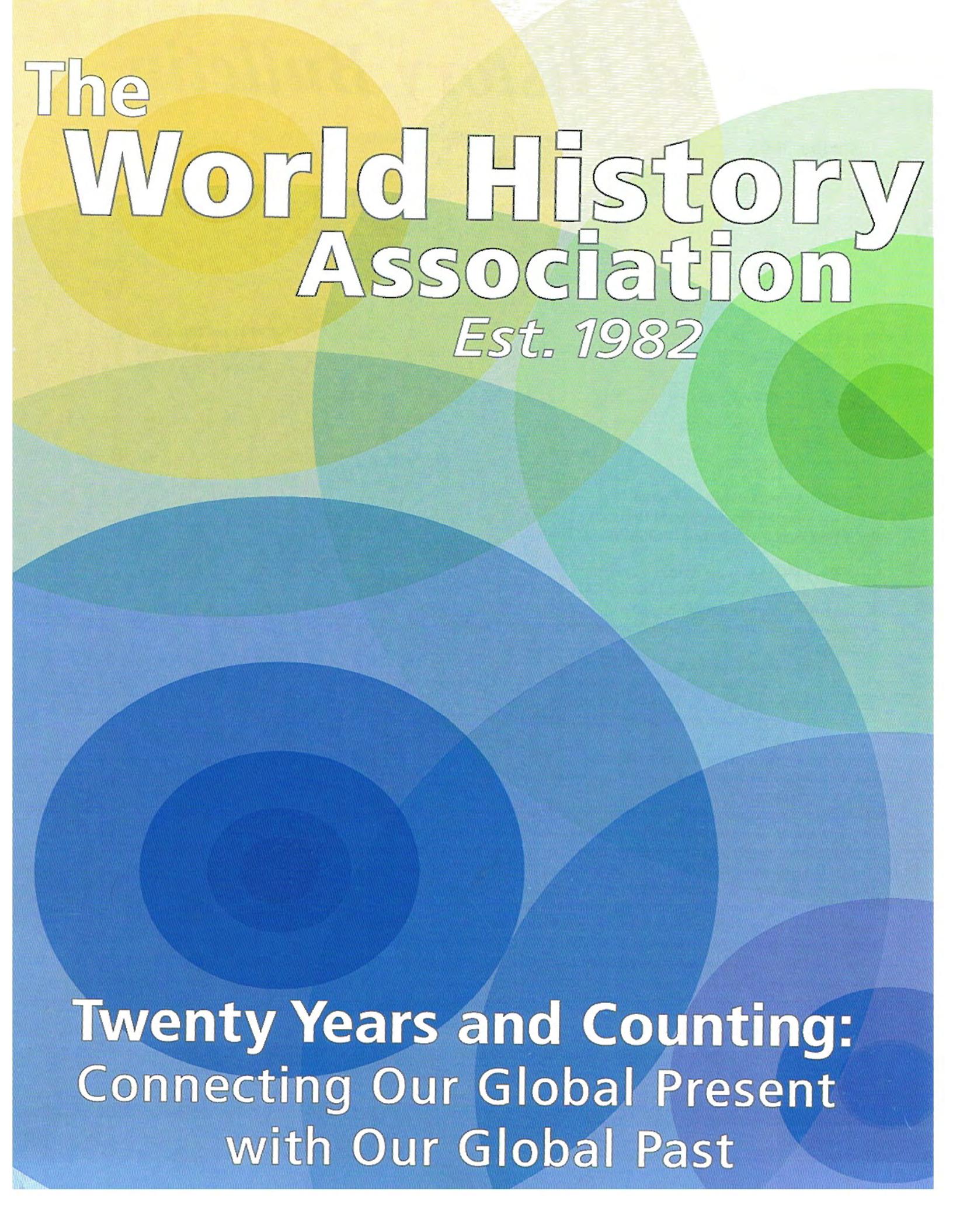


The World History Association

Est. 1982



Twenty Years and Counting:
Connecting Our Global Present
with Our Global Past

World History Bulletin

Spring 2003

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Editor's Note: In celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the World History Association, this special issue of the World History Bulletin contains a full-color cover and two articles written by international scholars: Sylvain Poosson, from the Côte d'Ivoire, and Jürgen G. Nagel, from Germany. The Fall 2003 issue will contain an article by Anup Mukherjee, from India.

Letter from the President

Fellow WHA Members,

It seems, and is, just a short time ago since I wrote my last letter for the *Bulletin*, in which I described the opening of our new Headquarters at the University of Hawai'i. What are the most important developments since then?

The one with the most lasting implications for the WHA is just underway. Adopting the term from an informal meeting Al Andrea had last August with the Council on Foundations, this Spring we will be developing a "Strategic Plan" which will chart the course of the WHA for the next several years as we complete the transition from a small group of enthusiastic volunteers to a full fledged professional organization.

I have struck a special, limited-time committee of twelve members with me as Chair. Its composition is: David Northrup, Roger Beck, Jacky Swansinger, Jerry Bentley, Al Andreas, Heidi Roupp, Maggie Favretti, Ken Pomeranz, Anand Yang, David Christian, and Deborah Johnston. Kieko Matteson, our Executive Director, will be a member ex officio and reporter. The committee will communicate electronically via a web-based forum to prepare an agenda for a three-day "retreat" at a hotel near Los Angeles International Airport the weekend of April 25-27. It will then refine the results of that meeting into a WHA Strategic Plan, to be sent to Executive Council members two weeks before our meeting at the upcoming WHA 2003 conference in Atlanta, June 26-29. By the Fall we should have a finished and accepted plan which will not only guide development of the WHA over the next decade, but will also serve as an indispensable tool when we approach foundations to fund our new initiatives.

A size-restricted, clearly focused committee is necessary to produce a concrete plan in a limited time, but we certainly welcome input from as many sources as possible. You may communicate directly with me, ralphc@uvic.ca or with Kieko at the-wha@hawaii.edu. This will be an intense process, demanding time, thought, and money (committee members will pay their own transportation costs) from those who have agreed to serve on the Strategic Planning Committee. Yet the results will be worth the effort, for it will prepare the WHA to do more for world history, and do it more effectively.

I have dwelt on the Strategic Plan at the expense of other news. Here, in bullet form, are other newsworthy items.

+ A "Committee of the Whole," comprised of all members of the Executive Council and members of the editorial board of the independent world history teaching journal, *Connections*, was formed in January to continue discussions concerning the relationship between the proposed journal and the WHA.

+ The Finance Committee, in response to the Executive Council's directive, is discussing new financial reporting procedures to give a simpler and "more transparent" picture of WHA finances.

+ After serving as Chair of the Book Prize Committee from 1999-2002, David Chappell is moving on. We thank him for his generous and diligent efforts.

+ The Book Prize Committee has been reorganized as a troika with Richard Eaton of the University of Arizona, John Thornton of Howard University, and Greg Blue of the University of Victoria as Chair.

+ George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia, near Washington D.C., will be the host of the 2004 annual conference.

+ This is a full slate election year for the WHA. Tim Connell, Chair of the Nominating Committee welcomes suggestions. Email him at connell@en.com

There's a great deal more, but this letter is already too long. I look forward to seeing all of you in Atlanta, where Steve Rapp and his colleagues at Georgia State University are putting together a mighty fine conference with mighty fine Southern hospitality.

Yours,

Ralph





WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION 2003 ANNUAL CONFERENCE

June 26 – 29

**GEORGIA STATE UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA**

The World History Association (WHA) will hold the 2003 Annual Conference at Georgia State University (GSU) in downtown Atlanta. This year's conference will be held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Southeast World History Association (SEWHA). The annual conference always provides an exciting opportunity for leading scholars, teachers, and students to share knowledge and ideas in the field of world history.

Conference events will begin Friday, June 27 and will include a three-day book exhibit, a luncheon banquet, and several hosted receptions. (Please note that you must pre-register for the luncheon banquet.) Panel discussions will focus on the themes of: *Migration and Identity; Comparative Perspectives on Islam and Islamic Politics; and The Boundaries of World History- Chronological, Methodological, Disciplinary*. The featured keynote speakers will be: Michele Forman, the 2001 National Teacher of the Year; Edmund "Terry" Burke III, Professor of History at the University of California at Santa Cruz; and Patrick J. Geary, Professor of History at UCLA.

Easily accessible by car, air or rail, Atlanta is perfect for conference-goers. The GSU campus vicinity offers plenty of hotel accommodations, including the Marriott Courtyard Downtown, the official hotel of the 2003 WHA Conference. For reservations, call 1-800-marriott and ask for the WHA Conference discount rate of \$89 per night. Other area hotels include the Hilton, Sheraton and Fairfield Inn. GSU dormitory housing is also available at a rate of \$45 per night (see the registration form to reserve a room.)

For more details on the WHA 2003 Annual Conference, including: registration, accommodations, directions, maps, local Atlanta attractions, conference exhibiting and advertising information, and program details, please visit the WHA website at www.thewha.org.

WHA Workshop On *Teaching World History*

Friday, June 26 1:30 to 4:30 p.m.

Tom Mounkhall and Michele Forman will conduct a world history teaching workshop as part of the WHA Twelfth International Conference in Atlanta, Georgia on Friday, June 26. 1:30 to 4:30 p.m. The workshop is designed for anyone who would like to improve their teaching skills and content knowledge of world history. The program will offer strong insights into Advanced Placement World History and explore materials needed for content. The workshop will be free to those who attend the conference, and certificates of attendance will be given. Space will be limited and the workshop may fill very fast. To secure a place, contact Alan LeBaron at alebaron@kennesaw.edu.



PREREGISTRATION FORM
World History Association Annual Conference
Georgia State University, Atlanta, Georgia
June 26-29, 2003

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

HOUSING

- Hotel & Parking Information will be announced in the Spring *Bulletin* and at www.thewha.org
- A limited number of single rooms will be available in the GSU/Olympic Village dormitories. To register for this option, please provide the following information:

Note: Dormitory rooms may be reserved on a first come, first served basis until May 15. This section for dorm lodgers only.

1. Gender: M / F	2. Arrival and departure dates (must be during conference period):
(Please circle) _____	
3. Approximate arrival time if before 9 a.m. or after 9 p.m.: _____	
4. Dorm-only Parking: \$5 per car, per day Parking subtotal (#days x \$5) = _____ <i>Total for room &</i>	
5. Room rate: \$45/night (single occupancy only) Room subtotal (#nights x \$45) = _____ <i>parking: \$</i> _____	

BUS TOUR

If a low-cost bus tour of Atlanta were organized for Sunday afternoon, would you be interested? **Yes / No**
(Please circle)

REGISTRATION FEE*	BEFORE MAY 1, 2003	AFTER MAY 1, 2003**	
WHA Members	\$95	\$110	\$ _____
Non-Members	\$115	\$130	\$ _____
Secondary Educators	\$70	\$70	\$ _____
Students (w/photo ID)	\$25	\$35	\$ _____

*Refundable via written request up to May 15, 2003. Price includes luncheon banquet. **One-day rates will be available on site.

TOTAL ENCLOSED (Registration plus dorm housing/parking, if this option chosen): \$ _____

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

Visa/MasterCard/Discover # _____ Expiration Date: _____

Signature _____ *(Sorry, AmEx not accepted)*

SEND YOUR COMPLETED
FORM & PAYMENT TO:

C. Kieko Matteson
Executive Director, WHA
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

Retain a copy for your records.



Please welcome Jenna Dearth, who joined Kieko Matteson at the WHA headquarters in January. An alumna of the College of New Jersey in Trenton and a current graduate student in the Department of American Studies at the University of Hawai'i, Jenna previously worked in public relations. Her many hats will include working as conferences, membership, and public relations specialist and as assistant to the Executive Director. The World History Association is grateful to the C.E. and S. Foundation of Louisville, Kentucky for its generous support in hiring her.



**Minutes of the World History
Executive Council Meeting**
January 2, 2003
Chicago, Illinois
Room 5G, Hilton
3:10 p.m. – 7:15 p.m.

Present: Ralph Croizier (President), David Northrup (Vice-President), Roger Beck (Treasurer), Jacky Swansinger (Secretary), Kieko Matteson (Executive Director), Executive Council members: Anand Yang, Ane Lintvedt, Annette Palmer, Robert Bain, Howard Spodek, Ken Pomeranz, Maggie Favretti, Stephen Gosch, Susan Douglas.

Ex officio: Kevin Reilly, Jerry Bentley, Micheal Tarver, Heidi Roupp, Carter Findley, John Mears, Peter Stearns, Steve Rapp.

Meeting called to order at 3:10 p.m.

President Ralph Croizier opened the session with a brief set of comments on favorable references to world history in AHA president Lynn Hunt's speech, carried in the January issue of the *AHA Perspectives*. He then asked the Executive Council to reflect upon whether or not the WHA had a responsibility to speak out on important academic issues such as the political storm the Middle Eastern Studies Association (MESA) faced last fall.

1. Minutes Approved: Motion to accept the Seoul Executive Council minutes was moved by Carter Findley, seconded by Ken Pomeranz, and approved unanimously.

A procedural change was announced: all reports must be filed at least seven (7) days prior to the Executive Council meeting.

2. Executive Director: President Ralph Croizier formally introduced Kieko Matteson, the new Executive Director of the WHA.

Ms. Matteson thanked the WHA for this opportunity to serve and reported on her accomplishments to date.

Time at HQ has been devoted to large and small aspects of set up and consolidation: finding a new printer, searching out lowest-cost sources, obtaining a non-profit mail license, reprinting brochures, opening a bank account, redesigning the renewal form, working on developing online forms, getting office equipment, and buying furniture with funds provided by the University of Hawai'i. Completed fall mailing and looked at ways to improve efficiency.

Began researching foundations and non-profit organizations willing to fund start-up costs, conferences and administrative work of WHA.

Organized the opening celebration for HQ.

Discussions with Al Andrea regarding membership growth are underway. We will be hiring a new secretary shortly; recruitment committee must meet.

3. Treasurer's Report: Roger Beck presented the budget report. The Korea conference was a financial success; the organization cleared \$4,200 after costs. Both the annual fund and the endowment are in good shape.

The matching grant challenge has to be met within the next 24 months.

Data is in the process of being moved from the Filemaker program (from the days of Dick Rosen) to Access, so they can be managed with greater facility.

Membership database must be updated. Hopefully this can be completed at HQ.

Discussion ensued regarding the full disclosure of WHA's financial position and the nature of the board's fiduciary responsibilities. All the accounts are being prop-

erly managed, but the organization now needs official annual statements that are "transparent" to members of the Council. A motion was made by Jacky Swansinger that the Finance Committee be instructed to review the present financial reporting and make recommendations to the Executive Council before the end of March 2003. Carter Findley seconded the motion. Vote was unanimous.

4. Budget Proposal. President Ralph Croizier presented the estimated budget for 2003. Questions were raised regarding the choices of academic year instead of calendar year as used at present, and which format would best suit the organization. After discussion, Ane Lintvedt moved that the Executive Committee accept the proposed budget estimate presented to Council, but that firmer figures should be presented by the end of March. Stephen Gosch seconded the motion. Unanimously approved.

5. Endowment Fund: Carter Findley reported that in the transition from his presidency to the present one his name was taken off the fund reports. He has sought clarification, and will receive the statements from Vanguard as soon as possible. Not much change, but the statements and their timeliness is a question that the Finance Committee should address when they meet over the various fiduciary issues this spring.

6. Journal Editor's Report: Jerry Bentley officially announced that the *Journal of World History* is moving to a quarterly format. Decision was based on increased quantity of submissions and increased dues. A part time editorial assistant has been hired. Institutional subscriptions are being used to subsidize individual rates, as the institutional rates have grown sufficiently to permit this use of the money. Electronic access from MUSE

began 1999 and from the History Cooperative in March 03. It is not clear what difference this will make in the long run to subscriptions, but based on the increased demand for the journal, it supports the decision to change formats. The Executive Council offered a spontaneous round of applause for moving JWH along this well.

David Chappell has retired as book editor, and Herbert Ziegler has agreed to resume position as Book Review Editor.

Maggie Favretti moved the council accept the appointment, Anand Yang seconded, passed unanimously.

7. Bulletin Editor's Report: Micheal Tarver reported that the Fall 2002 issue was being mailed as he spoke. He circulated a brief look at the new issue of the bulletin. The *Bulletin* also has a new book review editor, Peter Dykema. The twenty-year anniversary of the WHA will be announced on the cover of the Spring 2003 issue. Stephen Gosch moved to approve the appointment of Peter Dykema, Ane Lintvedt seconded, passed unanimously.

8. Committee on Committees: The Chair, Ane Lintvedt, proposed a plan to reorganize the structure and duties of the committee in order to effectively recruit new members to the WHA's regular committees and ensure regular rotation of memberships. Discussion centered on length and rotation of terms, authority of committees, relationship of these matters to the constitution's provision that the President appoint committees. The committee chair, Ane Lintvedt, raised a motion that the Committee on Committees discuss with the President and Executive Director how best to meet the concerns raised in reorganizing the Committee so as to best facilitate the management of committees. Maggie Favretti seconded. The motion passed.

9. Proposed New Teaching Journal and its Relationship to the WHA: David Northrup, Chair of the ad hoc committee on the WHA's relationship to the proposed new world history teaching journal, offered the committee's unanimous resolution: "The WHA welcome the plans for launching *Connections: Journal of World History Teaching and Learning*, and wishes it every success. The WHA looks for-

ward to establishing a mutually respectful working relationship with the journal's Editor and Editorial Board."

A lengthy discussion ensued. The Council did not wish to discourage further discussion of the creation of a teaching journal, nor did it wish to show a lack of support. However, the specific nature of the relationship with the WHA remains cloudy. The conclusion was that there was a lack of support for a WHA commitment to the project as brought forth at present, but the Council was sympathetic to the idea.

Other issues were raised related to the new journal. Quality and price were discussed. Another concern was the nature of institutional support, staffing, and organization for the new journal and the implied relationship of the *World History Bulletin* to the new teaching journal and to the WHA. Council members expressed a desire for specific details about how the teaching journal would run and an unwillingness to commit the WHA until these details are clearer.

Finally, Carter Findley moved a resolution, seconded by Howard Spodek, that the Council accept the ad hoc committee's report and direct the WHA to continue discussions with the proposed journal's editorial board in order to clearly establish its relationship with the WHA. Passed unanimously.

10. Motion Concerning Teaching Workshop in Atlanta: Ane Lintvedt moved a motion to present a full morning panel focused on teaching at the Atlanta WHA conference. Maggie Favretti seconded it. The discussion focused on process, was this a new concept and different from a regular panel, and should it simply go to program committee or brought to the Executive Council? Could further discussion go to program committee? Should there be greater discussion of how teaching and WHA go together?

11. Conference Committee Report: A proposal to hold the 2004 WHA conference at George Mason University in Virginia was presented. Peter Stearns of George Mason was present to answer questions. The conference center at GMU manages and organizes the details of the conference. This raises a question for the WHA: is the organization willing to have more of the costs, organization details,

and profits go to the host institution? Plenary speakers are expensive and would remain the responsibility of the WHA. Registration fees would be relatively high. Motion to accept the offer pending further clarification on cost sharing with the host institution was moved by David Northrup, Stephen Gosch seconded, carried unanimously.

South Africa in 2005: Discussion focused on whether the members of the Executive Council would like to pursue further conversations with potential host in South Africa to have the 2005 WHA conference held there. The issue of time was also discussed. Howard Spodek moved the motion to have the Conferences Committee pursue conversations, Roger Beck seconded. Motion carried.

Atlanta 2003: Stephen Rapp reported on the organizational progress for the 2003 Atlanta conference. He hopes this will be a very successful conference for the WHA. A couple of issues that might arise are who will pay for conference lunches and the cost of audio-visuals. Georgia State is willing to offer subsidies for the conference, but keynote speakers, travel, and accommodations, will remain the province of the WHA and its membership. Middle Eastern Center is willing to support part of Edmund Burke's keynote address. Professor Rapp is trying to raise more local money, but massive cuts in Georgia mean that resistance is being encountered. Alan LeBaron is willing to reconfigure his own AP world history workshop to occur at the end of the week. Generally, the planning is on track for a good conference.

12. Council of Affiliates: The Executive Council proposes that the affiliates meet in Atlanta in 2003 to discuss their needs and plans for the future. Affiliates have not met officially since Salt Lake City.

13. Long Range Planning Motion: President Ralph Croizier temporarily yielded the chair to David Northrup in order to initiate a strategic planning exercise this spring. The WHA needs foundation support to develop new programs for promoting world history at all levels. As the circulated memo on Al Andreas' conversations with officers of the Council on Foundations makes clear this requires producing a Strategic Plan which will set out

the WHA's priorities for the next few years. A planning exercise will be organized in the spring semester to facilitate this process. It is also intended to raise basic questions about the nature and purpose of the WHA, its strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats to it. A report will be ready for study by the Executive Council well in advance of the June meeting. It should provide a road map of where we are going in the next few years now that the Headquarters provides the administrative machinery to do more, and do it better. Motion presented by Ralph Croizier, seconded by Anand Yang. Passed unanimously.

14. Nominating Committee Report: Tim Connell. Little to report this year, next year will require greater effort. Welcomes all nominations.

15. Membership Report: WHA was infected with the irrational exuberance that led us to believe that expanding our membership rapidly would solve all our difficulties. We should increase our membership, but barring unusual success in some of the Membership Committee's new initiatives, there is little indication the organization will reach more than the 3%-4% rate of growth which is normal for most mature organizations.

16. National Assessment of Educational Programs (NAEP): Heidi Roupp presented information regarding NAEP's plans to bump the 2006 world history standards assessment to 2012. The main question facing the WHA is, is there any reason we should lobby for 2006, or should we simply wait for the new date? Discussion of the Council, on the advice of Heidi Roupp, favored not wading into

this politically charged question at this time.

17. Motion to Adjourn: A motion to adjourn was made at 7:15 p.m., seconded by Carter Lindley. Motion passed unanimously.

**Remember
to renew
your
membership**

WHA Book Prize 2003: Lauren Benton

The World History Association Book Prize Committee is pleased to announce the winner of its 2003 award: Lauren Benton, for her *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400-1900* (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

This was another very competitive year for the WHA Prize, but jurors were unanimous in their praise for Benton's well-researched and argued thesis that evolving legal regimes shaped modern imperialism and the international order as much as the global economy did. They praised Benton's opening methodological chapters, her detailed case studies that span five hundred years and five continents, and the connection she makes between past colonial legal politics and contemporary postcolonial conflicts.

One juror wrote, "By combining and adapting the approaches of legal pluralism and cultural pluralism, the author uncovers a complex world of overlapping and interacting legal regimes that are not closed structures of domination, but, rather, are partly responsive to and shaped by...cultures and negotiations. This is, I would suggest, one of the best and most original works in the field of legal pluralism."

Noted another juror, "this book is a landmark in the creation of a more complex modern global cultural history built on more than just expansion and resistance, but on a shifting negotiation of power,...identity and rights." Yet another praised the book's sophisticated focus on "institutional world history, analyzing global structures, processes and routines. Clearly written and carefully researched and argued, it brings to the fore a topic seldom prominent in world history...legal regimes."

In her conclusion, Benton argues that the important role played by indigenous cultures and institutions in colonial state making should inspire more pluralistic approaches to resolving identity issues today, not assimilation or separation.

Two other praiseworthy finalists in the competition were R.J. Barendse's *The Arabian Seas: The Indian Ocean World of the Seventeenth Century* (M.E. Sharpe, 2002), and Christopher Ehret's *The Civilizations of Africa: A History to 1800* (University Press of Virginia, 2002). For past winners, see the WHA website (www.thewha.org) under prizes.

The WHA Book Prize will be presented at the WHA conference in Atlanta this year, June 27-29, 2003.

AP College Board

Summer 2003 Professional Development Programs

The Advanced Placement (AP) College Board will be offering a total of 50 nationwide programs in the field of world history this summer. A total of 40 summer institutes and 10 workshops will be held between May and August to offer professional development to teachers of world history. For a complete listing of program details about the AP College Board summer institutes and workshops please visit: <http://apcentral.collegeboard.com/> and click on the "AP Professional Development Workshops" box in the lower left-hand side of the homepage. If you are registered with AP Central just log in and click on the tab marked "institutes and workshops."

Teaching Forum

Media in the Classroom

William S. Brockington

Introduction

The traditional post-secondary student of today does not have a strong background in history. The written word often does not evoke in the student a mental image which is essential either in remembering the material/data or in making connections. To the visually oriented student [this being the majority of university students today], a visual image—be it photograph, film, or television—can provide a hook upon which other thoughts/ideas/concepts can be hung. “Media in the Classroom” is one technique by which this might be accomplished. For the purpose of example, an exercise on nationalism from a Western Civilization, Part II, class will be used.

Purpose/Goals

In completing this exercise, the student will:

1. develop listening and recall skills;
2. develop critical thinking;
3. develop group skills; and
4. make an oral presentation.

Instruction

1. Group Presentation.
2. Written Analysis.

Assessment

At the point in the semester where this specific exercise is used, students will have studied not only definitions of nationalism but also the evolution of nationalism in the west from its origins in the 18th Century, through its development as a militant force in the 19th Century, into its racist stages in the post-World War

One era. This exercise could be adapted for a number of other periods [see Hints]. Incorporated into the Assessment description are specific skills that are being developed.

Activity I

1. Students are to have read text material pertaining to World War II before class. Students are also to have reviewed definitions of nationalism as well as developments in nationalism since the French Revolution (from class activities during study of French Revolution; see Appendix for definitions). Each student is to bring a paragraph of data pertaining to historical German/French antipathy and a paragraph of data pertaining to the German/French situation in September 1942, with particular emphasis on Vichy France and the city of Casablanca in North Africa.

2. In class, on the assigned day, students are instructed that they will be required to describe and analyze a film clip which elucidates the theme of nationalism. A segment from *CASABLANCA* is then shown to the class [the clip used begins with Laszlo asking Rick for the exit papers and being refused, continues with the German “Die Wacht am Rhein”/French “Marseillaise” singing duel (see Appendix for words and translations), and ends with the closing of Rick’s Cafe]. No explanation or discussion of the movie itself is offered at this time.

3. Students are instructed to form groups of three and, in ten minutes, as a team, to develop answers to the following questions/instructions:

- a. Reconstruct the story and outline it.
- b. Describe the manner in which the “Marseillaise” is sung by the participants in the scene. In particular, note any emotions witnessed.
- c. Compare the anger of the Germans with the joy of the French. Why did this occur?

d. From the students knowledge of the period, describe how and why this film clip illustrates the themes of nationalism and its impact.

4. The instructor will then reconstruct the story in a “story line” on the board, with each group adding an item in sequence. Items may be filled in.

5. The instructor then provides an overview of the film, with particular emphasis placed upon the significance of the film at the time [the actors/actresses singing the “Marseillaise” were primarily French ex-patriots suffering through their defeat in 1940 and the embarrassment of Vichy France; the movie was released shortly before the allied invasion of Vichy North Africa in 1942].

6. The film clip is reviewed again, followed by class discussion during which any other questions which have arisen are answered and listed.

7. The group then assesses all members of the group (including themselves), the exercise, and themselves [See Appendix for sample assessment]. This is turned in with the group report for a grade.

Activity II

1. This exercise requires fifteen minutes of class time.

2. The students are then given fifteen minutes to write individual/personal answers to the following questions:

- a. Do you now better understand the emotionalism of nationalism? Why?
- b. Give an example of nationalism that you have personally experienced or read about [which personally affected you emotionally] within the last year.
- c. “Why is it so important for me to understand nationalism?”

3. The papers are then collected and assessed according to the stated criteria.

Criteria

1. The student must demonstrate a functional knowledge of historical vocabulary, specifically the definition, meanings, and interpretations of nationalism.
2. The student must be able to apply the concepts by demonstrating familiarity and comprehension by listing and explaining appropriate examples. thinking/causalities/connections]
3. The student must be able to analyze the materials and to relate them to other materials they have studied, as evidenced by the appropriateness of examples cited.
4. The student must have participated in small group sessions as evidenced by the peer assessment.
5. The student must have analyzed the emotional appeal/aspects of nationalism and explored the values inherent in the idea.
6. The student must have exhibited writing skills as evidenced by the use of clear, concise, and cogent prose with the use of proper style.

Self-Assessment

1. The group exercise has a self-assessment component.
2. The student might also be asked:
I see this exercise helping me to connect to larger world issues [choose one]: more than / the same as / less than material I have seen/heard/read in the past Why do I believe this to be true.

Feedback

1. Oral feedback and continual clarification of the definition of nationalism are essential.
2. Comments on written work are essential.
3. Other exercises used in the introductory history reinforce “point of view.”

Materials and Time Required

1. Using only a film clip is essential. This

can be done either through using a video of the film set at a specific point, or it can be done by editing a series of film clips for use within a course. Using a lengthy film or documentary without comment allows students to treat the exercise as if they were watching television.

2. The first exercise requires fifty minutes of class time. The second exercise requires at least fifteen minutes at the end of the first exercise. This can be adjusted, depending upon the amount of time allotted.

Other Resources

Other film clips that are useful and the themes illustrated include:

1. *ZULU*: the final assault by the Zulus on the Welsh unit at Roarke's Drift (1879) [singing duel; technological superiority; imperialism].
2. *ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT*: Baumer is home on leave (1917) and visits the school where he describes the horrors of war and counters the nationalism of his former schoolmaster. [anti-nationalism, anti-militarism; propaganda].
3. *APOCALYPSE NOW*: from the beginning of the helicopter attack on the Vietnamese village (1967) to “I love the smell of napalm in the morning” [technological superiority; imperialism; racism; militarism; nationalism].
4. *BREAKER MORANT*: summation for the defense (1902) [ethics in wartime; ethics in general; imperialism; nationalism].
5. World War II cartoon [propaganda].

Hints

1. The film clip is not an end in and of itself. It is merely a point of departure for reflection and discussion. What did you see?
2. This film clip can be used during nationalism discussions from the time of the French Revolution until today.
3. Familiarity with content is essential for the student to make connections, especially the historical relationship between Germans and French.

4. It might be useful for students to map out their answer first. That is, students might outline on a chronological framework the sequence of events. They might also use a spider-web technique to show connections.

Appendix

“*Die Wacht am Rhein*” (“The Watch on the Rhine”) was written in 1840 when it seemed as if France was about to extend its borders across the Rhine. This after the wars of Louis XIV, XV, the French Revolution, and Napoleon had attempted the same for over two centuries. The song became a symbol through which the masses could share their enthusiasm for *das Vaterland*. An even more significant song was penned in 1841 which became the German national anthem at a later time. Note also that Germany was not united until 1871 under the leadership of Prussia and Otto von Bismarck.

“*Das Lied der Deutschen*”

*Deutschland, Deutschland über alles
über alles in der Welt.
Wenn es stets zu Schutz und Trutze -
Brüderlich zusamrnenhält
Von der Maas bis an die Memel,
Von der Etsch bis an den Belt—
Deutschland, Deutschland über alles
über alles in der Welt.
Deutsche Frauen, deutsche Treue,
Deutscher Wein und deutscher Sang
Sollen in der Welt behalten
Ihren alten schönen Klang.
Uns zu edler Tat begeistern
Unser ganzes Leben lang
Deutsche Frauen, deutsche Treue,
Deutscher Wein und deutscher Sang!
Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit
Für das deutsche Vaterland!
Danach lasst tins alle streben
Brüderlich mit Herz und Hand!
Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit
Sind des Glückes Unterpfund -
Blüh im Glanze dieses Glückes,
Blühe, deutschcs Vaterland!*

(translation)

Germany, Germany over all,
Over all in the world,
If it is thus in defense and in offense,
holding us together brotherlike.
From the Maas to the Memel, [rivers on

the west and east]
from the Etsch to the Belt, [river in the south & Baltic straits] Germany, Germany over all,
Over all in the world.

"*La Marseillaise*" (1792) [anon.]

*Allons enfants de la Patrie
Le jour de gloire est arrivé.
Contre nous de la tyrannie
L'étendard sanglant est levé.
L'étendard sanglant est levé.
Entendez-vous dan les campagnes
Mugir ces féroces soldats.
Ils viennent jusque dans vos bras
Egorger vos fils, vos compagnes.*

*Aux armes, citoyens!
Formez vos bataillons!
Marchons! Marchons!
Q'un sang impur
Abreuve nos sillons.*

[literal translation]

Come children of the homeland
The day of glory has arrived.
We stand against the tyranny
The bloody banner is raised.
The bloody banner is raised.
Hear in the countryside
The screams of the ferocious soldiers
They come within our arms
To slaughter your brothers. your countrymen.

To arms, citizens!
Form your battalions!
We march! We march,
What impure blood
Will fill our fields!

[P. B. Shelley, trans., 1795]

Ye sons of France, awake to glory!
Hark! Hark! what myriads bid you rise!
Your children, wives, and grandsires hoary,
See their tears and hear their cries!
Shall hateful tyrants, mischief breeding,
With hireling hosts, a rufian band,
Affright and desolate the land
While peace and liberty lie bleeding?
To arms! To arms! ye Brave!
Th'avenging sword unsheathe!

March on! March on! All hearts resolved
On victory or death!

Now, now, the dangerous storm is rolling.
Which treacherous kings confederate raise!
The dogs of war, let loose, are howling,
And, lo! our fields and cities blaze.
And shall we basely view the ruin,
While lawless force, with guilty stride,
Spreads desolation far and wide,
With crimes and blood his hands imbruting?

To arms! To arms! ye Brave!
Th'avenging sword unsheathe!
March on! March on! All hearts resolved!
On victory or death!

O Liberty, can man resign thee.
Once having felt thy generous flame?
Can dungeons, bolts, or bars confine thee,
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?
Too long the world has wept, bewailing,
That Falsehood's dagger tyrants wield;
But Freedom is our sword and shield,
And all their arts are unavailing.

To arms! To arms! ye Brave!
Th'avenging sword unsheathe!
March on! March on! All hearts resolved
On victory or death!

Definitions:

A. **Nationalism** is the spirit of belonging together, or corporate will, that seeks to preserve the identity of the group by institutionalizing it in the form of a Nation-State. Nationalism can be intensified by common racial, linguistic, historical, and religious ties. It is usually associated with a particular territory. The concept may also be thought of as a function of the ability of a particular group to communicate among themselves more effectively than with outsiders. However the phenomenon of nationalism may be explained, its essential characteristic is an active sense of the uniqueness of the group vis-a-vis the rest of the world. Nationalism developed first in Western Europe through the consolidation of individual feudal units into kingdoms. It was not until the American Revolution and later the French Revolution and the wars of Napoleon that nationalism came to be identified with the common man. Over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries nationalism came to be the most dynamic.

yet dangerous force in international relations. As a mass emotion it is the most powerful political force operative in the world. Nationalism makes the State the ultimate focus of the individual's loyalty. This loyalty is exercised and kept alive by the manipulation of a variety of symbols - national heroes, national uniforms, national pledges of allegiance, and national holidays (holy days). As a mass social phenomenon, nationalism can promote solidarity and a sense of belonging. It can also engender hostility, divisiveness, tension, and war between rival nationalist groups or states. Nationalism has come to be the single most important cause of war in the 19th & 20th Centuries. Examples would include every group in those centuries.

B. **Self Determination** is the belief that a nation of people has the right to determine its own destiny. This destiny can occur only when the nation is embodied in a State. Therefore, a nation-state is the ultimate goal of a group of nationalists.

C. **Imperialism** is influence exerted by one people over the polity, economy, and/or society of another people which compels the subordinate people to accept changes and engage in activities which they themselves might not have chosen without coercion from the dominant group. The idea of imperialism is as old as the human race, but the applications of those ideas in the 16th through the 20th centuries have revolutionized the world. Imperialism became national policy in practically every major country of the world. Imperialism is spurred on by nationalism and is reinforced by national military needs. Examples of imperialism would include any overt (military attack) or covert (secret operation such as the overthrow of Allende in Chile in the early 1970s) action by one group against another group. Successful imperialistic ventures result in formal annexation (the Americas by Europeans) or informal control (much of India). Unsuccessful imperialistic ventures result in international repercussions (American Revolution/Suez) and/or political repercussions (17th Century Wars to the Gulf War).

Teaching the ‘Big Picture’ of World History

Christopher Ferraro

As any experienced classroom teacher can tell you, teaching is fraught with problems and challenges. Teaching Advanced Placement World History to 21st century teenagers with all the advantages and problems that technology, television, and the Internet bring has been at the same time the most daunting and rewarding task I have faced so far. When one first looks at the task at hand, teaching a college-level history course to high school sophomores, certain realities become apparent. One, it is simply not possible to cover all the material and every ‘important’ event in the time allotted (50,000 BCE-Present in one academic year). Two, students will have to complete many tasks on their own but with constant teacher supervision and guidance.

The College Board requires all students to complete a 70-question multiple-choice exam in 55 minutes and write three essays with times ranging from 40-50 minutes each. One task that students find particularly vexing is the Change Over Time concept essay. Students that are in many cases barely fifteen years old have marked difficulty conceiving of centuries somehow being connected; they see the 1980s as ‘ancient’ history. I myself have found it difficult to teach the Change Over Time essay for the simple reason that we do not cover enough history in the course until it is almost over to actually attempt broaching the concept; this situation probably would not have arisen if the class were offered to only high school seniors. While some may be put off by these factors, there is a way to make the course a little more manageable through a research project that takes place largely outside the classroom, leaving plenty of room to teach this monumental course.

It seemed obvious to me that if students

took modern happenings and compared them to similar historical events they would be able to make the necessary bridge that would help them see the various trends that have occurred throughout history. Dubbed the Advanced Placement News Research project, the assignment takes advantage of the fact that most AP students are motivated enough to keep up on world events and read a newspaper at least once a week for homework. Students selected a trend that they wanted to follow. Communications technology, Ethnic Conflict or Environmental Issues were big with my classes this year, and they had to follow their respective trend in the newspapers or other media outlets for six weeks, selecting roughly one article per week. Students had to analyze each article and find commonalities or trends between them. They were encouraged to use the *New York Times* as well as various internet outlets; I had initially offered them CNN.com and BBC.com. Here is where my students began teaching me a lesson. Several found overseas newspapers online that provided unique insights to their research.

One student, Maria, explained “You wanted different points of view so I looked for other newspapers online,” she found several English language newspapers based in Africa and the Middle East such as the *Middle East Times* and the *China People’s Daily*, the latter proved so useful that I incorporated it into a Graduate paper I was writing. “I thought it was pretty neat,” she said, “you always hear US news, this went against us, it was also cool finding it a day ahead [of Eastern time]” Her discoveries soon spread throughout the class, and before I knew it, several more students were pulling in articles from around the world which made for some very insightful points of view. Others used *Time* and *Newsweek*, which I had anticipated, along with publications like *Wired* and *Popular Mechanics*, which I had not.

Rather quickly, the scope of the project began to grow and soon some students were asking to create entirely new topics to research. Another student, Rupal asked

if she could develop a slightly different topic, medical practices and how they have changed. I could not refuse such enthusiasm.

“I had a variety of articles, all different. My initial topic was diseases but I had an article on surgery and thought it would be more interesting.” After a few brainstorming sessions on her own and with me she developed a paper that would look at the development of surgery and surgical techniques from ancient times and compare these to the latest trends in out-patient surgery and minimally invasive procedures being offered today. In the end, her paper became the model for everything I had hoped students would accomplish, and more. A small sample of her work tells the story:

Scientific knowledge developed by an earlier civilization was not always found to be important from one time period of history to another. Like the earliest knowledge that letting large quantities of blood flow out from a wound lead to death-made by the earliest cavemen- probably seemed irrelevant in Medieval Europe, because one popular cure at the time was bloodletting. Ancient superstitions played a major role in the development of bloodletting, which was used to get rid of “impurities” in organs such as the liver or spleen, and free the devil from the soul of the heart. Different points on the body were connected to the bloodletting for different ailments. Ironically, badly performed bloodletting often led to death because extensive blood loss. Bloodletting in the late Middle Age would expand to the use of leeches to draw blood from severed veins where the original bloodletting methods could not be used. Barbers rather than doctors, most commonly performed this art of “leech craft” to cure various illnesses and complaints. Subsequently, the first surgeons evolved to perform this task, in the original hospitals known as “bleeding houses”. Patients would sit in rows and often bleed at the same time, losing great amounts of blood, often “70 ounces” in the first sitting.

Another student, Tim, who is particularly interested in military history, developed a paper that focused on the modern uses of technology in war. He was soon reporting to me on a daily basis how advanced technology was changing how wars are being fought. By the time his paper was done he told me that he wanted to write a book on technology and the military through history; you can't buy that kind of excitement in high school students.

While the students were compiling data for the modern portion of their paper I introduced them to the concept of linking their modern trends to historical ones and examining how they had changed or remained the same over time. By doing this, the students began to see, on their own, the massive scope of history without my direct input. The actual research required me to spend close to an entire school week in the library with both sections of my classes and at least one day per week thereafter of questions and answers in the classroom along with many group-editing sessions. Previous experience had taught me that it was necessary for me to okay all of their articles and make the students explain the trends they saw before allowing them to proceed with the historical research. Once all the conferences were done to my satisfaction, it was time to move on.

As those who teach high school know, students can find information about anything on the Internet. It took quite a lot of patience to steer them away from all the .com history web sites and to get them to look at "real research" from major universities. Of course, the last thing many of them wanted to do was pick up a book but even this happened, as some students were unable to find everything they needed. I must say that I was impressed with their dedication as many stayed after school with me in the library to continue their search.

Two months after assigning the initial project students handed in a paper on just the modern trend that they had covered. It took several more weeks to fix all the problems of citation and general research

paper construction before they could begin work on the overall project, combining the modern trend with historical research to produce a paper that illustrated change or continuities over time. As the papers came in the first week of December, I could see the confidence in many of the student's eyes and began to suspect that we had achieved our goal.

Tim's paper tracked the first uses of cavalry by the Mongols, gunpowder by the Chinese and the development of the tank in World War I and he successfully linked these to advanced battlefield technologies currently being employed in Afghanistan and Iraq such as laser-guided weapons and Unmanned Aerial Vehicles. When reporting his findings to the class he aptly pointed out the increasing trends of speed in combat throughout history, and the uses of technology to save lives. Rupal compared surgery performed by the Inca to Medieval bloodletting and contemporary non-invasive procedures. She accurately identified the switch from religious beliefs to science in medicine and the current less-is-better approach in Western medicine. Other students tracked trends in communications technology linking today's LANs and Wi-film networks and Palm Pilots to the development of radio, the Marconi wireless telegraph and Semaphore, smoke signals and runners used by armies and navies of the past. To say the least, I was very impressed with the results and my students were enthusiastic over their accomplishments.

"This project altered my views on history...by comparing trends and patterns in the present world it has become easier for me to compare [similar] aspects of civilizations in different eras," one student, Jason noted.

Avani, who took on diseases in her paper, had similar feelings:

"By further studying the causes and effects of AIDS and the Bubonic Plague of the 1300's around the world I was able to notice how closely related the two diseases were. I was also able to see how each disease has served as an important event and changed history. The project made me realize how often history repeats

itself. The diseases both had the same exact problems and effects on society despite the fact that they occurred 600 years apart." Happily, such revelations by students were the norm rather than the exception.

Since the project's completion, I have come to realize that the aforementioned results could not have been accomplished in the classroom through lecture, document analysis or even intensive study of period literature. What these students began to see for themselves was just how massive history is and how events from the past have continued to influence our world. The concepts of continuous development and improvement could have been illustrated, very simply, in the classroom but these students taught it to themselves in a way they found most meaningful. As a teacher I don't have to worry that some students 'got it' while others did not. All students handed in a paper that met with my satisfaction and could not have been faked. This project took just over four months to complete and although strenuous and exhausting was fulfilling for all involved. This was evident when students showed much interest when presented with the possibility of doing the same project later in the year during the six week time period we have in New York after the College Board exam; of course they will have to select a different trend.

When all is said and done, I have a great sense of accomplishment. These students now have a greater appreciation for history, have a better understanding of how to perform research and construct a college-level paper, and are better prepared as self-learners. Perhaps best of all, I feel that my students have a much better idea of the 'Big Picture' of World History.

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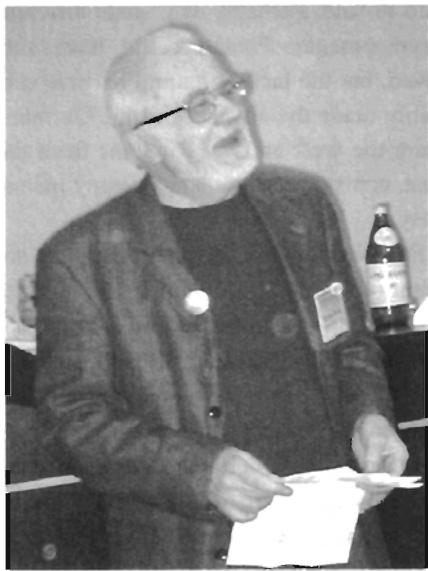
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To nominate a book contact:

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Dept. of History
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Who can nominate? Authors, publishers, WHA members, or other interested parties may nominate books published in the current calendar year.

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



Twenty Years and Counting

Kevin Reilly

[Editor's Note: The following comments were given by Dr. Reilly at the WHA reception in Chicago celebrating the World History Association's twentieth anniversary.]

I'd like to recall three memories from 1982: three moments on the way to the WHA. The first is the white-out snow stormy night of May 15 at the Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs. The second is the month of July in Cameroon. And the third is the AHA meeting in Washington DC, the last week in December, the anniversary that we are marking tonight.

May 15, 1982 is indelibly etched on my mind, not only because of the blizzard that seemed to magnify the overwhelming scale of the Air Force Academy campus, where the distance between buildings is measured in miles. More importantly, it was the day I met Bill McNeill, Ross Dunn, Jerry Bentley, and many more of the charter members of the WHA, including our Academy hosts, Colonel Carl Redell and Captain Joe Dixon, as well as others of you who are here tonight.

I still remember Bill McNeill asking in the keynote address why world history had not yet caught on, the way Western Civilization had between World War I and II. He, of course, had shown the way already twenty years before, with *The Rise of the West*. But beyond high school and some community

colleges, few teachers even titled their courses "World History" or "World Civilization." In general, the mention of world history in 1982 was met with something like: "there is no such thing as world history; there is only Bill McNeill." And to a certain extent, that was an accurate assessment.

But that night, and that weekend, it was clear that things were about to change. The Academy expected a couple of dozen people, mainly from the Rocky Mountain area. But hundreds came from all over the country, many drifting in late because the snow had closed the mountain passes and made driving treacherous. I think I must have been the last scheduled speaker before food could be served. I recall the tired and hungry faces as someone said: "And now Kevin Reilly brings greetings from the American Historical Association." So I went up to the mike and said: "Greetings from the American Historical Association" and sat down, to deafening applause. The next day we talked, from the podium and in small groups, about the need to form a permanent organization that would enable us to share our ideas and learn from each other. The idea of a world history organization had been raised at the previous year's AHA meeting in California, but now at the urging of Ross Dunn, Jerry Bentley, and many of the secondary school teachers (including Heidi Roupp and Marilyn Hitchens), it took on a special urgency.

One of the most striking lessons for me that weekend was how much I could learn about teaching world history from others, including the secondary school teachers. Despite my 10-15 years of teaching world history, we were all in the same boat, struggling to make sense of an enormous subject. Two decisions emerged from the Air Force conference. We would organize a world history association at the end of the year AHA meeting, and the new association would be an organization of teachers as well as scholars, from secondary school as well as colleges and universities. We needed each other.

One other experience that summer of '82 drove home the point that world history required a special degree of intellectual humility and collegial cooperation. The experience was a five week traveling seminar in Cameroon with 12 other college teachers, sponsored by the AHA (organized by Sam Gammon, Jamil Zainaldin, and Noralee Frankel) intended to provide an African experience to non-specialists. I was superbly qualified.

We were all students again. Only on rare occasions were our prior specialties useful, a point brought home to me one afternoon when we came upon Lynda

Shaffer and Ray Lorantas casually speaking Chinese with a Cameroonian priest who spoke no English but had previously been stationed in China. Besides Lynda and Ray (it's hard to recall that they were once Chinese rather than world historians), the group included Marc Gilbert, John Russell Wood, and Sarah Hughes, all of whom were to play an important role in the early years of the WHA.

That Fall, Ross Dunn and I got together in New York and planned the organizational meeting for the AHA in Washington. The Washington meeting came at a propitious time. Phil Curtin was AHA president and he devoted his presidential address to world history. Ross presided at the organizational meeting to a packed room that included not only many of those who had been at the Air Force academy and all of "the Cameroonian" as we called ourselves, but many others as well. And people came ready to work. Without any advanced discussion, Ray Lorantas came with an offer from Drexel University to support a newsletter (which Ray edited almost until his death a couple of years ago). He also brought his office mate, Dick Rosen, who became our executive director (until this last year). Howard Mehlinger volunteered to contact the Johnson Foundation's Wingspread in Racine for a weekend meeting to write the constitution (which we did the following March). And many others pitched in.

Then, and over the years, I realized what an unusual bunch these world historians were: modest, open and flexible, unassuming and unpretentious. Visitors and new members often remarked (with a note of surprise): "these are really nice people." They were people who had set off, many in mid-career, to tackle not only a new field, but one that was so huge, they would forever have to confess ignorance about some aspects of it. But they did it because it was important. And so often, they acted with an enormous energy and generosity. I will never forget a tired Bill McNeill sitting down to read my book when we met that first time in Colorado Springs; Jerry Bentley offering to publish a journal that turned out to be far beyond my wildest dreams; Heidi Roupp organizing three superb conferences in Aspen. Or the simple moments of personal generosity: Lynda Shaffer massaging tired backs on a cramped bus in Cameroon; Jerry Bentley carrying a boulder from the top of Aspen Mountain because Lynda wanted it for her garden.

Thanks to the work of all of them, world history is here to stay. Please join me tonight in saluting these very special people.

Letter to the Editor

H. Micheal Tarver, Editor

Greetings!

Liping Bu provided an article of particular interest (W&H&B v28 n2). As a geographer, I have always treated my topics historically. In the course, The Geography of Europe, students were made well aware, with a series of maps, that the political map changed, sometimes drastically, over time. The states there in the 1980s had not always been there. When I say I treated topics historically, I do not mean I treated them as a professional historian would have, but I did attempt to avoid mere presentism.

As I see it, history and geography are two inescapable aspects of human life. Everything human is what it is because of WHERE it is (geography) as well as WHEN (history), as its own internal dynamics proceed on their human-directed trajectories. As very much a political geographer, may I pose some questions to whomever among the historians may be interested?

Would China have had its extraordinary cultural continuity if it had not been isolated from rival power centers? There never was another power center of imperial or potentially imperial stature to the north —only the empty, cold, forested vastness of Siberia, or to the East which presented only the huge Pacific Ocean, or to the South, occupied by the South China Sea and the small kingdoms and tribes of a very mountainous terrain, or to the arid West, from which the Tibetans were a temporary threat only once, early on, and the desert nomads were a nuisance rather than a threat until the Mongols arose. How much of an exception the Mongols constituted is easily observed. They provided a dynasty for China for a while, but Chinese civilization marched right on, and Mongolia became merely an outlying

province of the Chinese Empire! India was no rival power center. There were too many miles of rugged mountains intervening. The Middle East, Russia and Europe were too distant, far beyond the deserts and steppes of Central Asia. Reaching into Central Asia, Chinese power halted at Lake Balkhash or at Samarkand, not because an adversary of equal power was met, which could have threatened to undo the Chinese in their homeland, but because of sheer overextension of Chinese military power.

Modern Western Civilization, of course, finally ended this isolation. Or, consider Poland. There are no natural geographic conditions that REQUIRED a state to develop in the Vistula watershed. Natural environmental conditions are not teleological or determinative: humans face opportunities and hazards that the environment offers, and act in accordance with the motivations and abilities of their cultural heritages. Given no natural obstacles, a power center in the vales of the Vistula could expand westward until too many Germans or even West Slavic tribesmen objected. Likewise, it could expand along broad pathways northeast and southeast of the Pripet Marshes, with little to oppose the expansion but the difficulties of sheer distance. Then, in union with Lithuania, Poland became a great state extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

Why, then, at a later date, did so important a power entirely disappear from the political map? Poland could benefit, for a while, from routes to its west, to its northeast and southeast, routes from the sea in the north and routes to the south which, through a gap in the mountains, led via Moravia to the Danubian lands. This lasted until stronger centers of power developed east and west of Poland, on the extensive plain upon which Poland was situated. To the west there were no formidable natural barriers to hinder the German "Drang nach Osten" once the Germans had gotten their act together. To the east, likewise, once Moscow was free of the Mongol yoke, it expanded in all directions, and to its west, there were no natural hindrances to its expansion, smack

into Poland. Perhaps, with some different developments, Poland could have survived, but the lack of natural barriers certainly made the advances of the Germans from the west and the Russians from the east, across the sandy and swampy plains, easy.

For the delight of the historian, there are plenty of details to organize and analyze and report to us about the Polish kingdom, the rise of Brandenburg-Prussia, and the rise of Muscovy. While enjoying all that, the geographer's eye does not lose sight of the stage on which these dramas were played out. If one wants to play "What if?", what if the physical stage had been arranged rather differently? The history that did occur is, in part, a result of the stage upon which it was played.

Shifting a bit to the south, what if there had been no Carpathian range arched across central Europe? No mountains in which the Slovaks could retreat and avoid assimilation into Magyar culture, hence no Slovaks! Perhaps no Magyars either, for there would then have been no spacious mountain-rimmed basin in which the Magyars could find cultural survival.

Taking the natural environment for granted, we overlook its basic importance. A few slight geologic or geomorphic changes in some prehistoric past, and human history would've been fundamentally different, because human ingenuity would've been faced with quite different sets of opportunities and hindrances. Since the days of Einstein, physicists talk of space-time, not of space and time. Transferring natural science ideas to history and the social sciences should be done with great caution, but I think a closer blending of geography (space) and history (time) would be a wholesome analogous development.

Cordially yours,

Laurence G. Wolf
Professor Emeritus of Geography
Cincinnati, Ohio

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE REPORT

In addition to the usual cast of characters, the Committee recently added to its roster of members Prof. Zhang Weiwei of the Department of World History, the College of History, Nankai University, Tianjin, PRC. Professor Zhang served as a Distinguished Scholar-in-Residence at the University of Louisville for 2002 and returns to China at the end of this current year. Back home he will serve as Our Man in China, representing the WHA to his colleagues and assisting us in our continuing efforts to enroll Chinese and other East Asian scholars in the ranks of the WHA.

Currently the Committee is also looking to expand its reach into Europe, where membership efforts seem to need a boost. More about that in the June report. Suffice it for now to say that international membership is one of several areas that the Committee wishes to focus on in 2003 and beyond.

The current year has been a busy one for the Committee and has witnessed healthy growth in WHA numbers. WHA membership numbers are a moving target, as they vary almost daily with renewals, new memberships, and dropped memberships. Regardless of this reality, we can, with assurance, say the following: Numbers are up by more than 300 since January 2002. As of 23 December, our numbers stand at 1375. Of the 300 plus new members, at least 113 are teachers and at least 50 are students, two cohorts that we have targeted for special effort. Renewals are also vigorous; already more than 1,000 have signed up for 2003. We can expect about 300 non-renewals this coming year, as both the WHA's history and the experience of non-profit organizations in general suggest. (A renewal rate of 70% is average; 80% is extraordinary.) That should not worry us unduly, however, because other indicators suggest that we are increasing our numbers at a modest but

healthy rate, and overall gains will outweigh losses. Again, the general experience of non-profit organizations is that after they plateau at a certain critical level, an annual growth of only a few percentage points is considered very good.

In brief, all of these indicators make the Membership Committee sanguine that our membership numbers will continue to grow in the foreseeable future at a slow but steady rate.

Committee efforts over the past twelve months have included:

1) Getting <thewha.org> to provide a membership application form that can be printed out. This falls short of the Committee's desire to see it possible for persons to enroll, renew, and contribute to the WHA online without any paper involved, but first steps should not be held in contempt. Perhaps 2003 will witness full online registration.

2) Believing that publicity is an integral part of membership work, the Committee has secured for the WHA—at no cost to the association—a banner for display at the AHA, posters celebrating the WHA's twentieth anniversary, and an understanding with The Historical Society for a free exchange of advertisements in *HISTORICALLY SPEAKING* and *THE WHA BULLETIN*.

3) Thanks to the generosity of C.E. and S. Foundation of Louisville, KY, the Committee secured a \$5,000 grant to put all membership files on ACCESS, thereby making them more easily accessible to the organization and its officers.

4) Thanks also to C.E. and S., the Membership Committee chair was able to spend a day in Washington, DC where he met with professionals involved in membership recruitment for non-profit organizations at The Council on Foundations. The fruit of his trip was shared with the Committee and the WHA's officers in a lengthy report, copies of which are available from the Chair on request. Several suggestions offered to the Chair and contained in that report will be implemented by the Committee in the coming several years. The report is still being digested and discussed. More about this in June.

5) This summer saw the Committee make tentative steps toward attracting to the WHA teachers enrolled in the various summer institutes on world history across the country. With the blessing of the elected officers of the WHA, the Committee prepared a special handout that offered an introductory one-year membership for \$40. Thirty-five (35) teachers took advantage of the offer. Within the next month or so the Committee will evaluate its work and results and decide if it might seek permission to engage in a similar promotion this coming summer. If it does and is permitted to do so, it will seek to expand its efforts and to publicize the offer more systematically.

In closing, the Committee believes that 2003 will be a work-filled year as it endeavors to expand WHA membership by implementing a number of initiatives that are still in the discussion stage.

Respectfully submitted,

Alfred J. Andrea, Chair
Holly-Lynn Busier
Tim Connell
Donald Johnson
Dan Jones
Lorraine Lupinskie-Huvane
Zhang Weiwei

NCSS UPDATE

Anc Lintvedt

At the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) Annual Convention in Phoenix last November, about a dozen members of the WHA formed a Special Interest Group (SIG) within NCSS. This means that WHA-sponsored panels will receive prominence in the program booklet, meeting space

at the convention, and some special consideration in placement of panels within the 3-day convention.

The 2003 Annual Convention of the NCSS will take place in Chicago, November 14-16. WHA has sent in more than a dozen panels for consideration by the Program Committee. These panel proposals encompass World History content and pedagogy, including several interdisciplinary panels. Some proposals focus on the Advanced Placement test and curriculum, while most panel proposals are aimed at standard high school levels. There are panel proposals dealing

with combined classes of World History and Literature, women and Islam, using documents to teach WH, how to teach the earliest period in World History, Korean History, and many more.

Please join us in Chicago! The WHA has become a major presence within the NCSS, and we are looking forward to continuing all the fruitful conversations about teaching World History that have already been started.

For information about the meeting, see www.socialstudies.org. The program won't be finalized until early fall, but when it is, that information

will be available on the NCSS site and on ours. at www.thewha.org.

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Editors: David M. Kalivas (Middlesex Community College), Patricia O'Neill (Central Oregon Community College), Whitney Howarth (World History Center, Northeastern University), and Patrick Manning (World History Center, Northeastern University).

Book Review Editors: Jeffrey Sommers (North Georgia College and State University) and Eric Martin (Lewis-Clark State College).

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Formal or Informal? Private Trade in Maritime Asian Towns Under the Rule of the Dutch East India Company, 17th and 18th Centuries

Jürgen G. Nagel

Introduction

In Asian economic history the 17th and 18th centuries often occur as a period completely dominated by the European chartered trading companies like the English East India Company or the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* [VOC]). Today it should be common sense that these companies cannot be compared to territorial colonial states in political, administrative or cultural respect. But also the world of trade and commerce is hardly described in an appropriate way if terms of total penetration by the companies are used. Perhaps a concept which is very common in our everyday language could prove to be useful for a better differentiation of the historical reality.¹

Terms like 'informal sector', 'informal economy' or 'informal activities' are not genuine terms of historical scholarship. They were developed as an academic concept during the investigation of towns in the so called 'Third World,' the roots are to be found in research projects of the ILO on labour markets in Eastern Africa and Latin America. In the basic descriptions of the terms a simple dichotomy of the economic life is imposed. The 'informal sector' might be characterised by the following features:

"Informal activities are a way of doing things, characterized by (a) ease of entry, (b) reliance of indigenous resources, (c) family ownership of enterprises, (d) small scale of operation, (e) labour-intensive and adapted technology, (f) skills acquired outside the formal school system and (g) unregu-

lated and competitive markets. Informal sector activities are largely ignored, rarely supported, often regulated and sometimes actively discouraged by the Government. The characteristics of formal sector activities are the obverse of these, namely (a) difficult entry, (b) frequent reliance on overseas resources, (c) corporate ownership, (d) large scale of operation, (e) capital-intensive and often imported technology, (f) formally acquired skills, often expatriate, and (g) protected markets (through tariffs, quotas and trade licenses)."²

In order to avoid too simple views on complex situations the modern economic sciences started to differentiate the terms and to build up models to describe the relationship between the two sectors.³ Here is not the place to discuss such concepts. The conclusive fact is that, all in all, the two sectors of national or urban economies -- the 'formal' and the 'informal' -- are broadly accepted as key features. They are the starting point for more differentiated and complex views on specific, first of all urban economies, but the idea of an 'informal sector' in disassociation from a 'formal' one is still on the agenda. For the moment, it is enough to contend the following arguments to the quoted characterisations in order to test the mentioned dichotomy in the field of Asian commerce during the era of the European chartered trading companies.

In this context the question is deciding whether the concept of informality is useful for the period which is called 'early modern' in the case of Europe. As far as this article is concerned, Asia during the European expansion and the early colonialism is the focus of interest. Here, the question is a double; it asks for the validity of the concept in time and place. Concerning the colonial society, it is often set in correspondence to the concept of dual societies.⁴ But there are serious doubts whether a description of early modern societies in Southeast Asia in terms of dichotomy is useful. Such a view ignores the existence of additional groups beyond colonisers and colonised, leaves aside the patterns of politics, underestimates the role of elites, and undervalues the possibilities of consensus as well as

the potentials of conflict.⁵ Thus, we have to ask whether the economy in the age of the chartered companies can be regarded as a system composed by two sectors - for an era characterised by the penetration of an Asian trading world by European trading companies, 'informal trade' seems to be the adequate version of the general 'informal economy'.

If it is justified to talk about an 'informal trade,' there must be something which can be called 'formal trade'. There must be criteria to differentiate the two of them, and there must be an authority which defines these criteria. If the researcher is the only authority, the result is just a very formal construction, possibly far away from historical reality. It seems to be the better way to search for differentiations already obvious in the evidence of the sources and, simultaneously, to ask for the historical authority. The definition of the criteria could have been based on common sense, but this follows only the assumption of an ideal type. Much more probable is the definition by a person or an institution which was in the position to create and to realise such criteria - possibly by legitimisation, possibly by military forces.

In the context of the European expansion to Asia a specific problem arises: whether someone is in that position depends on the point of view. Several institutions or persons held positions which enabled them to define the 'formal sector' of trade or economy for a specific sphere of influence. The problem is the overlapping and simultaneity of such spheres. The Dutch East India Company had its own ideas of formal trade like the local rulers had. And last but not least the private merchants, members of specific familial, ethnic or religious contexts, had their own point of view which did not agree necessarily with one of those.

The problem cannot be solved objectively. It is the main interest of research which determines the point of view of the scholar and, consequently, the definition of the 'informal sector'. The interest of the article focuses on the correlation between company trade and private economy and the influence of the first on the latter.⁶ Thus, for the context at issue the point of view of the VOC is crucial - at least in the beginning. This subjective decision might help to understand the situation of an East India Company in the

economic world of Asia and its influence on the indigenous trade. But one has to bear in mind that there are other legitimate definitions - and that a private Indonesian merchant would never agree if someone would tell him he is only a part of the 'informal economy'.

The example: Macassar during the 17th and 18th century

In 1669 Dutch forces, together with their indigenous allies, conquered the city of Macassar in South Sulawesi after a long siege.⁷ One of the most important trading places for cloves, nutmeg and mace, and at the same time one of the greatest rice-exporting harbours of the region had thus come under Dutch control. The city offered resistance to the Dutch claim to a monopoly in the spice trade for more than half a century. To achieve complete control of this trade, the VOC saw at least its chance of destroying the last great competitor in this field.

In the second half of the 16th century the small twin-kingdom Goa-Tallo, with Macassar as its capital, started its rise to the hegemonic power of the wider region. In the first decade of the 17th century the young state adopted Islam. During the following decades Goa-Tallo subjugated the whole peninsula, especially the Bugis-kingdoms under which Boné and Soppeng were the greatest. Between 1618 and 1633 several campaigns against the kingdoms on Sumbawa incorporated the island in the south of Sulawesi to the Macassan area. Also the islands off the coast of Sulawesi, like Selayar or Buton, came under this supremacy. Next to its rival Ternate in the Moluccas, Goa-Tallo – often equated with Macassar – became the greatest hegemonic power in the eastern Malay Archipelago.

During the last decades of the 16th and the first decades of the 17th centuries, Macassar became one of the most important port cities of the archipelago. The town was an emporium for all commodities of significance in Southeast Asia – foodstuff, textiles, metals, potteries, products from the sea and the forests, and most of all, spices. Huge quantities of cloves from Ternate, Tidore, or Amboin, nutmeg and mace from Banda and pepper mainly from Kalimantan were transshipped in the harbour of Macassar. Together with port towns like Melaka, Banten, Palembang or

Jambi the capital of Goa-Tallo entered the first row of port cities which controlled the so-called luxury trade highly interesting for the European chartered companies. Furthermore, Macassar experienced a special, but short boom phase after the fall of Melaka to the Dutch company in 1641, when great parts of the trade abandoned there changed to South Sulawesi. In that situation the emporium Macassar was a serious competitor to the spice trade of the VOC.

The general aim of the company's conquest was to achieve a monopoly in the spice trade of the Moluccas. On the Moluccan Islands, the VOC pushed through market monopolies during the first half of the 17th century. But the Moluccas are not the whole archipelago, never mind the whole of Asia. In the cause of trade even the actual monopoly was failed until the middle of the 17th century. One reason for that was the position of the emporium Macassar. The port city still kept its position as a relay of that trade despite all Dutch pressure, which made the situation in Macassar more and more uncomfortable. Finally, the company decided to abolish the problem by violence. The Dutch found an ally in Arung Palakka, prince of the Bugis kingdom Boné, which was suppressed by the regional hegemonic power Goa-Tallo.⁸ He was the most charismatic leader of the indigenous opposition against Macassar. At the end, this military campaign that started in 1666, was successful. In 1667, the ruler of Goa-Tallo accepted negotiation which resulted in the treaty of Bongaya. Immediately after the contract was signed, new fighting started. The VOC and its allies needed a siege of more than one year to defeat the well-fortified city. Macassar was rebuilt as a colonial town under company's rule; Arung Palakka gained the supremacy of his kingdom, Boné, in South Sulawesi.

Company's control – the demand

The contract of Bongaya contained the regulations for the post war economic, social and political life in Macassar and southern Sulawesi.⁹ It came into force after the last unsuccessful uprisings in 1669 and was the instrument of the VOC to define the limits of their 'formal sector' in the regional trade. In the 18th century,

the regulations were confirmed by several new contracts and decrees.¹⁰

Prohibitions by the company

In the treaty, the company achieved restrictions for the private trade concerning products, regions and relations. The products prohibited by the contract were first of all spices (pepper, cloves, nutmeg, mace, cinnamon) and Indian textiles. Besides this, other goods from Bengal, Coromandel, Surat and Persia were prohibited for Asian traders as well as all commodities from China. One paragraph of the treaty restricted the private trade to Bali, the coast of Java, Batavia, Banten, Jambi, Palembang, Johor and Kalimantan. Voyages to Sumbawa, Solor and Timor, to all places in the Moluccas, to the regions in the north and east of Kalimantan and to Mindanao were expressly forbidden. The case of contravention forced confiscation of ship and cargo and death penalty for the captain. Finally, all contacts to other European traders than the Dutch were forbidden for Macassar; all foreign Europeans had to be driven out of South Sulawesi after the Dutch victory in the Macassar War.

Control by the company

The VOC's main instrument to keep private trade under control was a passport-system. Every indigenous shipowner needed a passport for every single journey in which all details about the vessel, the cargo and the journey were recorded. Theoretically, the duty to apply for a passport enabled the company to push through all their restrictions concerning commodities and trading routes. Further, instruments used in Macassar as well as in all the other company towns like tolls, taxes and scales duties had less importance for control than for the income of the factory which had great financial problems during its whole existance.

Outside the interest of the company

In the harbour of Macassar, no sector remained outside the control of VOC administration. But some trading spheres were of no economic interest for the company.¹¹ The trade inside those spheres remained free; only the regalur duties in the harbour had to be payed. The most prominent example in Macassar was the so-called *trepang* (sea-cucumber, *bêche-de-mar*) which was much sought-after in

Chinese medicine and cooking. During the 18th century Macassar rose up to the major transshipping place of this sea product and built in the 19th and early 20th centuries the centre of an actual *trepang*-industry.¹² Despite the fact that more and more European private traders joined the *trepang* business, the VOC never tried to incorporate this trading sphere into its 'country trade'. Some other products from the sea (e.g. agar-agar) and the forests (e.g. wax) as well as some handicraft-products of the region (e.g. local textiles, parang-knives, hilion-choppers) built up their remarkable trading spheres outside the interest of the VOC, albeit not with the same success and importance of the *trepang*.¹³

Formal and informal trading sectors during the 18th century: the reality

The trade of the company

After 1669 the core of the 'formal sector' in Macassar was the trade of the company itself. Nevertheless, that trade was not the core of the factory's finances. The income of the company in Macassar was dominated by taxes and tolls.¹⁴ The main function of the colonial town was to control the 'key to the Moluccas' as which Macassar was seen in the early modern period. The only commodities the VOC traded in a wider range here were Indian textiles, partly in competition with private merchants. The profit margins were not very high and sometimes – if the transaction costs were recognised – they were lower than zero.¹⁵ Besides this, the company traded with foodstuff (rice, wheat and rye) and products coming from its crops (coffee, tea). The greatest profit margins with sometimes more than 1000% brought the spice trade, the only branch which was exclusively run by the company. But the amount of the sold cloves, nutmegs, mace, cinnamon and pepper was only high enough to satisfy the demand of the local elites. The spice trade never provided a chance for the company to run a lucrative country trade in Macassar.¹⁶

The officially accepted private trade

The second part of the 'formal Sector' was the trade with commodities on routes which both were officially allowed by the

contract of Bongaya. Inside these limits, trade was only restricted by market mechanisms and payment duties. The important groups of commodities in this sector were foodstuff (mostly rice, salt, sugar), semi-luxury food (without opium which was monopolised by a Dutch company in Batavia), products of the forests and the ocean (without tortoiseshell, which was regarded as luxury good and experienced a special treatment by the VOC) and products of local handicraft. Every Asian, Dutch or Mestizo person who was not a servant of the VOC had access to this 'formal sector' provided that he was able to pay the passport and the duties in the ports.

The tacitly accepted private trade

The records of the company's factory in Macassar draw a different picture than the formal regulations. The analysis of the harbourmaster's lists (*syahbandars specificatie*) shows several 'semi-informal' trading spheres in which the strict regulations of the treaty were weakened or ignored by the officials during the 18th century.¹⁷ Private merchants actually were deeply involved in the trade with Indian textiles. For some types, they were in competition with the VOC, other types were traded exclusively by indigenous merchants. Only a few varieties of Indian cotton products remained exclusively in company's hands.¹⁸ A further example: despite the restriction in the treaty the islands Sumbawa became the most important trading partner for private merchants during the 18th century. In 1717-18, 24,1% of all leaving vessels went to Sumbawa, in 1787-88 the quote rose up to 58,6%.¹⁹ And a last example: in 1736, for the first time after the Dutch occupation, a Chinese junk arrived in Macassar. The governor, well knowing that vessels from China were strictly forbidden in his port, decided to allow the junk to trade in the town.²⁰ This was the beginning of regular trading contacts to Amoy in China – normally one junk per year. Since then, the trade with all kinds of Chinese products (pottery, porcelain, silk textiles, copper or brass products, etc.) was usual business on the private markets in Macassar.²¹

The records present no concrete explanation for the behaviour of the Dutch administration in Macassar. It can be assumed that the governors followed tacitly a reality which they were unable to

change; and we can also assume that it was a conscious policy of the administration to strengthen the commerce of the port city. After all, the company profited from a strong private trade indirectly by tolls or taxes. A combination of the two assumptions probably comes next to historical reality. The spheres, which were crucial for the company – first of all the trade with spices – still were prohibited in Macassar for the entire 18th century. But other records of the VOC present hints of 'informal trade' with these products at places inside and outside the port city and out of the company's control.

The place of the informal trade

Despite the common idea of a colonial town, the city of Macassar provided a number of places where private merchants were able to practice their business nearly undisturbed. The administration of the VOC knew very well who was trading where, but in fact the company did not have the power to control or to stop those commercial activities. The reason is to be found in the structure of the colonial town of Macassar. In reality, only the urban centre, consisting of the fort and the quarter Vlaardingen surrounded by palisades, was completely controlled by the VOC. To the north the *kampung* (quarter) of the Malay people was situated, followed by the Bugis *kampung*. To the south the *kampung* Baru was the next quarter to Vlaardingen, followed by several Macassan *kampung*. The *kampung* Baru had been planned by the company as a buffer zone between the colonial centre and the living places of the mistrusted indigenous people. Nearly the same function was fulfilled by the Malay *kampung*, even without official planning by the VOC. These main quarters of the colonial city were surrounded by a huge number of further *kampung* partly only known by name today.²²

The quarters of the Bugis and the Macassans were especially alien and strange areas for the VOC officials. During the whole 18th century, they had nearly no knowledge about the life in these quarters, consequently they had neither control of, nor power in, them. Like a delegation of the council of law which entered the *kampung* of the Bugis in 1727 in order to find some murdered Dutch and to punish their murderers, the VOC several times experienced their inability to gain

influence in such autonomous quarters. The members of the mentioned delegation found themselves surrounded by angry Bugis people immediately after entering the *kampung*; they were too busy to call for help from the Malay quarter and wanted leave the *kampung* as soon as possible, apparently forgetting completely the reason of their coming.²³

Under such circumstances, it is no surprise that the Bugis quarter was a perfect area to establish a trading place outside the control of the VOC. The gouverneurs of the 18th century knew about that and mentioned such trading places several times in their records.²⁴ But they also had to accept that they had no opportunity to stop the “illegal” economic activities in the quarters at the urban periphery. Furthermore, the administration – following the records – knew of another informal trading place in the south of the city center.²⁵ There the Macassan people were the dominating ethnic group, but in both places the trade was free to all ethnic groups and all commodities. We can assume there were also merchants who were never recorded in the official harbourmaster’s lists, like the Mandhar from the north of Macassar or the sea nomads of the Bajau, as well as prohibited commodities like opium and Moluccan spices.

Other informal trading places were to be found at non-urban sites. Several trading spheres, which were driven by the VOC regulations into “informality” did not disappear but developed new trading routes and places. The 18th century experienced the rise of a tiny barren island called Bonerate as a trans-shipment place and the rise of the Tukangbesi-Archipelago, especially Kaledupa, or villages and small towns on Sumbawa, especially Alas at the northwestern edge of the island, as markets for Moluccan spices, Indian textiles, *trepang* and tortoiseshell. The expeditions of the VOC administration in Macassar against smuggling and illegal clove cultivation presents some evidence for such places.²⁶ And in the second half of the 18th century, an increasing number of indigenous vessels left Macassar for such places without any loading.²⁷ They left the port without offending the rules of the ‘formal sector’ and entered the ‘informal sector’ in Bonerate or Alas to start their ‘informal’ trade in those areas. This way parts of the economic activities which were ‘illegal’

from the point of view of the company left the port cities and settled down at non-urban places. But they did not lose their role in the commercial life of the Malay Archipelago.

Much more prominent in the literature is the example of the Riau-Archipelago near modern Singapore.²⁸ Here a new center of the Bugis diaspora was established in the 18th century. And here, the Bugis and Macassan who left Sulawesi after the war of 1666-69 found a place without any foreign control. They were able to develop their trading contacts as well as their regional political influence, and they became for some decades a serious competitor to the VOC. In the 1780s the Dutch ended the short success story of Riau as the most important homeplace of ‘informal activities’ in the Malay Archipelago by military operations.

The commodities of the informal trade

‘Formal’ and ‘informal’ sectors were divided by very different criteria. Geographical, ethnical and commercial criteria were mentioned above. Another important point was the membership of the VOC. Company servants were allowed to trade for themselves only in a very restricted way.²⁹ They were excluded from most trading spheres in order to avoid harming their employer. But most of them simply ignored such regulations. The complex situation is reflected in the commodities of the ‘informal trade.’ Goods officially allowed by the company could be part of a specific ‘informal trade’ if geographical or ethnical criteria excluded them from the ‘formal sector’. The new trading places outside the port cities gained their importance from the private spice trade, but of course also textiles, fishery products, and bulk goods like salt were exchanged there. The vast majority of the commodities normally traded in Southeast Asia were partly traded in the ‘informal sector’ as defined in the beginning. But the core of that ‘informal sector’ consisted of spices, the only product for which the VOC was willing to do everything, in the exact sense of the word, to monopolise.

The company and the informal sector

Institutions which are in the position to define the limits of the ‘formal sector’

usually follow the goal to incorporate the ‘informal sector’ into the first one. The motivations can be very different. An administration in a metropolis of the Third World may follow the goal to incorporate the informal labour market into the regulated market for reasons of social justice. The VOC tried to subordinate the various forms of informal trade for reasons of its own profit maximization. And the company tried it with all achievable methods. The passport system was the instrument to translate the structure of ‘formal/informal trade’ into action. But that was not enough. The company was forced to organise military expeditions (*krijgstochten*) against smugglers and smuggling places and actions to destroy “illegal” spice plantations (*extirpatien*). The number of such operations was increasing during the 18th century, but the “illegal activites” never disappeared. Quite the contrary, some parts of the ‘informal’ sectors’ success during the 18th century prepared the important role which they would play in the 19th century under the conditions of a liberalised market – as we can see in trading centres like the coast of Seram, in trans-shipment places like Bonerate, or in merchant groups like the Bugis or the people of Seram.

The VOC introduced a new structure to the economic world of Southeast Asia based on a new idea of dichotomy. This structure was not accepted by all the involved people, but – with or without acceptance – it changed fundamentally the entire economy.

Perspectives on the informal sector

Let us come back to Ray Bromley’s characteristics quoted at the beginning. Does an economic sector like the ‘informal trade’ described above fit such a concept coming from the 20th century? Especially the first criterion (ease of entry) and the last (unregulated and competitive markets) are without any doubt valid for the ‘informal trade’ of the Malay Archipelago under company’s rule. Some of the other criteria are too close to the field of their origin, the modern labour market in Africa or Latin America, others like the family ownership and the small scale of operations apply to the majority of the involved merchants, but not to all of them. Also merchant enterprises in partnership over thousands of miles – e.g. between the Malay penin-

sula and the Indian subcontinent - financed by credit, were to be found in the commercial life of early modern Asia. Nevertheless, the degree of application to the characteristics and the historical reality of a specific dichotomy allows us to speak indeed of an 'informal sector' in our context. Furthermore, the picture drawn above shows clearly that the two sectors in Bromley's suggestion have to be understood as two extreme and opposite poles with an continuum of phenomena between them.

The VOC was not the only institution with authority in the trading world of the Archipelago. Also indigenous trading groups, especially trading diasporas, established their own regulations independently from the company. For the Wajo traders (a group of the Bugis people in Macassar) their head, Amanna Gappa, codified their own sea law in 1676.³⁰ This law organised all aspects of the maritime trade of the Wajos from the freight rates over the hierarchy on board a vessel until the selling of the loads. The preconditions for the access to the trade were regulated as well as the questions of legal responsibility. A comparable sea law existed for the Malay merchants in Malacca.³¹ In this way, these merchant communities established their own dichotomy. Other examples for different perspectives may be the Chinese in Batavia, as a powerful economic group with their own regulations for the involvement of VOC officials in the local trading worlds.³²

'Formal' and 'informal' can be differentiated in several ways, especially under circumstances with more than one clearly defined pole of power. Thus, the question arises whether it makes sense to ask in the presented context for an 'informal sector.' Hopefully, the article should have shown the use of the conscious adaption of a specific contemporary perspective.

The reconstruction of the 'informal sector' following the perspective of the VOC can show us some essential patterns:

1. the different degrees of penetration of the trading spheres by the VOC despite the claim for complete control, reflected in a blurred distinction of the sectors and the existence of 'semi-formal' sectors;

2. the monopolisation of the core sectors of its trade in the port cities by the company, especially spices;

3. a pragmatic behaviour in most of the other sectors by which officially pro-

hibited commodities could become central trading goods for indigenous merchants (e.g. Indian textiles);

4. the movement of the "illegal" private trade between the city favoured by the actual broken reality in company towns;

5. the movement of the "illegal" private trade to non-urban trading sites;

6. based on this, the movement of existing trading networks and sometimes, but in less cases, the development of completely new networks;

7. the inability of the company to control the indigenous trade and to change it in this way fundamentally - not even in the sectors of its own special interests.

If we take in consideration that the majority of the literature on Asian economic history during the 17th and 18th centuries still concentrates on the activities of the companies and the spheres of trade in which they were immediately involved, this approach is no adaption of eurocentrism, but quite the difference. It offers a way to understand the European-Asian economic relations of that time with open eyes. Nevertheless, a change of the perspective is possible and may provide an approach of the same value with new insights. The only thing which - unfortunately - can limit other approaches is the availability of valuable sources for economic history which favours the approach chosen in this article.

NOTES

¹ This article represents widely a paper under the same title that the author presented at the Sixth International Conference on Urban History in Edinburgh (2002). The author wishes to thank Prof. Toshio Sakata (Keio University) and Dr. Yoh Kawana (Tohoku University) for the invitation and the participants of the session, "Formal and Informal Economies in Early Modern European and Asian Cities" for the engaged discussion.

² Ray BROMLEY, "The Urban Informal Sector. Why Is It Worth Discussing?" in: *World Development* 6 (1978), pp. 103-39, quotation p. 1033.

³ See for example the edited volume David TURNBULL/Bernard SALOMON/Antoine SCHWARZ (eds.), *The Informal Sector Revisited*, Paris 1990.

⁴ John S. FERGUSON, *Colonial Policy and Practice. A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India*, Cambridge 1948, pp. 303-12.

⁵ Jürgen ÖSTERHAMMEL, *Kolonialismus. Geschichte - Formen - Folgen*, München 1995, pp. 98-99.

⁶ The chosen example of this article and the relating empirical evidence is based on the still unpublished PhD thesis of the author: Jürgen G. NAGEL, "Der Schlüssel zu den Molukken. Makassar und die Handelsstrukturen des Malaiischen Archipels im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert - eine exemplarische Studie," PhD thesis, University of Trier 2002. The thesis will be published during summer 2003.

⁷ See first of all Leonard Y. ANDAYA, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka. A History of South Sulawesi in the Seventeenth Century*, The Hague 1981. For an introduction to the history of Makassar before the conquest by the VOC see Anthony REID, "The Rise of Makassar," in: *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 17 (1983) or John VILLIERS, "Makassar. Rise and Fall of an Eastern Indonesian Maritime Trading State 1512-1669," in: Jayamalar Kathirithamby-Wells/John Villiers (eds.), *The Southeast Asian Port and Polity. Rise and Demise*, Singapore 1990, pp. 143-159.

⁸ Concerning the person Arung Palakka see beside ANDAYA, *Heritage*, also Leonard Y. ANDAYA, "A Village Perception of Arung Palakka and the Makassar War of 1666 - 69," in: Anthony REID/David G. MARR (eds.), *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, Singapore 1979, pp. 360-78, or Leonard Y. ANDAYA, Arung Palakka and Kahar Muzakkar, "A Study of the Hero Figure in Bugis-Makassar Society," in: *People and Society in Indonesia. A Bibliographical Approach*, Monash University 1977, pp. 1-11.

⁹ General State Archives, The Hague, VOC 4785. The contract has been published several times: J. E. HETVELD (ed.), *Corpus Diplomaticum Nederlands-Indicus. Vol. II. 1650 - 1675*, The Hague 1909, pp. 370-380; ERKELENS, *Geschiedenis van het rijk Gowa*, Batavia 1897, pp. 87-90; Frederik W. STAPP, *Het Bongais Verdrag*, Leiden 1922, pp. 237-247; ANDAYA, *Heritage*, pp. 305-307.

¹⁰ Compiled in General State Archives, The Hague, Ministry of Colonies, *Supplement No. 11*.

¹¹ A 'trading sphere' is defined as a context of commercial exchange determined by a single commodity or a group of commodities under recognition of the ethnic, geographic, cultural, organisational and religious connotations brought in by the region and by the participants.

¹² Campbell C. MACKNAGHTEN, *The Voyage to Marege. Macassan Trepangers in Northern Australia*, Melbourne 1976.

¹³ NAGEL, *Schlüssel zu den Molukken*, pp. 513-520 (trepan), pp. 520/521 (agar-agar), pp. 504-507 (local textiles), pp. 527-530 (local metal products). About the use of trepan see J. C. KONINGBERGER, *Tripang en Tripangvisscherei in Nederlandsch-Indië*, Batavia 1904.

¹⁴ General State Archives, The Hague, A. D. Nys, *Radicale Beschrijving van Maccassar*, December 1756, VOC 4852.

¹⁵ For example: General State Archives The Hague, VOC 3524, Macassar (1777/78) or VOC 3623, Macassar (1781/82).

¹⁶ NAGEL, *Schlüssel zu den Molukken*, pp. 492-495. The amounts of cloves, nutmeg, mace, cinnamon, and pepper sold by the VOC in Macassar in the second half of the 18th century changed significantly (*ibid.*, table 6.1, p. 906).

¹⁷ For the source *syahbandars specificatie* see Gerrit J. KNAAP, *Shallow Waters. River, Tide, Shipping and Trade in Java Around 1750*, Leiden 1996, pp. 181-188; LEE Kam Hing, "The Shipping Lists of Dutch Malakkā. A Source for the Study of Coastal Trade and Shipping in the Malay Peninsula During the 17th and 18th Centuries," in: Mohammad Y. HASBEMI (ed.), *Kapal dan Harta Karam. Ships and Sunken Treasures*, Kuala Lumpur 1986, pp. 53-76; Heather A. SETHERLAND/David S. BRITTON, *The Trading Communities of Eighteenth Century Macassar. Micro-computer generated data and VOC archives*, Rotterdam School of Management Report No. 9, Rotterdam 1986; NAGEL, *Schlüssel zu den Molukken*, pp. 100-104. The analysis of ten exemplary years of this source is the core of the author's PhD thesis: NAGEL, "Schlüssel zu den Molukken," esp. chapter 6, pp. 491-643.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 502-504 (about the competition between private traders and the company).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 593-596 (about the shipping between Macassar and Sumbawa).

²⁰ General State Archives, The Hague, VOC 2674, Macassar, 30, 108.

²¹ NAGEL, *Schlüssel zu den Molukken*, pp. 604-610 (about the shipping between Macassar and Amoy in China). For the commerce of Amoy see Ng Chin Kiong, *Trade and Society: The Amoy Network on the China Coast, 1683 - 1735*, Singapore 1983.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 401-433 (about the topography of the colonial town Macassar).

²³ General State Archives, The Hague, VOC 2050, Macassar, pp. 494-496.

²⁴ For example Governor Frederik Gobius in his *memorie van overgave* of 1727: General State Archives, The Hague, VOC 2100, Macassar, 1st. reg., pp. 49-128.

²⁵ For example Governor Cornelis Sinkelaar in his *memorie van overgave* of 1767: General State Archives, The Hague, VOC 11254, pp. 1-39.

²⁶ The majority of the journals written by the responsible VOC-officials of such expeditions came down for the period between 1672 and 1737 (concerning the records of Macassar: General State Archive, The Hague, VOC 1294, VOC 1311, VOC 1312, VOC 1319, VOC 1347, VOC 1428, VOC 1487, VOC 1535, VOC 1568, VOC 1579, VOC 1595, VOC 1637, VOC 1647, VOC 1690, VOC 1728, VOC 1743, VOC 1759, VOC 1775, VOC 1794, VOC 1808, VOC 1826, VOC 1867, VOC 1882, VOC 2029, VOC 2072, VOC 2100, VOC 2133, VOC 2314, VOC 2381, VOC 2409). About Bonerate see J. A. BAKKERS, "De eilanden Bonerate en Kalao," in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 11 (1861), pp. 215-264.

²⁷ NAGEL, *Schlüssel zu den Molukken*, pp. 554-556, table 6.42, p. 972. For example: 1717/18 left 20.5% of all vessels Macassar without any cargo, 1733-34 42.5%, 1767-68 61.5%, and 1781-82 50.8%.

²⁸ The best study related to the position of the Bugis of Riau is still Leonard Y. ANDAYA, *The Kingdom of Johor, 1641-1728*, Kuala Lumpur 1975. See for their economic position also Philip D. CURTIN, *Cross Cultural Trade in World History*, Cambridge 1984, pp. 163-173. The most important indigenous source related to this question is the so called *Tuhfat al-Nafis*: Virginia MATHESON, *Tuhfat al-Nafis: (The Precious Gift). A Nineteenth Century Malay History Critically Examined*, Melbourne 1973.

²⁹ General State Archives, The Hague, VOC 4702, VOC 4704, VOC 4705, VOC 4707.

³⁰ Leonard J. J. CARON, *Het handels- en zeerecht in de adatrechtsregelen van den rechtskring Zuid Celebes*, Bussum 1937; Philip O. L. TOBIN, "The Navigation and Commercial Law of Amanna Gappa. A Philological-Cultural Study. Abbreviated Edition," in Philip O. L. TOBIN, *Hukum Pelayaran dan Perdagangan Amanna Gappa. Penjelasan philologis-kulturil dengan edisi yang diperpendek dalam bahasa inggris*, Ujung Pandang 1977, pp. 149-203.

³¹ Robert O. WINSTED & P. E. de JOSSELIN DE JONG, "The Maritime Laws of Malacca," in *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 29 (1956) 3, pp. 22-59.

³² Leonard BLUSSÉ, "Batavia, 1619-1740. The Rise and Fall of a Chinese Colonial Town," in *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 12 (1981), pp. 159-178; Femke S. GAASRA, "The Independent Fiscaals of the VOC, 1698 - 1719," in *Innenraum* 9 (1985) 2, pp. 92-107.

Of Interest to Our Members

This year marks the fortieth anniversary of the publication of *The Rise of the West*. The 1963 and 1991 editions were published without a bibliography. Dr. Edward A. Riedinger, Professor and Head of the Latin American Library at Ohio State University, has completed *A Bibliography of The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community* by William H. McNeill (Columbus, OH: Sebastian Society Occasional Papers Series-9A, 2002). The work provides full author, title, series title, and imprint information for the nearly one thousand sources on which *The Rise of the West* was based. Each bibliographic entry concludes with the chapter and footnote number, locating where the source was cited in the original text. The bibliography encapsulates what is now recognized as the foundation scholarship for world history produced from the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries. For acquisition details, please contact the author at: riedinger.4@osu.edu.

News from the WHA Europe Affiliate in Hanover, Germany

Verein für Geschichte des Weltsystems: A year of steady growth --- In its annual meeting on February 11, 2003 the *Verein* reelected Prof. Dr. Hans-Heinrich Nolte as Chairman (Email: CNolteVGWS@aol.com Website: http://members.aol.com/cnoltevgws or http://go.to/vgws), Dr. Udo Obal as Co-chairman and Dr. Gerhard Schmidt as Treasurer. The *Verein* is growing slowly and now has 59 members.

In 2002 the *Verein* hosted several lecturers, including Dr. Vasilis Vourkoutiotis of Montreal and St. Petersburg, who spoke on the OKW and Anglo-American POWs; Dr. Simon Green of the University of Birmingham, U.K., speaking on German immigration laws; Prof. Hanna Schissler of the Georg Eckert Institute in Braunschweig, speaking on the American debate about world history; and Dr. Christian Lekon of the University of Hanover, who spoke on Arab nationalism. The *Verein* also organized two small conferences: one on Siberia, featuring Dr. Martin Aust of the University of Berlin as main speaker, and one on China, at which Prof. Dr. Eberhard Sandschneider of Berlin, Dr. Klaus Mäding of the University of Düsseldorf, Prof. Dr. Rudolf Wagner of the University of Heidelberg, and Dr. Dominic Sachsenmaier of Harvard all gave lectures.

The forthcoming volumes of the *Zeitschrift für Weltgeschichte*, edited by Prof. Nolte for the *Verein*, may be of interest to other WHA members. Articles will include:

Vol. 3.2: Forced Labor

Barry W. Higman on slavery in the Americas

Victor Funk and Hans-Fieinrich Nolte on the GULAG

Pavel Poljan on Nazi-"Zwangsarbeit"

Klaus Fuellberg-Stolberg on an integrating interpretation of forced labor in modern societies

Micheal Zeuske on race and slavery in Cuba

Klaas Bähre on the use of the Internet by the Chechen resistance movement

Vol. 4.1: Didactics of World History

Luigi Cajani on the Italian curriculum and the Berlusconi government

Dr. Liebig of the University of Hanover on examples of teaching in school

Margarete Grandner and Andrea Komlosy on university instruction of world history in Vienna

Martin Aust on a seminar comparing Soviet and Nazi dictatorships

Gerhard Weinberg on Germany and the US (German misjudgements between 1933 and 1945)

Vasilis Vourkoutiotis on the German opposition and Britain heading towards Munich (also on some misjudgements in international politics)

Eva-Maria Stolberg arguing against the concept of Eurasia put forward in the first volume

Dr. Schmieder questioning the Tannenbaum thesis of the relative mildness of Latin American slavery.

The *Zeitschrift für Weltgeschichte* is published by the Verlag Peter Lang, PF 940225, D 60460 Frankfurt. Subscriptions cost \$41 (45 Euro) per year (2 volumes). For further information, see: <http://www.peterlang.de/all/index.cfm?vDom=3&vRub=3070>

World History Panels and Programs at the AHA Annual Meeting, January 2003

At the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, held January 2-5 in Chicago, world history was the subject of an impressive array of panels and presentations. The WHA co-sponsored five well-attended panels and a lunchtime lecture. A brownbag roundtable and teaching session rounded out the world history offerings.

Noted below are panel and presentation titles and the WHA members who participated in them:

“Comparative Perspectives on Migration and Identity,” including WHA members Annette Palmer (Morgan State University) and David Northrup (Boston College);

“Gender as Part of a College-Level World History Survey Course,” featuring members Lawrence Beaber (Educational Testing Service) and Linda Black (Cypress Falls High School, Houston);

“Slaves, Servants, and Suspects: Modern French Subjects, 1880-2002,” with Martin Klein (University of Toronto) and Philip Whalen (Coastal Carolina University);

“Strength at the Margins: Boundary-Crossers in the Early Modern World,” with paper and commentary by Gayle Brunelle (California State University Fullerton) and Ross Dunn (San Diego State University);

“Transnational Frontiers of Citizenship: Identity and Belonging in Contested Regions,” including WHA member Taro Iwata (University of Oregon);

Advanced Placement History Luncheon, co-sponsored by the WHA, the College Board and the AHA Teaching Division, featuring an address by Richard White (Stanford University);

Brownbag Roundtable: “Multimedia in World History: Evaluating the *Migration in Modern World History, 1500-2000* CD-Rom,” with WHA members Richard Horowitz (California State University Northridge), David Fahey (Miami University), and Patrick Manning (Northeastern University);

“Teaching a Global Perspective: Preparing Undergraduates to Teach World History,” featuring an all WHA-member panel: Heidi Roupp (Aspen High School), Tim Keirn (California State University Long Beach), Paul Buelow (National Louis University), George Rislov (Highland Park High School, Dallas), Deborah Smith Johnston (Northeastern University), and Howard Spodek (Temple University).

Deadlines for Submissions

Fall Issues - 15 September

Spring Issues - 15 February



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REMINDER

For more details on the WHA 2003 Annual Conference, including: registration, accommodations, directions, maps, local Atlanta attractions, conference exhibiting and advertising information, and program details, please visit the WHA website at www.thewha.org.

WHA Teaching Prize

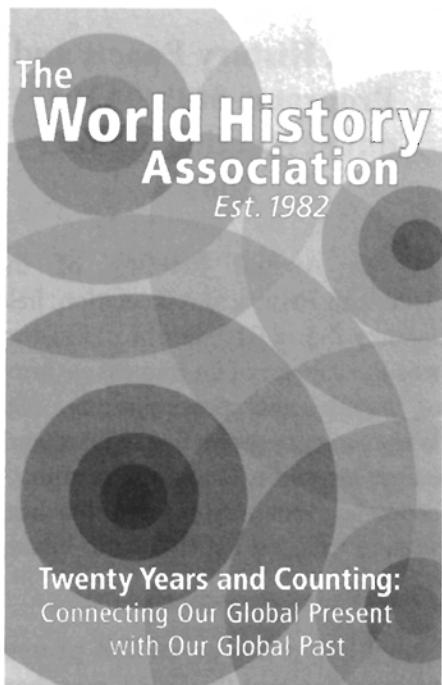
The World History Association is now accepting submissions for its 2003 Teaching Prize.

The WHA Teaching Prize was developed to encourage the use of current world history scholarship in classroom practice. Every year, the WHA honors the finest world history lesson that successfully incorporates recent research and content ideas into a classroom lesson. The WHA seeks lesson plans either inspired by or directly related to historical scholarship published within the last ten years in books or scholarly journals like the *Journal of World History*.

The winning lesson will be published in the Fall issue of the *World History Bulletin*, and the designer of the winning lesson will receive a \$500 cash award and recognition at the WHA Annual Meeting in June.

Submissions from all grade levels are welcome. **For more information and guidelines**, please write to Maggie Favretti (favretti@pipeline.com), Chair of the WHA Teaching Prize Committee or visit www.thewha.org

The deadline for submissions is 1 May 2003.



World History Paper Prize

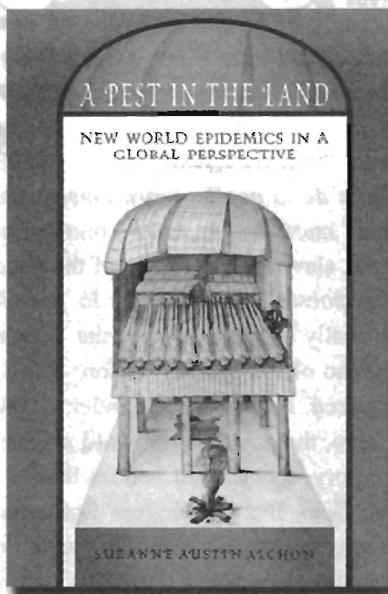
Phi Alpha Theta History Society, Inc. and the **World History Association** continue to co-sponsor two annual awards of \$200 each for the best undergraduate and graduate-level world history paper composed during the current academic year. Abstracts of the winning papers will be published in the World History Association *Bulletin*.

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.

Submission requirements: 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 the current academic year (2002-2003). Submitted papers must be no longer than thirty (30) type-written, 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 cannot be used. Each paper must also be accompanied by a one-page (250 word) ABSTRACT. The author's identity is to appear nowhere on the paper. Include a separate, unattached page identifying the author, title of the paper, author's home address, collegiate affiliation, graduating year and status (undergraduate or graduate student), and the association (WHA or PAT) to which the author belongs. A letter from a relevant history faculty member (the supervising professor, the chair of the department, or the PAT Chapter advisor) attesting that the paper was composed during the current academic year (2002-2003) must accompany the submission.

Mail two (2) copies of the paper and abstract, postmarked no later than August 15, 2003 to: Professor Alfred J. Andrea, Department of History, The University of Vermont, Burlington, VT 05405-0164. **NOTE: ELECTRONIC SUBMISSIONS WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED.** Questions regarding the competition may be addressed to Professor Andrea at: aandrea@zoo.uvm.edu

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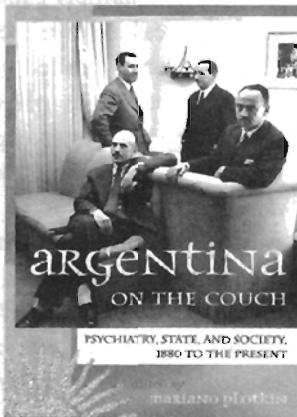
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Entre Tango y Payada: The Expression of Africans in Nineteenth- Century Argentina

Sylvain B. Poosson

When looking at the History of Argentina and the birth of this country in the nineteenth century, one is puzzled by the fact that not all the people who have participated in the nation-building have been taken into consideration. From Vicente Fidel López and Bartolomé Mitre to the well respected historians of the *Academia de la Historia Argentina*, the accounts about Blacks' participation in Argentine society are merely caricatured if at all mentioned. However it is not a mystery that Blacks have been living in Buenos Aires and its *provincias* since they were disembarked on the shores of the Río de la Plata in the sixteenth century as slaves for the benefit of the Spanish Crown. Since that period until their disappearance from Argentina's social map, African peoples have contributed to all aspects of the society in which they were brought up. Encompassing both political and cultural contributions, the presence of Blacks is felt and remains evident up until now, despite the intention by both positivists and nationalists alike to wipe them out of Argentina's history books. One will remember the concerns of the Generation of 1837 that blamed Blacks (and native Indians) for being one of the reasons the country was still 'barbaric' and underdeveloped. The "dandy generation" of 1880 (the generation of the positivists) also created social frames in which Blacks and their culture had to be removed. Deeply convinced by the positivist philosophy of Auguste Comte, the generation of 1880 had facilitated, encouraged and designed policies by means of which Blacks would slowly but surely disappear over the years. Race mixing was highly encouraged and black women were finding themselves giving birth to mulattos whose

future in Argentine society was brighter than that of their black parents. Miscegenation was a national policy and the rulers were so proud of it that Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (President from 1868 to 1874) had to say in 1883, that one would have to go to nearby Brazil to see Blacks in their pure originality.¹ Also, the great number of immigrants who came to Argentina reshaped the social layers of the country. Between 1880 and 1930, more than three million immigrants disembarked in Buenos Aires, creating a shift in the way race played a role in Argentina's society. But in spite of all those efforts, Blacks have not disappeared from Argentina. The blackness of their skin may have disappeared from the society but their contribution to Argentina's daily life is more than visible. Among many other things, they have left a great gift to Argentina's culture - the tango dance and music.

Although all historians do not agree on the origin of the word 'tango', they do consider the fact that African slaves have played a role in the creation of that dance sometime in the eighteenth century, starting with the multiple gatherings and fiestas the slaves held to rejoice and celebrate. Using drums, called 'tambores' in Spanish, the slaves played and danced through the night as an expression of their survival as a nation. Dancing the *candombe*, the *milonga* or the *fandango* was a way for them to express their existence as a community but also as a social entity different from the *Criollo*² and the Spaniard. Dancing was affirming one's existence. The idea of "*Je danse, donc je suis*" quoted by Senghor, a poet of the Negritude movement, is extremely valid in this case.

Out of all the theories that deal with the origin of the word 'tango', the most accurate to my view is the one given by Ricardo Rodríguez Molas. As he explains, 'tango' derives from 'tambor' which was pronounced by Blacks like 'tambó.' During the course of the centuries, the letter 'b' was altered and mispronounced, sounding like a 'g', giving us 'tangó.' Also the letters 'r' and 'l' were either

interchangeable or just dropped. Many poems of the 19th century that rewrite the slaves' way of speaking support this idea. Reading of *La poesía negra en los periódicos* by Luis Pérez will give us some clues regarding the morphological change in the word that became 'tango'. At the same time, analyzing Emilio Ballagás' *Mapa de la poesía negra americana*, we shall uncover the great contribution of black slaves to the poetry of the gauchos. The *poesía gauchesca*, or *la payada*, is normally associated with the wandering gaucho of the pampas. Before being popularized by José Hernández' *Martín Fierro*, the *payada* was heard all over the territory, specially in venues like *El parque Gual*. But the 'singers' in the *contrapuntos* (poem-singing duels) were not all Gauchos: one could see Black *payadores* like Gabino Ezeiza, Antonio Cagiano, Silvero Manco, and many more whose performances had left the newspapers -and the nation- praising them for weeks.

What meaning can we give to the expression of black slaves through music, song and dance in a land where their presence is negated and their products whitened? While the Creole elite was keeping them under control and calling their dances "lascivious" and even prohibiting them, the black community was producing a great deal of cultural material that was used consciously or unconsciously - by the new leaders as "guiding fictions" in the construction of Argentina. We could see those *payadas* also as a demand for a political status within the elite-controlled government of Buenos Aires.

The origin of the tango has been argued among Argentina's scholars for many years. Many have connected it somehow to the Blacks living in Argentina in the late eighteenth century. Vicente Rossi, Néstor Ortiz Oderigo, Emilio Ravignani, José Luis Molinari, Ricardo Rojas, Juan Carlos Coria, Ricardo Molas, Donald Castro, and even Jorge Luis Borges have debated whether or not Blacks have anything to do with tango and if credit should be given to the African slaves for what stands out as the most

important cultural phenomenon in Argentina's history.

Already in 1773, after a trip from Buenos Aires to Peru, Calixto Bustamante Carlos Inca, (a.k.a. Concolorcorvo) wrote about some "civilized Blacks" whose "dances are nothing more than the shaking of hips and bellies with much demonstration of poor taste accompanied by ridiculous gestures".³ Such "hip shaking" could have been the very root of what has come to be called tango in late nineteenth century. According to Elena de Studer in her studies of Blacks in Argentina's colonial period, slaves used to get together to celebrate any event by dancing "*el fandango, la calenda, la bambula y la chica que se destacaron por su primitivismo lascivo*".⁴ [the *fandango*, the *calenda*, the *bambula*, and the *chica* which stood out for their primitive lasciviousness] During the same period, people of color gathered to dance the *candombe*, a very festive dance that most of the time filled the nights with noise and drunken behavior. For those slaves, dancing was a way of reuniting their long gone African land and the one that held them prisoner. Dancing was not only a social catharsis but also a way to recuperate the sole cultural space that was left to them. Through dancing they were able to control their own body and to express their profound feelings. Like the wine that serves as a truth teller (Latin says "in vino veritas"), dancing the *candombe* or the *fandango* or any other joyful expression was above all the expression of liberty. Although that sense of liberty was momentary, the effects of dancing, and the possibility to do so many nights in a row, led the black slaves to believe that they were in control of their own bodies and that they could express their feelings by singing and dancing. Many times during the Viceroyalty (1776-1810), the white rulers in Buenos Aires had tried to disconnect Blacks from the music they were producing. Alleging the "noise and lasciviousness" of their dances, the viceroy had issued many edicts forbidding Afro-Argentines from gathering through the night. In Buenos Aires, the black population gathered to dance and socialize up

late until the early morning. The White Creoles, who considered those gatherings as "the rites to the devil carried out by witches during their Black Sabbaths", reacted against the dances. Basically, they were complaining about the noise and the lasciviousness of the dances. It was said that Blacks were dancing "*a lo negro*" [the negro's way] which "refers to the sexual focus of the dance where couples dance not *ahrazando* [embracing as in dancing] but *enlazando* [embracing as in sexual intercourse]."⁶ White Creoles could not understand the deep meaning of those gatherings and decided to pressure the Administration to prohibit the dances on the 20th day of September of 1770. More prohibitions followed during the colonial period in 1789 and in the first half of the nineteenth century, namely in February 1822, in September 1824 and on June 27 of the following year. Even though Black communities had multiplied during that period, their gatherings - for the purpose of dancing - were prohibited as soon as there was a voice among the elite that complained about the "provocative" aspect of the Afro-Argentines' dances.⁷ Since those days, the Creole Spaniards have stood against Black cultural (and corporal) expression until their disappearance by the end of the nineteenth century. For the Afro-Argentine people, the Whites had become the "others", that is, the ones who do not understand the value and message of African dance and music. As political and social adversaries, the white elite impeded the union of the Afro-Argentine and their music and dance, making it impossible for slaves to express their individuality in the process of nation-building. However, in Argentine literary tradition, Blacks and music create a oneness that remains hard to break. Ricardo Rodríguez Molas writes that "*el negro amó la música · y más que la música, el ritmo · con pasión*"⁸ and this image of the black man biologically attached to music will be seen through Argentina's literature. In *Martín Fierro* by José Hernández, a black man is killed when he is going to a party to dance the *milonga*. The *milonga* is a dance whose origin and significance I

shall discuss in the coming paragraphs. Also, in that same epic poem by Hernández, the gaucho Martín Fierro has a *payada* encounter with a black man. This essay will expand upon the meaning of *payada* and its importance in Argentina's culture in the paragraphs that follow.

In a novel by Lucio Mansilla, *una excursión a los indios ranqueles*, one can discover a black man among the Ranqueles Indians. He is the only black character in the novel and yet remains nameless. Mansilla calls him "*el negro del acordeón*" because he plays that instrument all the time. One can argue that music has been the most faithful companion of the black people in Argentina up to the nineteenth century. Or, as Mansilla writes- "*sin negro no había acordeón, sin acordeón no había negro.*"⁹

Among all the dances and music that were fashionable at that time, one can cite the "*menuel*", the "*pericón*", the "*cielito*" and the "*media caña*"; but the most important were the *tango* and the *milonga*. Vicente Rossi suggested that the word "*milonga*" came from the Brazilian "*mulonga*" which stands for "words" or lyrics.¹⁰ Later on, this word came to mean "bordello", especially in Uruguay and Argentina, because the *milonga*, a so-called lascivious dance, was played in venues shared by prostitutes and soldiers. In fact, those bordellos were places where Blacks and Whites and all colored people got together to play and dance. The *milonga* was a music and a dance created from a combination of guitar and drum, the latter being called "*tambor*" in Spanish. According to Vicente Rossi, *tango* as a dance evolved from the gatherings where the *milonga* was danced, and the word "*tango* is due to the sound made by the drum (*tan-gó*)."¹¹ Rossi's theory does not convince Jorge Luis Borges who affirms that by the year 1880 (when the *tango* was popularized in Argentina), people easily got all the dances mixed up. There were the Andalusian *tango*, the Creole *tango*, the "*milonga*", the "*habanera*" and many other similar dances. Borges' view is that there is no connection between "*milonga*"

and tango as both dances have nothing in common. To him, “if there was a black connection it was with the *milonga*”¹² not with the tango. In other words, the tango is a creation of the white society of Buenos Aires and its history has nothing to do with Afro-Argentines. I believe that although Rossi’s theory lacks historical proof, Borges’ stand reminds us of the eclecticism displayed by the positivists that ruled Buenos Aires in the late nineteenth century. The positivists, also known as the Generation of 1880, were prompt to eliminate everything related to Blacks (and other non-white races) because these people did not fit into the racial and social ideology they were defending.

Convinced by the idea that a society, eager to develop, should get rid of old loyalties and embrace progress, the generation of 1880 eliminated those who were unfit to be members of the new Argentine society - Blacks and Indians (although we still find a lot of Indians in Argentina). Therefore, any construct by those unfit social members was seen either as useless or, in the case of the tango, highly qualified for the whitening process. That is, the elite of Buenos Aires, in their search for guiding fictions at the time of nation building, were eclectically choosing what they deemed fit in their view of a white society, recuperating cultural constructs produced by non-Whites. And the tango was one of those cultural constructs that caught the fancy – and the senses – of the white rulers who turned the famous dance into a national icon.

Borges’ view on the matter is questionable when one looks at the instruments that were played during the *milonga* parties - guitar and drums. Those instruments were basically used either in rural areas or by lower class citizens. And Blacks, as slaves, were definitely at the lowest rung of the social ladder. The elite were confined to the piano and other more traditionally European instruments. Consequently, ignoring the contribution of Blacks in the invention of the tango is superficial and historically incorrect.

In contradiction to Borges’ viewpoint, Ortiz Oderigo suggests that the word ‘tango’ comes from the Yoruba (Nigeria) word ‘shangó’ which refers to the “god of thunder.” Although the present author disagrees with this historical snafu, one has to share his view on the choreography of tango: “In the texture of the choreography of the early tango, threads of African heritage can be found in the famous belly bumping, umbilical bumping, stomach banging, pelvic bumping, frontal pressing. All action in which the man bumps against the female’s stomach ... all done in the way to have the body appears like an “S”, all these were characteristic of dances of Africa as well as the African originated dances of America in general.”¹³

Oderigo’s description of the tango’s choreography reminds us of the one described earlier by Concolorcorvo of the Blacks in the eighteenth century. But of all the scholars who studied the matter, the one who really stands out is Ricardo Rodriguez Molas. He believes that the origin of the word ‘tango’ comes from ‘*tambor*’ which, for linguistic reasons has become first ‘*tambó*’ and then ‘*tungó*’ and finally ‘*tango*’. Unfortunately,

Molas does not go farther to show how he got to that conclusion although he did not have to look far to find the reason of such a linguistic alteration. The change from the letter “B” in ‘*tambor*’ to the letter “G” in ‘*tango*’ is not peculiar to that word only. When analyzing literary texts from the second half of the nineteenth century, one is drawn to the conclusion that lower class - and often non educated -- citizens tended to change the “B” to “G”. In the following poem dedicated to the Governor of Buenos Aires, Juan Manuel Rosas, a couple of Black people exchanges these verses. First comes the lady:

*Ya vites ene candombe
que luditos lo moreno
gitaban viva Larosa
nuestro gobernadó güeno*

you did see during the candombe
that all the black people
were shouting long live Rosas
Our good governor.

Then Juan, the Negro answers:

*Que viva D. Juan Manue
El señor gohenadó,
Padre dc todos los pobres
El gobenadó mijó....[citer]
Hasta lavandera negra
tre seguile al gobieno
.Ande quiera si vaya
Po qui e gobernadó güeno.¹⁴*

long live Juan Manuel
the governor
father of all poor people
The best governor...
Even the black laundress
has to be his follower
wherever he goes
Because he is a good governor.

This short example shows how the word ‘*bueno*’ [good] has become ‘*güeno*,’ changing the “B” to “G”. And the whole poem imitates the way black people used to talk during that period. In general, during the colonial era and in the early nineteenth century, Blacks, as well as other colored people, had no access to the school system and education. Since the colonial period, Blacks were denied education because they were slaves. Elena de Studer reports the case of a black man who had been flogged because he knew how to read and write¹⁵. It is also worth noting the dropping of the letter “R” at the end of ‘*gobernador*’ and ‘*señor*’ - both becoming ‘*gobernadó*’ and ‘*señó*.’ These alterations are consistent with the ones suffered by the word ‘*tambor*,’ which has become ‘*tambó*,’ ‘*tangó*’ and then ‘*tango*.’

But the origin of the word ‘tango’ does not necessarily justify the theory that it is an Afro-Argentine invention. To comprehend the whole contribution of Blacks to Argentina’s culture, one has to go beyond simple semantics and linguistics and analyze the historical facts. It is known that since Africans disembarked on the shores of the Rio de la Plata in the sixteenth century until their disappearance in the early twentieth century, they have contributed to what is known as a Creole culture. The encounter and mixing of Europeans, Africans (Blacks) and Indians has created a unique culture that did not exist before Columbus’ arrival. This unique culture is a compound of the contributions of all races gathered on American soil, and Creole culture defined without the contribution of black people is meaningless. The drums, shared by both Indians and Africans, will be the link

between non-Whites and Europeans. The drum has become the instrument of communication not only between Whites and non-Whites but mostly among Africans themselves. In Africa, as Professor Niangoran Bouah points out in his book *Drummologie*, the way one plays the drum conveys a meaning to the recipients of the drumming. The way one plays for funerals is absolutely different from the way the drum is played during festive gatherings. This 'drummological' concept is not different when it comes to playing the drum in nineteenth century Argentina. The messages that sprung from the drumming by Afro-Argentines were received and understood differently in all communities. The Europeans found the gatherings and drum beating too noisy and pointless, and furthermore, they found the dances that accompanied such drumming to be "provocative" and "lascivious." A very respected Argentine historian, Lucio V. López, described (1881) the dances as a "blur of wiggling behinds in a patch-work of doubtful moderation."¹⁶ Regardless of what this sentence may mean, the fact is that López, as well as his white colleagues, misunderstood the social meaning and the real messages hidden within those African dances. The noise - of the drum and the crowd - made by Afro-Argentines during their gathering could be interpreted as a call for recognition or as an expression of presence. By these terms, I mean that the gatherings of slaves (that usually end in drunken orgies, according to Concolorcorvo) may have been consciously or unconsciously meant to be loud so that the presence of Blacks could be felt in society. It was not enough that they were holding most of the blue-collar jobs in the city, Blacks had to express themselves through the only thing they controlled: their body. Since Blacks were segregated from schools and therefore did not dominate the skills of writing and speaking proper Spanish, the other way they could have communicated in their community was through body language. And music had come not only as a vehicle to express feelings but also, in the words of Paul Gilroy, "to challenge the

privileged conception of both language and writing". He goes on to say that "examining the place of music in the Black Atlantic world means surveying the self-understanding articulated by the musicians who made it."¹⁷ I believe also that drumming in particular and music in general, among the Afro-Argentines, could be an expression of a black person's self through a codified device which is the dance. The codified moves of the dances were copied and executed by the African community in a way that the non-Africans could not understand. because beyond gestures there is 'Africanity.' This Africanness had been expressed so well by one of the Negritude's fathers, Leopold Sédar Senghor (1906-2001) in his paraphrase of Descartes - "*Je danse, donc je suis.*"¹⁸ More than just a simple existentialist view, the expression of dancing is a profound cultural expression of one's own history.

Where does the tango stand in the midst of all of this? What meaning can be given to the tango as a product of Afro-Argentine culture? Does it have any other meaning different from the expression of Blacks through music and dance than that of a communicative device as valid as speech or writing?

This essay mentioned earlier that the musical instruments used in the production of the *milonga*, from which the tango evolved, give away, if not exhaustively at least partially, the African origin of the tango. It went on to say that the tango is an Afro-Argentine product. From that point, one can argue that the tango has been developed from the necessity for Blacks to express their existence within a society that does not recognize them. Furthermore, the so-called lasciviousness of the dance (in its original version as depicted by Ortiz Oderigo, is a response to the non-lasciviousness of the White man behind-closed-doors dances. While the Europeans were dancing quietly in big ballrooms, the low-class Negroes and colored people were crammed in venues in which the slave gained his sense of relative freedom, by being the master -- momentarily -- of a time and space. Those

venues were not closed-doors but open to the public. In this case, one can say that the slave has triumphed over his master, in that the elite-bound dances have not broken the walls in which they were contained, while African drumming and sound bits were flying towards new heights.

The popularization of the tango did not come with the positivists' attitude but rather from the genius of a French immigrant named Charles Gardel. Born in Toulouse in 1890, Gardel, known as Carlos Gardél, went to Argentina and fell so in love with the tango that he helped promote it throughout the world, and particularly in Paris. The point here is that, although the tango is known as being from Argentina, those who created it and gave it to the world have resisted the eclectic idea of the ruling men of the generation of 1880. Also, one should keep in mind that the tango is not the only musical contribution of Blacks to Argentine culture. Another literary and cultural phenomenon is the *payada*.

The *payada* is a form of art that involves the spontaneous singing of poetic verses accompanied by guitar. The *payador*, singer of the *payada*, improvises his lyrics and usually is accompanied by just a guitar or other cord instrument. This form of song has been linked to the *gaucho*, the wandering cowboy of the Argentine pampas, hence the name of gauchesque poetry by which the *payada* is also known.

In the nineteenth century, both the wandering *gaucho* and the urban Black population were marginalized by the white elite rulers of Buenos Aires. But while the latter had been disappearing slowly and melting within the numerous immigrants that came to the shores of Buenos Aires, the *gaucho* as a social character was saved by society, which had recognized the value of his poetic songs. But those two social entities --the *gaucho* and the Black man -- met at the crossroads of history to share what they had in common: music and song. Although there were a considerable numbers of Blacks wandering in the rural areas of Argentina or

working in the *pulperías* [rural bars], there is a fundamental difference between the *payada* produced by the white *gaucho* and that produced by the black *gaucho*. This idea is developed further in the following paragraphs.

Of course, there were also black *gauchos* who, in the rural areas of the country, helped raise cattle and served as cowboys for the rich landlords. Those black *gauchos* met with their white counterparts, one bringing his drum and the other his guitar, and created a literary and cultural phenomenon known as *gauchesque* poetry. The symbiosis between them was so close that scholars like Ortiz Oderigo and George Reid Andrews came to suggest that the *payada* had an African origin.¹⁹ Their argument is that the *payada* sprang from places where Blacks used to gather, or cities that had a considerable number of Blacks. Especially, they mention the case of the duel song (or answer back song) known in Spanish as *contrapunto*, which developed and spread as did jazz among Blacks. But I do not defend this theory because, as I shall show, the *payada* is more of an Arabic tradition rather than an Afro-argentine one. Furthermore, to state that the *payada* is an Afro-argentine invention is to displace the song itself from the rural to the urban venues, which contradicts the link between the *gauchesque* poetry and the wandering *gaucho* of the Pampa. Although there were many Blacks wandering in the countryside, their presence in the untamed rural area was not statistically so sound as to create such a national phenomenon. It is my belief that the *payada* was a rural phenomenon, hence linked to the white *gauchos* who were numerically superior to the Black's rural population. According to the national census of 1778, there were 24,083 inhabitants in Buenos Aires of which 3,837 were Blacks and only 495 Blacks lived among 12,926 souls in the rural areas of the country.²⁰ But in the nineteenth century the Black population was decreasing due to the whitening of Argentina's population through massive immigration. From twenty-five percent of the general population in 1838 (due to a massive introduction of Blacks from Brazil), the number dropped to about two percent by the year 1887.²¹ These numbers tell that the bulk of the Africans were concentrated in Buenos Aires, thus they were not directly linked to the production of the *payada* which is essentially a rural phenomenon.

One can trace the origin of the *payada* or *contrapunto* [duel song] back to the South of Spain. One has to look for the *trovo alpujarreño* [a troubadour genre from *Las Alpujarras*, in the region of Almería, Spain] and the *gauchesque* genre, to see the similarities between both musical genres. In his book on the '*trovo*' genre, José Criado states that this troubadour genre has its origin in the Arabic tradition and the Andalusian Arabs used to "encontrar placer haciendo vibrar las cuerdas de los instrumentos y recitando composiciones poéticas" [rejoyce by playing strings instruments and singing poetic compositions].²² But the Spanish Reconquista of 1492 destroyed that way of living by imposing Catholic values upon Arabic culture. In spite of the social changes brought by the Catholic Kings. one can see the remnants of that Arabic culture and "*la costumbre de crear*

poesia como algo cotidiano, al instante: el trovo" [see the '*trovo*' as the habit of improvising poetry on a daily basis]. The poetry created "*al instante*"[on the spot improvised] corresponds to the *payada* or *contrapunto* found in America. José Criado's idea is defended by Abrahim H. Hallar who links the *gaucho* to the Arabic tradition.²³ Both argue that the Spaniards from Andalucía were the ones who brought the *payada* to the Spanish colonies. Another critic, Carlos Astrada, asserts that the word 'gaucho' comes from the arabic '*chauch*' which mean 'shepherd' or cowboy in Arabic, a profession that perfectly fits the description of the *gaucho*. Also. one can consider the difference in the pigmentation of the skin between the white Creole and the white *gaucho*: the latter's skin is darker than the other's, which shows a striking resemblance to the moors or the Spaniards from the southern coast of Spain.

In any case, the principal similarity between the '*trovo*' and the *gauchesque* genre can be found in the following excerpt, the first is from *Martín Fierro* by the nineteenth century Argentine writer José Hernández and the other, from a Spanish troubadour named "Candiota" who lives currently in southern Spain. First starts *Martín Fierro*:

*Cantando me he de morir
cantando me han de enterrar
y cantando he de llegar
al pie del Eterno Padre;
dende el vientre de mi madre
vine a este mundo a cantar.*²⁴

I'll sing until I die
I'll sing until they bury me
and I'll be singing when I arrive
to the kingdom of the Lord;
from my mother's womb
I came to this world to sing.

Candiota's piece goes as follow:

*Naci en la vida trovando,
Trovando quiero morir
Trovando quiero salir
Del mundo que estoy penando.
Yo siempre voy derramando,
Con mi lengua clara y pura.
Por el mundo cultura,
Lo hago desde mi niñez
Y siempre quiero tener
La talla de mi figura.*²⁵

I was born a troubadour poet
I want to die as a troubadour poet
I want to die singing poetry
Leaving behind my sufferings.
I always go spreading,
in my clear and pure voice,
my culture through the world,
I do it since I was born
and I always want to be up
to the task of my grandeur.

Although more than a century keeps them apart, the similarities in the topic are striking. This may suggest that there is a tradition in the '*trovo*' genre that has spread well beyond the frontiers of Andalucía. Here, one can say that the *payada* is not an African-originated cultural piece but rather a cultural phenomenon in which Afro-Argentines have played a significant role. This role was felt strongly in the last decades of the nineteenth century when black *payadores* like Gabino Ezeiza (1858-1916), Antonio Caguiano (1881-1955), Celestino Dorrego, Federico Curlando (1878-1917), and many more took the stage to show their talent as great *payadores*.

Gabino Ezeiza was the most famous of these. Nicknamed the "payador of the *payadores*" by his fellows Argentine singers,

Gabino gained national recognition thanks to his sharp contrapuntal songs and other musical compositions. In her *Diccionario de payadores*, Amalia Sánchez Sivori wrote a long and complimenting entry on him, showing his commitment not only to the *payada* but, most of all, to the meaning of being an Afro-Argentine during that period. During a contrapuntal encounter, another great *payador*, Maximiliano Santillán (?-1879), challenged Gabino by starting a quartet full of racism: “*¿dónde está este negro poeta / que tanta fama le dan? / diganle que Santillán / a ningún negro respeta*”²⁶ [where is that black poet : who has become so famous? tell him that Santillán / does not show respect to any nigger] Although the contrapuntal songs turn to personal attacks very often, the way Santillán introduced the question of the ‘nigger’ expresses a common view in the society that fits the racial ideology of the rulers. Blacks were endangered species. And Gabino Ezeiza’s poems mostly came as vehicles in the fight for justice and recognition for Blacks. A self-made man who united with the political party *Unión Cívica Radical*. Gabino was influenced by political currents such as Socialism but also by romantic ideals that shaped his vision of Argentina. His *payadas* from the 1880s responded to the political agenda of the ruling party which was wiping out Blacks while recuperating their cultural contributions to the nation. In other words, Gabino’s *payadas* resemble a duel between him (as a symbol of the oppressed) and the rulers (as the oppressors). A clear example can be given by contrasting Gabino’s encounter with yet another great [white] *payador*- Pablo Vázquez.

Vázquez:

*He llegado a una creencia
y en su santuario llamé
y allí he encontrado más fuerza
para luchar con usted.*

Gabino:

*Si es que ha encontrado más fuerza
ya varía la opinión:
fuerza puede hallarla ahora
pero no tener razón.*

Vázquez:

*De que no tenga razón
yo no lo puedo objetar
pero no es usted, Gabino,
quien me tiene de juzgar*

Gabino:

*Yo no le puedo juzgar
Pero no está calculando
De que soy un adversario
y que a mí me está peleando.²⁷*

The real meaning beyond the contrapuntal duel between Gabino Ezeiza and Pablo Vázquez is more political than just simple entertainment. It is a duel between the White man and a

Black man, between the oppressor and the oppressed. When Vázquez states that he has found strength and new faith to fight against Gabino, one can allude to the possibility that this ‘new strength’ is none other than a new positivist and social Darwinist ideology rampant among the white social class. This ideology started back with the generation of 1837, which saw race as the source of the backwardness of the country. One of the most distinguished figure of that generation, Esteban Echeverría, would say that the country was still barbaric because of Blacks and Indians.²⁸ And Sarmiento would agree later on when he writes that “*los males de este país no eran puramente políticos...Radicaban más profundamente en la mestización de indígenas y españoles*”²⁹ [the problems of this country were not only political...they lay fundamentally in the racial mixing of Indians and Spaniards]. The construction of that ideology to get rid of the non-Whites, would become a sanctuary from which Whites would find reason and support to fight against the others. Gabino is likewise aware that he belongs to the ‘others’; he is aware of his social rank - as a Black who has no right to “judge” the White man. So he is prompt to remind Vázquez “*de que soy un adversario / y que a mí me está peleando*” [that I am an adversary / and that you are fighting against me]. The fight is a social combat of vindication. and a fight to recuperate the last dignity of the Negro before his disappearance from the social map.

Unlike the tango which was danced to express the Black man’s existence and momentary freedom, the *payada* was a political weapon to regain possession of Blacks’ basic rights.

In other instances, Gabino Ezeiza has used his poetic talent to respond to the positivist and social Darwinist discourse by referring to the very meaning of *argentineness*. In their intent to whiten the country’s population and secure a long lasting economic progress, the successive Argentine governments were looking for Germans and Englishmen to populate the country. In fact, there was a government dictum which said “*gobernar es poblar*” [to govern is to populate]. But they did not want just anybody to come populate Argentina. In his plea to get more northern Europeans to come settle in Argentina, Juan Bautista Alberdi wrote: “*Queremos plantar y aclimatar en América la libertad inglesa, la cultura francesa, la laboriosidad del hombre de Europa y de Estados Unidos? Traigamos pedazos vivos de ellas y las costumbres de sus habitantes y radiquémoslos aquí*”³⁰ [Do we want to plant and acclimate in America the Englishman’s meaning of liberty, the Frenchman’s culture, the hard working habits of Europe and of the United States? Let’s bring living pieces of them and their culture and let’s plant them here].

But when Alberdi called for Europeans to come and populate Argentina, he was not thinking about Spaniards and Italians, because they were considered to be too africanized. Ironically, it turned out that, out of the almost four million immigrants who came to Argentina between 1880 and 1930, forty three percent were Italians, thirty four percent were Spaniards and the rest were split between French, Turks and

I came across a great belief
in which sanctuary I found myself
and there I found more strength
to fight against you.

If you have found more strength
that changes everything:
you may have found strength now
and still be wrong.

I may not be right
and I can’t deny that,
but it’s not you, Gabino,
who has to be judging me.

I cannot be judging you
but you must keep in mind
that I am an adversary
and you are fighting against me.

other minorities.³¹ The presence of those immigrants has created a resentment among lower class citizens, especially among Blacks whose jobs were taken away by the newcomers. But the presence of those immigrants was felt long before 1880. In 1876, a carnival song was already criticizing the overwhelming presence of the Italians:

Ya no hay negros botelleros There are no more Blacks selling bottles
ni tampoco changador not even a handyman
ni negro que vende fruta nor a single black man selling fruits
mucho menos pescador let alone a fisherman
porque esos napolitanos because those Neapolitans
hasta pasteleros son are even bakers
y ya nos quieren quitar and they want to take away
*el oficio de blanqueador.*³² our job as laundry men.

Gabino Ezeiza's view on the matter went beyond a simple rage or xenophobia. For him, the problem was not the immigrants but rather the very government of Buenos Aires who was holding a double standard policy in term of Argentines' rights. Responding to the discourse of the elite – the discrimination policy - Gabino questions the meaning of Argentineness: what does it mean to be Argentine? The Italian immigrant was given credit for merely being White and the Black Argentine who was born in the land and had fought for the freedom of the country, was denied recognition as a valuable asset to the building of the nation. In a poem full of romantic connotation, Ezeiza sings of the brave founders of the Banda Oriental, known today as Uruguay, and compares their courage to that of Afro-Argentines who have fought for the independence and freedom of their nation:

Heroica Paysandú yo te saludo
hermana de la patria en que naci.
Tus hechos y tus glorias espléndentes
*se cantan en tu patria como aquí.*³³

Brave Paysandú I salute you
 sister of the land where I was born.
 your marvelous and glorious deeds
 are sung in both your country and mine.

Ezeiza's insistence on being part of a country may prove that he completely belongs to it not as an immigrant but as a real Argentine who bears in his soul the culture and meaning of Argentineness. He did not define himself as "Negro" versus "Blanco" [Black vs. White] but rather as Argentine versus non-Argentine. Those who were coming from Europe not knowing the culture and language of Argentina could not pretend to be as Argentine as he was. He was a product of a Creole culture that defines Argentina; and that Creole culture could not be found among the immigrants. His *payadas* and other compositions look more like a contrapuntal duel between him and the authorities, between the White man's discourse and the Black man's answer.

In general, Black men in nineteenth century Argentina have

held two very awkward positions - producers of a fragment of Creole culture and victims of that same culture. Their contribution to the tango and the gauchesque genre brought international recognition to Argentina and yet they have remained victims of a society that did not see them as part of the creolization of the country. Creolism as a product of the combination of Europeans, Africans and Native Indians was completely transformed in the later part of the century because those who were in charge of the nation were more eager to resemble the Europeans than to preserve the unique trait of culture they had gained through the mixture of the mentioned three races. In other words, the transformation from Black culture to White culture was an attempt to annihilate completely the remnants of the old colonial regime characteristics and embrace a new era of progress, defined by Western civilization standards. But did the elite reach its goal - of making Argentina a European nation? The answers could be mixed and unclear. The physical appearance of a society does not necessarily mean that those who are White or Black or Indian have remained so. The skin may betray one's racial background but the true racial traits will be buried deep in the soul of the individual. There are in Argentina, and indeed throughout the Americas, individuals as white as Europeans who are practicing a cultural heritage that belongs supposedly to the inferior race –the African race. Is that a political success or a social failure?

NOTES

¹ Domingo Faustino Sarmiento wrote: "En Buenos Aires, en veinte años más, será preciso ir al Brasil para verlos en toda la pureza de su raza". *Conflictos y armonías de las razas en América*. (Buenos Aires: La Cultura Argentina, 1915) 18.

² Criollo or Creole. Spanish born in the Americas. The term eventually extended to other Europeans who came to the Americas. This immigration has created a Creole culture throughout the Americas.

³ Concolorcorvo, *El Lazarillo de los ciegos caminantes*. (Buenos Aires: Solar, 1942) 325-327.

⁴ Elena de Studer, *La trata de negros en el Río de la Plata durante el siglo XVIII*. (Montevideo: Libros de Hispanoamérica, 1984) 336. All those African dances were seen as lascivious and provocative by the white creoles.

⁵ Actually this was said by Concolorcorvo in his famous *Lazarillo*, but his view sums up the whole perception that the white elite has on the African dances.

⁶ Cited by Donald Castro in *The Afro-Argentine in Argentine Culture. El negro del acordeón*. (Mellen Press, forthcoming) 87.

⁷ African communities known as *naciones* had multiplied under Governor Juan Manuel Rosas, who was using them for political reasons against his liberal rivals. His daughter, Manuela, eventually became the *patrona* of those *naciones africanas*.

⁸ "Blacks love music and more than music, they love the rhythm, with passion" in *La música y la danza de los negros en el Buenos Aires de los siglos XVIII y XIX*. (Buenos Aires: Clío, 1957) 6.

⁹ Lucio V. Mansilla, *Una excursión a los indios ranqueles*. Buenos Aires: Biblioteca de la Nación, 1905.

¹⁰ Vicente Rossi, cited here by Donald Castro in *The Afro-Argentine in Argentine Culture*, p.85.

¹¹ The discussion on this topic was well carried out by Donald Castro in his book on Afro-Argentine culture. Unfortunately he did not acknowledge the nationalistic view of Borges on the subject.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ In an article written for the newspaper *La Prensa* on December 9th, 1979.

¹⁴ From a series of poems published in Argentina's newspapers by Luis Pérez and put together by Emilio Ballagás in *mapa de la poesía negra americana*. (Buenos Aires: Pleamar,

1946) 250.

15 Elena de Studer writes: " Ni se les permitía educarse a sí mismos y en Catamarca se llegó a azotar a un mulato por haberse descubierto que sabía leer y escribir" in *La trata de negros en el Río de la Plata en el siglo XVIII*, p.333.

16 This translation is from Donald Castro and it shows the lack of understanding in the drumming itself.

17 Paul Gilroy, *The black Atlantic. Modernity and Double Conscience*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993) 74.

18 Translation: "I dance therefore I am." Cited by René L. F. Durand in "La figura del negro en el Martín Fierro de José Hernández", p.175.

19 This theory is hard to accept. It would mean that the guitar is African too, which of course is far from the truth.

20 Elena de Studer, *op. cit.*, p.340.

21 Aline Helg. "Race in Argentina and Cuba, 1880-1930: Theory, Policies, and Popular Reaction." *The idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940*, ed. Richard Graham. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990) 43.

22 José Criado, *De trovo con Candiota, 1985-1987*. (Almería (Spain): Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía, 1991) 25.

23 Abraham H. Hallar, *El gaucho y su originalidad arábiga*, (Buenos Aires, 1963).

24 José Herández, *Martín Fierro*. (Garden City, NY:Doubleday, 1962) verses 31-36.

25 José Criado, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

26 Amalia Sánchez Sivori, *Diccionario de payadores*. (Buenos Aires: Plus Ultra, 1979) 69.

27 Sivori, *op.cit.*, p.126.

28 Esteban Echeverría's view can be fully perceived in his short novel *El matadero*, *op. cit.*

29 Domingo F. Sarmiento, *Conflictos y armonías de las razas en América*. (Buenos Aires, 1900) 17.

30 Juan Bautista Alberdi, *Bases y puntos de partida para la organización de la República argentina*. (Buenos Aires, 1852) 39.

31 Aline Helg, *op.cit.*, p.43.

32 Horacio Becco, *Cancionero tradicional argentino*. (Buenos Aires: Hachette, 1960) 33.

33 Sivori, *op. cit.*, p.140.

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Textbook Review Notice

With the simultaneous change of Book Review Coordinator and article submission deadlines, this issue does not contain any textbook reviews. However, the Fall 2003 issue will contain reviews of the following works:

Expanding Empires: Cultural Interaction and Exchange in World Societies from Ancient to Early Modern Times, ed. Wendy Kasinec and Michael Polushin. The World Beat Series 2. Scholarly Resources, 2002.

Peoples and Empires: A Short

History of European Migration, Exploration and Conquest from Greece to the Present, Anthony Pagden. Modern Library Chronicles, 2001.

Traditions and Encounters: A Global Perspective on the Past. 2nd ed., Jerry Bentley and Herbert Ziegler. McGraw-Hill, 2003. Comprehensive review will examine the textbook, online learning center and two web-based exercises, "Tracing the Silk Roads" and "Envisioning the Atlantic World." *Migration in Modern World History 1500-2000*, produced by the World History Center, Patrick Manning, Director. Interactive CD-ROM. Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2000.

The Karl-Lamprecht-Gesellschaft/ European Network in Universal and Global History – a European Affiliate of the World History Association

The Karl-Lamprecht-Gesellschaft Leipzig e.V. was accepted in 2002 by the the World History Association as an affiliated organisation which aim will be the coordination of activities on a European level. For this purpose a first international meeting was held at the Center for Advanced Studies of Leipzig University in September 23-28, 2002. The meeting was part of the International Summerschool of the Leipzig PHD-Program „Transnationalization and Regionalization from the 18th Century to the Present“.

Mathias Middell (Leipzig) in his initial statement about new tendencies in writing World History stressed the influence of the growing interest in the prehistory of the current wave of globalization. *Peer Vries* (Leiden Nijmegen), who raised the methodological problem, how to deal with worldwide interwoven historical items in an adequate way, gave a plädoyer for large transsocietal comparisons. *Patrick O'Brien* (London) focused his presentation on a broad overview of interpretations of technological and economic changes made in metanarratives of Universal History since the 19th century. *Frank Hadler* (Leipzig) dealt with specific forms of the interest in World History to be followed in the

historiographies of East Central Europe as a search for positions of ones own nations in a larger context. *Margarete Grandner* (Vienna) informed about the course in Global History starting at the Vienna University in fall 2002. As a result of long years of preparatory work on that field, she presented the first textbooks. *Edoardo Tortarolo* (Turin) payed attention to the new topics brought into the debate on World History: the combination of universal interpretations of history and genetics in Cavalli-Sforza's project of an Atlas; the new differentiations in the World system approach; the environmental history; the history of epidemics and the systematical comparison of languages in a worldwide scale. He stressed the need for historians, to take these new directions into consideration in order to avoid the danger of a simple change of their traditional narratives. *Carole Adamson* (Stockholm) finally gave a report on the intellectual and organizational success story of the World History Association (WHA), working in the US and confronted with a historical and political roll back towards national history and the superiority of the West.

The critical comments on all the papers proved the difficulty of giving the transnational discussions about World History a more coherent form, even in Europe at the beginning of the 21st century. A round table at September 28 was focused on the question, how to shape a framework for European scholars working on Global history. The speakers mentioned above, to whom belonged *Jürgen Osterhammel* (Konstanz) and *Miroslav Hroch* (Prague) - both for unforeseen reasons where unable to attend the meeting - agreed upon the foundation of a **European Network in Universal and Global History** within the Lamprecht Gesellschaft. The results of the round table can be summarized in seven points:

The aim of the Network is to organize a large scale communication of scholars working in different academic disciplines in several European countries on the field of Universal, World and Global History. According to the

constitution of the Karl-Lamprecht-Gesellschaft the participants of the Leipzig meeting will get in contact with colleagues in order to form an international organisation to be called **European Network in Universal and Global History, (ENIUGH)**. After a change of its constitution this name will be added to the official name of the Karl-Lamprecht-Gesellschaft.

In order to realize the aim of the Network will be held congresses on World History every third year. The first conference will take place in Leipzig in 2005. In its sessions these congresses have to deal with a large spectrum of questions raised by researchers in Europe. In addition to that, the members of the Network will try to bring problems of World History on the agendas of existing scientific organisations. In close connection with the WHA should be organized topical panels in order to present the aims of ENIUGH.

Within the Karl-Lamprecht-Gesellschaft will be shaped an international Steering committee consisting of a still undefined number of representatives from several European countries, the president of the Karl-Lamprecht-Gesellschaft and the local organizer of the next **European Congress of Universal and Global History**. The Steering committee has to make the decisions concerning the agendas of such conferences. The office of the Steering committee is in Leipzig.

In order to activate the communication among the members of ENIUGH, the Steering committee will issue an Newsletter in English. Made in Nijmegen, it will inform about new activities in international research, new books and conferences. The Editorial board of the Leipzig journal *Comparativ* will support the Network in publishing articles, reports and summaries in English. Both publications will be distributed among the members of the Karl-Lamprecht-Gesellschaft/ European Network in Universal and Global History.

The Steering committee is interested in a joined training of doctoral students in World history. Its members will support the coopera-

tion of European universities in producing common university textbooks in printed or electronical versions.

According to the school systems in European countries the Network will try to bring the results of new research on World History into the national curricula.

Members of the Steering Committee are: *Carol Adamson* (Stockholm), *Ida Blom* (Bergen), *Cathérine Coquery-Vidrovitch* (Paris), *Margarete Grandner* (Wien), *Frank Hadler* (Leipzig), *Miroslav Hroch* (Prag), *Attila Melegh* (Budapest), *Matthias Middell* (Leipzig), *Patrick Karl O'Brien* (London), *Edoardo Tortarolo* (Turin), *Peer Vries* (Nijmegen), and *Susan Zimmermann* (Budapest/Berlin).

In December 2002 a workshop on world history in German textbooks took place at the Georg-Eckert-Institut für Internationale Schulbuchforschung in Braunschweig. It was prepared by Hanna Schissler and was the first meeting of practitioners at school and in school administrations of different German regions with researchers in the field of world history. The results of this workshop were resumed in a short proposal to be published in the Georg-Eckert-Institut's academic journal as well as in *Comparativ* within a few weeks. Within such a framework one might expect the introduction of results of the world-history debate into teaching processes at school and related textbooks can accelerate. To encourage such a process and to formulate national standards a working group "World History in German Textbooks" was established in February 2003 as part of the European Network in Universal and Global History.

European Network in Universal and Global History, c/o Matthias Middell, University of Leipzig, Center for Advanced Studies, Emil-Fuchs-Str. 1, 04105 Leipzig; Tel: +49-341-9730232, Fax: +49-341-9605261; e-mail: middell@rz.uni-leipzig.de

The WHA Celebrates Its Twentieth Anniversary in Style

Thanks to the generosity of two publishers, Houghton Mifflin and Prentice Hall, whose respective history editors, Nancy Blaine and Charles Cavalier, generously offered financial assistance to support the costs of a reception at the AHA Annual Meeting in Chicago on January 3, 2003, the WHA was able to celebrate its twentieth anniversary in exceptional style.

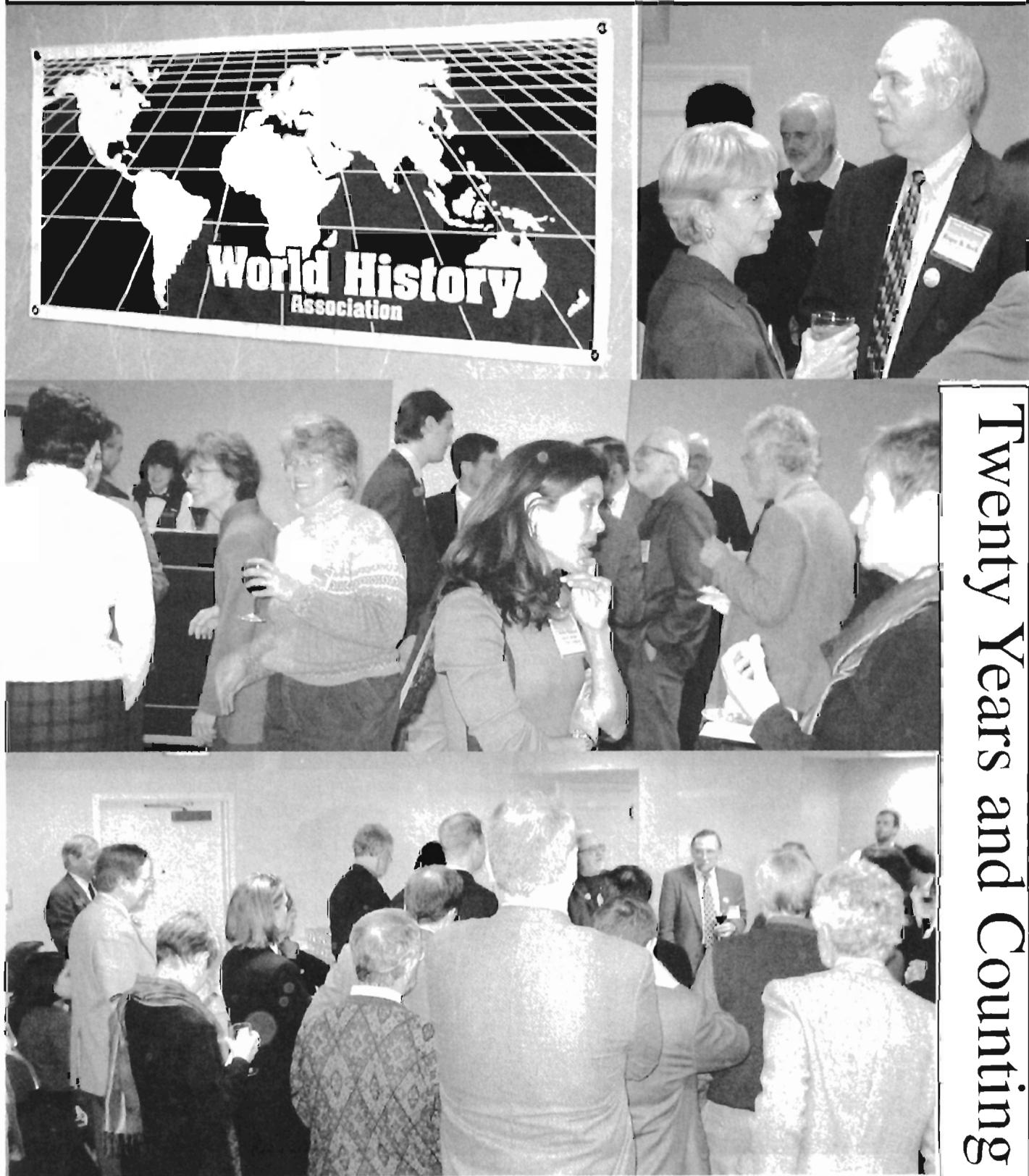
In honor of the occasion, founding WHA President Kevin Reilly gave a short retrospective address (reprinted in this issue), while current President Ralph Croizier spoke of the WHA's recent achievements and plans for the future. Executive Director Kicko Matteson, in turn, thanked members for their generous contributions and efforts in establishing the new WHA administrative headquarters at the University of Hawai'i.

Following the formal presentations, WHA members got down to the business of chatting, carousing, and enjoying the expansive photo montage that Howard and Lisa Spodek had put together from photos contributed by past WHA Secretary Marie Donaghy.

Adding to the festive atmosphere were a new blue and white WHA banner and special twentieth-anniversary poster (reproduced on the cover of this issue), all the creations and contributions of Peter D. Andrea, a graphic designer in Oakland, California. Mr. Andrea generously offered his talents and the costs of producing the banner and posters free of charge, because of his family's long involvement in world history studies.

Members who were not able to attend the reception will have a second chance to view the photos, banner, and posters, as well as purchase an appealing pin version of Peter Andrea's poster design, at the WHA conference in Atlanta in June.

More Photos From the Celebration in Chicago



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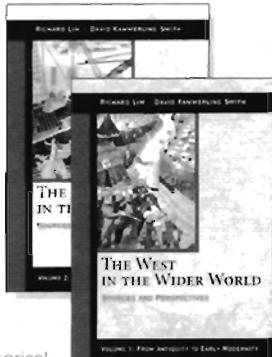
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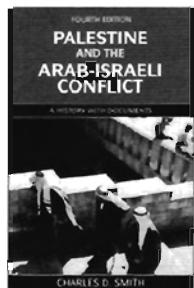
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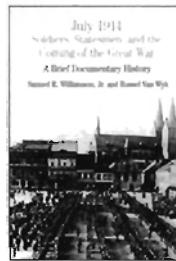
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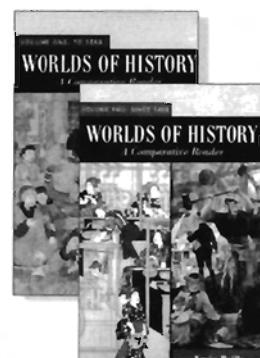
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WHA dues are payable on a yearly basis. During each year, members will receive two issues of the *Journal of World History* and two issues of the *World History Bulletin*. Memberships run on a calendar year. Applications received before September 1 will receive that current year's publications. Applications received after September 1 will begin membership the following January unless otherwise requested. If your address has changed since the last issue of the *World History Bulletin*, please send notification to Roger Beck.

The *World History Bulletin* appears in May and December.