texas Christian University - World History	07/19/2004	Texas Christian University (Fort Worth, Texas)
APSI - Texas Christian University - World History - for experienced AP teachers	07/19/2004	Texas Christian University (Fort Worth, Texas)
APSI - The University of Texas at Austin - University Extension - World History	07/19/2004	The University of Texas at Austin (Austin, Texas)
Advanced Placement Summer Institute 2004 - World History	07/19/2004	California State University, Sacramento/College of Continuing Education (Sacramento, California)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History - for new AP Teachers	07/25/2004	Leland School (Glen Arbor, Michigan)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History	07/26/2004	Taft Educational Center (Watertown, Connecticut)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History	07/26/2004	Truman State University (St. Joseph, Missouri)
AP Summer Institute - Rice University - World History - for experienced AP teachers	07/26/2004	Rice University (Houston, Texas)
AP Summer Institute for Teaching Professionals - World History	07/26/2004	CSU San Marcos- at Mission Hills High School (San Marcos, California)
APSI - The University Tulsa - World History	07/26/2004	The University Tulsa (Tulsa, Oklahoma)
APSI - The University of Texas at Dallas - World History	07/26/2004	The University of Texas at Dallas (Richardson)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History	08/02/2004	Lewes Beach (Lewes, Delaware)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History	08/02/2004	International Education Consortium at Cooperating School Districts (St. Louis, Missouri)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History	08/02/2004	Manhattan College (Riverdale, New York)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History - for new AP Teachers	08/02/2004	College of William and Mary (Williamsburg, VA)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History - for new AP Teachers	08/02/2004	Southeast Missouri State University (Cape Girardeau)
Cherry Creek AP Institute - World History	08/02/2004	Cherry Creek High School (Greenwood Village, CO)
Hawaii International AP Institute - World History	08/02/2004	Iolani School (Honolulu, Hawaii)
Southern California AP, Inc. - World History	08/09/2004	Palos Verdes Peninsula High School (Rolling Hills Estates, California)
AP Summer Institute (APSI) - World History	08/16/2004	The American Forum for Global Education (New York, New York)

Some Thoughts on The *Drain of Wealth*: Colonial India and Imperial Britain

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The Drain of Wealth Theory:

The *Drain of Wealth* theory is a set of perspectives that developed in the latter half of nineteenth century and reflected the adverse impact of economic colonisation of India by British imperialism. This concept was systematically initiated by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1867 and further analysed and developed by others, most notably- M.G. Ranade, R.C. Dutt, and William Digby. Others also contributed, notably, G.V. Joshi, G. Subramaniya Iyer, G.K. Gokhale, P.C. Ray, and many others. This formed an issue of much excitement among the political workers and the different streams of anti-imperial movements in India would consider this as the basis and rationale on which they needed to sever their political relation with Britain. The entire range of political issues was dissected as an omnibus critique of the imperial rule. Whether it be the Gandhians or the Leftists or the Revolutionaries, this *Drain of Wealth* thesis was acceptable by them all. Interestingly, this *Drain of Wealth*, though an economic critique, was not a Marxist critique. Indian Marxists added their own perspective later on and derived much of the issues from the observations of Marx in the *Capital* and other writings on India. Also, it was developed prior to emergence of any systematic anti-imperial political movement in the country. The *Drain of Wealth* approach also got popularity as a reaction to the supposed benevolence of British rule that many British scholars and administrators¹ would speak about. This difference in approach can be classified as nationalist (or anti-imperialist) school and the imperialist school.² Scholars who critiqued the nationalist approach included L.C.A. Knowles and V. Anstey. This imperialist school is now more popularly called the Cambridge School and it views the economic dimensions of British rule favourably and the imperialist process as beneficial to the colony. This debate is further aggravated with micro studies and newer analysis. This essay would take a perspective that tries to correlate the issues of economics, commerce, and technology within the framework of economic rela-

tions deriving out of colonial India and imperial Britain.

British Power in India:

The British East India Company (EIC) was a monopoly company and received charter of its operation from the sovereign, the company itself was an extended arm of the sovereign. Though such trade companies cannot be given the canopy of the sovereign as some scholars have argued³, it was a delegated power that was assigned by the charter. And because of the monopoly aspect, it can even be argued that these European companies were not just for trade but also an extended arm of their respective governments, either directly or indirectly fulfilling the goals of their government vis-à-vis their rival nation-states in Europe. Though it was a private company, in the framework of mercantilism, the British EIC could even be termed a government enterprise. Apart from the charters, this was particularly true from the times of Regulating Act (1773) onwards, when the British Government came to have an important say in the affairs of the EIC.

From India's point of view, it was Plassey (1757) that became most significant. It was here that the EIC came to have trappings of a territorial power. After the battle of Buxar (1764), it also took control over the Diwani rights (right to collect land revenue) of the province of Bengal. This arrangement continued under the system of Dual Government (1765-72) that was introduced by Clive. Finally under Hastings, the EIC took over complete control of administration (1772).

Components of Drain:

The *Drain of Wealth* from India took different forms over the period of time. Over time, the nature of British rule evolved from that of a merchant company to that of a sovereign, and the structure of trade evolved from monopoly trade to free trade. The profit making interests of the EIC gradually got subsumed to the requirements of industrialisation in Britain. Consequently the nature of drain also kept transforming.

It started with the case of the EIC, using the territorial revenue to buy goods from Bengal (late 18th century) and selling them in Europe to make its profit. The territorial revenue was enhanced considerably in the very initial years of the EIC's rule. "In the last year of administration of the last Indian ruler of Bengal, in 1764-65, the land revenue realised was £ 817,000. In the first year of Company's administration, in 1765-6, the land revenue realised in Bengal was £ 1,470,000. By 1771-2, it was £

2,341,000, and by 1775-6 it was £ 2,818,000."⁴ The land revenue was finally fixed under scheme of Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis in 1793, when it was fixed at £ 3,400,000. Such usage of territorial revenue in buying the goods was considered "investment" in Bengal. Thus the money farmed in Bengal ended up in Europe as a form of tribute. Adam Smith would refer to the EIC as, "...the mercantile company which oppresses and domineers in the East Indies...."⁵ The EIC would enrich itself without adding anything as investment and make the profit for itself.

The 1770s was a period of famine for Bengal, and it was aggravated by such exaggerated demands by the EIC. It is interesting to note what Abbe Raynal wrote relating to the Bengal famine of 1770-71. According to him, the chief agent of the East India Company and the Council of Calcutta "kept locked up in their magazine a part of the harvest, and carried on the most odious and the most criminal of all monopolies."⁶ And despite of that, the company continued to increase the land revenue. And if all this was not enough, the EIC even manipulated the value of currency to its advantage by undervaluing and over pricing its currency. This happened in such a way that the EIC "struck gold rupees to the amount of about 15 million nominal value but which represented in fact only 9 million, so that four-tenths or something more was alloy."⁷ All these also led to decline in the standard of living of the people, "especially marked in the diminution of consumption of ghee, oil, salt, and sugar that were cheap formerly relatively to both money and cereals."⁸

Before the British, land itself was not an economic resource — "the ruler and the villager were interested principally in the use of land and neither was worried about its ownership."⁹ The EIC introduced the component of ownership in land. This was coupled with various experiments for tax collection that replaced the customary dues. In Bengal, a series of experiments were initiated and different theoretical justifications were given to legitimise such systems. Warren Hastings (1772-85) assumed that all land belonged to the sovereign, leading to a system of farming of revenues by auctioning the revenue collection to the highest bidder. This led to havoc in the Bengal countryside.¹⁰ If the old zamindar failed to get the lands in the auctions, he would be turned out from his estates. These auctions were for farming of revenues and did not give ownership rights to the winning bidder. If the bidder failed to collect the EIC-determined high land rev-

enue from the cultivator, the bidder would be turned out. This led to institutional plunder of the farmlands. The system failed and led to misery and depopulation. The land revenues failed, however, in spite of the utmost coercion. In a minute of September 18, 1789, Lord Cornwallis remarked, "I may safely assert that one-third of the Company's territory in Hindustan is now a jungle inhabited only by wild beasts."

Cornwallis, on his appointment, took a completely different view of the issue. His view was that it was the zamindar and not the sovereign who was the proprietor of the land. This concept formed the basis of the Permanent Settlement. Interestingly enough while the Utilitarians would speak of a competitive society and individual rights, in case of India, James Mill would propose that in India's case, the "State should remain as the landlord and that each peasant should hold directly from the State as its tenant."¹¹ Rather than going into the ideological debates concerning rent, etc., like those of Ricardo, Malthus, and others that were in some ways influential in India's context, let us continue with our narrative.

The land revenue system emerged as a consequence of experiments. Three systems of land revenue emerged in different parts of British territory in India — Permanent Settlement (or Zamindari), Ryotwari and Mahalwari. But whatever be the legitimising credo, the tax on the land went on continuous increase, very often subsuming the economic rent and leading to a situation of less than subsistence for the farmers. Under the Permanent Settlement, this meant fragmentation of land and creation of multiple intermediaries. Usually, the large estate would be partitioned into a chain of multiple intermediaries leading to fragmentation of land to the extent that "by the late nineteenth century 88.5% of the 110,456 permanently settled estates of Bengal and Bihar were less than 500 acres in size."¹² This also meant that the actual producers were too oppressed and burdened with the revenue demands that they could not go for improvements. And on the other hand, it also created a hierarchy of rentiers who would be dependent on the revenue derived from the primary producers. This led to a situation where the entrepreneurial spirit was institutionally destroyed. This meant that a middle class could not come up as the society was divided into a chain of revenue rentiers and cultivators.

In the Ryotwari areas, under the experimentation of Munroe, the British itself extracted the surplus directly from the

farmers. This problem was sought to be rectified on the basis of traditions of common ownership of land in the Mahalwari system that was introduced in the northern provinces. However, being badly administered, it led to similar problems for the cultivators. By the Saharanpur Rules of 1855, the Government demand was limited to one-half of rental but it was later interpreted to mean one-half of "the prospective and potential" rental of estates.¹³ This meant that if an estate had a rental of £ 1000 a year, then the claim of government could be £ 600 on the grounds that the rental might rise to £ 1200 in the coming year. This issue was further compounded by the additional tax burden on the people and on other areas of government like education, post offices etc.

Consequences to such experiments were disastrous. In Zamindari areas, agricultural production suffered and agricultural prices fell.¹⁴ Cultivators were unable to pay revenue, thus leading to large numbers of land alienation. It also meant that very often the cultivators were ejected from their lands. But now, as land itself had become a commodity, the cultivators unlike previous times, could not find new land to re-settle. There was an increasing incidence of famines, and to a large extent, the famine was a consequence of EIC policy.

In Ryotwari areas, since the cultivators were under heavy tax burdens, they had to resort to loans from local moneylenders and thus fall into further penury.¹⁵ In such case, in areas like Madras province, the price of land declined, so that it was not seen as a profitable investment avenue. But when the over-assessment was reduced in the latter half of 19th century, similar to the Zamindari areas, the Madras cultivator would often hire out his land (Dharma Kumar, 1965). In areas of Deccan, the inability of ryots (cultivators) to pay back their debts led to alienation of land by the moneylenders. This was particularly perceptible in the post 1860 cotton boom phase, when the international cotton prices crashed consequent to the end of the American Civil War. Cultivators would be going into indebtedness in other areas as well, like that in Punjab¹⁶.

Another important aspect of the economic exploitation was the process of *deindustrialisation*. Certain western scholars find that the de-industrialisation did not happen.¹⁷ The process of de-industrialisation encompassed a larger spread than just the decline of traditional handicrafts and increasing exports of raw materials. This was intricately linked to the area of technology and issues of foreign capital and foreign investment in India, particularly

from the latter half of the 19th century. The rural artisans, under increasing pressure of coercive tactics used by the EIC, were giving up their traditional crafts and this was a continuous process since the latter half of the 18th century. This was further aggravated by the monopolising nature of the EIC that would monopolise these trades and force the artisans to work for the company on coercive terms. This meant that the artisans were to leave their independent work and come under their employment through a process of coerced outsourcing in terms of agreement that was beneficial only to the EIC. This process was mediated by the requirements of the imperial country and by the penetration of western technology and Manchester goods into the interior countryside. Such things, however, did not happen through a free competition. Instead, the process was catalysed through the use of political power that the company commanded. In a letter dated March 17, 1769, the EIC directors encouraged the manufacture of raw silk and discouraged the manufacture of silk products.¹⁸ H.H. Wilson, *History of British India*, remarked, "It was stated in evidence (in 1813) that the cotton and silk goods of India up to the period could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from 50% to 60% lower than those necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70% and 80% on their value, or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset, and could scarcely have been again set in motion, even by the power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufacture."¹⁹

Such dispossessed craftsmen added to the queue of the cultivator class. Amiya Bagchi in a paper *De-industrialisation in Gangetic Bihar, 1809-1901*, comparing the Buchanan-Hamilton surveys and census figures of 1901, finds that the craft employment in the districts under study of Bihar, contracted from 18.6% to 8.5% in the given time period. There was also a significant fall in the number of cotton spinners and weavers.

Consequently, pressure on land increased. This meant an increasing pressure on the unremunerative land (due to the land revenue pressures). This led to a situation of steady economic decline of the countryside. De-industrialisation led to a decline in the manufacture of value-added cotton and silk finished products. India, which had earlier been an exporter of finished products, now became an exporter of raw cotton and other raw materials (by early 19th century) and an importer of British industry

manufactured clothes. Much of this process had already taken place before the 1850s. Between 1815 and 1832, the value of Indian cotton goods exported fell from £ 1.3 million to below £ 100,000. In the same period, the value of English cotton goods imported into India rose from £ 26,000 to £ 400,000.²⁰ As R. Palme Dutt puts it, "While machine-made cotton goods ruined the weavers, machine made twist ruined the spinners." This process happened in various products whether it be silk, woollen goods, iron, pottery, glass or paper.

If the drain had not taken place and the imbalance in the economic structures had not been introduced, it was well possible that areas like manufacturing and processing would have improved, instead of declined. This would have been mediated by the process of capital formation that would have added to the economic activity of the country. Instead, this capital was siphoned off through various structures of economy that was tilted to serve the imperial interest.

This also meant the ruralisation of the economy. As the value-added industries were being systematically finished, India lost her manufacturing base. Rather than being an exporter, it now became an importer of British manufacture. And in return, India paid with the raw materials in form of food grains. Such a process is also evident from the increase in the percentage of population dependent on agriculture. Between 1891 and 1921, the percentage of population dependent on agriculture increased from 61.1 to 73 percent.²¹

The most important aspect of de-industrialisation was technological impoverishment — both real and potential. The "two great events, the Industrial Revolution and the process of colonisation, took place almost simultaneously. Perhaps they had a cause and effect relationship."²² This related to sectors like shipping, railways, telegraph, and technical education, among others. It was technology that made colonisation feasible and cheap.²³ But the emergence of technology as an application for use was a consequence deriving out of imperial exploitation of colonial resources. This input of the western technology was directly related to forced decline of the technology that had developed in India and was in competition with British technology. In case of shipping, "If the Braudelian judgement is extended to the Indian Ocean shipping, surely, Indian ships were the equal of European."²⁴ The only difference being that the European ships were also weapons of war, and that the Europeans also used guns to further their economic interests. Throughout the 18th century and

the initial part of 19th century, there was a concerted move by lobbyists and authorities in England to protect British shipping rights. In 1814, a Select Committee headed by Robert Peel recommended restrictions of Indian ships and sailors. The finale happened to be the Registry Act of 1815 that proved disastrous for the Indian shipping. The Registry Act imposed a 15% duty on ships built in India. It further ruled that the goods from the south and east of Cape of Good Hope should come only in British ships. Moreover, the Mariners would have to be British (three-fourths of the crew or seven per hundred tons) and only those ships whose Master was British were to be allowed into London ports. And Indian sailors were not deemed British.²⁵ The steam ships using coal were introduced in India only in the 1830s. It is transparent that it was the imperial policy and not superiority of Industrial Revolution that led to decline of Indian shipping. Not pulled down by imperial policy, Indian shipping could have survived and technologically developed as it happened in other sovereign countries of Europe, Asia, and America.

Railway was an area that was linked both with technological development of Industrial Revolution in Britain as well as export of foreign capital to India. However, the investment of foreign capital in India was only apparent and not real. The burden of funding was shifted over to India through a system of guaranteed interest rate regime whereby dividend was paid to the private companies even if there were no profits. It was "private investment at public risk."²⁶ There was also much wasteful construction and operational expenditure.

In the whole scheme of things, there was an ongoing debate regarding comparative merit of canals for irrigation vis-à-vis the railways system — "preference was given to railways that facilitated British trade with India, and not to canals which would have benefited Indian agriculture."²⁷ By the mid 19th century, the financiers of England were looking for a safe place for their investment and they found it in the form of investment in railways. William N. Massey, Finance Minister of India under Lawrence and Mayo, would understand the issue as — "All the money came from the English capitalist, and so long as he was guaranteed 5 per cent on the revenues of India, it was immaterial to him whether the funds that he lent were thrown into the Hooghly or converted into brick and mortar.... the East India Railway cost...are the most extravagant works that were ever undertaken."²⁸

The nature of investment in railways was

a prime example of how such foreign capital became another source of *Drain of Wealth* from India. All railway investments were given sovereign guarantee for profit by the Government of India. Railways were an extravagant project that was undertaken by the British by guaranteeing assured profit from territorial revenues. The equipment for the project was imported from England. This meant that ancillary industries that usually took shape when such huge industries developed at a place, did not take shape in India. In fact, in the nearly a century before 1947, only 700 locomotives were built in India.²⁹ The higher posts in railways were reserved for the British, and by 1921, only 10% Indians were in railways.³⁰ This meant two things — that the money received by the British manpower would go out of India as part of the invisible transfer, and that the Indians would remain excluded from the association with technological know-how. This was despite the fact that, in the ultimate analysis, their own money, generated through revenues, was financing it. Moreover, railways became a source of further penetration of British goods to the interior — which had until now been relatively free from the influence of Manchester goods. This led to further disruption of the village economy and decline in local crafts. The tariff policies were discriminatory — higher tariffs were levied on Indian goods than British goods.³¹ From the technological angle, the early introduction of railways had an unfavourable influence in terms of inability to absorb later developments of railway technologies. Ian Derbyshire speaks of railways being "equipped with expensively superfluous bull- and double-headed rails, and laid out an anachronistic broad gauge. India's railways were also built at a time when constructional technologies were crude."³² However, India did not receive the benefits of development of railways because of the absence of the backward linkages of such development. These advantages were being reaped by British industries. While the railway finances were a drag on Indian taxpayer,³³ the comparative interests that would have been useful in terms of investment in agriculture were not appreciated. There was a skewing of public policy whereby the imperial interests led to creation of distorted priorities. "£ 225,000,000 were spent on railways, resulting not in a profit, but in a loss of £ 40,000,000 to the Indian taxpayer up to 1900. And so little were the interests of Indian agriculture appreciated that only £ 25,000,000 were spent on irrigation works up to 1900."³⁴ Moreover, even in technological terms, India did not derive

much benefit, as transfer of railway technology in complicated processes did not happen. The technology that was made available to India was in low-tech areas of railways like those of way-leveelling, while in "the more complex activities of plate-laying, tunnelling and bridge-building, Western working technologies were never transferred undiluted."³⁵

Besides, railways also served the

imperial military purpose of quick movement of army from one place to another and in penetration into the areas of local princely kingdoms that were theoretically independent with treaty arrangements with the British. But as the British wished to have a foothold on those areas as well, what better than the railway network that would pass through these areas? Interestingly enough, the railway network touched only the strategic areas or those areas important to the British from a commercial viewpoint.

The area of technical education was also neglected. Arun Kumar,³⁶ notes that "Japan began engineering education under British guidance in 1873 and within 30 years, nine technical institutions teaching civil engineering, shipbuilding, electrical engineering, mining and metallurgy were in existence. By 1903, the Tokyo Engineering College had a staff of 24 professors, 24 assistant professors, and 22 lecturers. In the US, MIT was established in 1865, and by 1906 had 306 teachers. Within 50 years it had produced thousands of graduates — 6,248 with bachelors' degrees, 290 with masters' degrees, and 29 with doctorates. In India, where engineering education was introduced much earlier (in 1847), 100 years after its founding, the most prestigious institution, Roorkee college still had only three professors, six assistant professors and 12 lecturers." This was primarily because engineering was linked to the colonial objectives that sought to make India a resource of raw materials (for Britain) and deny it any basis for industrial development. The issue of imperial interests did not just rest within the confine of conquest, but equally within the issues of technological impoverishment. In this regard it is useful to quote Clark & Feenstra (2001), "... by 1910... incomes per capita began to diverge sharply between an advanced group of economies, and an underdeveloped world whose most important members were India and China.... Why did income per capita

decline in poor countries such as India and China relative to the advanced economies such as the U.S. since 1800? We argue that the overwhelmingly cause was a decline in the relative efficiency of utilization of technology in these countries relative to the

The gradual way in which the British developed the bureaucracy and the superstructure of government in India, denied Indians the right to participate in the higher positions of civil bureaucracy and the army.

more successful economies such as Britain and the U.S."³⁷ It is quite obvious who was in-charge of utilisation of technology in India from 1800 onwards and how

they impacted the various issues of economy including, but not exclusively the per capita income!

Similarly, development of the telegraph was also shaped by "political and military necessities."³⁸ All of these areas of technology and economy were symbiotically related to each other, where institutionally created deficiencies tended to impact each of these fields in a system-wide manner. This meant that the technology from Britain also served political needs, and not just the requirements of economy or commerce from the imperial perspective. These technologies (like railways and telegraph) were a prime instrument in quelling revolts and troop movement. While the political decisions led to a decline of indigenous technology, western technology itself became a political tool for thwarting potentials of development of indigenous technology, both reinforcing each other and increasing the strangle hold of imperialism on the colony. In this regard, Bipin Chandra has commented, "...actual British capital investment in India was rather small, and if guaranteed investments in railways and public debt were excluded, virtually negligible, or that even of this capital very little had gone into modern industries... there was no recognition of the fact that even the foreign-owned capital in India was not imported from Britain but was generated within India and that India was throughout this period a net exporter of capital."³⁹

A major critique of the drain theory from the nationalists' standpoint was built around the issue of invisibles. This formed the core of the nationalists' drain theory.⁴⁰ This related to the transfer of money from India on several accounts like — home charges (expenses of the Indian Government in Britain). This included the mony that India was charged for maintenance of offices like that of Secretary of State in England. Also included were the transfers of money on account of salaries, pensions, and savings sent to Britain by

British citizens living in India, remittances of profits by merchants, and dividends to the shareholders of the EIC from the coffers of the territorial revenue of the country.

While the Charter Act of 1833 deprived the company of its monopolist trader status, the entire burden was shifted to the territorial revenue of the country. While this may be understood in some respects as successor power arrangement⁴¹ inheriting the liabilities, what defies understanding is that the Act would also make provision for the shareholders of the EIC to receive a 10 ½ % annual dividend for a period of fifty years. And as compensation for its loss of trading interests, the EIC was offered a lump sum of 90 million pounds sterling.⁴² This way, "The Charter Act of 1833 provided for an annual dividend of £ 630,000 to be paid to the shareholders of the Company out of the Indian revenues till 1874. In 1874, the loan of £ 4.5 million was raised to redeem the stock at a premium of one hundred percent."⁴³

The gradual way in which the British developed the bureaucracy and the superstructure of government in India, denied Indians the right to participate in the higher positions of civil bureaucracy and the army. G.K. Gokhale's deposition to the Royal Commission on Expenditure (1895-97), based on Parliamentary return of May 1892, regarding the personnel in the high offices⁴⁴ clearly delineates this anomaly.

The money in these departments gradually got transferred out of India, without India deriving any benefit — except political subjugation. This drain took the form of excess of exports over imports. These exports were consequent to the changed pattern of international trade that was now being conducted in India. Instead of India exporting finished goods, India now became an exporter of raw materials that fed the expanding operations of the British industries. "According to nationalist calculations, this drain amounted to one-half of the government revenues, more than the entire land revenue collection, and over one-third of India's total savings."⁴⁵

This would, by the 20th century as well, add into its departments interests on foreign capital, banking commissions, freight and passenger carriage, etc. These were transferred via the trading structure and financial system. This was consequent to the peculiar form of trading and financial institutions that developed by the early 20th century. Britain owned the shipping, banking, insurance, and the different agencies through which the trade was conducted. This system functioned via the managing agency system. These were agencies that would provide a one-stop solution to

	Total Salaries In Thousand of Rupees					
	Natives	Eurasians	Europeans	Of Natives	Of Eurasians	Of Europeans
Civil Dept	55	10	1211	947	151	25,274
Military	1	1	854	12	11	13,268
Public Works	3	4	239	33	45	3,415
Incorporated	1	-	9	10	-	113
Local Funds	60	15	2313	1002	207	42,070

all trading requirements. These agencies had become powerful in their own right and charged high commissions and shares of profits. These commissions and other remittances went directly to British coffers. Sumit Sarkar writes that under managing agency system "the tendency was at best towards creating capitalist enclaves under foreign control which really inhibited the development of the rest of the economy."⁴⁶

Another important area of change in the economic system brought about by imperialism was the commercialisation of agriculture. This involved conversion of farms into areas of production for raw materials for distant lands. Most important of these was of course cotton production. Other important crops related to the plantation system were indigo, tea, jute, tobacco, etc. Tea and jute were monopolised by European planters. Indigo was introduced as a measure to substitute calicos, whose import to England was being opposed by the cotton lobbyists.⁴⁷ The European planters forced indigo cultivation on local farmers. In most of the cases, this meant that cultivators were forced to assign a certain part of their fields to indigo cultivation in consideration of a forced contract. Farmers were forced, against their will, to sign contracts and assume loans. However, this did not mean that the cost of cultivation was being borne by the European planter. All the equipment, livestock etc were used by the cultivator for his own use. So, this also meant that, in real terms, there was not any net addition to the ancillary economic activity. This can as well be seen as a situation in which the European planter was using the resources of the native without actually putting in the investment in land or equipment. And if the cultivator

protested, the officials and the courts supported the European planters. The Charter Act of 1833 gave the Europeans rights of ownership of land and full freedom of contract.⁴⁸

Similarly in the tea plantations, the Europeans would get many concessions in the form of large tracts of land at nominal prices,⁴⁹ concessions in taxation, and powers akin to criminal justice. Assam wasteland rules provided for grants of land up to 3000 acres per holder as freehold property exempt from land tax. Act 13 of 1859 and Inland Immigration Act of 1882 made breach of contract a criminal offence and authorised the tea planters to arrest a runaway labourer without any warrant.

Commercialisation led to dependence on the foreign market and increased the risk of fluctuation that was inherent and which was to be finally borne by the cultivators. This is demonstrated by the Deccan Agrarian disturbances of 1870s. In this, the demand for cotton during the 1860s from India increased because of the ensuing civil war in the U.S. During these prosperous years, the government also revised revenues by using these prosperous statistics as the standard.⁵⁰ But since the cotton boom was temporary, the prices crashed after the civil war in U.S. was over. This led to complete desperation in the Deccan cotton belt. As these were the Ryotwari areas of direct settlement, the cultivators had to take loans from local moneylenders to pay their revenue demands. All these led to increased control of moneylenders on the cultivators' lands. All of this led to considerable distress and disturbance. At one level this would seem a fairly innocuous working of the market principles. But at another level, this was caused by the kind of economic structures that the imperial

government had introduced in the country.

The commercialisation of agriculture was largely meant for foreign markets and consequently led to the neglect of production of food crops. The estimates of D. Thorner reveal the following figures⁵¹:

Three things become fairly clear. ONE, the avenues of value addition had been systematically removed from the country; TWO, money was going out on various departments — had it remained in the country, then it could create a ripple effect in the economy and lead to expansion of the economy; THREE, an expanding economy with capital accumulation would induce technological innovations in the system. This was not happening because the wealth that was being drained out was adding into the economic expansion of the imperialist country. This also made it possible for Britain to absorb technologies into its economic processes. This also had the effect of increasing the power of the imperial nation. The colony itself was deriving no benefit out of its own resources that it was generating.

The nature of economic relation between India and Britain was also undergoing continuous modifications. This was prompted by the changing requirements of Britain for its progressing industrialisation. Consequently, by the Charter of 1813, the monopoly status of the EIC, with regard to India, came to an end. Within twenty years, by the 1833 charter, even the trading status of the EIC with regard to India came to an end, and it remained only a territorial agent of the British sovereign. Such changes opened up India to a free trade regime and newer areas of fiscal drain. This was most achieved through the route of tariff differentiation. Tariff discrimination had come into existence early in the first half of the

Indices of average output of food and commercial crops	Area under Food Crops	Area under Commerical Crops	Estimates of Gross Production of foodgrains (million tons)
Avg. of 1893-1896	100	100	73.9
Avg. of 1906-1916	99	126	74.0
Avg. of 1926 to 1936	94	171	60.6
Avg. of 1936 to 1946	93	185	60.3

nineteenth century. "In the parliamentary enquiry of 1840 it was reported that while British cotton and silk goods imported into India paid a duty of 3 ½ per cent and woollen goods 2 per cent, Indian cotton goods imported into Britain paid 10 per cent, silk goods 20 per cent and woollen goods 30 per cent."⁵² The drain was most visible in growing export surplus by which the home charges and other remittances were transferred to Britain.

The army itself was another factor of this drain. The defence expenditure by the colonial regime in India was far higher in ratio than that in England. By 1904-5 the figure had reached 51.9 percent of the expenditure of the Government of India that was in sharp contrast to the amount spent on this department by Britain itself. The reason was quite obvious. India was spending this amount for Britain and not for itself. The Indian Army was used in distant foreign expeditions ranging from China to the Middle East, Africa, Europe — all of which had no bearing with India, but rather on the imperial interests of Britain. While the army would fight for the imperial interests in far off lands — that only served the imperial interests of Britain, the cost of such wars was borne by the Government of India, whose ultimate burden fell on the people of India. To the Royal Commission on Expenditure (1895-97) Lord Northbrook would say, "The English Government were put to very considerable cost, and we thought that India would be put to a small cost, and we thought she might very well pay the small cost of the troops sent to Suez. However, the operation became very extended, and it ended in the expedition from India becoming a large expedition. The whole cost was I think £ 1,700,000 and the ultimate arrangement made between the two Governments, the Government of India and the Government of England, was that India pay £ 1,200,000, and England paid £ 500,000." While Henry Brackenbury would say, "The strength of the army in India is calculated to allow of a powerful field army being placed on or beyond the Indian frontier, in addition to the obligatory garrisons required for keeping order in India.... The foreign policy of India is directed entirely from England by her Majesty's Government, and it is part of British foreign policy generally. The object of British foreign policy generally, I believe is to secure British rule over British Empire.... I cannot but feel that Britain's interest in keeping India under British rule is enormous. India affords employment to thousands of Britons; India employs millions of British capital... Therefore it seems to me that India, being held by Great

Britain, not only for India's sake, but also for Great Britain's sake, Great Britain should pay a share of the expenditure for this purpose...."⁵³ The army was also skewed in its personnel policies. Indians were not recruited for the higher jobs. They served only the lower levels.

Why was the Drain a Drain?

Whenever there is an economic exchange, the exchange takes place at parity. This parity is based on certain norms acceptable to the parties involved in the exchange. Many times, the exchange may be unequal. Some of this can be derived from positions like the power that is exercised by a monopolist. Many times, this unequal exchange can even be negative, when one party would use its privileged position to dictate terms of exchange. But all this relates to a situation that takes into account "ceteris-paribus".

In contrast to this, there are situations, where one party would use its privileged position and extra-situational variables (particularly political factors) to induce changes in the structure of economy itself. This change of structure leads to the situation where the exchange transcends that of an unequal exchange. The exchange transforms into a system of continuous one-way flow of resources. This transfer of resources is without any benefit to one side. This leads to a situation of drain and exploitation. The structures are not only geared so as to benefit the recipient on a continuous basis, but are also controlled by the beneficiary by use of policy mechanism and administrative action.

This had impact on various dimensions of political economy. Its economic consequences included increasing poverty, occupational shift from craft to agriculture, stagnant per capita income, declining population, de-urbanisation, and also harm to potential economic development. This harm to potential economic development led to creation of *dependency* in the future. Such *dependency* is also visible in various third world economies, and continues in the situation of the current globalisation. Such issues of economic drain could even be seen in the context of countries colonised in Africa. Even though such themes were discussed in African countries, it seems that a systematic theorisation did not take place in the African context prior to independence movements in its various countries. Much of the debate took place on such issues in the context of *dependency* theoretical framework later on during the decades of the sixties. However, in India, which had been longer in the colonised setup and where this theorisation

and realisation of hard economics was more systematically written, it formed the ground on which the freedom movement could have firm foundation. However apart from this, even in the colonial context of America vis-à-vis Britain there existed such issues like goods that could be sold only to English merchants, and foreign goods that could be bought only after paying duties at English ports. However, America fought and won its independence much earlier and escaped the creation of such exploitative structures. In India's case, the colonial period was much overdrawn and led to creation of such structures of economic drain. The point to note is that such issues could emerge in any context of imperial-colonial relations. It is existence of such structures that creates an imperial-colonial relationship that provides benefits to only one of them. If such structures existed even in absence of a formal control over territories, even then such aspects are beyond the scope of this essay.

Imperial Issues & Economic Consequences:

Britain in India was the significant central power. It was significant because it exercised more powers of direct centralised control than it was ever possible earlier. It was central because even the princely states that were theoretically independent were peripheral to the emerging and ensuing political scene. At no time earlier was government organised with such technical efficiency. Use of technology and work methods and organisational skills were central to the exercise of this efficiency. This technical efficiency of a government run by bureaucracy was geared to the imperial interests and was totally ignorant and unaccountable to the native country and the people. Many Eurocentric commentators have remarked on the positives of British rule. However I would argue that this technical efficiency was a reflection of organisational efficiency. The technological efficiency did not exist in the first place, but was rather a derivative of such an interaction through the imperial enterprise.

Firstly, at the political level, the sovereign did not reside in India — and did not have any accountability to the people. It may be argued that even the monarchs of India were not accountable to the people. But the basic difference was that while the monarchs of India could be overthrown by revolts — such could not be done to the sovereign thousands of miles away. On the other hand, all the money that was going out to Britain would remain in India and be reinvested in the economy. This was not

happening in the case of India in its colonised condition. Also, the foreign sovereign in this case was a bulwark of the reactionary forces in the country. This is visible from treaties of Subsidiary Alliance that protected the native rulers of the Indian States from external and internal enemies. Imperialism thus worked as a bulwark against any kind of revolution or as a denial of democratic aspirations of the people as well.

Secondly, some scholars have argued that the drain was a charge for administrative services. This is simply incongruous based on assumption that India did not have any administrative system or any rules prior to the EIC. The EIC only introduced a newer form of rules displacing the older system. It would be wrong to assume that rules of the older system were not rational. However, in this context what is important is that if India had not come into the net of imperialism, the wealth that was drained away to the imperial country would have remained within and contributed to economic progress and innovation. Prabhat Patnaik has rightly argued that, "...India, whose economic structure was not dissimilar to Japan's could if left alone have conceivably followed the latter's example, but their very exposure to European capitalism sabotaged this prospect."⁵⁴

Thirdly, imperialism in India was diffused to a great extent through policies like Subsidiary Alliance, the Doctrine of Lapse, etc. British imperialism in India worked through the institutions that it had created. This included the economic structures, the legal system and medium of education. The way the non-economic variables were geared to requirements of imperialism can be gauged through objectives of education as laid down by British policy. Macaulay, in his minute of education (2-2-1835) regarding English as a medium of instruction for education, said "We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect." It is interesting to note that even after more than a century of introduction of English as a medium of education, the literacy level in India was abysmally low. And not all of those who were literate were of the English medium. This meant that the potential for development of human resources and human capital was also stymied. The education system could not emerge in the right direction. The education system that the British introduced in India was no different than the traditional liberal system of India, the only difference was that this time this

was in the English medium and non-religious in nature. It continued to have the generalist non-technical orientation of earlier times.

Fourthly, a related issue is that of westernisation/modernisation. Often it is argued that modernisation of values and mode of living was a consequence of British rule. This is only partly true. If we analyse the major reform movements, we would find that most of these reform movements of the 19th and 20th centuries that attempted to modernise society took place as an internal regeneration process. As K.N. Panikkar has observed, "It was not just an attempt at religious revival and glorification, but an intellectual inquiry into the past, embracing almost every field of social, cultural, and political endeavour... to suggest that the present was not an index of what Indians were capable of. Implicit in this was the assumption that regeneration and restructuring of the existing cultural complex were necessary prerequisites for the realisation of this potential. Hence the Indian mind increasingly turned inward."⁵⁵ The majority of the time, the British were hostile to such movements and played a reactionary role, particularly after 1857. And more often than not, these progressive reform movements in some way or another provided the philosophical inspiration for the struggle for freedom. But even such a process was not devoid of the economic idiom and recognised the need for the economic regeneration of the country.

The above two issues can be said to be important in the context that there was an inherent recognition of the economic dimension of society and that India was not just "spiritual," as is often thought of in the Western myth-making of India. This, combined with the fact that gradually there would have emerged a stream of technical education in the country, had it not come under the imperial fold. This issue can also be related to the issue of proto-industrialisation. It is considered by historians that India had a situation of proto-industrialisation that resembled similar developments in England relating to methods and organisation of production, prior to the Industrial Revolution in Britain. [As an aside, sometimes I feel that going by the nature of active manufacturing and trade that existed in the subcontinent, it seems as if this was the place where materialism was born; infact an active spiritual activity could only exist when there are funds to subsidise such activities.]

Fifthly, the question in regard to economic betterment is, to what extent could India have improved its condition if the factor of British imperialism was not there. This

relates both to the economic dimensions as well as the industrial dimensions. For sure, the drain would not have occurred. India's ability to translate this wealth into one of international competitiveness would have depended on the extent to which Indian technologies could have improved, innovated by the capital accumulation, and continued to compete or even challenge the goods of the Industrial Revolution. It was more likely that India could have gone the way of industrialisation akin to one found in other countries of Europe — this was because India already had the proto-industrial, entrepreneurial and commercial setup. And in a competitive economic situation, an increase in population would have meant that, as in countries like France and Germany, India would have encouraged adoption of the technologies that had transformed Britain. However, British involvement in India, due to various reasons of economic impoverishment, also impacted the population trends, which remained either stagnant or even showed declining tendencies.

An equally valid question is whether Britain could have continued with its Industrial Revolution in the absence of subsidised raw materials from its colony? Without its colonies, wouldn't Britain have been forced to buy those raw materials in a competitive market, if the market would have worked according to the laws of demand and supply? And in such case could it bear the costs of translating the technological innovation into factory production? When we think of the Industrial Revolution, we need to segregate the scientific know-how to that of commercial product that involves translating that science into technology that has commercial application or utility is an economic environment of the market. It was here that what we call the "Industrial Revolution," where the factories would need to function within the ambit of the market with large-scale production that goes beyond the serendipity of scientific innovation. This transformation from science to technological application was a direct development deriving from the political subjugation of the colony. The political factor was more crucially important in deciding the economic fortunes and the trajectory of development, than the purely technological or economic factor. To put it in a more understandable manner, in our times we have many environmental friendly technologies, or more precisely scientific know-how, but these currently have no use. This is because their manufacturing costs are prohibitive and consequently their market is either non-existent or extremely limited (who would-

n't wish to have an electric-fuelled car or be happy with sea water converted to potable water?) What actually transforms the future technologies to current technology? Is it just the technology per se? Now a similar analogy holds for Britain if it had not undertaken the imperial enterprise. Development of technology is no guarantee for its success in the market place. If the raw material like cotton was not available cheaply, or political tariff differentials were not used, the presence or absence of technology would have hardly been a significant variable for the Lancashire manufacturers. Burns et al. point out that, "The English possessed a merchant marine capable of transporting goods across the world, and a navy practiced in the art of protecting its commercial fleets.... English entrepreneurs and technicians responded to the compulsion by revolutionising the production of cotton textile goods. Although far less cotton goods were made in eighteenth century England than wool..... Tariff prohibiting the importation of East Indian cottons, imposed by Parliament to stimulate the sale of woollen goods, had instead served to spur the manufacture of domestic cotton."⁵⁶ One advantage leads to another. So we get a highly subsidised manufacturing base that was driven by cheap raw materials from the colony. The other dimension of this is equally relevant. The colony worked as a captive market for manufactured textiles and later for other products like the railways. If such were not available, then the whole business would have again faced tremendous difficulties, hardly worth the trouble to keep running the revolution, if it was not paying enough. It is after all the market that decides the manufacture — not the other way round. It is hardly useful to think that a non-colonised India would have preferred imported cotton goods over its own domestic production — when such cotton goods even without machine technology (and despite of the tariff restrictions and the process of de-industrialisation) could hold their own in Britain until the early 19th century. Left to itself, it is quite possible that the trajectory of industrial development in Britain would have followed a slower path as was followed by others.

In the larger context of imperial-colonial relations, it also explains why the countries of South, the erstwhile colonies, would be poor despite their resources and raw materials. Imperialism thus has deep economic implications that adversely affect all facets of life by creation of enduring unequal structures.

¹ George Campbell (1882), John and Richard

- Strachey (1882), Henry Maine (1887), W.W. Hunter (1880), Gen. Chesney, Lord Curzon, T. Morrison etc.
- ² Bipin Chandra (1979), *Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India* (New Delhi: Orient Longman), p. 84.
- ³ R.J. Barandse (2002), *The Arabian Seas: Indian Ocean World of The Seventeenth Century*, (New York: M.E. Sharp) p. 299.
- ⁴ R. Palme Dutt (1940), *India Today*, (Calcutta: Manisha Granthalaya; First Published in England by Victor Gollancz, 1940) p. 106.
- ⁵ Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, p. 176.
- ⁶ Radha Kamal Mukherjee, Chap XXI, *The History and Culture of Indian People* (ed. R.C. Majumdar), (Bombay: Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan), Vol 8, p. 749.
- ⁷ Radha Kamal Mukherjee, p. 747.
- ⁸ ibid, p. 748.
- ⁹ Tara Chand (1961, 1965), *History of Freedom Movement in India*, vol-1, (New Delhi: Publications Division), p 290.
- ¹⁰ Quoted in R. Palme Dutt, 108.
- ¹¹ Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India*, (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1989), p. 87.
- ¹² Sumit Sarkar (1983), *Modern India 1885-1947* (Macmillan India), p. 33.
- ¹³ R.C. Dutt (1901, 1903), *The Economic History Of India*, Vol I & II, (New Delhi: Publications Division), I: 262.
- ¹⁴ Brij Narain's series of prices of coarse rice in Bengal, *Indian Economic Life Past and Present* (1929), mentioned in Irfan Habib, p. 302.
- ¹⁵ Report of the Commission of 1892 into the working of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, evidence of how the Land Revenue is Paid, table given in R. Palme Dutt, pp. 250-51.
- ¹⁶ R. Palme Dutt, pp. 252-53.
- ¹⁷ Particularly authors like Morris D. Morris, Tom Kessinger etc. in *Cambridge Economic History of India, Vol-II*, Cambridge, 1982.
- ¹⁸ R.C. Dutt, I: 29.
- ¹⁹ Quoted in R. Palme Dutt, p. 118.
- ²⁰ R. Palme Dutt, p. 119.
- ²¹ R. Palme Dutt, p. 203.
- ²² Roy Macleod and Deepak Kumar (1995), *Introduction: Western Technology and British Rule, in Technology and the Raj* eds. Macleod and Kumar (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1995), p. 11.
- ²³ Daniel R. Headrick (1981), *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press), p. 10, 206.
- ²⁴ Satpal Sangwan, *The Sinking Ships: Colonial Policy and the Decline of Indian Shipping, 1735-1835*, p. 138, in *Technology And The Raj*.
- ²⁵ Regulations for the Registry of Ships built in India and the Employment of Lascars (1814), ibid, p. 152.
- ²⁶ Sumit Sarkar, ibid, p. 37.
- ²⁷ R.C. Dutt, I: 206.
- ²⁸ Quoted in R.C. Dutt, II: 248.
- ²⁹ Sumit Sarkar, p. 38.
- ³⁰ ibid, p. 38.
- ³¹ ibid, p. 37.
- ³² Ian Derbyshire, *The Building of India's Railways*:

The Application of Western Technology in the Colonial Periphery 1850-1920, in Technology And The Raj, p. 201.

³³ Arthur Cotton in front of a Select Committee (1872) headed by George Hamilton reported to it, "The Railway account now stands thus: Cost of works £ 112,000,000, Cost of land £ 8,000,000, Debt now £ 50,000,000, Total £ 170,000,000 For which we have about 7,500 miles, or at the rate of £ 23,000 per mile. At the present cost to the Treasury in interest on share capital 4 ½ million, and on land and debt at 4 per cent, 3 million; total 7 ½ million. From which deducting net receipts, 4 ½ million, leaves three million a year as the loss on the money sunk." Quoted in R.C. Dutt, II: 254. As R.C. Dutt observes in the following p. 255, "But the great point which Sir Arthur Cotton made was that railways were no protection against famines."

³⁴ R.C. Dutt, I: 206.

³⁵ Ian Derbyshire, p. 202.

³⁶ Arun Kumar, *Colonial Requirements and Engineering Education: The Public Works Department, 1847-1947*, in *Technology And The Raj*, p. 229.

³⁷ Gregory Clark and Robert Feenstra, *Technology In The Great Divergence*, Working Paper 8596 <http://www.nber.org/papers/w8596>. Prepared for the conference "Globalization in Historical Perspective."

³⁸ Saroj Ghose, *Commercial Needs and Military Necessities: The Telegraph in India*, in *Technology And The Raj*, p. 153.

³⁹ Bipin Chandra, pp. 97-98.

⁴⁰ Bipin Chandra et al p. 96

⁴¹ I use the term power-arrangement, because after 1833, EIC was stripped of its commercial interests, and was to continue its function of territorial government as an agent of the sovereign British power

⁴² R.C. Agarwal (1991), *Constitutional Development And National Movement Of India*, (New Delhi: S. Chand & Co.), pp. xxvi-xxvii,

⁴³ B.L. Grover & S. Grover (1999), *A New Look At Modern Indian History*, (New Delhi: S. Chand & Co.), p. 625.

⁴⁴ Quoted in R.C. Dutt II: 399.

⁴⁵ Bipin Chandra et al, p. 97.

⁴⁶ Sumit Sarkar, p. 38.

⁴⁷ A. Tripathi, *History and Culture of Indian People*, ed. R.C. Majumdar, Vol-IX, p. 1097 (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan).

⁴⁸ ibid. p. 1098.

⁴⁹ Sumit Sarkar, p. 39.

⁵⁰ Bipin Chandra et al, p. 56.

⁵¹ Tara Chand, III: 49-50.

⁵² R. Palme Dutt, p. 118.

⁵³ Quoted in R.C. Dutt II: 393, 395.

⁵⁴ Prabhat Patnaik (1995), *Whatever Happened to Imperialism and Other Essays*, (New Delhi: Tulika, 1997), p. 16.

⁵⁵ K.N. Panikkar, *Culture, Ideology, Hegemony: Intellectuals and Social Consciousness in Colonial India*, (Tulika, paperback 1998), p. 107.

⁵⁶ Burns, Ralph, Lerner and Meacham (1986) *World Civilization* Seventh Ed. p. 950.

Conference Celebrates Center's Closure

Patrick Manning and H. Parker James

Nearly 200 world-history practitioners convened at a two-day Boston conference on "World History: The Next Ten Years," March 12-14, 2004. The conference, hosted by the World History Center at Northeastern University, called on participants to develop an agenda for the field. In addition, the meeting marked the Center's imminent closing, celebrated its achievements in the past decade, and underscored its research-based agenda as a model for world-historical studies. Co-sponsored by the World History Association and the American Historical Association, the conference gathered college professors, secondary teachers, graduate students, publishers, and professional development staff from across the U.S. Additional educators came from countries outside the U.S., including Cambodia, Canada, China, Germany, Norway, Turkey, and the U.K. The conference also attracted the participation of scholars from beyond the traditional confines of the discipline, among them anthropologists and an architectural historian.

A "virtual" program committee of six, led by Patrick Manning and Parker James of the World History Center and Ralph Croizier of the World History Association, solicited proposals and made its selections electronically. The program featured twenty-five panels that addressed topics in research, graduate education, professional development, institutions, teaching, and teaching-research links.

The conference began Saturday morning with presentation of seventeen papers on new research in world history, mostly by junior scholars. The presentations were by all accounts excellent, although attendance at these was a bit sparse, perhaps due to the early hour. Topics ranged from European and Chinese migrant networks to the Spanish empire, architecture in cultural exchange, and international organizations. The strength of these papers suggests that world history research in the future, in

addition to coming from senior scholars, may also begin appearing in significant quantity from the pens of scholars finishing up their PhDs. Many of these may be published soon.

The Saturday midmorning sessions gathered large audiences. The environmental history session was among the best received. Organized and chaired by Anthony Penna (Northeastern), it featured presentations by David Christian (San Diego State), John Richards (Duke) and Paul Adams (Shippensburg). The presenters offered a variety of interesting schemes for the analysis and interpretation of environmental history and brought active interplay of the participants and an audience that appeared both informed and engaged.

The session on graduate education and the job market, chaired by WHA President David Northrup, included participation by Jerry Bentley of the University of Hawaii, Harvey Green of Northeastern University, Robert Townsend of the American Historical Association, and Parker James of the World History Center. James and Townsend presented data on present trends in the job market. Townsend's data indicated that job growth in world history was relatively rapid compared to that for other areas of history, while James's research suggested that most of the jobs advertised as "world history" positions resulted instead in the hiring of area-studies specialists.

The reactions of senior historians to these data seemed to point to skepticism about the notion of world history as a primary field for professional historians. A similar view was expressed by participants in the panel entitled "Making the

Move from Regional to World History." This may point to a contrast between senior world historians, who appear to perceive the research practice of world history as a second field, and a cadre of younger world historians, purpose-trained in the field, who embrace world history as their primary field of endeavor.

Issues in teaching and professional development received substantial attention at the conference, and showed linkages to graduate education and research. Two fine panels on Saturday afternoon addressed professional development for in-service teachers and university programs for pre-service teachers of world history. In a small but encouraging session, past participants in the Boston-area Symposium, a collaborative professional

development workshop, resolved to relaunch their annual world history workshop in new form.

At the end of the first day Patrick Manning, director of the World History Center, delivered a plenary talk. The

talk reviewed the past ten years of development in world history, described the Center's activities and the decision to close it, and outlined predictions and suggestions for world historians in the coming decade. (The address is posted on the conference site at www.whc.neu.edu/NextTenYears.)

The Sunday sessions began with presentations on the institutions of world history. The publication session was unusual in that five leading history editors and publishers were presenters rather than listeners. In lively interchange with the audience, the five gave the perspectives of



Conference staff: Parker James, Dave O'Donnell, Naomi Greckol, Pat Manning, Aniruddha Bose



Yinghong Cheng, Pat Manning, Zhang Weiwei, Y.T. Li, and Chen Zhiqiang



Ralph Croizier, Kathleen Kimball, and Kevin Reilly

their firms and suggestions on the future directions for monographs and especially textbooks in world history. Lew Bateman of Cambridge University Press gave a capsule history of the historical monograph, and Clark Baxter of Wadsworth gave a top-ten list on how to write a textbook. The session was notable for the market-driven perspective of its participants and thus its emphasis on the production of textbooks and other forms of classroom material.

Two other sessions of interest to teachers were one on the role of politics in world history at local, state, and national levels, and a competing session on state standards and textbooks in world history. In the latter session, Susan Douglass presented the remarkably optimistic results of her recent research into the revision of state standards in world history. Most states, in revising their standards, have improved the world-historical content and pedagogy of their curricula rather than the reverse. It appears that world history is a steadily strengthening aspect of the public school curriculum.

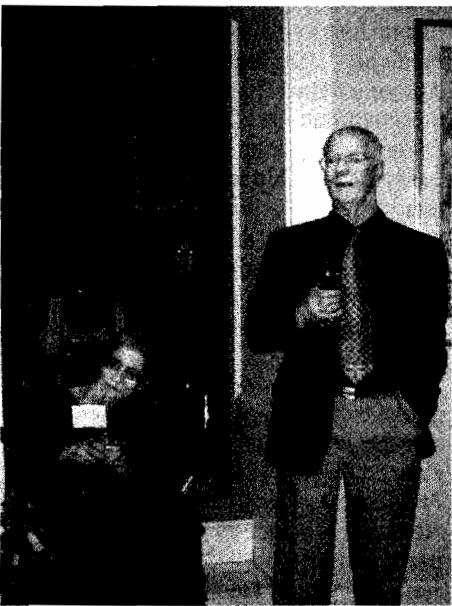
Additional Sunday sessions linked research and teaching on history of women and of globalization, and highlighted the new e-journal, *World History Connected*. Four more sessions on college and high school teaching wrapped up the conference.

The conference took place in the comfortable environment of the John Hancock Conference Center in Boston's Back Bay. Meals, snacks, and coffee were ample, and participants were able to take advantage of breaks between sessions to meet and converse. Each of the meals was augmented by a speaker: Andreas Aase critiqued existing world history textbooks and gave recommendations for future ones, Monty Armstrong described discussions on the <ap-world> discussion list, and Charles Hedrick raised provocative questions on ethics in world history.

Although the World History Center underwrote the largest portion of the costs of the conference beyond registration fees, three publishers made significant contributions which afforded us the opportunity to offer a higher quality of food and drink than are traditionally available at world history conferences. Palgrave and Wadsworth each sponsored a reception, while McGraw-Hill funded the Saturday banquet.

In addition to the nine publishers who presented their wares at the book exhibit, the Poster Session included details of MA and PhD programs at eleven institutions, and the World History Center provided an

exhibit of its activities and products, including a scrapbook. There were also entries for posters on research and teaching. Outstanding among these was one produced by anthropologist Bethe Hagens of the Union Institute and University.



Pat Manning comments; Robin Kilson and Markus Wiener listen

Although its analytical structure was almost entirely ahistorical, it was seamlessly global in scope and was realized in a manner that was at once challenging and accessible. It could provide a template for participants at future poster sessions.

The success of the conference was mitigated somewhat for its organizers by the failure to address two key issues: research funding and interdepartmental collaboration. Especially distressing was the issue of funding. Months before the conference, Manning began recruiting participants for a panel devoted to the subject of

research funding in world history. Invitations went to the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Science Foundations, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Social Science Research Council, and the Ford, Carnegie, and Spencer Foundations. Only the NEH responded with interest, but it was too short on funds to support a representative to attend. In the end, the funding panel was simply canceled.

Similarly disappointing was the shortage of discussion of interdepartmental collaboration. If there is one thing that the closure of the World History Center makes manifest, it is that active collaboration among university departments is imperative for world-historical studies to progress. Yet, despite ample participation by faculty from institutions where models for collaboration exist, e.g. the University of California Multi-Campus Research Group in World History and the Boston Area Graduate History Network, no public discussion emerged on how these could be developed or applied more broadly. But perhaps some private conversations addressed ideas on cooperation.

Generally the world historians in attendance appeared to feel good about each other and good about their field, though it was widely recognized that there is much work to be done to build the field. As one participant noted, in a globalizing world in which most of the academy still chooses to discount past historical connections, any such gathering of teachers and scholars who share interest in world history is an event of significance. The meeting provided a good warmup for the WHA Annual Meeting at George Mason University in June.

Please join us June 17-20, 2004 at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia

&

June 26-28, 2005 at the University of Capetown in Capetown, South Africa

World History Association 2004

Updated March 1, 2004

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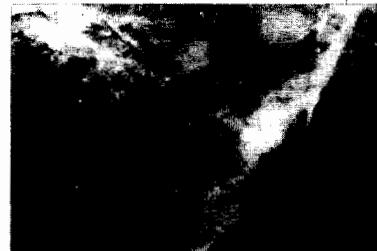
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