

World History Bulletin

Fall 2006



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Editor's Note



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Greetings. This issue of the *World History Bulletin* includes several essays relating to our Focus Issue, "Latin America in World History." It should be noted from the outset that our utilization of the term "Latin America" is a geographic rather than cultural term. As such, this issue of the *Bulletin* explores the region both prior and subsequent to the arrival of the Spaniards in 1492. The Focus Issue and the Teaching Forum have once again been combined, under the guest editorship of Richard Weiner. In addition to the five original essays dealing with Latin America, the Focus Issue section also includes our "A Look Back" essay from 1997 and two mini-essays from ABC-CLIO. I have also taken the liberty to include an editorial on the Spanish borderland areas of the present-day United States. The included essays by Gregory T. Cushman, Rick Warner, René Harder Horst, Ben Leeming, Suzanne B. Pasztor, and Gary van Valen are each outstanding in their own way. The two mini-essays by Christine Boston and Philippe R. Girard are "sneak-peeks" at a forthcoming project by ABC-CLIO, a supporter of the World History Association.

Highlighting the Teaching Forum section of the *Bulletin* each Fall is the World History Association's Annual Teaching Prize, which was won this year by Maggie Favretti at Scarsdale High School (NY). Her award-winning lesson plan, "Bound by a Silver Chain," is included in a reproducible format.

Peter Dykema has once again put together an outstanding group of book reviews, with topics ranging from the ancient Maya to twentieth-century China. In addition to the five books, there is also a review of a multi-media project looking at the Industrial Revolution.

Rounding off this issue is an essay by Dariusz Adamczyk examining Islamic trade with medieval eastern Europe. Finally, I want to say a word of appreciation to Robert White, who will soon be departing the World History Association Headquarters. I wish him well.

Micheal

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Call For Contributors - World History Bulletin

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

Volume XXIII Number 1 (Spring 2007): *Focus Issue:* Religion and World History.
Deadline: 1 February 2007. *Guest Editor:* Joel Tishken, Columbus State University

Volume XXIII Number 2 (Fall 2007): *Focus Issue:* Science and Technology in World History. *Deadline:* 15 September 2007. *Guest Editor:* Paul Buckingham, Morrisville State College

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

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

Letter from the President

Fall 2006

Dear Colleagues,

The year to date has been a successful and busy one for the World History Association, with our members involved in a number of projects and endeavors. Work on conferences, communication, research, affiliates, and membership has advanced and promoted world history scholarship and teaching. This fall also marks a transition for us with a change in Executive Directors.

Record numbers of you attended our highly successful, annual conference last June in Long Beach, California. Participants perused exhibits; gathered for keynote addresses; attended dozens of workshops; mingled at receptions, lunches, and dinners; and enjoyed the hospitality and beautiful setting of the California State University at Long Beach. We are especially indebted to The CSU Long Beach administration for their support of the conference, to Al Andrea, our Conference Committee chair, and to the WHA Long Beach team on the ground headed by Ken Curtis. Next year's annual conference, "Expanding Horizons: Collapsing Frontiers," promises to be an outstanding one. We'll meet in Milwaukee from June 28 – July 1, 2007; be sure to join us. Check our website, www.thewha.org for updates and registration information on the Milwaukee conference as well as for highlights of previous conferences.

My letter to you last spring outlined three major goals for 2006. Our first goal for this year has been to improve communication among our members. Please visit www.thewha.org to see our updated website developed under the expert, creative direction of Jonathan Reynolds and Jacqueline Swansinger. Still a work in progress, this essential tool for communicating with our members and potential members now contains more information in an engaging, user-friendly, and easily accessible form.

The establishment of a strong research agenda was and continues to be our second goal for this year. Pat Manning, the chair of our Research Committee, directed his group in the development of an international conference, "World History Research Agenda Symposium" to be held November 10 –12. Including presentations from nearly forty scholars from fifteen nations, this meeting will examine and define the direction of scholarship in our field. Further broadening the WHA's international outreach, our Affiliates Committee, chaired by David Christian, is taking steps to increase ties with affiliates in other nations. Long a goal of the WHA, this strengthening of our international ties is currently underway.

Our third goal was to increase our membership. The new chairs of our Membership Committee, Nancy Jorczak and Laura Mitchell began work last summer on restructuring our membership recruitment and retention efforts. Their efforts have already begun to pay off, increasing membership substantially—particularly early in our membership year. We look forward to higher membership numbers to come. Another area of change has been the election of three new members to our Executive Council: Jonathan Reynolds, Kerry Ward, and Bill Zeigler. We welcome them to the Council.

As I highlight above some of our recent activities, I am mindful that within the WHA a number of people work consistently year after year to further the development and teaching of world history. For example, Jerry Bentley edits our award winning *Journal of World History* and Micheal Tarver edits the publication you are now reading. These outstanding examples of the WHA's contributions benefit our discipline, our members, and the larger world history community, as they encourage and disseminate scholarship, promote excellence in world history teaching, and connect us.

In all of the work above, Rob White, our Executive Director, has been invaluable. I am sad to report that Rob is leaving his position this fall. In his time with us Rob has helped bring the WHA forward considerably. We are in his debt. Currently we are in the final stages of filling the position of Executive Director. At the time this publication goes to press, we are not yet able to share the name of the candidate to whom we have offered the position, but we expect that by the time you receive this we shall have a new Executive Director. I wish Rob the best as he leaves us, and I look forward to working with our new director.

I look forward to seeing many of you at the AHA conference in Atlanta this coming January. Look for the WHA sponsored panels and events; we'll see you there.

Sincerely,

Michele Forman

Minutes: World History Association Executive Council, June 22, 2006 California State University Long Beach

The meeting was called to order at 4:25 by Michele Forman, President.

Present:

Officers: Michele Forman, President; Anand Yang, Vice President; Jackie Swansinger, Treasurer; Ane Lintvedt, Secretary; Rob White, Executive Director.

Executive Council Members: Avi Black, Linda Black, Ken Curtis, Adam McKeown, Laura Mitchell, David Northrup, Jonathan Reynolds, John Voll, R. Bin Wong

Others: Ralph Crozier, President ex-officio; Al Andrea, Conference Committee chair; David Christian, Affiliates Committee chair; Pat Manning, Research Committee chair; Jerry Bentley, *Journal of World History* editor; Micheal Tarver, *Bulletin* editor

NB: members had written copies of all the committee reports in advance of the meeting. The discussions below reference rather than repeat the content of those reports.

I. Presidential Statements

A. President Michele Forman explained that she has focused intently on a few specific areas in the first 6 months of her presidency:

1. Becoming familiar with the operations of the Executive Office at University of Hawaii;
2. Working with Jackie Swansinger, Treasurer, to produce a clear format for financial reporting;
3. Beginning a complete overhaul of the WHA website, with the help of Jackie Swansinger, Jonathan Reynolds, and Rob White;
4. Working to configure/reconfigure the Research committee (Pat Manning, chair) and the Membership committee (Laura Mitchell and Nancy Jarzak, co-chairs, the former for college and the latter for k-12 historians);
5. Working with the Program committee for this a future conferences, with the guidance of Al Andrea, chair.

B. Michele sees the following as her future priorities:

1. Working with the Teaching committee, especially when the large numbers of AP classes that are still being introduced and correspondingly large number of teachers who will need training;
2. Finding a new chair for the Nomination committee. Ken Curtis has agreed to stay on as chair until January 2007;
3. Examining the role of the Bulletin within the WHA. Micheal Tarver will chair a committee for future discussion.
4. Supporting the regional and international affiliates. David Christian will chair an Affiliates committee. (Ralph Crozier noted that there are historians in Beijing who will be submitting a proposal for affiliation with the WHA in the near future.)

II. Committee Chair Reports

A. Membership Committee, Laura Mitchell, co-chair

1. Laura exerted considerable effort to make WHA a large presence at the AP World History Reading in Lincoln, NE. She enlisted 122 new and renewing members. She also secured books to be raffled off as a way to advertise the WHA, and handed out blue "WHA Member" stickers for nametags.
2. Laura asked for recommendations for other venues to advertise the benefits of WHA membership, as well as other events, giveaways, or gimmicks. (Jerry Bentley suggested lanyards printed with WHA.)
3. Laura urged that everything used to advertise have the website address on it.
4. Laura suggested that college and university professors encourage graduate students to participate in the AP Reading and in the WHA in general.
5. Discussion: Micheal Tarver, editor of the Bulletin, raised the question about the special introductory membership rate of \$60 for 1-1/2 years offered at the AP reading, and whether that amount actually covered the expenses of the publications. Rob White, Executive Director, answered that these new members only received publications for one year, while they would be members until January 2008, and that this was not any economic liability to the WHA. Jackie Swansinger, Treasurer, wondered if it would be possible to track these new members and see if they come to conferences, renew, and in effect become active members of the WHA.

B. Conference Committee, Al Andrea, Chair

1. Al offered his thanks to our hosts Ken Curtis and Tim Keirn of CSULB, and the Program committee members for their work.
2. This is probably the best-attended WHA conference, with approximately 400 people registering.
3. Al was particularly happy about the number and quality of the sponsors and publishers, whose fees will help enormously with the finances.
4. Al's concerns include that there were far fewer non-US participants in this conference than last year (Morocco). He speculated this was due to travel expenses.
5. Al announced the creation of an International Travel Fund which would exist to help fund non-US participants to attend WHA conferences. In a short time, he has raised \$1500. In his capacity as chair of the Fundraising committee, Al will continue to work on increasing this fund.
6. Adam McKeown noted that 30-40% of the panel proposals for a WHA and WHN (World History Network) Research Symposium have come from foreign scholars because of encouragement of email, and a wide dissemination of the CFP. The travel fund was critical to certain scholars being able to attend the meeting.

7. Al proposed 4 motions, all of which were passed unanimously.
 - i) The WHA's gratitude to the faculty and staff of CSULB.
 - ii) The WHA's gratitude to the local arrangements committee.
 - iii) The WHA's gratitude to the patrons and sponsors listed in the conference program.
 - iv) The WHA's gratitude to the Program committee, Kerry Ward (chair), Joel Tishken, and William Ziegler.
8. Michele Forman added that the WHA is grateful to Al and his committee (Michael Marcus, Joel Tishken, Anand Yang) for all their work on the conference. (Applause)

C. Fundraising Committee, Al Andrea, chair

1. Al noted there was an error in the Program: the patron should be listed as Harley Davidson.
2. Al plans to get together with Pat Manning

D. Student Paper Prize Committee, Al Andrea, chair

1. The deadline for submissions for either the Graduate or Undergraduate paper prize is August 15. The committee would prefer electronic submissions. The prize is \$400 for each of the winning authors.

E. Teaching Prize Committee, Jen Laden, chair (in absentia)

1. Maggie Favretti, of Scarsdale (NY) High School, received the prize for her lesson.
2. Rob White noted that there were only three submissions. We need to find a way to get the word out about the competition. Perhaps *World History Connected* could be used to publicize/advertise the existence of the teaching and student essay prizes.

F. Book Prize Committee, Anand Yang, chair

1. Anand announced that there will not be a Book Prize this year.
2. We had similar problems to the Teaching Prize, with only a few submissions for the book prize, and those that were submitted were not deemed suitable for the prize.
3. Anand suggested that the WHA write letters to the university presses asking them to submit suitable candidates.

G. Affiliates Committee, David Christian, chair

1. David commented that it was harder than he anticipated getting a handle on the status of the affiliated WH groups.
2. He had not motions to put forth, but offered several thoughts or findings for the Executive Council to consider:
 - (i) there are 10 recognized regional affiliates, but 4 of them are inactive;
 - (ii) the California affiliate may be in the process of reconstituting, since there were to be meetings during this WHA conference. Ken Curtis asked about the process for the WHA partially funding a California affiliates' conference in Jan. '07. Michele asked him to present a proposal through David Christian to the Executive Council;
 - (iii) the Australian-Oceania group is moribund;
 - (iv) perhaps the affiliates could use the WHA website and WH Connected to post information on meetings.
3. Discussion: Micheal Tarver asked about the European affiliate headed by Carol Adamson. David said he had had no contact from them. What about the group headed by Mathias Middel in Leipzig? No one knew in particular.
4. On a related topic, David Christian brought up the problem of the semantics of non-US groups being called "affiliates," and speculated that this description smacked of a superior/inferior arrangement, or a certain cultural imperialism. There is an impression among some historians that the WHA is really only for US/North American historians. This is a matter of self-definition for the WHA: are we a national or international organization?

This issue has been raised at WHA meetings Oslo and Morocco, and at the ICSS meeting last summer. For instance, evidently Jurgen Kocher of the International Congress for the Social Sciences is interested in affiliation. We need to create a national framework for international associated in order to apply it to groups like the ICSS.

Anand Yang suggested the phrasing of a group being "affiliated with" the WHA rather than being "an affiliate of" the WHA. Jerry Bentley noted that the AHA uses the phrase "an affiliated society". John Voll said the Organization of Middle Eastern Studies has no membership at all, but is an umbrella group with organizations working within it.

David Northrup pointed out that there is a significant problem with the wording of the WHA constitution on this very point. The constitution would have to be amended, and that is difficult to do. David urged work on amending the constitutional processes, in part with this in mind. Jerry Bentley suggested that affiliated associations be dealt with by using by-laws, rather than constitutional amendments, with language that avoids "national" issues.

John Voll commented that since we (North Americans) plan the international meetings, this lends credence to the (imperialist) idea that we dominate the forum. He urged giving more international voices a role in the planning of our international meetings. Jerry Bentley concurred, and said this sort of re-arrangement would also make it possible for the WHA to join the ICSS. (Linda Black wondered about opening up the WHA officers and Executive Council elections for non-North Americans, but Jerry and Michele pointed out that there would be a significant travel/funding issue involved.) David Northrup then suggested that there are many precedents for joint meetings of associated societies. David Christian supported this by noting the symbolic importance of calling an international meeting "A Joint Conference between the WHA and the European" and Bin Wong added that one could have some joint panels/sessions while each association maintained its own separate sessions.

Michele Forman concluded this discussion by asking David Christian to bring specific proposals to the Executive Council in the near future.

H. The *Bulletin*, Micheal Tarver, editor

1. Micheal recognized and thanked Jonathan Reynolds for guest-editing the last issue on African History. Ken Curtis echoed this appreciation.
2. All back issues have been digitized and sent to Rob White, Executive Director, and should be available online through www.thewha.org shortly.
3. Micheal said that the publication of the January 2006 minutes of the WHA Executive Council meeting in *World History Connected* was a matter of concern for a number of reasons: the *Bulletin* is the publication of record for the WHA and official announcements should appear there first; the Univ. of Illinois, which hosts *WHC*, holds copyrights on all materials, and therefore WHA official business would be unavailable to the *Bulletin* (or elsewhere) under copyright restrictions.
4. Discussion: Anand Yang pointed out that minutes of a meeting are not considered copyrighted materials, since they are not "authored works." David Northrup acknowledged Micheal's work on the *Bulletin* and his sensitivity to this issue, but noted that the *WHC* was an official publication of the WHA, and that the copyright issue was a red herring. The idea of the *Bulletin* being a publication of record has nothing to do with who publishes something first. David said he saw two issues: one of timeliness, and the other of permanence, and that the advantage of timeliness (*WHC*) is not contradictory to having a permanent printed version of WHA business in the *Bulletin*. Laura Mitchell concurred with David, noting that speed of information would benefit her job of recruiting membership, in that *WHC* could provide more forums for discussion in a timely manner. Ralph Crozier wondered about posting the minutes of the WHA Executive Council meetings in an abbreviated "press release" format on *WHC* before their full publication in the *Bulletin*.

Micheal commented that if *WHC* was an official publication of the WHA, then why was the SEWHA affiliate told it would have to pay \$10 to advertise its fall meeting? All agreed this was inappropriate, and Ane Lintvedt said she would make sure the editors corrected this oversight.

Michele Forman commented that the WHA needed to use all of its organs of communication, and that she would be setting up a committee to look at the relationship and functions of the *Bulletin* and *World History Connected* within the WHA.

I. *World History Connected*, Ane Lintvedt, *WHC* Book Review Editor

Ane apologized for not having a report available for this meeting. The two co-editors (Heather Streets and Tom Laichas) each had last-minute, extenuating circumstances that prevented them from preparing a timely report. The report will be sent to the Executive Council members by email later in the summer.

J. Teaching Committee, Ane Lintvedt, (for Heidi Roupp, chair, *in absentia*)

Ane highlighted three areas of note.

1. The AP World History program continues to grow. More than 85,000 students took the exam in May 2006, a 31% growth from 2005. This also probably means that there is a large percentage of teachers who are new to a rigorous World History course. There is also a continuing need for world historians at all levels to help score/grade the exam;
2. Professionally, there are 3 venues that should attract k-12 or even k-16 teachers belong: NCSS (National Council for the Social Studies), AHA, WHA. Teaching is not the primary emphasis of the AHA; and at the moment the national leadership of NCSS seems to be almost hostile to world history as a field. The WHA might consider whether it is worth the time and effort to encourage World History teachers who are members of NCSS to run for a place on their national board of advisors.
3. National Standards. The continuing pressure to issue national standards for k-12 teaching will soon include World History. NAEP (National Assessment of Educational Progress, *aka* the Nation's Report Card) plans to evaluate World History in 2012, and by doing so, set/reset national standards for k-12 teaching, and by extension, undergraduate and graduate preparation of history majors, teachers, and professors of history. In addition, NCATE (National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education) has worked with NCSS to develop social studies standards (not *history* standards). In the May issue of *Perspectives*, the AHA has just taken on NCATE with a highly-critical article, which follows a Forum Discussion about the AHA's abdication from the K-12 standards debates in the *American Historical Review* last spring. It seems like a propitious time for the WHA to join ranks with the AHA in these matters.
4. Discussion: Linda Black, who has served on the NCSS Board, commented that she thinks that NCSS suffers from a lack of institutional memory, as well as a lack of a professional program staff, and that NCSS isn't hostile to the WHA and world history as much as it is merely uninformed. Ken Curtis maintained that, in regards to standards, the key is to mobilize world historians at the state level, and that getting teachers involved with NCSS at the state/district levels would also be more effective than trying to influence the national levels. (Linda Black concurred, noting there is no member of WHAT involved at the state level of Texas NCSS.) Ken noted that another threat to NCSS (other than a perception that WHA may be a threat) is NCHE -- National Council for History Education. NCHE was originally a breakaway group from NCSS whose members wanted history (not social studies) education. It has some politically conservative backing, financial and intellectual. Ken attended the NCHE meeting in Texas and remarked that he was very well received, and that WHA and NCSS members should consider submitting panels for NCHE meetings in order to showcase how world history should be taught. Avi Black added his support to the idea of encouraging WHA members to get involved at grassroots levels of professional teacher training, and that state branches of NCHE will be more responsive than the national level.

K. Pre-Conference Teaching Institute, Avi Black, director

1. Twenty-five middle and high school teachers attended the first Northern California WHA Pre-Conference on June 3. Entitled "Getting the BIG Picture: World History in the U.S./The U.S. in World History", the event presented participants with the opportunity to engage in discussion and practice around the integration of U.S. and world history curriculum and teaching.
2. Avi noted that this could serve as a model for other workshops and conferences in its linkage with the WHA conference, in its use of Teaching American History grant funding, and in its model of involving teachers of grades 7-12 in cross-level discussions.

L. Research Committee, Pat Manning, chair.

1. The WHA and the World History Network are sponsoring a Research Symposium at the University of Pittsburgh on Nov. 10-12, 2006. The conference organizers have received 62 proposals, many of which were from non-US scholars. University of Pittsburgh has contributed \$10,000 for expenses. Précis of the papers will be online in November.
2. Pat would like the WHA to apply for membership in the ACLS (American Council of Learned Societies). He will have a formal proposal for this at the January meeting.

M. Executive Director's Report, Rob White, Executive Director.

Rob White noted he focused on three objectives in the last 6 months: to improve communication with the Executive Council, to hire a new administrative assistant for the office, and to make substantial improvements to the WHA website.

1. Rob has worked to improve his responses to emails and faxes and to establish fixed office hours. He has worked with Jackie and Michele to format a financial report that is both comprehensible and reproducible.
2. Rob hired Leslie Miller, a graduate student at University of Hawaii, as his Administrative Assistant. Rob and Leslie spent much of the last 6 months organizing the June conference.
3. Jackie Swansinger and Jonathan Reynolds presented some options for a new WHA logo, which they will send to the Exec. Council via email. Jonathan Reynolds said he envisioned about 30 "layers" on the website, and that this was a huge opportunity to be on the cutting edge of academic websites. He would appreciate comments and suggestions sent to him, Jackie, or Rob White. Rob added that Executive Council members can have an email account with the suffix <.thewha.org> if they wished, and it could link to their primary email accounts.
4. Future initiatives will include:
 - a. An audit. Rob said it has been difficult to secure the services of a firm to do an audit of the WHA finances, but he will continue to pursue this. (The firm that does the taxes won't do it; other firms won't audit without also doing the taxes.) He noted, however, that 80% of finances have been through the website, and therefore there is a third-party, paper trail of most of WHA's finances. Rob also asked how the council members felt about selling the WHA email list. There was a general negative response to this, although it could be possible to add a button on the website asking if people objected to this. Another inquiry he has was how we define our "year" and what that means for membership sign-up in mid-year, for example.
 - b. Defining Leslie's responsibilities;
 - c. Tracking committees' work and reports;
 - d. Contacting publishers for potential Prize books

N. Finance Committee, Jackie Swansinger, Treasurer

In response to Michele's request for questions on the Finance report, David Northrup asked why there were repeated statements that June will balance out discrepancies. Rob White explained that, between a lack of an assistant and planning for the conference, he was a month behind in accounting for membership renewals and there were many new members from the AP reading, as well as profits from the conference. When those are accounted for, we should be at approximately the same place financially we were in June 2005.

Jackie Swansinger noted that now that there is an agreed-upon and reproducible financial reporting format, it will be great to be able to look at the WHA's financial patterns over time, especially cash-flow issues. She said the deficit is small, especially when the added expense of \$6600 to World History connected was taken into account.

Rob White said that Carter Findlay, who oversees the endowment, would like a plan for succession. Ralph Crozier asked when and how we envisioned spending the endowment, and Michele answered that with two employees, she was in no hurry to make those sorts of plans. John Voll also noted that lifetime memberships were rolled into the endowment temporarily, and those fees would be taken out when membership fees were due. David Northrup added that those pre-paid lifetime memberships should appear as liabilities on the financial statement. Jackie noted that when oversight of the endowment changes hands, that would be a good time to consider at what point and for what purposes the WHA could use a percentage of its endowment.

Michele Forman adjourned the Executive Council meeting at 7:30 pm.

Respectfully submitted,
Ane Lintvedt, Secretary

Focus Issue & Teaching Forum

“Latin America in World History”

Richard Weiner

Guest Editor

LATIN AMERICA AND DECENTERING WORLD HISTORY

There appears to be a consensus amongst Latin Americanists that Latin America is marginalized in world history. A recent edition of Hispanic American Historical Review (HAHR) that was dedicated to examining Latin America's position in world history (and especially in world history textbooks) came to this conclusion,¹ and articles by Ben Leeming, Suzanne Pasztor and Rick Warner in this edition of World History Bulletin (WHB) make this same critique. Furthermore, since Pasztor's article originally appeared in a 1997 edition of WHB it seems things have not changed much over the past decade or so. While the scholars writing in HAHR and WHB make several criticisms, there are a couple of recurring overarching complaints. Pasztor voices one of them: “many texts . . . reflect certain biases . . . which . . . suggest to students that . . . [Latin America] is somehow less than crucial to understanding the world.” Pasztor supports this assertion by showing that Latin America is largely left out of the traditional world history narrative. The second objection is intimately linked to the first. Jeremy Adelman, in his contribution in HAHR, puts it this way: “Europe . . . was the agentic history maker and Latin America a reactive place whose history only made sense as part of a logic governed by a whole, a whole that had a distinctly centered European makeup.”² In Adelman's critique Latin America is present in the story, but marginalized and passive nonetheless.

What accounts for Latin America's unimportance in traditional accounts of world history? WHB and HAHR authors both respond to this query, even if the latter concentrate more on the question. One answer emphasizes that world history is a relatively new field of research and teaching. Many world history texts evolved out of older Western Civilization texts. Consequently,

Latin America (and other parts of the Third World) was more of an “add-on” than anything else. This “first in the West, then on to the rest” approach minimizes Latin America's significance.³ (One positive piece of news is that some world history textbooks—especially some of the newer ones—reject this framework.⁴) A second response centers on topics examined: world history's tendency to focus on the “big questions,” particularly related to technology and development, automatically marginalizes less advanced economic regions such as Latin America.⁵ If the first two answers apply to all parts of the so-called “Third World,” the last one is specific to Latin America: Latin America is treated as “atypical.” It does not fit into larger patterns or categories, which makes it difficult to integrate the region into a world history narrative. This perspective suggests Latin America is neither Western nor non-Western. And the region's historical trajectory departs from other colonized regions of the world such as Asia and Africa. When Europeans were colonizing Latin America their dominant form of interaction with Asia and Africa was commercial exchange facilitated by “fortified posts.”⁶

Will this marginalization of Latin America continue? Erick Langer, in his introduction to the HAHR edition on Latin America and world history, makes a number of assertions that suggest that change will not come quickly. He cites practices in the textbook industry which discourage change, the regional/national focus of academic scholarship which thwarts a global research agenda, and heavy teaching loads which hinder instructors from learning more about Latin America.⁷ Langer's contentions are sensible.

Nevertheless, there are two developments that have the potential to counter the status quo. One has to do with specialties within the discipline and hiring practices. At the university level, positions in world history are becoming more prevalent. My impression from reading of the job ads over the past few years is that there is a tendency to fill these world history positions with

*historians who specialize in non-Western regions, including Latin America. Consequently, it is likely that more Latin Americanists will take positions in world history, which will probably increase the region's visibility in world history. This same development is occurring on a smaller geographical scale. More positions in Atlantic history are being created and many of them are being filled by Latin Americanists, who have a framework to insert Latin America into a larger regional context. Now for the second development: some current research trends counter the dominant narrative in world history by paying greater attention to Latin America and other marginalized world regions. Some of these academic trends are present in the HAHR articles as well as those published in this edition of WHB. Acknowledging this research, Langer concludes that the HAHR articles are a “good starting point” in the project of increasing Latin America's visibility in world history.⁸ An umbrella term that all this research might fit under is “decentering,” a word that Adelman employs to elucidate the philosophy he and his co-authors embraced when writing *Worlds Together, Worlds Apart*, a world history textbook. “That is,” Adelman explains, “we were aiming to ‘decenter’ Europe.”⁹*

“Decentering” perhaps has a postmodern tone about it. But what struck me is that it resonates with a vision that José Vasconcelos, the influential Latin American intellectual during the age of the Mexican Revolution, articulated.¹⁰ Vasconcelos acknowledged the dominance of Europe and the United States, but nevertheless challenged their hegemony in a number of ways. One way was reminiscent of Adelman's contention that world “centers” come and go, for Vasconcelos showed just that.¹¹ Vasconcelos acknowledged that during his own life time — an era when he said that the coal consuming nations reigned — Mexico was not a dominant world power. But his analysis suggested that previously — during the colonial silver age — Mexico's international influence had been significant and he predicted that in a future era—an epoch when

electricity would determine global power — Mexico would rise again (thanks to the nation's mountainous topography). His observation that in the present-day Americas civilization moved from North to South but during the pre-Columbian era the opposite had been the case also underscored that power centers shifted over time. Perhaps a bit contradictorily, he also “decentered” (to use Adelman’s term) by redefining the attributes of the center in a way that favored Latin America. His notion of greatness comprised not only the traditional topics of economics, politics and modernity, but also less common realms he maintained Latin America was particularly strong in: literature and spirituality.

If “decentering” is not new, it is nonetheless a contemporary scholarly trend that can potentially enhance Latin America’s place in world history (and other marginalized regions of the world for that matter). After all, “decentering” can be construed as an abbreviated way to say contesting Europe’s central place in world history.¹² Even if the articles in this issue of WHB do not employ the term “decenter” they nevertheless do just that by highlighting Latin America’s significance to world history. I have categorized the approaches the articles take into three types of “decentering.” There is nothing systematic or formal about my categories. Rather, I have based them on three general trends in world history scholarship. Undoubtedly, others would divide the literature up according to different criteria. Additionally, there is no clean line between the “types” since there is a large degree of overlap. In fact, some articles fit under more than one. Let me briefly explain these “types.” The first one challenges Europe’s centrality by focusing not on winners and losers in the race to modernity, but rather transnational connections. In this scholarship emphasis is mostly put on how the global puzzle parts link together as opposed to which nations have superior “pieces.” A second “type” contests the dominant world history narrative by telling an unconventional story. My third “decentering” type, the one least frequently used in this group of WHB articles, challenges the conventional narrative not by telling a new one, but rather by contending that Latin America’s role in the standard story has been undervalued.

The increasing popularity of the first “type” is perhaps, in part, a consequence of all the attention to “globalization” over the past decade or so, which has encouraged scholars to look at a wide variety of links between different world regions. Paradoxically, a scholarly reaction against some general assumptions about globalization has also inspired an examination of transnational and cross-cultural interactions. Historians, maintaining that globalization has wrongly been conceived as a new phenomenon, have shown that in previous centuries there was a high level of interaction between world regions.¹³ Scholarship on commodity chains is an example of this transnational approach to Latin American history. Scholars trace the international history

of commodities by examining their production, transport, and consumption, thereby linking producers and consumers.¹⁴ Reflecting changing academic concerns, the literature on commodity chains has more of a transnational focus than the dependista brand of Latin American economic history that reigned a generation ago. Dependistas focused on just one aspect of the international economic story: industrialized nations’ impact on Latin America.¹⁵ Many of the articles in the HAHR special edition on world history advocate a transnational and cross-cultural approach. Susan Besse makes the case this way: “Shifting from narratives that emphasizes progress toward ones that emphasize cross-cultural interactions opens many possibilities; not only does it decenter Europe, but it also moves beyond narratives that measure significance by traditional standards of influence and acknowledges the agency (and not just the victimization) of Latin American societies and peoples.”¹⁶

Most of the articles in WHB, to one degree or another, take this cross-cultural approach. Gregory T. Cushman’s piece on Cuban cooking is a particularly inventive example. Cushman employs the novel structure of a recipe for Ajíaco, a popular Cuban stew, to tell a tale of cross-cultural relations that privileges exchange over issues such as hierarchy and power. Indeed, not only are ingredients blended in his recipe, but also a variety of animals, crops, microbes, and peoples from different corners of the globe. Along the way of telling this fascinating transnational story, Cushman finds time to critique scholarship (Alfred Crosby’s *Ecological Imperialism* and Jared Diamond’s *Guns, Germs, and Steel*), discuss Cuban national identity, and suggest a hands-on classroom activity. Gary Van Valen’s article aptly titled “the Caribbean as Crossroads of World History,” also highlights exchange. After recounting and rejecting a number of definitions of the Caribbean, he settles on a thematic approach in which the region’s defining feature is its “constant and intimate contact with the outside world.” He proceeds to discuss the region’s robust and diverse ties Europe, Africa, the United States, and other parts of Latin America. He maintains that owing to its constant contact with the outside that the Caribbean is more cosmopolitan than some parts of Latin America. He also underlines the region’s significant roles in global trade and production. He further enhances the region’s stature in world history by recounting the ways the Caribbean’s culture (particularly music and literature) has been influential abroad.

If Cushman’s and Valen’s type of decentering increases Latin America’s visibility in world history by emphasizing exchange, René Harder Horst’s and Suzanne Pasztor’s type enhances the region by telling alternative stories. One of the HAHR contributors also champions this latter approach: “Latin America and other marginalized places might be better served—and the history of the world better conveyed—by rewriting the fundamental story.”¹⁷ This approach has an

appeal, especially for those who seek to increase Latin America’s visibility. Indeed, Latin Americanists who study conventional themes are often forced to explain why their region failed. An influential work by Stephen Haber on 19th century Latin American economic development sought to explain why the region fell short. The title underscores the area’s inadequacy: *How Latin America Fell Behind*.¹⁸

Decades ago Octavio Paz, the noted Mexican writer, advocated an approach to development that contrasted sharply with Haber’s.¹⁹ Paz underscored the importance of departing from prevailing scripts to contest the dominance of the developed world. Paz argued that the post World War II binary categories that divided the globe up into developed and underdeveloped regions, or First and Third Worlds, created a master narrative that made Latin America and other parts of the South (the North-South divide was yet another synonymous binary) marginalized. Developed nations, Paz maintained, stacked the deck, in effect, when they created a series of international measuring rods which made them superior to “underdeveloped” nations.²⁰ Horst and Pasztor bring Latin America into the picture by creating new yardsticks, ones that emphasize not modernity, but indigenous peoples of the Americas. Their scholarship seems to build on a general disillusionment with western notions of progress (which tends to valorize alternatives such as indigenous medicines as opposed to western ones) as well as subaltern studies. A classic and influential study of Latin America in this vein is E. Bradford Burn’s *The Poverty of Progress*, a generation-old work that took an indigenous perspective and rejected western notions of progress.²¹ Horst examines the 1930s Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay from the vantage point of indigenous people and shows that they played pivotal roles on both sides. Not only did they have an impact on the military conflict, but also over the long term, for brands of indigenista movements later developed in both countries. Pasztor’s wide-ranging overview of Latin America from the pre-Columbian era to the modern period underscores the resilience of indigenous culture and the significance of indigenous peoples including the Maya and others. Pasztor also discusses several books and films that have proved helpful in her effort to make indigenous people more central to the world history narrative.

Cushman’s piece also falls into the alternative narrative category, for cuisine is generally not featured in world history. His unconventional story is perhaps inspired by Crosby’s work as well as history’s more cultural turn in recent years. The increasing international popularity of Latin American food (especially in the United States) makes cuisine a promising topic to insert Latin America into world history. Micol Seigel’s contribution to the aforementioned HAHR issue also reflects history’s growing interest in cultural themes as well as scholars’ desire to find substi-

tutes to the dominant world history narrative. She advocates a thematic approach to world history and provides a thumbnail sketch of what a global of history of jazz might look like. She contends that this unconventional approach would make Latin America more prominent: "Jazz is a good example of a thematic world history that respects Latin America because so much of the musical exchange provoking and fueling the developments we now call jazz took place south of the Rio Grande and along the border zones within the United States proper."²² Steven Topik's teaching and scholarship on the global history of coffee is an example of the thematic approach that Seigel advocates.²³

Articles in this edition of WHB also make Latin America more prominent by utilizing a strategy that is the antithesis of creating totally new narratives in world history. Ben Leeming's provocative piece on the ancient Americas is the most clear-cut example of this alternative approach, which is the third type of decentering mentioned above. Leeming does not advocate creating a novel story, but rather making Latin America more prominent in the traditional one. He proposes including Peru "as the location of a fifth early complex society alongside those of Sumner, Egypt, Harappa, and China." Currently the Peruvian site is overlooked, as Leeming's review of leading world history textbooks clearly indicates. Leeming's case for including the Peruvian site revolves around queries about the timing and nature of Peruvian societies: when did Peruvian early societies form and how complex were they? He makes a compelling case for including Peru as the fifth early complex society, which is based on an informative discussion of recent research by experts in the field. Rick Warner's short but stimulating essay also makes a strong argument for giving Latin America more visibility in the traditional world history narrative. Warner's topic is important cities in transnational exchange. He laments that "Panama City rarely makes the list of cosmopolitan stopovers in the first half of our modern world history surveys." He makes his case for including Panama based on the city's significant role in the transatlantic silver trade. Along with making Panama an important site in the international economy, silver attracted a colorful cast of cosmopolitan characters — among them pirates — to the city.

Recent scholarship published in other places also enhances Latin America's place in world history by giving the region a more prominent place in a typical narrative. Work by Carlos Marichal on international debt and finance is a case in point. One of his earlier studies showed that while nineteenth century global financial crises usually originated in Europe, at times they started in Latin America (specifically Argentina).²⁴ In a more recent study of colonial international finances he elevated New Spain to the level of "sub-empire" within the Spanish colonial system since much of Spain's overseas expansion into the Spanish Caribbean was financed with Mexican

silver.²⁵ Jaime Rodríguez's work on Latin American independence also bolsters the importance of the region by showing the resilience of political democracy.²⁶ Finally, Kenneth Pomeranz's *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* elevates Latin America's importance by underscoring the importance of the region to Europe's Industrial Revolution.²⁷

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¹ *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84:3 (August, 2004).

² Jeremy Adelman, "Latin America and World Histories: Old and New Approaches to the Pluribus and the Unum," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84:3 (August 2004): 404.

³ Micol Seigel, "World History's Narrative Problem," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84:3 (August 2004): 433.

⁴ See Robert Tignor et al., *Worlds Together, Worlds Apart: A History of the Modern World from the Mongol Empire to the Present* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002).

⁵ Susan Besse, "Placing Latin America in Modern World History Textbooks," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84:3 (August 2004): 421.

⁶ Lauren Benton, "No Longer Odd Region Out: Repositioning Latin America in World History," *American Historical Review* 84:3 (August 2004): 423-5.

⁷ Erick Langer, "Introduction: Placing Latin America in World History," *American Historical Review* 84:3 (August 2004): 395-6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 398.

⁹ Adelman, "Latin America and World Histories," 407.

¹⁰ José Vasconcelos, "The Latin American Basis of Mexican Civilization," in *Aspects of Mexican Civilization*, eds. Manuel Gamio and José Vasconcelos (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), 3-102.

¹¹ Adelman, "Latin America and World Histories," 406.

¹² This is my definition of decentering. The decentering endeavor that Adelman and his co-authors engaged in was more specific than this. Adelman, "Latin America and World Histories," 407.

¹³ An anthology on borders in Latin American history that I co-edited posed a question: to what extent is globalization a new phenomenon? See Raúl Galloppe and Richard Weiner, eds., *Explorations on Subjectivity, Borders, and Demarcations: A Fine Line* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005). For an excellent essay that questions the novelty of globalization see Michael Lang, "Globalization and its History," *The Journal of Modern History* (December 2006) 78:4 [forthcoming].

¹⁴ See Steven Topik, Carlos Marichal, and Zephyr Frank, eds., *From Silver to Cocaine: Latin America Commodity Chains and the Building of the World Economy, 1500-2000* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

¹⁵ For a sophisticated classic in this genre see Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979). For an extremely popular work in this vein see Eduardo Galeano, *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*, 25th Anniversary Edition (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1997).

¹⁶ Besse, "Placing Latin America in Modern World History Textbooks," 413-414.

¹⁷ Seigel, "World History's Narrative Problem," 431.

¹⁸ Stephen Haber, ed., *How Latin America Fell Behind* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997). John Coatsworth has done some excellent research in a similar vein. He uses statistics to chart changes in comparative regional growth over time. See his work, "Structures, Endowments, and Institutions in the Economic History of Latin America," *Latin American Research Review* 40: 3(October 2005): 126-144. By the same

author see "Presidential Address: Welfare," *American Historical Review* 101: 1 (February 1996): 1-12.

¹⁹ Even though Haber's focus is not helpful for elevating Latin America's place in world history I still think it is very useful. The questions he poses were also articulated by 19th century Latin American intellectuals: why are we behind? For studies that examine the ways 19th and 20th century Mexicans wrestled with this question see Richard Weiner, "Economic Thought and Culture in Revolutionary Mexico: Carlos Díaz Dufoo's Critique of the Humboldtian Narrative of Mexico's Legendary Wealth," *História e Economia* (Fall, 2006) [forthcoming]; and Richard Weiner, "El declive económico de México en el siglo XIX: una perspectiva cultural," *Signos Históricos* 12(July-December, 2004): 68-93.

²⁰ Octavio Paz, "Development and Other Mirages," in *The Labyrinth of Solitude and Other Writings*, Octavio Paz (New York: Grove Press, 1985), 238-284.

²¹ E. Bradford Burns, *The Poverty of Progress* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

²² Seigel, "World History's Narrative Problem," 445.

²³ See Steven Topik and William Gervase Clarence-Smith, eds., *The Global Coffee Economy in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, 1500-1989* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

²⁴ Carlos Marichal, *A Century of Debt Crises in Latin America: From Independence to the Great Depression, 1820-1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

²⁵ Carlos Marichal, *La bancarrota del virreinato: Nueva España y las finanzas del imperio español, 1780-1810* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999).

²⁶ Jaime Rodríguez, *The Independence of Spanish America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

²⁷ Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*.

Cooking a Cuban *Ajiaco*: The Columbian Exchange in a Stewpot

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[Images added by WHB]

Ajiaco is a multiethnic stew popular in many parts of Latin America and the Caribbean. The Cuban version of this highly-adaptable dish dates back to the sixteenth century. From the beginning, it mixed meats, vegetables, and condiments originating from all over the world. Cuban *ajiaco* provides an ideal vehicle for illustrating the geographical patterns and historical processes of the Columbian exchange: the global interchange of animals, plants, and microbes between the Old and New Worlds in the wake of the Columbian voyages of the late



fifteenth century. It is particularly suitable for emphasizing the influence of Africans in this process and for correcting Alfred Crosby's ethnocentric presentation of ecological imperialism as "the biological expansion of *Europe*."¹ *Ajiaco* also played a significant role in twentieth-century discussions of Cuban national identity. But unlike highland Colombia's version of the *ajiaco* (based on chicken and potatoes) and the Dominican Republic's *sancocho* (virtually identical to Cuban *ajiaco*), this simple, working-class dish — typically served to agricultural laborers at the main, midday meal — has never achieved a high status in Cuba's national cuisine. This fact reveals the sort of prejudices that go into the "invention of tradition."²

Thanks to the accelerating globalization of our food supply, the varied (and variable) ingredients of a Cuban *ajiaco* are readily available in the United States, not only in traditional centers of Caribbean immigration like New York and Miami, but also in an ever-increasing number of "heartland" cities with Hispanic immigrant enclaves. For example, in the northern suburbs of Nashville, Tennessee, where I grew up, I can now purchase all the ingredients for a Cuban *ajiaco* at a large, but otherwise unexceptional supermarket located just down the street from President Andrew Jackson's former plantation home. Cooking an *ajiaco* only requires the most basic of cooking skills: peeling, cutting, chopping, boiling, and stirring. Even novice cooks can produce a good *ajiaco*. It is also highly suitable for hands-on, interactive teaching and can be adapted to a wide-range of classroom settings (for example, I have cooked stews for a third-grade bilingual classroom and for my university-level course in world environmental history). Therefore, I have organized the following history of the *ajiaco* in the form of a recipe. Its ingredients can be shown to, fed to, or (with some prior, time-saving or safety-conscious preparation) cooked by a class.

The following recipe for *ajiaco criollo* derives from three sources, themselves representative of Cuba's recent history:

1. a 1960s cookbook compiled by home economist Nitza Villapol, "a Cuban Julia Child of sorts." She starred for years in the TV show *Cocina al minuto* (Cooking to Order) and converted from a pre-revolutionary shill for U.S. consumer goods into a post-revolutionary activist responsible for teaching Cuban homemakers how to put a cheerful face on shortages.³ This book is

widely available in English translation — although often under different "authorship" — thanks to a shameful tendency among some Cuban exiles to appropriate trademarks and intellectual property without permission as recompense for property lost since the 1959 Cuban Revolution.⁴

2. a nostalgic cookbook compiled by Cuban exile Mary Urrutia Randelman that recalls her "joyous, hopeful, and privileged life" as a child in "prosperous postwar Cuba." Its excellent recipes are far better adapted to North American ingredients and tastes, and its autobiographical vignettes to ruling-class sensibilities: "*Papitas del Yacht Club*: more like manna than potato chips, . . . were the favorite of children and adults at the Havana Yacht Club."⁵

3. ample experience and conversation in the kitchens of my wife's family, on both sides of the Florida Strait. This oral tradition is rooted in the countryside and cities of Holguín province in eastern Cuba, and it provides a corrective to the tendency of histories of cuisine to rely heavily on cookbooks authored for a bourgeois audience. (Perhaps most importantly, the *ajiacos* I have cooked based on this training have met with enthusiastic approval from Cuban nationals.)

Besides explaining how to prepare each ingredient for an *ajiaco*, I will also trace a likely path for most of its ingredients from their initial domestication in ancient times to their place in the modern Cuban diaspora.⁶ Ideally, to provide a hands-on spatial activity, teachers should provide students with a series of blank world maps and have them draw these routes for each ingredient. The following interpretation portrays the Columbian exchange as one, relatively late phase of a long, global history of crop and animal exchanges. It also makes clear that the Columbian exchange has never really ended — and that even the most traditional dishes are capable of change over time as societies adapt to new circumstances.

Carnes (meats)

Cut $\frac{1}{2}$ pound of *tasajo* (salt-dried beef) into 3-4 large pieces and soak overnight in a large bowl; throw away the water when finished. Place the *tasajo* and $\frac{1}{2}$ **chicken** in a large stewpot (*cacerola*), cover with plenty of water, bring to a boil, then simmer for approximately 1 hour. Add 1 lb. of **flank steak (falda)** or **stew meat (carne de res)**, 1 lb. of **pork (carne de puerco)**, 1 lb. of **pork trotters (agujas de puerco)** and boil for an

additional 1 hour; skim off any scum that develops. If the pork pieces are fatty, skim off some of the lard to prepare the *sofrito* (see below). Equivalent portions of **beef and beef short ribs, or chicken** can be substituted for the pork.

The cow (*Bos taurus*) and pig (*Sus scrofa*), both originally native to western Eurasia and North Africa, have played an important role in Old World agroecosystems since their initial domestication by Neolithic farmers in the ancient Near East approximately 10,000 years ago. As cud-chewing herbivores, cows convert plant tissues inedible to humans into meat, hides, and tractive power. As omnivores, pigs compete more directly with humans for food, but they have long provided a valuable way to dispose of garbage. All cattle produce manure that can be used to maintain the fertility of agricultural fields. According to Jared Diamond's Anna Karenina principle, "domesticable animals are all alike; every undomesticable animal is undomesticable in its own way."⁷ Because of highly uneven patterns of megafaunal extinction before the advent of agriculture and herding, mainland regions of Africa and Eurasia retained a far greater variety of large animals with domesticable characteristics than did the Americas, Australia, and the islands of the world. With the marked exception of the Andean llama (*Lama glama*) and alpaca (*Vicugna pacos*),⁸ the Americas — the evolutionary birthplace of the horse (*Equus caballus*) — came to lack large mammals suitable for domestication. Symbolic of this process, Cuba's first indigenous inhabitants are probably responsible for driving its only large mammal, the giant sloth (*Megalocnus rodens*), into extinction approximately 4,400 years ago.⁹ Nevertheless, Cuba's indigenous inhabitants at contact, the Ciboney and Taíno peoples, continued to depend primarily on wild marine and woodland animals for protein, supplemented by household raising of guinea pigs (*Cavia procillus*, first domesticated in the Andes), a barkless dog bred for eating, and the aquaculture of mullet (*Mugil curema*), a small estuary fish.

The predominantly one-way exchange of people, animals, and diseases East to West across the Atlantic contributed to the single most important result of the Columbian exchange for Cuba: the virtual extinction of its indigenous population. Living in close proximity with animals has its downside, since it exposes humans to the transfer of macro-parasites and microbial diseases

across the species barrier. As a consequence, in order to survive to adulthood and reproductive age, European- and African-born individuals had to pass a gauntlet of diseases harbored by human-animal interaction — and, in the process, acquired robust immune systems.¹⁰ Two viral epidemic diseases, influenza (derived from pigs and chickens) and smallpox (derived from cows), had a particularly deadly impact on previously unexposed indigenous populations of the Greater Antilles between 1493 and 1525.¹¹ Feral pigs and cows made matters far worse by eating away at the Amerindians' basic source of subsistence (see below): cows consumed leaves and flowers, while pigs consumed fruits and the all-important roots. In the absence of human and natural predators, pigs and cows far outnumbered people in Cuba until the full emergence of an economy based on military garrisons and plantation slavery at the end of the eighteenth century. In this context, cattle provided an abundant source of food and trade articles (leather and candles) for Cuba's sparse, multiethnic, early colonial population.

Before the widespread diffusion of refrigeration technologies in recent decades, all human societies depended on curing and cooking techniques to preserve the meat of butchered animals. One of my wife's most vivid memories from the 1970s concerns watching her great uncle, a peasant farmer living in the "deep countryside," dig a pit and fill it with salt and large slabs of beef in order to prepare *tasajo*. The prolonged boiling process involved in preparing an *ajiaco* not only provides a convenient way to make *tasajo* palatable again, but also provides a way to arrest the decomposition of whatever fresh (or not-so-fresh) meat happens to be at hand. Chunks of beef and pork are the favored ingredients for a Cuban *ajiaco*, but the American turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo* and *M. ocellata*, brought to Cuba after 1492), African guinea fowl (*Numida meleagris*, brought via the slave trade), and Southeast Asian chicken (*Gallus gallus*, introduced via both Europe and Africa) are also welcome additions to the stew pot.

Cheap *tasajo* made up a significant portion of the rations provided by plantation owners to their field slaves. This virtually assured that slow-boiled dishes like *ajiaco* remained standard fare in nineteenth-century Cuba. Through the *tasajo* supply, the "ecological footprint" of Cuba's plantations extended, historically, not only to the dry scrublands of eastern Cuba, but as far as the

Pampas grasslands of southern South America. Echoes of this old Atlantic economy still reverberate: *tasajo* in U.S. Hispanic groceries often carries the mark "Made in Uruguay." Meanwhile, fresh beef has almost disappeared from *ajiacos* produced in today's Cuba. Unlike with smaller livestock, Cuba's command economy appropriated all cows and oxen as property of the state. The revolutionary government has carefully controlled the slaughter and consumption of beef (and given out long prison sentences to those breaking the rules). Even in cattle-raising regions, fresh beef has become a rare commodity — and the *ajiaco* much more centered on pork.¹² But because *ajiaco*'s ingredients are so adaptable, it has survived even the most dramatic transformations of Cuban history.

Sofrito (seasoned sauté)

While the meat is cooking, prepare the sofrito and peel the vegetables. In a large skillet over medium heat, heat 2 tablespoons of lard (manteca) or ¼ cup of olive oil (aceite de oliva). Peel and crush 3 cloves of garlic (ajo); chop 1 large onion (cebolla) and 1 large, seeded green bell pepper (ají pimienta verde); add to the fat at medium-low heat and sauté, stirring occasionally for 6-8 minutes. Add one small can of tomato sauce (salsa de tomate) and ½ tsp. of ground cumin (comino) and sauté an additional 5 minutes, stirring occasionally. After the meats are cooked, add the sofrito to the stewpot with the vegetables. Note: to save effort, it is possible to omit the sofrito and simply add these ingredients directly to the stewpot.

In a wide variety of Cuban dishes, the *sofrito* adds taste (*gusto*) to ingredients that otherwise would be bland or insipid. Animal fats or vegetable oils convey the flavor of condiments added to a *sofrito*. Since the era immediately following the Spanish conquest, and thanks to the multiplication of Old World livestock, animal fats (especially lard) have been easiest to obtain in Cuba. Nevertheless, the earliest supply ships from Europe brought cargoes of oil pressed from the fruit of olive trees (*Olea europaea*), one of the most distinctive domesticates from the ancient woodlands of the eastern Mediterranean. Along with grape wine and wheat flour, the consumption of imported olive oil has long been a symbol of both Spanish descent and class status among Cubans. In recent years, Spanish-produced olive oil has become the cooking fat of

choice among health- (and race-) conscious Cuban immigrants to the U.S., but the high cost of imported vegetable oils has always placed limits on their consumption in Cuba. Cooks pressed for time (or hard currency) often dispense with the *sofrito* altogether when preparing an *ajiaco* and add whatever condiments they have access to and can afford directly to the stewpot; in fact, Nitza Villapol explicitly recommended this tactic as a general cooking practice.

The earliest recorded account of a Cuban *ajiaco* got its name from an ancient South American domesticate: the chili pepper (*Capsicum* spp.). A disparaging 1598 description of Havana by Hernando de la Parra, a member of the Spanish governor's household, noted that "The foods here are seasoned in a way that is so strange that they are repugnant at first, but Europeans eventually become so accustomed to them that they forget those of their own country and give them preference. The principal dish . . . that is served by these primitive inhabitants is a union of fresh and salted meats cut into small chunks, boiled with various roots, spiced by means of a small, caustic pepper (*aji-ji-ji*), and colored with a small seed (*vija*) that grows spontaneously even in household corrals."¹³ Christopher Columbus interpreted capsicum peppers as evidence that he had reached the Spice Islands of the East Indies, his real goal. European gardeners soon began cultivating several American capsicum varieties, most notably, the mild bell pepper (a variety of *C. annuum*), and Hungarian cuisine eventually became famous for its use of bell peppers to make paprika (known by Cubans as *pimentón*). Many modern regional cuisines would be unrecognizable if not for their adoption of spicy capsicum varieties: for example, Thai curries. But unlike Creole (American-born) Mexicans, Peruvians, Louisianans, and early Cubans, today's Cubans rarely cook with spicy chilies. Instead, they rely on the bell pepper or the small *ají cachucha* (a mild variety of *C. chinense*). New Cuban immigrants to the United States often make the mistake of purchasing another, look-alike variety of *C. chinense*, the habanero. It is all the more puzzling to Cubans experiencing the painful consequences of this error that these extremely hot peppers are named for Cuba's capital, where they are now virtually unknown. (They probably diffused from Cuba to the Yucatán, their current home range, during the colonial period.) Ground cumin seeds (*Cuminum cyminum*), original-

ly native to the ancient Near East, are a common, modern ingredient of Cuban *sofrito*; the combined scent of hot oil, garlic, and cumin gives today's Cuban kitchens their distinctive smell. The marked influx of Spanish and Lebanese immigrants to Cuba during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, along with their cultural preferences, likely played a role in the Cuban *ajiacó*'s historical transformation from piquant, Amerindian to mild, Mediterranean flavorings. Interestingly, the parallel migration of South Asians to the British Caribbean after the abolition of slavery played an important role in the reintroduction of spicy capsicum peppers into cuisines elsewhere in the Antilles.¹⁴

Many peoples in the tropical Americas still use the ground bija seeds (*Bixa orellana*) mentioned in de la Parra's account — better known in today's Cuba as *achiote* — to give foods a yellow-orange color.¹⁵ *Achiote* frequently finds its way into Cuban *sofritos* prepared for rice dishes (and an occasional *ajiacó*) though many Cuban-Americans now substitute bright, synthetic vegetable dyes or expensive Mediterranean saffron (*Crocus sativus*). Condiments provide the clearest indication of change over time in Cuban tastes and of the recent development of "traditional" Cuban cuisine.

Viandas (stew vegetables)

While the meats are cooking, peel the vegetables and cut into large chunks. After the meats are cooked, add them to the stew-pot at medium heat in the following order at approximately 5-minute intervals; make sure the vegetables are well-covered with water: 1 lb. of yellow or white malanga (yautía or cocoyam), 1 lb. of yuca (manioc or cassava), 2 green plátanos (plantains or cooking bananas), 1 lb. of boniato (white sweet potato, NOT orange American sweet potato), 1 lb. of malanga isleña (taro or dasheen), 1 lb of ñame (white tropical yam, NOT orange American yam), 2 very ripe plátanos (plantains, NOT sweet bananas), 2 cups of chunked calabaza (orange tropical pumpkin; can substitute Hubbard or butter-nut squash). After all vegetables are added, reduce to low heat and simmer approximately 45 minutes, stirring occasionally. Then add 2 ears of corn (maize) cut into two-inch rounds; cook an additional 10-15 minutes. Add salt to taste. Serve hot in bowls accompanied by lime wedges (limón criollo); squeeze lime juice over ajiacó to taste at the table. Makes approximately 12 large, meal-

sized servings.

Tuber crops have traditionally received short-shrift in world histories of food and agriculture.¹⁶ True, seed crops have left far more visible evidence in the archaeological record (though new techniques for examining plant remains and for tracing genetic relationships have begun to resolve this technical problem). But Northerners' understandable preference for studying the environments and agricultural practices of their temperate homelands has contributed the most to the paucity of research in ancient centers of domestication in lowland South America, Africa, and New Guinea. This maldistribution of scientific resources has



**Vegetable Stands in Mercado Tacón
Havana, Cuba. 1904**
(Library of Congress Reproduction No. LC-D401-17664)

impeded historical understanding of the role of tropical societies — particularly Africans — in domestication and long-distance crop exchanges.

Yellow *malanga* (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*) of various types and *yuca* (*Manihot esculenta*) were originally domesticated in South America, and they were widely distributed in lowland regions of the American tropics by the fifteenth century. The Taíno depended on an elaborate system of *conuco* (garden) cultivation founded on the vegetative propagation of these and other crops. *Conuco* plots typically incorporated several different crops at a time; this helped mitigate against climate variability and the depletion of soil nutrients and helped keep out weeds. Bitter varieties of *yuca* (which require additional processing before use) were capable of good yields even on depleted soils and could be stored for long periods.

Another major Taíno crop, *boniato* (*Ipomoea batatas*), illustrates the regional

diversity of crop varieties, the antiquity of transoceanic crop exchanges, and the controversy that often surrounds the origins and dispersal of tropical cultivars. This light-colored variety of sweet potato grows well in warm, humid, lowland regions and should not be confused with its sweeter, dark-orange cousins which thrive in more temperate climates. Recent genetic research has revealed a primary center of maximal sweet potato diversity in Mesoamerica, a secondary center in Oceania, and a minor center in Peru and Ecuador. Meanwhile, archaeological research has firmly established that the New Zealand Maori cultivated *I. batatas* at least 1000 years ago. This strongly suggests

that this cultivar diffused in ancient times from Mesoamerica across the Pacific (and then back, toward the southeast, as far as Pitcairn and Easter Island) and from Mesoamerica to the Andes (where it is known by the Nahuatl-derived word *camote*). Norwegian explorer Thor Heyerdahl may have been correct about the antiquity and direction of sweet potato exchange, just not about the role of Andean mariners in their dispersal.¹⁷ We may never know who accomplished this ancient transfer, but we do know that the rapid globalization of transoceanic trade in the wake of the Columbian voyages accomplished the further diffusion of sweet potato cultivars to

Africa, China, and highland New Guinea, where they contributed to rapid population growth and the conquest of new, montane environments by agriculture.¹⁸

This process also worked in the opposite direction. Several Old World cultivars accompanied African slaves across the Middle Passage to the Americas. In fact, several varieties of plantains and bananas (*Musa* spp.) made this trip so soon after 1492 that European botanists long assumed they were native to the American tropics. Excavations in Kuk Swamp have provided tantalizing evidence that New Guinea highlanders independently domesticated bananas and taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) by 6500 years ago. New Guineans or Melanesians also probably domesticated a tropical yam variety now commonly grown in Cuba (*Dioscorea alata*), as well as sugar cane (*Saccharum officinarum*) — the Americas' first major export crop.¹⁹ These cultivars diffused eastward to remote parts of the

Pacific with Polynesian mariners and westward by a variety of routes. In the case of sugar cane, they reached the Caribbean as early as 1493. African-born slaves likely contributed vital know-how for their transplantation into West Indian *conuco* systems, and their descendants — both enslaved and free — undoubtedly perpetuated their cultivation.

Slaves all over the Atlantic World sought the right to tend their own food crops. This was their most basic strategy to establish a life separate from their master's will. Of course, this helped masters save money on imported and estate-grown rations, but "by appropriating their labour for themselves, slaves articulated their own interests and the means of achieving them."²⁰ Sometimes, by participating in local markets, slaves even saved up enough money to buy their own freedom. Slave tastes obviously contributed to the East-West transfer of Guinea yam (members of the *Dioscorea cayenensis-rotundata* complex), a major West African domesticate, and the enduring popularity in Cuba of *fufú*: boiled and mashed *ñame*, *malanga*, or *plátano*.

Two American domesticates, tropical pumpkin (*Cucurbita moschata*) and maize (*Zea mays*), take the least time to cook and are the last ingredients added to an *ajiaco* before serving. (Wait to squeeze the juice of fresh lime (*Citrus aurantifolia*) — an early Spanish transplant to the West Indies, first domesticated in southeast Asia — over piping-hot bowls of *ajiaco* at the dinner table.) American squashes (*Cucurbita* spp.) rank among the world's earliest domesticates, and they probably played a significant role in the transition from hunter-gatherer-fisher to agricultural livelihoods in the Western Hemisphere. The widespread dispersal of squashes, sweet potatoes, Mesoamerican-domesticated maize, chilies, and other domesticates throughout the ancient Americas falsifies Jared Diamond's hypothesis that the "North-South axis" of the Western Hemisphere acted as a geographical barrier to cultural exchange and advancement. But the two-way, East-West exchange of cultivars *did* contribute mightily to patterns of New World colonization. The Columbian exchange enabled a number of European, African, and Asian societies to export enormous numbers of people to the Western Hemisphere (and other world regions) without suffering depopulation — and, in turn, it enabled these immigrants to make decent lives for themselves as farmers

or herders after they arrived.

A Metaphor for Cuban Nationality

The Greater Caribbean Basin and coastal regions of tropical South America are also "Lands of Demographic Takeover."²¹ In Cuba, Old World immigrants (from Europe, Africa, and more recently, Asia) intermingled with and eventually swamped the small indigenous population that survived the Spanish conquest. Like the temperate regions of the Americas, these tropical regions are dominated by an ethnic hodgepodge of Old World peoples, and there is no compelling *biological* reason to differentiate between the populations of these two domains unless one believes skin color and other inherited characteristics are important determiners of the course of modern history.

As the inheritors of a society once based on race slavery, Cubans have long been masters at making distinctions motivated by racial prejudice. Following the lead of nationalist ideologues elsewhere in Latin America, in 1940, white Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz proposed adopting the *ajiaco* as a culinary emblem for Cuba and a multicultural metaphor for racial and cultural mixing throughout the Americas. In his view, the process of cooking an *ajiaco* formed a new, unified entity out of multicultural diversity, and an *ajiaco* could be infinitely replenished with new ingredients to make additional meals without losing its basic identity. Ortiz explicitly hoped this home-grown concept would displace a term derived from the United States, the melting pot (*crisol*), as a popular metaphor for the formation of national identity. Unlike the industrial melting pot of the Colossus of the North, which homogenized everything into a single alloy, the ingredients of an *ajiaco* never completely lost their distinct flavors and textures: "For us, *America*, all of *America*, is an *ajiaco*."²²

Other Cubans never embraced Ortiz' proposal. As a working-class food, *ajiaco* failed to convey the cultivated sense of national greatness (and whiteness) preferred by most of Cuba's pre-revolutionary ruling class, and this unassuming dish (almost never found on tourist menus) simply could not compete for foreigners' attention with Cuban music, cocktails, and fried foods.²³ At least in ideological terms, the triumph of the Cuban Revolution in 1959 abruptly converted much of Ortiz' social vision into a material reality. Even though Ortiz' *ajiaco*

metaphor seems adaptable to these new circumstances, perhaps its subtle suggestion that "Cuba is fated to suffer . . . a never-ending state of ferment" and doomed to "lack a stable, enduring core of cultural indic[ators]" was too radical even for revolutionaries to accept.²⁴

If anything qualifies as Cuba's national dish, it is *lechón asado* (roast suckling pig). As Mary Urrutia Randelman notes, roast pork has long been associated with family celebrations on *Noche Buena* (Christmas Eve). Cuba's revolutionary government overtly sought to redirect this religious tradition to New Year's Day, the anniversary of the Revolution's triumph. Neighborhood Committees for the Defense of the Revolution provide loyalists with plenty of pigs to roast and beer to drink. But in Cuba, an *ajiaco* is never far off. Leftovers from this sort of celebration have a far better chance of ending up in the stewpot than a landfill. The next pig in line for slaughter, meanwhile, will get to enjoy a mash of leftover vegetable peelings.

ENDNOTES

¹ Emphasis added; Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972); Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Crosby's seminal work, nevertheless, provided the basic inspiration for this essay. Judith A. Carney uses the transoceanic exchange of rice cultivars and agricultural practices to make a forceful case for crediting Africans (especially African women) as major agents of economic change in the early modern Atlantic World in *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); while James J. Parsons examines the role African grasses have played as agents of ecological change in lowland tropical (but also montane and temperate) regions of the Americas in his classic article, "The Africanization of the New World Tropical Grasslands," *Tubinger Geographische Studien* 35 (1970): 141-153.

² Jeffrey Pilcher, *¡Qué vivan los tamales!: Food and the Making of Mexican Identity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998); Arjun Appadurai, "How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30, no. 1 (1988): 3-24; Terence Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 211-262.

³ Nitzia Villapol, *Cocina criolla* (Mexico City: Ediciones Zócalo, 1979); Fabiola Santiago, "Nitzia Villapol, 74, Cuban Cooking Advisor," *Miami Herald* 21 Oct. 1998, available at <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/cuba/nitzia.htm> (accessed 28 Sept. 2006).

⁴ For example, Raquel Rábade Roque, *The Cuban Flavor: A Cookbook* (Miami, FL: Downtown Book Center, 1979).

⁵ Mary Urrutia Randelman and Joan Schwartz, *Memories of a Cuban Kitchen* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), xvii, 23.

⁶ A rigorous review of the often contentious literature on each ingredient would require far too much space. I will only cite specialized works for particularly controversial cases or as suggestions for further reading. Important general references

include: Peter Bellwood, *The First Farmers: The Origins of Agricultural Societies* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005); Daniel Zohary and Maria Hopf, *Domestication of Plants in the Old World: The Origin and Spread of Cultivated Plants in West Africa, Europe, and the Nile Valley*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Neil Roberts, *The Holocene: An Environmental History*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1998); David Watts, *The West Indies: Patterns of Development, Culture and Environmental Change since 1492* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). All common and scientific plant names can be confirmed with Miguel Esquivel, et al., "An Inventory of Cultivated Plants in Cuba," *Die Kulturpflanze* 37 (1989): 211-357.

⁷ Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: Norton, 1997), 157. Contrary to Diamond's diffusionist assumptions, there is clear evidence that the cow was independently domesticated from the now-extirpated aurochs in the ancient Near East, South Asia, and northern Africa and widely diffused from these three separate centers of domestication. Indian cattle (*zebu*) and North American pure breeds have virtually supplanted Cuba's original *criollo* cattle since their introduction in the mid-nineteenth century.

⁸ Miranda Kadwell, et al., "Genetic Analysis Reveals the Wild Ancestors of the Llama and the Alpaca," *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences* 268, no. 1485 (2001): 2,575-2,584.

⁹ David W. Steadman, et al., "Asynchronous Extinctions of Late Quaternary Sloths on Continents and Islands," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 102, no. 33 (2005): 11,763-11,768.

¹⁰ Most resistance to these maladies had to be acquired in the womb or after birth, and recent research suggests that childhood exposure to animals and some level of disease is necessary for the development of an immune system that is not subject to allergies and autoimmune disorders; see T. V. Rajan, "Remembrance of Pathogens Past," *Natural History* Feb. 2002: 28-33.

¹¹ Noble David Cook, *Born to Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), ch. 1.

¹² Perhaps in reaction, the "classic recipe" for *ajiacó criollo* in Randleman and Schwartz, *Memories of a Cuban Kitchen*, 104-105, only calls for beef.

¹³ Quoted in José M. de la Torre, *Lo que fuimos y lo que somos ó la Habana antigua y moderna*, ed. Fernando Ortiz (1857; Havana: Librería Cervantes, 1913), 19-20.

¹⁴ Jean Andrews, *Peppers: The Domesticated Capsicums*, 2nd ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995).

¹⁵ There is no historical connection between widespread indigenous use of achiote seeds in red body paints and the much later categorization of Indians as "redskins"; Nancy Shoemaker, "How Indians Got to be Red," *American Historical Review* 102, no. 3 (June 1997): 625-644; Alden T. Vaughan, "From White Man to Redskin: Changing Anglo-American Perceptions of the American Indian," *American Historical Review* 87, no. 4 (Oct. 1982): 917-953.

¹⁶ Jared Diamond's obsession with "large-seeded grass species" in ch. 8 of *Guns, Germs, and Steel* provides a notorious example of this. Except for a chapter on the "Potato Revolution" in Europe, Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat's encyclopedic *History of Food*, trans. Anthea Bell (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992) devotes only nine pages to root crops, tellingly, in a chapter devoted to the "history of gathering" full of tropical stereotypes, pp. 63-71, 711-728.

¹⁷ G. Rossel, A. Kriegner, and D. P. Zhang, "From Latin America to Oceania: The Historic Dispersal of Sweetpotato Re-Examined using AFLP," *CIP Program Report 1999-2000* (2001): 315-321; Dapeng Zhang, et al., "Assessing Genetic Diversity of Sweet Potato (*Ipomoea batatas* (L.) Lam.) Cultivars from Tropical America using AFLP," *Genetic Resources and Crop Evolution* 47 (2000): 659-665; Thor Heyerdahl, *Kon-Tiki: Across the Pacific by Raft*, trans. F. H. Lyon (Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1950).

¹⁸ Other American domesticates commonly added to ajiacó, yuca and maize, also contributed significantly to this Old World demographic explosion; see Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange*, ch. 5. The introduction of the white potato (*Solanum tuberosum*), an Andean domesticate, likewise contributed to population growth and agricultural change in northern Europe.

Cuban-American cooks sometimes add potatoes to an ajiacó. You can, too, to make use of locally available ingredients and further illustrate these processes.

¹⁹ Katharina Neumann, "New Guinea: A Cradle of Agriculture," *Science* 11 July 2003: 180-181; V. Lebot, "Biomolecular Evidence for Plant Domestication in Sahul," *Genetic Resources and Crop Evolution* 46 (1999): 619-628.

²⁰ Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan, "Introduction" to "The Slave's Economy: Independent Production by Slaves in the Americas," special issue of *Slavery and Abolition* 12, no. 1 (May 1991): 2. See also, Rebecca J. Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860-1899* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), esp. ch. 1, 7; B. J. Barickman, "'A Bit of Land, Which They Call Roça': Slave Provision Grounds in the Bahian Recôncavo, 1780-1860," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 74, no. 4 (1994): 649-687.

²¹ Alfred Crosby deploys this concept most clearly—but for temperate regions only—in "Ecological Imperialism: The Overseas Migration of Western Europeans as a Biological Phenomenon," *The Texas Quarterly* 21 (Spring 1978): 10-22, reprinted in *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives on Modern Environmental History*, ed. Donald Worster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 103-117.

²² Ortiz's emphasis, quoted in Gustavo Pérez Firmat, "From Ajacó to Tropical Soup: Fernando Ortiz and the Definition of Cuban Culture (Dialogue #93)," LACC Publications Network, Occasional Papers Series, *Dialogues* (1980-1994), Florida International University (1987), p. 11, available at <http://digitalcommons.fiu.edu/laccopsd/16> (accessed 11 Apr. 2006). See also, José Vasconcelos, *The Cosmic Race: A Bilingual Edition*, trans. Didier T. Jaén (1925; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

²³ Ortiz extended these concepts to his interpretations of Cuban music; see Gregory T. Cushman, "¿De qué color es el oro?: Race, Environment, and the History of Cuban National Music," *Latin American Music Review* 26, no. 2 (2005): 164-194.

²⁴ Pérez Firmat, "From Ajacó to Tropical Soup," 13.

CONSIDER PANAMA

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To place a human face on the complexities of global interaction, world historians focus on specific cities as sites of economic and cultural interchange. Think of the importance of Malacca, Goa, and Aden in the Indian Ocean world. Due as much to trade as to military force, these "pressure points" or entrepôts become home to ethnically and socially-diverse peoples. These cities were fought over by imperial powers and were also the site of cross-cultural interaction between diverse individuals.¹ In the early-modern world, these were colorfully cosmopolitan spaces. The multi-valent connections that often define world history can be seen in the urban areas, and they are as much "melting pots" as "salad bowls" in terms of cultural production. The rich stories from these communities can enliven world history narratives.

Panama City rarely makes the list of cosmopolitan stopovers in the first half of our modern world history surveys (1500-1800). Of course, awareness of the global

importance of the later story of the Panama Canal is widespread, but one hears less of the earlier period. Yet the canal itself is not a bad place to begin thinking about the importance of Panama. That the United States was able to triumph where the French had failed, in completing the canal, is part of a familiar U.S. historical narrative. The Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty (signed 1903, ratified 1904) between Panama and the United States granted unusual rights to the northern neighbor, which surely reflects the imperialist spirit of the day.² The construction of the canal is also a story of human misery, as thousands of working people who built the project succumbed to disease in the process. However, in the end, the canal must be seen as an engineering triumph, helped along as it was by an intensive effort to eliminate the scourges of yellow fever and malaria. The world historical moment as the canal opened in 1914 is clear to every student: the world was now stitched together at another spot.

However, Panama was instrumental in linking the world long before the canal was built. Arguably, this process began in the Age of European Exploration and Exploitation. Columbus himself traveled to the coast of Panama during his fourth and final voyage, though the first European visitors had already sailed a few years earlier under Rodrigo de Bastidas. On that particular ship was the better known Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, who returned to become the first European to traverse the mountains to the other side of the isthmus. He first saw the Pacific, facing south (since the isthmus runs east-west), on 26 September 1513.³ At the time, this must have been viewed as quite an achievement, since several attempts to settle the Caribbean shore were stifled by native tribes. The life of Balboa, on the other hand, was ended by the founder of Panama City, Pedro Arias de Avila (known as Pedrarias). For ordering the 1517 beheading of Balboa and for various violent intrigues against native Panamanians, Pedrarias is not remembered kindly.⁴

Shortly after its founding in 1519, Panama became an important hinge in the global economy. The royal road (*Camino Real*) built between the city and the northern coastal towns of Nombre de Dios and, later, Portobello, was instrumental in the movement of goods from South America to Europe. The most important of these was the Peruvian silver taken by Spaniards and

their forced laborers from the "red mountain" at Potosí. The Panama route was a pleasant alternative to the rigors of sailing around Tierra del Fuego or the dangerous overland route to Buenos Aires.

Imperial competition in the centuries following the Columbian encounter played out in Europe as well as the Americas. The notion of all that silver passing through Panama was quite tempting to pirates, privateers, and the crowned heads of Europe. The

shift from Nombre de Dios to Portobello as departing port on the northern shore was forced by the English pirate Sir Francis Drake. In these ports, fortresses were constructed to prevent attacks by English, French, and Dutch pirates. However, these were penetrated in 1671 by the Welsh buccaneer Sir Henry Morgan, who went on to attack Panama City. The city was burned to the ground, either by Morgan or perhaps by the townsfolk themselves. In any case, Morgan made off with a fat cache of Spanish silver.⁵ The final blow to Panama was struck in 1739 as the British Admiral Edward Vernon took Portobello, forcing Spanish fleets to resume travel around the tip of South America.

The global importance of the isthmus would return in the nineteenth century, as world economic forces scouted for an appropriate crossing. Other canal possibilities were weighed, including a route through Lake Nicaragua. (For counterfactual history buffs: how would Nicaraguan history have changed as a result?) The U.S. signed a sweet deal in 1846 with Colombia, to which Panama belonged after independence from Spain, to construct a railroad under U.S. control and protection. This proved fortuitous as a passage to California after gold was discovered there. The royal road was thus replaced by the American railroad, and finally, by the canal.⁶

Surely, the intrigue of swashbucklers and partisans of the European combatants makes this story a spicy tale for the world history narrative. Further scholarship may reveal some of the texture of life in Panama City over these years. I imagine that the presence and passing of silver in such great quantities created a cosmopolitan culture behind the protective walls of the city.⁷ Besides the economic and cultural connections that loom for world historians in Panama, there are some related wordlist themes in this history. The independence of Panama from Colombia was achieved with the help of the United States, sort of a nineteenth-century version of U.S. aid to “freedom fighters” in the Western hemisphere (cf., the *Contras* of Nicaragua and others). Along the same lines, the U.S. invaded Panama in 1989 with the objective of capturing President Manuel Noriega and “protecting” the canal. These events, as well as the politics of the canal itself, are related to Cold War stories of the twentieth century.⁸

In summary, when casting around in search of important historical spaces of cross-cultural encounter in the developing-world system, world history teachers would do well to.... Consider Panama.

ENDNOTES

¹ Among other places, the cultural aspect of economic “pressure points” or sites of encounter is worked out in Philip D. Curtin’s *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

² Robert C. Harding, *The History of Panama* (London:

Greenwood Press, 2006), 32. Acquired for the price of \$10 million and \$250,000 annual payments, though soon enough the Americans began to understand their sovereignty in greater terms.

³ David Howarth, *Panama: Four Hundred Years of Dreams and Cruelty* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1966), 7, 29.

⁴ Howarth, 53. An inflated estimate by the historian Oviedo y Valdés claimed that some two million Indians lost their lives or were enslaved. While the scale may be off, the grisly reality of sixteen years of rule by Pedrarias is clear.

⁵ This story is colorfully told in Peter Earle, *The Sack of Panama: Sir Henry Morgan’s Adventures on the Spanish Main* (New York: Viking Press, 1981).

⁶ Harding, 18–20.

⁷ Helpful primary sources in Spanish for this project can be found in Juan B. Sosa, *Panama la Vieja* (Panama: Imprenta Nacional, 1919) and Ruben D. Carles, ed., *220 Años del Periodo Colonial en Panamá* (Panama: Imprenta Nacional, 1969).

⁸ See Thomas Donnelly, Margaret Roth, and Caleb Baker, *Operation Just Cause: The Storming of Panama* (New York: Lexington Books, 1991).

Indigenous Peoples, the Chaco War, and State Formation in a World History Context**

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[Images added by WHB]

“The only point I want to make is that we do not appear in the histories, only the whites figure as soldiers, but our people are not recognized. We are not mentioned in the histories, but we know that our people helped in the war. This is not written...., our role as guides is not recognized by any Paraguayan historians, they take us out, they take charge... [and write] that only they did everything. Our warriors... our Chief Larroza, helped in the war [as a guide] but nobody recognized him; the indigenous people were never paid for their help in the war. During the war... we worked together to defend the land, [the whites] did not do this alone, but also with indigenous participation. Racism came later. We still believe that we are owners of the land because our people defended it; we were not going to watch with folded arms while they fought over the land. We have many times read the histories and indigenous people do not appear.”¹

With these dramatic words, Toba Qom leader Francisco Ramírez last summer recounted to the author the role that their

chief Francisco Acazará had played as a guide for the Paraguayans during the 1932–1935 Chaco War, as testimonies were gathered along the western Paraguayan frontier.

Military encounters between the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries were not only widespread and devastating in our world; they also had dire effects for minority peoples in the nations where they were fought. In their book *The Earth and Its Peoples*, Richard Bulliet and his fellow authors have called the period a “land grab of unprecedented speed,” as Europeans seized land in Southeast Asia and the Pacific.² Shifting political control of the land led to military struggles. As many as 10 million square miles and 150 million people throughout the world fell under the rule of Europe and the United States in this period. Japan armed itself and went to war with China and then Russia. In *Traditions and Encounters*, Jerry Bentley and Herbert Ziegler have highlighted the racist prejudices that underlay neo-colonial expansion as Europeans, North Americans (USA), and Japanese tried to “teach their superiority to subject peoples.”³ Colonial subjects in India chafed under British Rule. People in Africa negotiated access to daily resources under Colonial control. In addition to taking land, imperial powers reorganized and brought dependent regions into the world economy as suppliers of raw materials and consumers of industrial goods. Imperial hegemonic extension and rising nationalism, in return, tore apart regions of the world.

While in world history we necessarily highlight broad global patterns, national decisions, and the actions of outstanding leaders, and rightly so, we at times run the risk of overlooking the experiences of those subaltern peoples who played important historical roles in our collective past. I recognize that many historians have made strides

This paper argues that native people were involved at critical moments of the Chaco War and that the conflict produced surprising changes for indigenous peoples in both nations.

towards what I am advocating. Bentley and Ziegler, for instance, in their brief discussion of the South African War, also called the Boer War (1899–1902), mention that the brutal war took a “large toll on black Africans, who served both sides as soldiers and laborers.”⁴ Still, because of the broad and extensive nature of our narrative when covering world history, we have often over-

looked minority peoples. We can and should do more to include the experience of everyone in large military encounters.

While territorial wars at times divided continents, more often than not power struggles within nascent states in early modern history caused local tensions. In some cases, especially in peripheral regions, national leaders moved against minority peoples in an effort to whiten their societies, clear land for the extension of export crops, and take advantage of violent encounters to eliminate less than desirable groups of people from within modernizing societies. This essay argues that in one such territorial conflict, the Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay, leaders in both nations and even in neighboring Argentina took advantage of the territorial dispute to try and eliminate the indigenous people of this frontier borderland. The conflict in the Chaco shows the effects of these trying times for indigenous people at the local level, and suggests that a comprehensive look at global history should include the situation of minority peoples in peripheral areas of the world.

Between 1932 and 1935, Bolivia and Paraguay fought a brutal war for ownership of the sparsely-populated Chaco territory. At stake was Bolivia's fluvial access to the Atlantic and possible Chaco oil reserves. While many of the Bolivian soldiers were indigenous and the conflict took place largely within native territories, scholars have paid scant attention to the results of the war for the indigenous peoples of the Chaco. This paper argues that native people were involved at critical moments of the Chaco War and that the conflict produced surprising changes for indigenous peoples in both nations. The war brought Paraguayans into contact with the western indigenous peoples and led to an *indigenista* movement in politics and literature that helped to shape the country. The loss of the Chaco territory was disastrous for Bolivians, but also led to a nationalist movement and contributed to memories of oppression among native groups, recently erupting to change national politics in the election of Evo Morales, Bolivia's first Aymara president. While Bolivia relied largely on indigenous troops, both armies employed native languages, spies, and resources. For native peoples, the conflict led to greater integration into national economic structures, migrations, forced removals, and dramatic cultural changes. Indigenous perspectives help to broaden our view of the role that subaltern

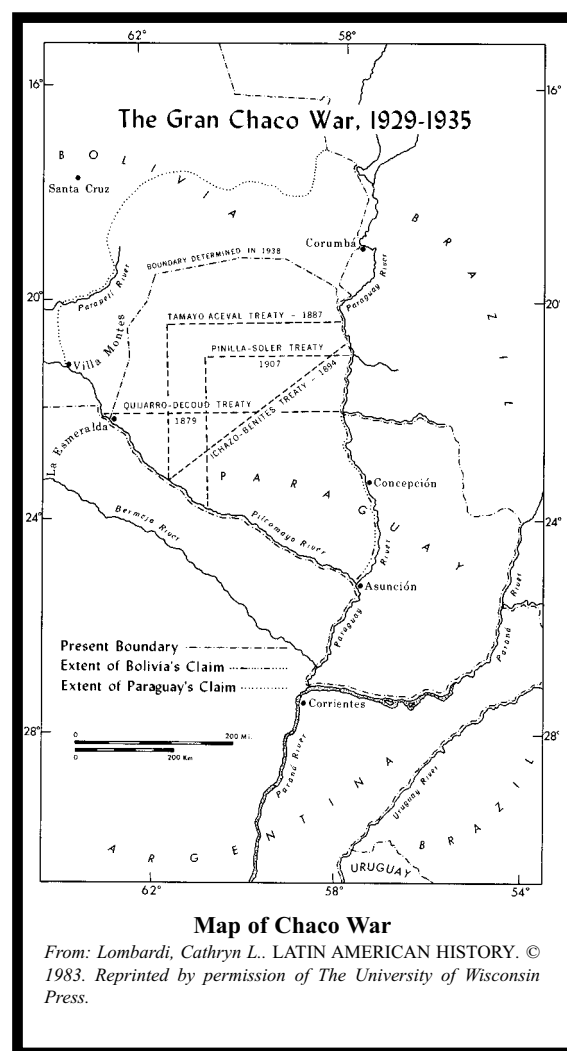
peoples have played in world history.

Traditionally known as the *Gran Chaco*, the dry, cactus-covered area of western Paraguay, northeastern Argentina, southeastern Bolivia, and southwestern Brazil was, by 1930, sparsely populated by peasants and native peoples from four linguistic families. Except for the two Guaraní peoples, tribes in the Chaco shared linguistic ties. The Ayoreode and Iñshiro were members of the Zamuco linguistic group who had traditionally inhabited the northern Chaco, the first closer to Bolivia and the Iñshiro nearer the Paraguay River. The Enlhit — whom Paraguayans pejoratively referred to as Lengua — as well as the Angaité, Sanapaná, Guan'a, and Enenlhit, belonged to the Lengua-Maskoy linguistic group and lived in the central and eastern areas of the Chaco nearer to the Paraguay River. The Yofuaxa, Nivaclé, and Mak'a shared Mataco-Mataguayo linguistic ties and had in historical times lived in the central and southern areas. Finally, the Toba-Qom, of Guaicurú linguistic ancestry, had traditionally resided in the southeastern Chaco.⁵

The Chaco War occurred at a time of already widespread conflicts for indigenous peoples, as nation-states began to expand their production of export crops such as sugar and cotton. Access to resources, territorial expansion by the



Aymara male in typical dress, c. 1900-1923. (Library of Congress, Reproduction Number LC-USZ62-108270)



alcoholism. Native people also recall conflicts with other tribes in the years that preceded the Chaco War. The Enlhit fought with the Ayoreo people to the north and along with the Nivaclé, warred against the Toba and Wichi across the Pilcomayo River in Argentina. Further west, the Guaraní Nandeva and Western Guaraní both struggled against the Bolivian state as it expanded east into their traditional Chaco territories. Later, both of these peoples returned with the Paraguayans to the Chaco following the war.

During the 1920s, both Bolivia and Paraguay began to settle the Chaco in a scramble to populate and control the territory. This was also a period during which Paraguay allowed foreign settlers from Russia and Canada to settle in the Chaco, in an effort to extend Paraguayan hegemony. Bolivians moved their forts steadily eastward and tried unsuccessfully to convince its highland Indians to migrate to the Chaco.⁶ Both countries relied on indigenous guides as they moved into the area. In August 1925, Bolivians at Fort Sorpresa, near the

Pilcomayo River, captured Paraguayan Second Lieutenant Adolfo Rojas Silva, three soldiers and their Indian guide.⁷ Four indigenous people died when the Bolivian 8th Infantry overran the Paraguayan Fort Boquerón on 14 December 1927. One year later, Paraguayan major Rafael Franco destroyed a Bolivian fort in a surprise attack. As the confrontations escalated, Czarist General Juan Belaieff, a Russian soldier contracted by Paraguay to direct its war strategy, used Mak'a indigenous people as guides to explore the Chaco. The nomadic Mak'a had fought against Bolivians since they had entered the Pilcomayo area in 1928, and, that year, four Mak'a, including chief Cikinokou, perished as they helped to defend Paraguayan Fort Mariscal López against the Bolivians.⁸ In March 1931, with native guides, Belaieff became the first white person to reach Pitiantuta, a five-by-two kilometer lake in a desert region, where Paraguay built Fort Carlos Antonio López on the eastern shore.⁹

Growing nationalist sentiment and further exploration on both sides led to war in July 1932. On 11 September, Paraguayan forces overran Fort Boquerón, filled with native troops from "all parts of Bolivia" who had even eaten their mules to survive the long siege.¹⁰ Bolivia later used its indigenous soldiers to charge the Paraguayan fort of Nanawa in the largest mass frontal attack of the war, in which over 2,000 soldiers from the Bolivian Altiplano lost their lives, scattering fragments of their bodies and leaving a "huge, rotting, putrefying mound of human flesh and bones," according to Paraguayan General José Félix Estigarribia.¹¹ Historian David Zook has attributed the Bolivian loss to the "subordinate position of the Andean Indian, unintegrated into the life of his country" and "incapable of the personal initiative which made the Paraguayan a brilliant and aggressive soldier."¹²

Native guides worked actively for both sides. When one guide showed a Bolivian officer a hidden Paraguayan trail, he refused to believe the native and instead described him as "a liar who only wants to get food which is needed by our troops." Ninth Infantry regiments under Paraguayan Colonel Eugenio Garay later slipped around the Bolivian flank along that very trail to surround the Bolivian Second Cavalry and Fourth Infantry near Campo Grande.¹³ During the ensuing siege in November 1933, Paraguayans used Bolivian prisoners to plead with their comrades in Quichua

(Kichwa, Quechua, Kechua) and Aymara to surrender, a strategy used throughout the war. Bolivian turncoats also translated their country's intercepted messages and radio broadcasts, often in Aymara or Quichua, for Paraguayan intelligence. As successful Paraguayan soldiers pushed into Bolivia later in the war, local indigenous peoples, many of them from Guaraní ancestry, guided them through scrub forests and advised them on Bolivian troop dispositions. Both sides used the Enlhit to inform on enemy troops, especially in the territory between the armies. Caught in the crossfire, native peoples between forces functioned as "nocturnal eyes" that kept tabs on changing troop positions. As a result, both sides tried to kill indigenous people in the conflict zone so opponents would not use them as informers.

The Chaco War disrupted the western indigenous peoples as it brought them into contact with *paraguayos* and *bolivianos*. While some tribes such as the Nivacé had already been working at sugar mills in Northern Argentina for years, the conflict gave many indigenous peoples in the Chaco their first exposure to western diseases and militarism. At least thirty-five percent of Northern Enlhit in the forests perished during the war from a chickenpox epidemic that swept through their communities.¹⁴

Both sides used indigenous people as unofficial troops. An elderly Nivacché woman named Tiii'i recalled how the Paraguayans had paid her people for each Bolivian head they presented, as well as troop cattle, and even provided them with rifles to kill enemy soldiers. The Bolivians also paid for Paraguayan heads, so the Nivacé served both sides, killing any troops they could ambush in the woods. [The indigenous group calls itself the Nivacle. The women in this matriarchal society are called and refer to themselves as Nivacche, even though they belong to the same group, the Nivacle.] A girl at the time, Tiii'i emphasized her memories of the many native deaths, such as occurred when a group of Argentines crossed the river, prepared a barbecue for the Nivacé and then massacred them all. Her father was spared because he was collecting wood for the fire at the time.¹⁵ Impressions of chaos and death suggest the seriousness of the trauma indigenous people experienced.

A Nivacé elder named Alto Tsach'imaj recounted the difficulties of those violent years:

When I was a child, the Nivacé

were warring with the Mataco; but when I became a young man fights began with the Bolivians that penetrated along the Pilcomayo River. This came to be a very dangerous period for our people, since the invaders had firearms. Many Nivacé perished in the battles. My older brother also fell in one of the confrontations. One day, when there had already been many deaths among our people, [chief] Tofai invited all his group to go to Fis'chat... it was informed how many people had been killed.¹⁶

Tajingvoy, an elder of mixed Nivacé and Enlhit ancestry, attributed a proliferation of disease among his people to the military conflict:

Following the war an epidemic of mumps attacked our groups. It was a terrible time! There were settlements where most of the people perished. My wife also contracted the disease and died. In the terror of the situation I picked up my small son and fled to live alone.¹⁷



Military forces terrorized the people they captured, including this Nivacé:

When the combats between Bolivians and Paraguayans began our groups escaped to the woods... One day... suddenly we fell into an ambush placed by a contingent of Bolivian soldiers... The soldiers

*closed in a circle around us, all armed with rifles. In the middle was a table. There sat the leader. He was cleaning his pistol. He accused us of being Paraguayans. Finally he asked: How do you prefer to die, with a machete or with a pistol?*¹⁸

Indigenous testimonies show that while there had previously been confrontations between native peoples, the bringing of firearms and new diseases by the non-Indians proved a devastating experience, as evidenced by the Chaco War.

Soldiers on both sides took advantage of the conflict to abuse native women. Even before the war, Argentine soldiers would cross the Pilcomayo to capture Nivacché women (called Nivacché in their matriarchal societies) and take them home. Félix Ramírez, a Nivacché, lost his older sister in such a raid soon after the war and has had no contact with her since she was taken. "She must be 70 or 80 years of age now," he painfully recounted to me.¹⁹ In some of the most emotional native memories, women recall actually beating their infants to death, or smothering them with sand when they would not stop crying because of their hunger, out of fear that the Paraguayan soldiers would hear them.²⁰

Given the new and close contact with indigenous people throughout the conflict, it should not be surprising that following the Chaco War an *indigenista* movement in literature swept Paraguayan intellectual circles and government. As elsewhere in Latin America, in Paraguay these writers glorified a mythical indigenous contribution to their nation's historical legacy, but ignored current conditions for native peoples. During the war, General Rafael Franco urged the use of the indigenous Guaraní language to unify his troops. When General Franco led conservatives back to power in the 1936 February Revolt, he promised a national revolution marked by a new era of social justice. Building on war-generated nationalism and recent contact with native peoples in the Chaco, Franco created a National Indigenous Patronage that made them wards of the armed forces.²¹ Franco also encouraged the glorification of a racially-mixed heritage. Wartime nationalism led to a resurgence of Guaraní, and Franco officially made the tongue a second national language, publishing state documents in both Spanish and Guaraní. Paraguay became the first and only nation in Latin America with a bilin-

gual policy, as officials appropriated the native language and employed it to strengthen national identity.²² Nationalism encouraged patriotism and ensured the continued use of Guaraní.

Following the war, Paraguayan literature mirrored state *indigenismo* and glorified what writers saw as the indigenous heritage and foundation of national society. As had earlier writers in Mexico and Peru, Paraguayan writers Moisés Bertoni, Narciso Colmán, and Natalicio González exalted the indigenous past and argued that indigenous peoples had forged a superior race in Paraguay that contributed to a glorious national society.²³ These writers glorified the Guaraní as noble-savages but concurrently argued that native peoples were in fact inferior to the racially-mixed society they had helped to produce.²⁴

The *indigenista* writers influenced the first politicians to display an active interest in the indigenous population. The Ministry of Agriculture created the *Patronato Nacional de Indígenas* in 1936 to study and assist indigenous peoples in improving their lot. Out of gratitude for their service and fearful of their prospects, in April of 1938 General Belaieff brought seventy Mak'a dancers and musicians to perform at the National Theater in Asunción. A similar performance at the Teatro Colón in Buenos Aires in 1939 earned enough to move the Mak'a tribe to a small reserve outside of Asunción, where they continue to live today.²⁵ Theatrical presentations highlighted the exotic nature of indigenous people but furthered their depiction as inferior. By denigrating indigenous peoples, authors and the elite contributed to the perpetuation of popular prejudice against them.²⁶ The new *indigenista* program was confusing in its emphasis on the use of the Guaraní language, coupled with the glorification of an indigenous ancestry but accompanied by growing popular deprecation of indigenous peoples and cultures.²⁷

The Chaco War changed the lives of indigenous peoples of the Chaco region. The governments of Paraguay and Bolivia, as it redrew national boundaries, brought both sides into contact with each other for the first time and influenced national treatment of indigenous peoples. This war ultimately marks a critical time of state formation in the early twentieth century and of the relations between nations and smaller ethnic groups within the borders of these states. Including native perspectives on military conflicts

helps to de-center world history and to place the focus on the people affected and displaced during the time of increased inter-and intra-national conflicts. The introduction of local histories into the much broader discussions we necessarily use when reconstructing world history can only improve our understanding of our global past for the entire global community.

ENDNOTES

** A version of this paper was presented at the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Southeast World History Association (SEWHA), Boone, North Carolina, October 20-22, 2006.

¹ Francisco Ramírez, Toba Qom, interview by author, Asunción, May 29, 2005.

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³ Jerry Bentley and Herbert Ziegler, *Traditions and Encounters* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2003), 936.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 948.

⁵ Horst, René Harder, "Consciousness and Contradiction: Indigenous Peoples and Paraguay's Transition to Democracy," in Erick Detlef Langer with Elena Muñoz, *Contemporary Indigenous Movements in Latin America* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2003), 106-7.

⁶ Bruce W. Farcau, *The Chaco War, Bolivia and Paraguay, 1932-2935* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1996), 10.

⁷ David Zook, *The Conduct of the Chaco War* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1960), 43; Farcau, *The Chaco War*, 11.

⁸ Eva Herrero Galiano and David Berná Serna, "Los Maká," *Suplemento Antropológico*, 39, No. 2 (December 2004): 37, 40.

⁹ Zook, 69.

¹⁰ See Alcides Argeudas, *Sangre de Mestizos* cited by Zook, 99; Emilio Sarmiento, *Memorias de un Soldado de la Guerra del Chaco* (Buenos Aires: El Cid Editor, 1979), 131.

¹¹ Zook, 146-147.

¹² Zook, 148.

¹³ Farcau, 143, 168.

¹⁴ Wilmar Stahl, Mennonite administrator of ASCIM, interview by author, Filadelfia (Paraguay), May 20, 2005.

¹⁵ Titi'i, Nivacché, interview by author, translated by Cirilo Martínez, Mariscal Estigarribia, May 19, 2005.

¹⁶ Wilmar Stahl, *Escenario Indígena Chaqueño Pasado y Presente* (Filadelfia [Paraguay]: Asociación de Servicios de Cooperación Indígena-Mennonita, 1982), 20-21.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 65.

¹⁹ Félix Ramírez, interview by author, Mariscal Estigarribia, May 18, 2005.

²⁰ Anonymous Enlhet testimony recorded by Hannes Kalisch, Yalve Sanga, cited in his Chapter 38, unpublished manuscript. Courtesy of Kalisch.

²¹ Esther Prieto and Guillermo Rolón del Puerto, *Estudio legislación indígena, legislación ambiental: Viabilidad para una articulación armónica de la normativa indígena y la normativa ambiental desde la perspectiva del reconocimiento del derecho histórico de las comunidades indígenas sobre sus territorios tradicionales* (Asunción: Banco Mundial, Departamento del Medio Ambiente: Ministerio de Agricultura y Ganadería, Sub-Secretaría de Estado de Recursos Naturales y Medio Ambiente: Centro de Estudios Humanitarios, 1991), 15.

²² Turner, Christina Bolke and Brian, "The Role of Mestizaje of Surnames in Paraguay in the Creation of a distinct New World Ethnicity, *Ethnohistory*, 41, No. 1 (Winter 1994): 146.

²³ Moisés Bertoni, *La Civilización Guaraní*, 23, cited by Wayne Robins, "Importancia de la cultura indígena en el panorama socio-cultural del Paraguay, *Acción*, 13 (August 1981): 77.

²⁴ Wayne Robins, 78.

²⁵ *Anales de la Asociación Indigenista del Paraguay*, 1, No. 1 (October 1945): 5 [Archives of the Paraguayan Indigenista Association].

²⁶ Robins, 78.

²⁷ See for an analogous example in Mexico, Alan Knight, "Racism, Revolution, and Indigenismo: Mexico 1910-1940," in Richard Graham, Thomas E Skidmore, Aline Helg, and Alan Knight, *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990).

Caral and the Re-Envisioning of the Ancient Americas in World History

Ben Leeming
The Rivers School

In the late 1910s and early 1920s, the British Archaeological Survey of India under the direction of Sir John Marshall reopened a general survey of a ruinous site in the Indus River Valley known as Harappa. The site was in poor condition due to the looting of its finely formed bricks for the construction of a railroad bed nearby, but Marshall suspected that it was very old. In a report submitted to the *Illustrated London News* in 1924, he wrote, "Not often has it been given to archaeologists, as it was given to Schliemann at Tiryns and Mycenae, to light upon the remains of a long-forgotten civilization. It looks, however, at this moment, as if we are on the threshold of such a discovery in the plains of the Indus."¹ As it turned out, Marshall's hunch was correct. The site was not only old, it dated to the early- to mid-third millennium BCE, making it perhaps the third most ancient complex society known to man. Up until that time, historians had taught that the earliest complex societies in the world had first arisen in just three unique locations: the fertile valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, the Nile, and the Huang He rivers. Faced with the unequivocal evidence presented by the remains of Harappa and its sister-city Mohenjo-Daro, history textbooks were rewritten to include a fourth early complex society. Today we stand on a threshold like that described by Marshall in the 1920s. In the arid, wind-swept valleys of Peru's central coastal zone (also called the Norte Chico), archaeologists have uncovered evidence of yet another very early complex society, one that is the contemporary of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro. Over the last decade, due to the tireless and at times heroic efforts of Peruvian archaeologist Ruth Shady

Solis and of the North American husband and wife team of Jonathan Haas and Winifred Creamer, more than twenty sites have been surveyed that together tell the story of a network of residential and ceremonial centers that thrived for nearly 1200 years from c. 3000 to 1800 BCE. The jewel in the crown of these sites is a sprawling complex of buildings covering 165 acres known as Caral (see Fig. 1). Radiocarbon tests from this site indicate it dates from at least 2627 BCE, if not as early as 3100 BCE. Caral has been hailed as "the oldest city in the western hemisphere,"² and it is not alone. Haas and Creamer recently surveyed neighboring river valleys in search of evidence that there were other centers like Caral, and they found them: over twenty in total, radiocarbon tests of which produced dates contemporary with those from Caral. My intent in this paper is to explore the ramifications of these discoveries on not only the teaching of the history of the Americas, but on the teaching of world history in general. I will argue that world history textbooks and courses ought to be revised to include Caral as a fifth early complex society alongside Sumer, Egypt, Harappa, and China. The fact that this change has yet to be made in world history texts is reflective of a general inadequacy of textbook content relating to the Americas prior to contact with Europe, which I will first briefly explore as a preface to the discussion of Caral. It is my hope that the sense of expectation and excitement expressed by Sir Marshall about the discoveries at Harappa will begin to infect the world history community in response to the recent discoveries in Peru. It is also my hope that as the effects of these discoveries reverberate throughout the world history community, one of the ultimate consequences will be to bring the history of the ancient Americas into a more balanced focus in our textbooks and courses.

In order to get a sense of where Caral fits within the context of world history courses today (if at all), I turned to world history textbooks. The online journal *World*

History Connected recently posted two lists of what they deemed "the most commonly used textbooks" in non-honors,³ honors, and AP-level high school courses and undergraduate college survey courses.⁴ From these two lists, I collected the most recent editions of seven texts: Bently and Ziegler's *Traditions and Encounters*, 3rd ed. (2006), Craig et al.'s *Heritage of World Civilizations*, 6th ed. (2003), Spodek's *World History*, 3rd ed. (2006), Stearns et al.'s *World Civilizations: The Global Experience*, 5th ed. (2007), Beck et al.'s *World History: Patterns of Interaction* (2003), Ellis and Esler's *World History: Connections to Today* (2003), and finally, Spielvogel's *World History* (2003). Next, I created a list of inquiry questions that would guide my investigation. There were two major areas on which I chose to focus: first, the extent to which these texts reflected the most current research and scholarship concerning the early history of the Americas, and second, the point in the text where the early complex societies of the Americas were introduced. More specific questions included the following: What dates were given for the arrival of *homo sapiens* in the Americas? Did the text mention any routes other than the Beringia land bridge? Was there any mention made of pre-Clovis sites in North or South America? In particular, was the Chilean site of Monte Verde and the impact of its discovery discussed? What did the text identify as the earliest complex society in the Americas and when in the text's chronology was it introduced? Was any mention made of Caral or the other sites in Peru's Norte Chico region? Were there any obvious biases or misrepresentations of the pre-Columbian Americas, its inhabitants, or their histories? Finally, how many pages of text were devoted to the history of the Americas before c. 1500 CE? What follows is a brief summation of the results of the survey.

The examination of the seven world history textbooks revealed three basic approaches to addressing the ancient history of the Americas. The first approach, found in three of the texts, was to first mention the Americas briefly at the beginning of the book when the dispersal of *homo sapiens* across the globe was discussed. Then, in a later chapter, the ancient American societies purported to be the earliest (Olmec, Chavín, Moche, etc.) were introduced. Finally, in the section of the book dealing with the Age of Exploration, readers were introduced to the so-called "true civilizations" of the Aztec and Inca. The second approach, found also in three of the texts, was to simply lump all of the history of the Americas into one chapter. This chapter was typically titled something like "Ancient Civilizations of the Americas" and was located in the section dealing with the European Age of Exploration. The

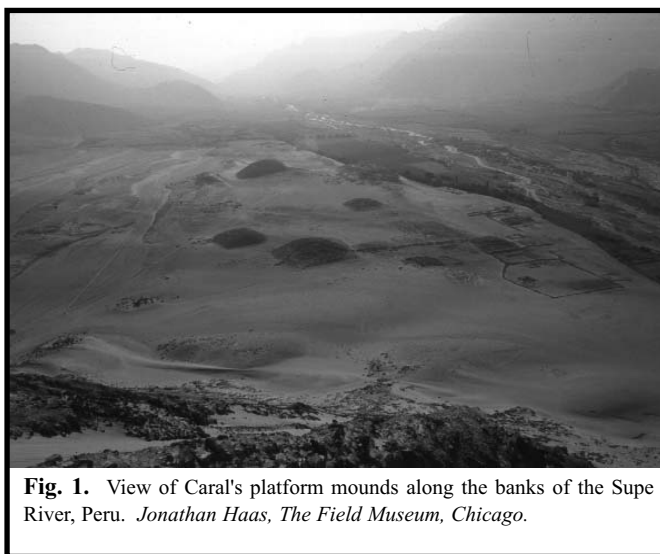


Fig. 1. View of Caral's platform mounds along the banks of the Supe River, Peru. Jonathan Haas, *The Field Museum, Chicago*.

third and final approach, found in one of the texts, was to integrate the coverage of the ancient Americas into a variety of chapters dealing with distinct topics. In this approach, the ancient Americas were treated as one of a number of examples of large systems or patterns that touch on multiple societies around the globe at a given time. For example, one text had a chapter titled "Establishing World Trade Routes" which included a section on "Trade in the Americas Before 1500."⁵

Regarding the peopling of the Americas and the emergence of human societies, three of the texts dated the peopling of the Americas to *after* 15,000 BP, three dated it to as early as 30,000 BP, and one said that it happened between 60,000-18,000 BP. Four texts stated, either in writing or by means of a map, that the earliest humans arrived in the Americas via the Beringia land bridge; three named both Beringia *and* coastal routes as possibilities. Only two texts mentioned possible pre-Clovis sites; both of these texts listed a number of locations on a map but gave no accompanying text. Only one text mentioned Monte Verde and explained the significance of this site to our understanding of how and when the first *homo sapiens* arrived in the Americas, not to mention the shockwaves it caused among advocates of the "Clovis first" theory. All seven texts cited the Olmec as the earliest complex society (or civilization) in the Americas. Among these seven, two made mention of very early Peruvian sites, Aspero and Caral. However, neither text ventured to associate the terms civilization or complex society with these sites, and no more than a few sentences of explanation were given by each text.

North American Indian societies were given even worse treatment than societies in Meso- and South America. The authors of one text simply wrote "unlike Mexico and Peru...North America had no large native American cities" and left it at that.⁶ Another text dealt with them in a small subsection, while some texts barely mentioned them at all (when they did, it was only as a brief preface to the arrival of the first Europeans). Only one text gave North American Indians an entire section (which amounted to six pages).

The way world history textbooks treated pre-Columbian societies in the Americas *did* reveal what might be called a subtle, lingering bias against these societies. In general, the ancient American societies mentioned in most of these texts were treated as a kind of "preface" to the European Age of Exploration. Another example of this bias was that in two of the texts the introduction to societies in the Americas began with a description of either human sacrifice or the conquistador Bernal Díaz del Castillo's account of the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan. In the former example, the authors focus on the one aspect of these societies that has most repulsed and intrigued Europeans since the very first encounter, to the diminution of all others; in the latter, the student's intro-

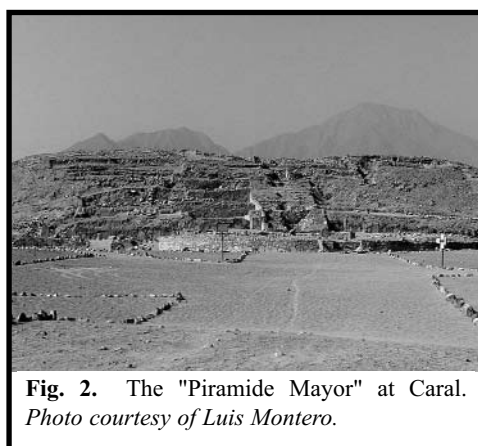


Fig. 2. The "Piramide Mayor" at Caral.
Photo courtesy of Luis Montero.

duction to American societies prior to Contact is framed by a European account and privileges a European perspective.

The texts surveyed were an average of 996 pages in length; of these 996 pages, an average of 28 pages were devoted to the history of the Americas prior to the arrival of Europeans. This works out to be approximately 2.8%.

In general, these seven representative texts did a fair job covering the Americas prior to Contact. Given the vast amount of material that might be included in any world history text it is understandable that certain areas will be emphasized and others only treated summarily. However, I offer the following general conclusions based on the results of the survey:

1. Information relating to the peopling of the Americas and the evolution of the earliest human societies does not reflect well enough most current thinking about these early periods of world history. For example, archaeologists and scholars are increasingly pointing to dates of the first human presence in the Americas that precede the end of the last ice age, dates that range back to around 30,000 BP. Three of the texts surveyed made no mention of these dates. Also, the theory stating that passage south was made through a break in the Laurentide and Cordilleran ice sheets has been increasingly called into question with more and more scholars looking with favor at the likelihood that the first migrants hugged the coastline in skin-covered boats and beat a hasty path south. Four of the seven texts made no mention of coastal routes. Finally, the once-dominant theory that the Clovis were the first inhabitants of the Americas has almost certainly seen its day come and go. The authentication of the finds at Monte Verde, which has been dated to approximately 12,500 BP, as well as other even older but, as of yet, unauthenticated sites similarly points to a much earlier date of entry. Only two texts made reference to pre-Clovis sites, and as mentioned, these were only points on a map.

2. The most significant area of weakness has to do with *when* the texts introduce the ancient Americas in their respective timelines of world history and *how much* attention is given to these societies. By and large, world history texts tend to lump the

major pre-Columbian societies (Olmec, Maya, Aztec, Inca) together in a chapter that immediately precedes the Age of Exploration, roughly the late-fifteenth century. There are two problems with this arrangement. First, these societies, which together span thousands of years of history, are wrenched out of chronological order and leave the student with the impression that complex societies in the Americas are a relatively recent development. This risks reinforcing a tenacious bias that human societies in the "New World" are less "advanced" (read: less "civilized") than their "Old World" counterparts because they developed later. (In fact, they *didn't* develop later, as I will presently explain.) Second, the inclusion of pre-Columbian societies as a kind of preface to the arrival of Europeans sends the not-so-subtle message that these societies only began to matter in world history when they were "discovered" by Europeans. In other words, the implication is that the history of the Americas begins with the arrival of the Europeans. Lest anyone be tempted to doubt that this bias persists, I will cite a passage quoted by Charles Mann in his recent best-selling book *1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus*. In it he quotes a textbook titled *American History: A Survey* in which the author makes this remarkable statement about the history of the Americas prior to the arrival of the Europeans, "For thousands of centuries – centuries in which human races were evolving, forming communities, and building the beginnings of national civilizations in Africa, Asia, and Europe – the continents we know as the Americas stood empty of mankind and its works. [The arrival of the Europeans] is the story of the creation of a civilization where none existed."⁷ If this statement had been taken from a text written fifty or a hundred years ago we might not be surprised. However, the quote cited by Mann comes from a text book that was published in 1987! Clearly there is work left to be done in order to eradicate such biases.

I will now proceed to make my main argument, that is, my belief that world history textbooks need to be revised to include Caral as a fifth early complex society along side those of Sumer, Egypt, Harappa, and China, and that as the earliest complex society in the Americas and a contemporary of the other four, Peru ought to be included in the same section, chapter, or unit as the others.

I anticipate two main objections to including Caral as the fifth in a list of the earliest complex societies in history. One is that Caral and its surrounding sites are simply not old enough to be included in the same sequence as the other four. The second is that they do not constitute a true "complex society" in the same way that the others do.

It has been well established that the four early complex societies mentioned above (Sumer, Egypt, Harappa, and China) date from the fourth to the second millennia BCE. Sumer emerged first at around 3500 BCE and

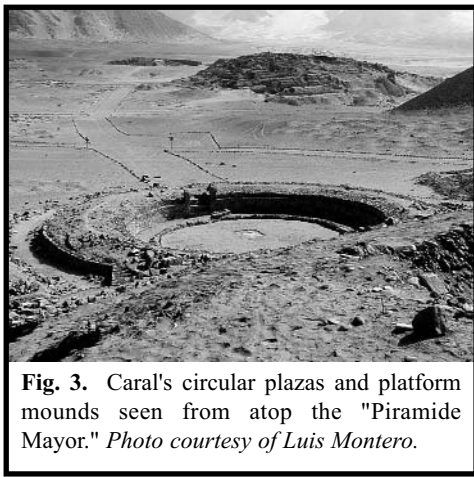


Fig. 3. Caral's circular plazas and platform mounds seen from atop the "Piramide Mayor." Photo courtesy of Luis Montero.

was followed closely by Egypt. The Indus River Valley sites probably emerged next in c. 2500 BCE. China follows the other three with the first cities and states emerging sometime in the late-third or early-second millennium BCE (although these dates seem to be getting earlier all the time). Dating the structures associated with Caral and the other sites of the Norte Chico has been carried out primarily by Jonathan Haas of Chicago's Field Museum and his wife Winifred Creamer of Northern Illinois University. The first set of dates were published in April of 2001 in the journal *Science*⁸ in an article co-authored by Haas, Creamer, and Peruvian archaeologist Ruth Shady Solis of Universidad de San Marcos and firmly establish Caral as dating to at least 2627 BCE. Radiocarbon dates were taken from the fibers of reed bags, called *shicra* bags, which were found within the walls at a number of buildings at the site. *Shicra* bags were used to transport rubble to the site and were simply tossed, along with the rubble they held, into the spaces between the retaining walls. The reed fibers taken from the *shicra* bags make for excellent carbon dating because, unlike a material such as wood which can live for many years and therefore give misleading dates, the *shicra* plant dies after one season, making the results quite accurate.⁹ According to the article, construction at Caral was carried out over two distinct phases which spanned approximately 600 years. In December of 2004, Haas, Creamer, and the Peruvian co-director of the Proyecto Arqueológico Norte Chico, Alvaro Ruiz, published another paper, this time in the journal *Nature*, which offered an additional 95 radiocarbon dates, bringing the total of available radiocarbon dates up to 127. These additional samples were taken *not* from Caral but from thirteen sites in two neighboring river valleys. The results indicated that Caral was merely one large site within a regional network of nearly twenty sites that spanned approximately 700 square miles and 1200 years from c. 3000 BCE to 1800 BCE. In the chronology of the world's earliest complex societies, it seems clear that Caral and Peru's Norte Chico society must be admitted to the list

including Sumer, Egypt, Harappa, and China.

That is, of course, if Caral and the other sites can be considered true complex societies. If not, then they are no more than important steps on the path to complex society rather than examples of true complex societies themselves. A number of the textbooks from my survey made a clear indication of where the authors stood on this debate. One text refers to the earliest sites in the Americas as "ceremonial centers,"¹⁰ while reserving the terms "city" and "complex society" for the likes of Sumer and Egypt. This same text summarizes a common assessment of these early Peruvian sites by stating that it was only "during the centuries after 1000 BCE that the central Andean region generated complex societies parallel to those of Mesoamerica."¹¹ Another text goes no further than referring to these sites as "the earliest monumental architecture in Peru," even stating that they are "roughly contemporary with the great pyramids of Egypt,"¹² but not going so far as to suggest that this monumental architecture might be an indication of the existence of a complex society. The question of whether or not Caral and its neighboring sites constitute a true complex society is pivotal. If in the coming years historians are not convinced that Caral and the other Norte Chico sites collectively constitute a complex society, then they do not belong alongside Sumer, Egypt, and the others in world history textbooks and courses. However, the evidence I will now present strongly suggests that these sites may very well fit the description of a complex society.

When historians discuss the transition from more simple forms of human association to what we refer to as "complex societies," we point to a number of distinguishing characteristics as indicators. These include: specialization of labor and social stratification, advanced technology (especially irrigation and transportation technology), complex institutions (such as those of religion and state), advanced cities (not simply ceremonial centers), and written records. Additionally, the presence of monumental architecture commonly associated with the above characteristics may also be an indication of a complex society. By drawing on the published findings of archaeologists Shady Solis, Haas, and Creamer, I will attempt to demonstrate that Caral and its neighboring sites fit most if not all of these characteristics.

1. Monumental architecture is present at each of the thirteen sites reported on in Haas

and Creamer's *Nature* article. In addition to being the oldest city in the Western hemisphere, Caral is also, at over 165 acres, the "largest recorded site in the Andes."¹³ (Note: since the publication of this article, Haas has noted that there are a number of sites larger than Caral in the Norte Chico region.)¹⁴ Dominating the site's center are six stone platform mounds, the largest of which is 60' high and has a base of 492' X 525', constituting approximately 250,000 cubic yards of stone (see figs. 2 and 3).¹⁵ [By way of comparison, the bases of the great pyramids at Giza are 756', 704', and 346' per side.] The construction of these platform mounds consists of "cut stone retaining walls" which have been filled with river stones and rubble and then faced with colored plaster¹⁶ (see fig. 4). Additionally, there are two large sunken plazas, numerous smaller mounds, plus a variety of additional structures which may be ceremonial or administrative in function.¹⁷ Each platform mound has buildings associated with it which the authors describe as "large, formally arranged residential complex[es]."¹⁸ According to the authors of the *Science* paper, there are at least sixteen additional preceramic sites in the Supe Valley, eight of which they characterize as "enormous complexes of communal and residential architecture."¹⁹ Beyond the Supe Valley in the valleys of the Pativilca and Fortaleza rivers, Haas and Creamer have surveyed thirteen sites, each of which contains similar monumental architecture, large sunken plazas, residential architecture, and evidence of irrigated agriculture.²⁰

The largest of the platform mounds from these sites reaches up to 85' tall. By any standards, the architecture at Caral easily qualifies as monumental.

2. One need look no further than these monumental constructions for evidence of specialization of labor and social stratification. The large, circular sunken plazas found at Caral and other sites were most likely intended for ritual or

ceremonial use, perhaps as part of civic ceremonies or religious festivals (see fig. 5). Supporting this interpretation is the remarkable discovery by Shady Solis of thirty-two pelican and condor bone flutes which had been stashed behind one of these circular plazas. Each flute is decorated with intricate designs depicting animal and human motifs and appear to have been carefully arranged as some kind of a ritual burial. In addition to providing evidence of leisure time, culture, and music, together with the large ceremonial spaces, these flutes suggest that religion had reached a high degree of complexity

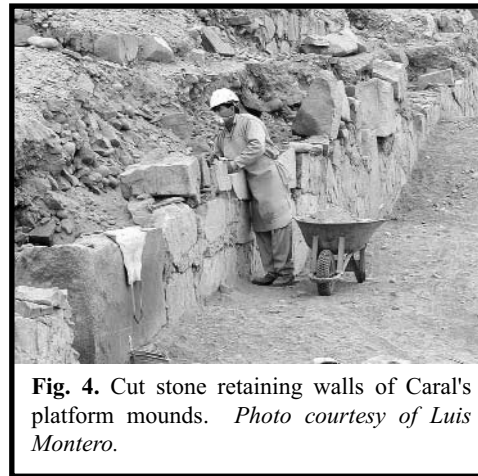


Fig. 4. Cut stone retaining walls of Caral's platform mounds. Photo courtesy of Luis Montero.

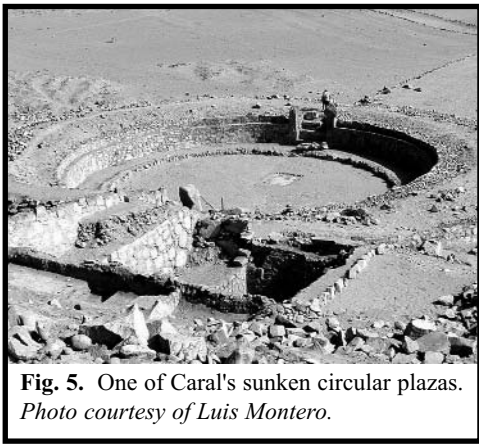


Fig. 5. One of Caral's sunken circular plazas.
Photo courtesy of Luis Montero.

which most likely included a priesthood, a form of specialized labor and a common characteristic of complex societies. Additional evidence of social stratification at Caral includes numerous clay figurines whose clothing and hair styles are thought by Shady Solis to identify them as representations of elite members of society, or "nobles."²¹ Also, the presence of residential zones at many of these sites bears evidence of social stratification. Residences presumed to be for elites were located close to the ceremonial center of Caral, many actually attached to the platform mounds. These homes were built of dressed stone and had walls coated with painted plaster. In contrast, more humble homes on the outskirts of the city were constructed of wooden poles, cane, and mud, a construction technique still in use in the area today. However, the strongest evidence for social stratification is found in the monumental architecture which is a common feature of nearly all of the Norte Chico sites. It seems curious to me that one of the texts I surveyed, after referring to the monumental architecture of another Supe Valley site called Aspero, goes on to state that "there is little evidence of social stratification for the late preceramic" in Peru.²² However, when we teach the development of complex societies in, for example, Egypt, we discuss how specialized labor and social stratification were necessary prerequisites for the construction of monumental architecture such as the Great Pyramids at Giza. Without a hierarchy of power, the organizing of the labor and resources necessary to build the pyramids would have been impossible. Platform mounds, sunken plazas, and other artifacts from Caral and neighboring sites strongly suggest the presence of social stratification and specialization of labor in the Norte Chico region at the opening of the third millennium BCE.

3. The most clear example of advanced technology at the Norte Chico sites is the presence of irrigation technology in the form of canals. Up until recently, evidence of irrigation agriculture and its associated technologies in the emergence of complex societies in South America, has eluded archaeologists. In 2005, a team of archaeologists led

by Tom Dillehay of Vanderbilt University discovered irrigation canals in the Zana River Valley of Peru that are nearly 7,000 years old.²³ They uncovered four different canals ranging in length from one to four kilometers. The canals are shallow, U-shaped, and lined with stones, and are built on a slight slope so as to take advantage of gravity in the transportation of water to the fields. Similar irrigation canals have been discovered by Shady Solis, Haas, and Creamer in the Supe, Pativilca, and Fortaleza river valleys. Irrigation technology like the canals discovered in the river valleys of the Norte Chico are evidence that humans living in these valleys were able to amass the human and environmental resources necessary to intensify agricultural production and produce the crops essential to meeting the economic and dietary needs of a large population.

4. The presence of monumental civic and religious architecture and of evidence of the widespread use of irrigation technology also suggest the existence of complex governmental and religious institutions. The surveys of the Supe, Pativilco, and Fortaleza river valleys indicate that Caral wasn't merely an anomaly. There are over twenty major sites scattered up and down these valleys spanning an area of 700 square miles. Each site shares certain common characteristics with the others: large, stone platform mounds, sunken plazas, residential architecture, and irrigation technology. When one considers the extensive nature of this network of cities, and takes into account the likelihood that they shared a common culture (as indicated by the ubiquitous ritual plazas), it seems likely that they also shared a common form of governance and administration. It may be only a matter of time before archaeologists produce more concrete evidence to support this theory.

5. In July of 2005, the exciting announcement was made that a *quipu* had been found at Caral. Based on where and how it had been buried, it has been dated to the earliest building phase at Caral, making it nearly 5000 years old. This is a discovery of significant importance. First of all, it pushes back the date of the earliest known *quipus* by approximately 4300 years.²⁴ Up until its discovery, the oldest *quipus* dated from c. 650 CE. Second, it suggests that key aspects of Inca civilization date back much further than previously thought. Indeed, the roots of Incan culture and society appear to stretch back to Caral and the early third millennium BCE. Finally, the presence of *quipus* at Caral offers additional support for the argument that the Norte Chico region was home to the earliest complex society in the Americas. Depending on who you talk to, *quipus* may qualify as a form of writing. This complex system of knotted strings has baffled scholars for centuries. Many now accept the interpretation that they acted as some form of numerical accounting system. Certainly, *quipus* represent a form of record keeping, but were they a form of *writing*? In

the August 2005 edition of the journal *Science*, Harvard researchers Gary Urton and Carrie J. Brezine announced that they may have identified the first "word" from a pattern of three knots found in a number of *quipus*.²⁵ This particular pattern appears to be a place name identifying a specific Inca palace known as Puruchuco. The hope is that, if researchers can begin to amass an inventory of such place names, they may eventually be able to "read" the *quipus*. Urton and Brezine's research suggests that the *quipus*' knots do not represent numbers but words. In the event that this is true, a vast amount of knowledge about the Inca will be available to historians for the first time in history. The presence of *quipus* at Caral suggests that, as far back as the early third millennium BCE, government administrators had developed a unique way to register "tribute, the business of state, [and] general census taking."²⁶ The use of *quipus* at Caral is yet another strong indication in favor of including this society among the accepted list of the world's earliest complex societies.

6. Do Caral and its neighboring sites constitute true "cities"? It seems impossible to deny that they were important ceremonial centers, used either for civic or religious purposes. At the very least, these sites were critically important loci of ritual activity for the larger community. But were they true cities? By definition, cities are hubs of human activity; they are commercial, political, social, and religious centers of human society. Cities concentrate year-round human population and enable people to take advantage of the specialized labor required to fulfill life's needs in an urban society. Clearly more work needs to be done before Caral can be classified as a city in this regard. However, there are tantalizing clues. Archaeologists have discovered the remains of fruits that grow only in the jungle regions to the east of Peru's coast, and digs routinely reveal the bones of thousands of sardines and anchovies as well as clam and mussel shells. Caral appears to have been a regional hub in a network of trade and commerce that extended from the coast to the rainforest of the Amazon River basin. Residential architecture demonstrates that people lived at these sites; whether they lived there year round is not yet known. Certainly, monumental, civic, and religious architecture points to Caral being a political and religious center, nudging us closer to the definition of a city. The best we can say at this point is that these sites contain a number of key characteristics of cities. In all likelihood, as archaeologists continue their work, further evidence will show that Caral was indeed a city, not merely a "ceremonial center" as some have suggested.

In conclusion, I believe that it is only a matter of time before these conclusions are accepted as fact and historians admit Caral and the Norte Chico region into the ranks of the world's earliest complex societies. The impact will be significant, and a number of changes will have to be made to the way we

teach and write about world history. First, world history textbooks will need to be updated to reflect this fact. Most of the textbooks I surveyed for this paper stated that the Olmec were the first true “civilization” in the Americas, emerging around the middle of the second millennium BCE. It seems clear that Caral and the Norte Chico region are poised to supplant the Olmec as the first complex society in the Americas, and texts will obviously need to be revised to reflect this change. Second, a number of texts I surveyed contain a chapter titled something along the lines of “The First Complex Societies” which introduces students to the societies that emerged in the Tigris/Euphrates, Nile, Indus, and Yellow River valleys. To this venerable list will have to be added Peru’s Norte Chico region as one of the earliest complex societies in history. Third, the place *where* these texts introduce students to the societies of the Americas prior to the arrival of the Europeans will have to be adjusted. Many texts don’t mention the ancient American societies until well into their timeline of history. In some cases, the Americas are treated as no more than a preface to the Age of Exploration. This is unfortunate because it leads one to conclude that there was little of value taking place in the Americas prior to this time, thus perpetuating a perilous stereotype that has been around since the time of Columbus. By shifting coverage of the early societies of the Americas to an earlier point in the text, not only will students gain a more accurate understanding of the chronology of ancient history, but they will be less likely to fall prey to outdated stereotypes. Finally, by accepting Caral as the earliest complex society in the Americas, historians will gain an invaluable new case study for teaching about the emergence of complex societies. In all of human history, there are only a handful of places in the world where such societies arose without the benefit of any interaction with others. Since Caral and its neighbors had no contact with any other complex society, they offer the historian a useful tool for examining the innovations developed by humans in response to the challenges of organizing society on a large scale. As archaeologists continue to uncover further evidence of civilization in the Norte Chico, it will fall to us to evaluate and analyze the evidence and write a new history: the history of America’s earliest complex society.

ENDNOTES

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Mini-Essays on Latin America

based upon the forthcoming

World History Encyclopedia,
A. J. Andrea, General Editor

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Chinchorro Mummies

The Chinchorro Mummies, discovered in 1917 by archaeologist Max Uhle, are the oldest known anthropogenic mummies, dating between 7020 and 1110 BCE. The word “Chinchorro” means “fishing net” or “raft” and the Chinchorro culture encompassed pre-ceramic fishing peoples who resided along the coasts of modern-day southern Peru and northern Chile.

The Chinchorro culture is believed to be the first in the world to produce anthropogenic, or artificially created, mummies. Utilizing both anthropogenic and natural mummification techniques, Chinchorro society mummified men, women, and children. This fact is unique in that other societies that practiced anthropogenic mummification limited who could be mummified.

Radiocarbon dating has established that the first anthropogenic mummification began around 5050 BCE. Although it is currently unclear as to why the Chinchorro began to anthropogenically mummify their dead, it is known that they first used the technique on children and later adults. There are three hypotheses for why they started the practice: adoration of children, ecological factors, and spiritual concerns.

The first hypothesis is based upon the archaeological evidence that shows children were the first individuals to be anthropogenically mummified. This hypothesis states that the Chinchorro may have started mummifying children because they believed the children would be reincarnated. With an estimated infant mortality rate of approximately fifty per cent among the Chinchorro, this was probably important to their culture. The ecological hypothesis states that through observing the natural mummification processes and techniques, the

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Chinchorro people felt the need to perfect the process through the creation of anthropogenic mummies. It is believed that this need may have come from a desire to control the environment. The spiritual hypothesis states that the Chinchorro started mummifying their deceased in order to keep them “alive” in death. The mummies may have also been used to communicate with the dead or supernatural forces that existed in the world. There is also the belief that the Chinchorro may have also used the mummies in ancestral worship. It should be noted, however, that all of these hypotheses have yet to be proven, and many archaeologists believe that no single factor explains why the Chinchorro first began to anthropogenically mummify their dead.

There are several different types of mummies in Chinchorro culture. The classification system for defining the different types of Chinchorro mummies was created by Bernardo Arriaza in 1993. The types created were natural, black, red, bandage, statuette, and mud-coated mummy types. The earliest mummies are the natural mummies. These were created by leaving the body in the Atacama Desert to dry out before being buried. The body was wrapped in camelid (from the Family Camelidae, which includes the llama, alpaca, and camel) furs and reed mats, and buried with a variety of goods such as fishing and food preparation tools. The practice of natural mummification occurred through time among the Chinchorro and did not stop with the onset of anthropogenic mummification.

The Chinchorro anthropogenically mummified the dead by removing their skin and internal tissues. The internal tissues were replaced with organic materials such as sticks and reeds, while the skin was also replaced. In addition, they placed wigs of human hair on the mummies, and added faces and genitalia modeled out of clay.

There were small differences between varieties of anthropogenic mummies, which caused them to be classified into groups. Black mummies, coated with a layer of black manganese paint, were considered the most complex anthropogenic mummies due to the amount of care put into creating them. Red mummies were created with less care in comparison to the black mummies, and were coated with red paint. Bandage mummies were also painted red except for the face, but were wrapped in various materials such as animal or human skin. Statuette mummies included fetal and animal bones and were

most similar to red mummies. Mud-coated mummies were treated differently from other anthropogenically-created mummies, in that their bodies were smoked and then covered with a thick mud paste after being placed in the grave. No internal tissues were removed for mud-coated mummies.

Christine Boston

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The Panama Canal

The Panama Canal was built by the United States government from 1903-1914, following a failed attempt by the French in the 1880s. Cutting through the Isthmus of Panama (or Isthmus of Darien), the canal connects the Pacific Ocean to the Caribbean Sea. A remarkable engineering feat, and a prime example of then-U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt's "Big Stick" diplomacy, it has been a crucial waterway for commercial and military shipping and remained under U.S. control until 1977. The Isthmus of Darien is only 50 miles wide, but it features difficult terrain, rainforests, heavy rainfall, and disease-bearing mosquitoes. The first European explorer to cross the isthmus was Vasco Nuñez de Balboa (1513), en route to his historic first glimpse of the Pacific Ocean. Under Spanish control, Panama soon became a transit point for shipments of Peruvian bullion that were transported on mule trains across the isthmus before the final sea voyage to Cuba and Spain. Spanish King Charles I (1516-1556) considered digging a canal, but a survey showed that the undertaking was beyond the technology available at the time.

During the California Gold Rush era, land crossings at Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Panama to link shipping lines became a popular travel route to California's Mother Lode terrain. In 1855, when Panama was a province of an independent Colombia, a narrow-gauge railroad financed by U.S. capital

opened. The first attempt to dig a canal was led by Ferdinand de Lesseps, the French diplomat who led a similar project to completion in Suez (1859-1869). Lesseps's private company obtained a 99-year concession from Colombia in 1878, and after purchasing the American-owned railroad in 1880, began excavation the following year.

The French effort was undermined by a variety of factors. First among them was the decision to build a sea-level canal. Although this decision eliminated the need for complicated locks, it greatly increased the scope of the excavation. Furthermore, rainfall and mudslides undermined the capabilities of the then existing steam-powered shovels. Tropical fevers also decimated the workforce, and by 1889 the endeavor had lost 25,000 workers and only completed ten percent of the work. The company also ran out of funds, ruining small shareholders and sparking a massive scandal in France as the company had bribed politicians and journalists to keep its financial troubles secret.

Meanwhile, U.S. interest in a canal increased. The settlement of California and other western states had escalated the need for East-West commerce, which the transcontinental railroads could not fully meet. The Spanish-American War (1898) established the strategic need for a quick route from naval bases in California to the Caribbean. Inspired by the 1823 Monroe Doctrine and Alfred Thayer Mahan's *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890), U.S. politicians such as Theodore Roosevelt (president 1901-1909) concluded that such a canal, if built, should be under U.S. control.

U.S. politicians and engineers considered two other routes beside Panama: the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in southern Mexico, and Nicaragua. The latter was long a U.S. favorite because one could make use of the San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua. But Philippe Bunau-Varilla, an engineer who had worked on the French venture and hoped to profit from his shares in the bankrupt Panama Canal Company, convinced President Roosevelt to opt for Panama by arguing that a Nicaraguan route was longer and dangerously close to volcanoes. The U.S. government bought the company's assets in Panama (including the railroad) for \$40 million.

The Hay-Herran Treaty (1903), named after U.S. Secretary of State John Hay and Colombian chargé d'affaires Tomas Herran, specified that Colombia would grant the United States a renewable 100-year lease on

a six-mile zone that excluded Panama's main cities of Colón and Panamá City for a one-time payment of \$10 million and a yearly \$250,000 rent. The Colombian Senate refused to ratify the treaty, however, and Roosevelt conspired with Panamanian nationalists to incite a rebellion in Panama. A U.S. naval blockade prevented Colombia from rushing in reinforcements and allowed Panama to obtain its independence in November 1903. Bunau-Varilla, now an ambassador, subsequently signed the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty (1903) under which Panama accepted the same financial compensation previously rejected by Colombia, but had to grant the United States a larger, 10-mile wide zone in perpetuity (the United States also obtained partial authority for police and sanitation in Colón and Panamá City). Panamanians objected that the treaty had been negotiated by a non-national, to no avail.

The U.S. government then focused on solving the epidemiological problems that had plagued the French effort. Dr. Carlos Juan Finlay of Cuba had rightly posited in 1881 that one species of mosquitoes (the *Stegomyia fasciata*) transmitted yellow fever. In 1897, British physician Ronald Ross had identified another species of mosquitoes, *Anopheles*, as the carrier of malaria. Dr. William C. Gorgas led a massive sanitation effort that drastically reduced yellow fever and malaria cases in Panama by destroying mosquito breeding grounds.

The work itself, led by Chief Engineers John F. Wallace, John F. Stevens, and Lt. Col. George W. Goethals, began in earnest in 1904 and lasted until 1914. Instead of the sea-level design advocated by de Lesseps, the U.S. design centered on a dam built at Gatún, creating an artificial lake that allowed ships to sail through the isthmus while minimizing excavation at the highest point of the isthmus (Culebra Cut). Starting from Colón on the Caribbean side, ships were to be raised by 3

pairs of massive locks (110 feet wide and 1,000 feet long) up to the height of Gatún Lake; sail through the lake and the high part of the canal; then be lowered through two pairs of locks (Pedro Miguel), then another pair (Miraflores) to the Pacific Ocean. Other improvements included heavier machinery and better use of the existing railroad to haul debris away from the construction site.

The canal was completed under budget in 1914 at a total cost of \$365 million. The canal was protected by permanent U.S. bases and occasional military interventions, the last one in 1989-1990. Under the Panama Canal Treaties, signed in September 1977 by U.S. President James E. Carter and Panamanian leader Omar Torrijos, the United States agreed to give the canal to Panama in 2000, while retaining the right to

intervene militarily should neutral access to the canal be impeded. Over 14,000 ships transited the canal in fiscal year 2005.

Philippe R. Girard

Further Reading

- Mack, Gerstle. *The Land Divided: A History of the Panama Canal and Other Isthmian Canal Projects*. NY: Octagon Books, 1974.
- Major, John. *Prize Possession - The United States and the Panama Canal, 1903-1979*. Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- McCullough, David. *The Path Between the Seas: the Creation of the Panama Canal, 1870-1914*. NY: Simon and Schuster, 1977.

World History Connected

Celebrating its fourth anniversary, *World History Connected: The Ejournal of Learning and Teaching* [worldhistoryconnected.org] publishes its fall issue in November, the theme is Religion in World History. All articles may be downloaded for class use. The fall issue highlights the following essays and columns.

Essays

- Diane Moore, *Overcoming Religious Illiteracy: A Cultural Studies Approach*;
- Claire Sisisky, *Re-Thinking How to Teach about Religion in the World History Classroom through Collaborative Peer Education*;
- Mike Weber, *Teaching Religion in World History*;
- Jack Betterly, *Teaching about Buddhism Before Moving on to Macedon*;
- Harold Tanner, *Focus on Neo-Confucianism for the World History Curriculum*; and
- David Lindenfield, *Syncretism*.

Columns

- James A. Diskant, "Makeover Column II: Engaging Students to Think Deeply about Political Choices".
- Tom Laichas, "From Charnel House to School House".
- Timothy May, "To the Left of Chinggis Khan".
- Janet Martin, "A Lesson on Yasukuni Shrine: Teaching Shintoism and History by Analogy".

With readership growing, *WHC* will expand its services with a bulletin board for its readers. *WHC* is seeking articles for upcoming issues:

- Issue #9 (Winter 2007): All topics
- Issue #10 (Spring 2007): Gender and Family in World History
- Issue #11 (Fall 2007): Latin America in World History
- Issue #12 (Winter 2008): Commodities and Consumption in World History

Check <http://worldhistoryconnected.press.uiuc.edu/submissions.html> for submission guidelines.

Past issues of *World History Connected* are archived at the History Cooperative [http://www.historycooperative.org] *WHC* shares a search engine with *The American Historical Review*, *The History Teacher*, *The Journal of World History* and some 20 other journals. The summer issue of *WHC*, with a guest editorial by Eckhardt Fuchs and Karen Oslund, features essays on teaching world history from the German Historical Institute including

- *World History: Curriculum and Controversy* by Peter Stearns;
- *The Role of Technology in World History Teaching* by T. Mills Kelly;
- *Why Teach World History in School: Curriculum Reform in German Secondary Education* by Eckhardt Fuchs;
- *Integrating World History Perspectives into a National Curriculum: A Feasible Way to Foster Globally Oriented Historical Consciousness in German Classrooms?* by Susanne Popp;
- *The Dilemmas of a National Assessment in World History: World Historians and the 12th Grade NAEP* by Robert Bain and Tamara Shreiner; and
- *Taking the Next Step: World History and General Education on the American Campus* by Anthony J. Steinhoff.

Other articles from the summer issue address "Teaching and Practicing World History at the Secondary and University Levels" with essays by Adrian Carton and Patrick Manning, *Fostering Global Interactions? An experiment in Teaching World History across National Boundaries*; Marnie Hughes-Warrington, *World History and World Histories*; and Michael Marcus, *Big History in Little Places: Hometown Glimpses of the Human Web*.

World History Connected, Inc. is published by the University of Illinois Press and is an official publication of the World History Association. Its institutional home is Washington State University. *World History Connected, Inc.* is generously supported by The World History Association, The College Board, the Social Studies School Service, and many individual donations by world history educators. The *WHC* staff includes Editors Heather Streets (Washington State University) and Tom Laichas (Crossroads School), Book Review Editor Ane Lintvedt (McDonogh School), and Managing Editor Heidi Roupp.

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

Phi Alpha Theta and the World History Association, with a generous subvention from Pearson Prentice Hall, Inc., a publisher of history textbooks, are co-sponsoring a student paper prize in world history. An award of \$400 will be given for the best undergraduate world history paper, and an additional award of \$400 will be presented for the best graduate-level world history paper, both composed during the academic year of 2006-2007.

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

To qualify for this competition, students must be members of either The World History Association or Phi Alpha Theta and must have composed the paper while enrolled at an accredited college or university during 2006-2007.

- All submitted papers must be no longer than 30 typewritten (double-spaced) pages of text, exclusive of the title page, endnotes, and bibliography.
- All pages, except for the title page, must be numbered, and all endnotes must conform to standard historical formats.
- Parenthetical notes are not to be used.
- The author's identity is to appear nowhere on the paper.
- A separate, unattached page should accompany the paper, identifying the author (along with the title of the paper) and providing that person's home address, telephone number, e-mail address (if available), college affiliation, graduating year and status (undergraduate or graduate student), and the association (WHA or PAT) to which the person belongs. Phi Alpha Theta members must indicate the institution at which they were inducted and the year.
- A one-page (250-word) abstract must accompany each submission. Abstracts of winning papers will be published in all announcements of competition results.
- Additionally, a letter or e-mail from a relevant history faculty member (the supervising professor, the Chair of the department, or the Phi Alpha Theta chapter advisor) must attest to the fact that the paper was composed during the academic year of 2006-2007.
- Papers submitted that do not adhere to these guidelines will be disqualified.

To Submit:

- Send an e-mail to Alfred.Andrea@uvm.edu or alfredo@thewha.org, attaching electronic files of 1) the paper, 2) the page with identifying information, and 3) the abstract attached as Word files. The faculty member's letter must be e-mailed or posted separately. This is the preferred method. **OR**
- Send four (4) printed copies of each of the following: the paper, the page with identifying information, the abstract, and the faculty member's letter to: Professor A.J. Andrea, Department of History, The University of Vermont, Burlington, VT 05405-0164

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

Entries must be e-mailed or postmarked by August 15, 2007.

NCSS UPDATE

For this year's National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) annual meeting in Washington, DC, world history folks will again have the opportunity to attend the Special Interest Group (SIG) breakfast on Saturday morning. Not only will this be a chance for world history folks to get together, but we also have what should prove to be a great guest speaker. Diane Ryan, who has a double appointment, Harvard Divinity and Philips Andover, will be speaking on "Overcoming Religious Illiteracy: A Learner-Centered Method for Training Teachers."

Although the deadline has passed for the breakfast registration, there will also be a number of sessions dealing with world history for teachers to attend. You can view these by going to: <http://static.ncss.org/files/art/conference/Preview2006w.pdf>

If you have not been to the annual meeting, now is the time. The meeting will be held in the brand new convention center in Washington, DC. Like the breakfast, this is a great chance to get together with other world history colleagues and to learn about what is happening in the field. This is also a great opportunity to attend the exhibits and discover what is new in the publishing field and get samples of the new items. Along with the publisher displays, there is a wide range of other kinds of exhibits of interest to teachers.

A "word to the wise" is that you should register and reserve your hotel room as soon as possible since the hotels close to the Convention Center tend to sell out quickly.

Monty Armstrong, List Moderator - AP World History

RECENT ON-LINE REVIEWS OF BOOKS RELATING TO LATIN AMERICA

H-Caribbean <<http://www.h-net.org/~carib/>>

Order and Place in a Colonial City: Patterns of Struggle and Resistance in Georgetown, British Guiana, 1889-1924. Reviewer: David Dodman

Gone is the Ancient Glory: Spanish Town, Jamaica, 1554-2000. Reviewer: Colleen A. Vasconcellos

Revisiting Caribbean Labour: Essays in Honour of O. Nigel Bolland. Reviewer: Linden Lewis

No Bond but the Law: Punishment, Race, and Gender in Jamaican State Formation, 1780-1870. Reviewer: Bridget Brereton

Contemporary Caribbean Cultures and Societies in a Global Context. Reviewer: Dave Ramsaran

Thoughts on the Objectionable System of Labour for Wages in the West India Colonies and of the Necessity of Substituting a System of Tenancy and Allotment of the Staple Cultivation. Reviewer: Rita Pemberton

H-LatAm <<http://www.h-net.org/~latam/>>

The Birth of Modern Mexico, 1780-1824. Reviewer: Marcial E. Ocasio-Melendez

Santeria Enthroned: Art, Ritual, and Innovation in an Afro-Cuban Religion. Reviewer: Michael Stone

Sugar, Slavery, and Society: Perspectives on the Caribbean, India, the Mascarenes, and the United States. Reviewer: Christopher Ebert

Hall of Mirrors: Power, Witchcraft, and Caste in Colonial Mexico. Reviewer: Caterina Pizzigoni

Oil and Development in Venezuela during the 20th Century. Reviewer: Robert L. Smale

XV Annual Conference World History Association of Texas

PERSPECTIVES

February 24, 2007

Send Proposals to:
Dr. Richard Milk
Department of History & Geography
Texas Lutheran University
1000 W. Court St
Sequim, TX 78155

Graduate students are encouraged to send proposals. There will be a separate panel for undergraduate papers. For more information, please contact Dr. Milk at rmilk@tlu.edu or call him at 830-372-6083. Please visit our website at www.tlu.edu for updates and information.

From Teachers Across Borders

The devastation wrought by the Khmer Rouge and civil war is visible across Cambodia today. In a country desperately trying to recover, education is a primary tool Cambodians are using to rebuild their lives and improve opportunities for their children. Many Cambodian teachers have had limited exposure to the academic world. With increasing educational demands, Cambodian teachers find themselves with limited opportunities to become acquainted with recent scholarship or improved teaching methods. Good libraries and teacher training are essential to develop sound and effective educational programs. The goal of Teachers Across Borders, Inc. is to provide a workshop for every Cambodian teacher within ten years. 432 Cambodian teachers have participated in the first two years of workshops. To support their work, some 200 boxes of books and journals have been shipped to Cambodia. Is your office filled with books and journals you no longer use? Please send neglected treasures to Jeff Broude, Librarian; University Library; California State University, DH; 1000 E. Victoria; Carson, CA 90747. They will be joyfully received in Cambodian schools and universities. Teachers Across Borders, Inc. is a 501c3 organization, incorporated in Colorado. Donations are tax deductible. For more information about the work of the organization, visit the TAB website, [<http://www.teachersacrossborders.org>] -- Heidi Roupp

A Look Back

The following essay originally appeared in Volume XII Number 2 (Fall 1997) of the Bulletin.

Terra Incognita: Latin America in World History

Suzanne B. Pasztor
Humboldt State University

Introduction

The intent of this paper is to focus on the task of integrating Latin American history into the world history survey course. It is based on four years of teaching the world history survey, and attempts to provide the perspective of a Latin American specialist. This paper is also intended to elicit criticism and recommendations on this topic, since the author is still fairly new to the teaching of world history.

My experience in teaching the survey has occurred thus far in two different contexts. The first was the freshman general education course in world history taught at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse. This was a two-semester sequence divided at 1500 and utilizing Anthony Esler's *The Human Venture* as the core text. My second and more recent experience has been with a course entitled "Perspectives in World History." "Perspectives" is a one-semester course that is part of a three-course curriculum for the School of International Studies at the University of the Pacific. (The other courses, "Contemporary World I" "Contemporary World II," focus exclusively on the twentieth century.) Unlike freshman survey at La Crosse "Perspectives" is designed to expose first and second-year international studies majors not only to world history, but to the different interpretations of world history and, by extension, to the historian's task of reconstructing and interpreting that history. The Perspectives course has utilized two different core texts: William McNeill's *A World History* and most recently William J. Duiker and Jackson J. Spielvogel's *World History*. In a broader attempt to introduce students to different interpretations of the past, this course also incorporates L.S. Stavrianos' book, *Lifelines from Our Past*, Clive Ponting's *A Green History of the World*, and Edward Hallet Carr's classic *What is History?*¹

As a Latin American specialist, I approached these two different courses with an eye toward trying to explain the region in a little more detail than other non-specialists might do in their courses. In particular, I have struggled to get beyond some of the generalities about this region that seem to prevail in the core texts, while searching for

more satisfying and complete ways to integrate Latin America into the picture of world history.

Textbook Treatments of Latin America: Some General Observations

A perusal of world history texts pre-Columbian America confirms tendency of many to consign Latin America to the position of a "backwater."² Often too, text authors lump together Americas and Africa, emphasizing the relatively late development of civilizations in both areas, and underscoring the fact that, in both cases, scholars are hampered in their attempt to reconstruct the past by the lack of written records and the inability to "decipher" physical remains.

Anthony Esler's *The Human Venture* is a good example of these tendencies. Esler refers to the early civilizations of Africa and the Americas as "lost civilizations," while focusing on the material remains and extrapolating from them information about social, political, and religious/cultural structures. In the Duiker text, the Americas are treated separately (and perhaps a bit more completely), but with the same basic information on political and social structures, as well as religion and artistic achievements. William McNeill's *A World History* provides the briefest treatment of the pre-Columbian era: "since the higher culture of the Aztec and Inca empires left only limited traces behind, we can afford to be quite cursory in our consideration of Amerindian civilization."³ For McNeill, the Americas were part of the "fringes of the civilized world" in the period before AD 1500.

Most world history texts provide a basic narrative of the encounter between Iberia and the New World, including a discussion of the motives for this phase of European imperialism and the weakness of the core civilizations of the Aztecs and the Incas on the eve of contact. Thanks to the work of Alfred Crosby in *The Columbian Exchange*, students are also now exposed to a somewhat detailed discussion of the transfer of new food, plants, animals, and diseases between the Old World and the Americas. Latin America is then often treated as something of a colonial backwater, as Iberian institutions were imposed and adapted to New World situations. For Anthony Esler, the stereotype of a colonial "siesta" seems operative: "Colonial Latin America remained a sprawling region of isolated villages, back country plantations, and provincial cities. Sleepy plazas were ringed by dusty colonial Baroque churches and palaces. Indians drowsed, mestizos hustled, and colonial gentlefolk in last year's European fashions strolled in the late-afternoon shade."⁴ William McNeill uses the interesting combination of Russia and the Americas, referring to them as "Europe's outliers," and noting that both areas were compelled, during the colonial period, to respond to pressures from Western Europe, while they gradually became a part of "Western civilization."⁵

The transition from colonial to modern Latin America is most often treated with a brief narration of the independence movements, and with a discussion of the problems that persisted in the aftermath of independence. Economic dependency and political instability are the problems usually highlighted. Since most texts provide information about nineteenth-century caudillismo and authoritarianism, and twentieth-century military regimes, students do tend to receive good information on the political theme.

These, then, are some of the common ways in which world history texts incorporate Latin America. The biggest problem, it seems to me, is the general tendency to essentialize Latin America as underdeveloped and politically backward—less willing or less able to create stable political institutions and traditions. I would suggest that the overall picture of Latin America that is presented in many texts continues to reflect certain biases, the effect of which is to suggest to students that this region is somehow less than crucial to understanding of the world. In striving to represent a truly global world history survey, it seems to me that we need to look for ways to provide a more complete and more dynamic view of Latin America. Below are some strategies I have been working with in order to accomplish this task.

Pre-Columbian America

For the pre-Columbian period, the tendency to essentialize the Americas as underdeveloped is particularly strong. One of the most useful things I have done in this part of the world history course is to engage students in a discussion of William McNeill's observations. First, that the development of civilization was delayed in the Americas because the staple crop of maize took a long time to develop. Second, that the Americas had few domesticable animals that could serve as a food source or a source of power.⁶

These two observations can be used to ask the broader question of why certain areas experienced "civilization" late, in comparison to others, and to address the issue of what components are necessary for civilizations to grow and thrive. Such a discussion tends to focus, inevitably, on technology and the absence of certain technological developments (e.g. the wheel, gunpowder) in the Americas. This observation in turn can be used to ask why such technological advances did not occur in the Americas and what is necessary to encourage such advances. One interesting answer to this last question relates to challenges from the outside: in order to advance technologically, civilizations and cultures must face external challenges, just as Eurasia faced the challenge of invasions from barbarian groups. This kind of discussion can be used to underscore the key factor of isolation in the pre-Columbian history of the Americas. With the recent publication of Jared Diamond's *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, world history teachers have an even better source

with which to engage students in a discussion of comparative development. Diamond provides a thought-provoking discussion of the question: "why did human development proceed at such different rates on different continents?" And for the purposes of explaining Latin American history, Diamond's contention that "the availability of domestic plants and animals ultimately explains why empires, literacy, and steel weapons developed earliest in Eurasia and later, or not at all, on other continents," is of tremendous importance.⁷

In the Perspectives course, another interesting sidelight emerged from this discussion of development—a questioning of the value judgments inherent in calling certain areas "civilized" and others "backwaters." Interestingly, the McNeill text mirrors this quite well, since it tends to use the post-1500 dominance of the West as the philosophical and organizational key to world history. As one of my team teachers, an expert in anthropology pointed out, our whole view of biological and social evolution is based on the value judgment that "civilization" is the goal. We tend less to ask the question of how successful groups/cultures are in adapting to their environments and their own needs.

In teaching about pre-Columbian America, I have also found it useful to show the film *Lost Kingdoms of the Maya*, which seems to be a popular addition to many Latin American and world history courses. Students tend to respond well to this film, and I have used it primarily to illustrate the immense task of reconstructing the past based on material remains. Most recently in the Perspectives course, however, the film also became the jumping off point for the discussion on comparative development and I realized that it can also be used to address the issue of collapse vs. evolution—i.e., the film makes the point that the Maya did not disappear but remain today as an enduring part of the Mesoamerican landscape. It is interesting to ask students why we tend to believe that when urban centers like Chichén Itzá and Palenque fall, the culture falls (and even "disappears") with it.

The Conquest and Colonial Eras

Since the tendency of many textbooks is to continue the presentation of a Latin American "backwater" into the conquest and colonial eras, I have tried several strategies to produce a more dynamic view of these aspects of the Latin American past. The growing body of excellent literature by social historians facilitates this task. Inga Clendinnen's book, *Ambivalent Conquests*, provides excellent material for a lecture and discussion about the less than complete nature of Spanish conquest in the Maya region, as well as interesting anecdotes that illustrate the phenomenon of religious syncretism.

Clendinnen explores, for example, the Maya use of Christian and European objects like wax, Spanish wine, and the crucifix.

These things were incorporated into the Maya's own rituals, which persisted in the face of Franciscan attempts at conversion. Likewise, the Mayan account of the death of Christ as recounted in the sacred writings, the Books of Chilam Balam, reveals a distinctly Mayan interpretation of that event which calls into question the true nature of the Spanish spiritual conquest of Yucatán. Finally, Clendinnen notes that ceremonial practices among the contemporary Maya of Yucatán still assert Maya distinctiveness and autonomy.⁸

The theme of Indian resistance to European conquest and the often dubious nature of that conquest can also be illustrated by having students read the brief and accessible article by Nancy M. Farriss, "Persistent Maya Resistance and Cultural Retention in Yucatán." This article provides an excellent description of how Yucatán's Maya "absorbed" but were not "overwhelmed" by Spanish influences. Farriss also provides an intriguing explanation of how the Maya themselves "fit" the arrival of the Spaniards into their own world view.⁹

Another strategy that I have used, and that seems to generate student interest, involves a discussion of gender roles among pre-Columbian peoples, and how these changed with the Iberian conquest. Irene Silverblatt's anthropological study of Andean gender relations, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, provides intriguing information about the options for Andean women prior to Inca conquest, after Inca conquest, and after Spanish conquest. She makes a case for relative male-female equality before the Inca conquest of the Andes and shows, particularly through a discussion of the Inca empire's use of *acllas* (single women who served as a kind of Andean equivalent of the "vestal virgins" of Rome), that the Inca rulers began to break down that male-female equality. The *acllas* definitively separated women from men and assigned them a new status—that of the "conquered." Interdependence between men and women, the basis of balance in Andean society, was undermined as women became objects to the Incas.

Silverblatt continues her analysis with a discussion of the effect of Spanish conquest, focusing on the Spanish institution of private property which, she argues, contributed to the new tendency to view Andean women as objects. Just as the *acllas* made groups of women servants of the Inca male religious cult, and in many cases, sexual and marriage partners for the Inca conquerors, so did the Spanish institution of private property force many Andean women to sell their labor and, in some cases, become prostitutes and mistresses. In both cases, women lost their political/religious, and therefore social, identity to men.¹⁰

Such information helps students realize that historical events can have vastly different consequences depending on the gender of the historical actors. This approach also helps underscore the importance of using gender as a category of historical analysis.

Modern Latin America

For the modern era, I would suggest that we should approach Latin America with two specific objectives: first, to highlight the importance of continuity in Latin America's history, and second, to challenge some of the "Westernized" assumptions that sometimes creep in to our consideration of contemporary Latin America.

The theme of economic dependency is one that can be effectively projected into the contemporary era so that students can clearly see the persistence of the colonial heritage in Latin America. One of the most effective things I have done in this regard is to show part of a film from the PBS "Americas" series which was first aired in 1993.¹¹ The video, *Get Up, Stand Up*, has a section on Jamaica that deals with that country's attempt during the 1970s to assert its economic independence under the Democratic Socialism of Prime Minister Michael Manley. The Manley administration imposed a high tax on its prized commodity, bauxite, which was extracted and processed by foreign companies. Manley used the revenues to address social problems.

The response of "stronger" industrialized nations, including the United States, was predictably negative, and Manley was soon succeeded by a right-wing free-trade advocate, Eduardo Seaga. The video ends with an interview of a changed Manley who again assumed power in 1989. The interview reveals that Manley, and by extension Jamaica, had learned to play by the rules of the game; a game in which small countries must of necessity respond to the needs and direction of stronger countries. This film is an excellent illustration of dependency in action. Discussion of the film brings out the fact that many Latin American countries have little bargaining power within the global system and that this places important limitations on Latin America's independence. [This video can also be used in the context of discussing Latin America's place in the Cold War, since it highlights the fact that Manley's assertion of economic independence was seriously hampered by the Cold War climate (Manley was branded a communist by the U.S. and his visit with Castro didn't help).]

Many world history texts carry the economic theme beyond 1945 with a discussion of Latin America's attempt to modernize through import Substitution Industrialization (ISI). In our era of free trade and global economics, it is useful to explore the cycle that began with ISI, continued with the failure of this policy and the subsequent attempt to dismantle state-run industries and services, and is now continuing with further deregulation as many countries attempt to open up their economies to free trade.

Since Mexico was the first to move toward free trade, I find it useful to explore the economic cycle through the eyes of Mexican policymakers and Mexicans themselves. After a discussion on the movement from ISI to free trade, I often show the

video, *Continent on the Move*, also part of the PBS “Americas” series. This video traces Mexico’s economic history from the late 1940s to the 1980s to show the human costs involved in Mexico’s attempt, first, to assert its economic power through oil and second, to move toward a deregulated economy oriented toward trade with more developed countries. The maquiladora industry is depicted very well in this film, and can serve as a centerpiece for discussion of the question: modernization and free trade at what cost?

The theme of political instability in modern Latin America seems fairly easy for students to grasp, perhaps because they can still witness this today or because they have been exposed to this stereotype. Less clear are the connections between political instability, authoritarianism, and the active role of the military in Latin American politics.

As with economic dependency, it is important to discuss the continuities inherent in Latin American history, and to underscore the region’s colonial heritage. Specifically, I have found it useful to discuss the phenomenon of caudillismo in greater detail than most textbooks do, and to suggest continuity with the colonial period by introducing the interesting ideas of Hugh Hamill presented in his article, “Caudillismo and Independence: A Symbiosis?” Hamill uses the analogy of a wheel to explain the administration of colonial Spanish America. The spokes become the colonial officials, while the hub of the wheel represents the Spanish crown. The key point about Spanish colonial administration is that decision-making was always forced to the top, discouraging the development of viable connections among colonial officials in the colonies themselves. This, as well as the distance of the Spanish crown, and the already existing Spanish tradition of selling public offices, encouraged a kind of personalistic approach to governance that has persisted to this day. Independence, as Hamill points out, removed the center, leaving a tremendous power vacuum that personalistic caudillos like Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna in Mexico and Juan Manuel de Rosas in Argentina, moved to fill.

In addition to providing a useful analogy for colonial administration and the collapse of same with independence, the Hamill article also challenges students to think about the value judgment we often bring to an assessment of Latin American politics, particularly the politics of the early nineteenth century which were very much dominated by caudillismo. Hamill urges us to remember the GASP factor—the tendency to judge Latin America’s political history through the eyes of a Gringo Anglo Saxon Protestant. Through this perspective, the tendency is to decry caudillismo as a lack of democracy and a backward way of conducting politics/government. In fact, as Hamill points out, caudillismo may very well have been a viable solution to the problem of political instability in the initial years after Latin American independence.¹²

A final theme that I have tried to expand upon in the world history course is the theme of race and ethnicity in Latin America. Here again, there is an opportunity to point out continuities between colonial and modern Latin America. For me, this is also an opportunity to test the assertion that is made by some texts, that Latin America, especially in comparison with the United States, has experienced more racial harmony and greater racial assimilation. In *A History of World Societies*, by John McKay, Bennett Hill, and John Buckler, for example, the authors use the idea of a three-tiered (white, colored, or black) socio-racial structure as vs. the two-tiered (white or black) structure of the U.S., to explain the greater assimilation in Latin America—because legal discrimination was more difficult in a three-tiered structure that, moreover, accepted marriages “between whites and light-skinned colored people.”¹³ Likewise, Fernand Braudel in his *A History of Civilizations* makes the assertion that, “The first and not the only difference between North and South America is surely the latter’s spontaneous and growing freedom from ethnic prejudice.”¹⁴

To introduce the topic of race, ethnicity, and assimilation, I have a mini-lecture on the colonial *casta* system that was used by the Spanish colonial administration to classify people according to their ethnic heritage and that was a good reflection of the concept of *limpieza de sangre* or “purity of blood”; a concept that accompanied the Spanish crown into the Americas. I make the point that, from the beginning, the *casta* system was remarkably fluid, and that one could actually “purchase” his way into a “lighter-skinned” category through a *gracias al sacar* certificate. At the same time, however, I emphasize that too many Peninsulars and Creoles, phenotype and bloodlines did matter and I suggest that this is still true in many parts of modern Latin America.

To try to illustrate the continuing concern over race and ethnicity, as well as the fact that ethnic categories are still remarkably fluid in Latin America, I have used the video *Mirrors of the Heart* (once again, a part of the PBS “Americas” series). In this video students are introduced to the topic of indigenism. By following one Quechua family in modern Bolivia, students hear the ways in which some indigenous peoples define themselves and they see that such definitions can be expressed in different ways: through personal political agendas, through choice of profession, through dress, and even through hairstyle. The second part of this video deals with Haiti and the Dominican Republic, and reveals that, in these two modern countries, the issue of a negritude or blackness is still very much alive. Students learn that Haiti, where a black slave revolt was the impetus for independence, a kind of Black Nationalism still prevails. Alternatively, in the country next door, blackness is less a cause for celebration, and Dominicans often have aspirations

to “whiten” themselves through marriage and other means. I have found that students are very interested in the general topic of self-definition, and these Latin American case studies have stimulated good class discussions.

Conclusion

These, then, are some of the strategies that I have incorporated into my teaching Latin America within the world history course. Providing a more complete and dynamic view of this area, while challenging some of the prevailing assumptions about the culture and history of Latin Americans, continues to be an important goal of mine. In the quest to globalize the teaching of history, it is important to remember that simply adding “forgotten” regions to an already existing framework is but a partial answer. Only when we address and try to correct the tendency to essentialize certain areas of the world, will we begin to impart a truly global history to our studies.

ENDNOTES

¹ Perspectives in World History was team taught this past year by the author, and Professors Bruce LaBrack and Cort Smith. I am grateful to both for their insights and suggestions.

² Comments about textbook treatment are based on a reading of several core texts that seem to be widely used in American universities and colleges. These include: Richard Greaves, Robert Zaller, et al., *Civilizations of the World: The Human Adventure*, 3rd Edition (New York: Addison-Wesley, 1997); J.M. Roberts, *History of the World* (New York: Oxford, 1993); William McNeill, *A World History*, 3rd Edition (New York: Oxford, 1979); Anthony Esler, *The Human Venture*, 2nd Edition (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1992); John P. McKay, Bennett D. Hill, John Buckler, *A History of World Societies*, 2nd Edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988); Fernand Braudel, *A History of Civilizations*, trans. Richard Mayne (New York: Allen Lane, 1994); and William J. Duiker and Jackson J. Spielvogel, *World History* (St. Paul: West Publishing, 1994).

³ William McNeill, *A World History*, 3rd Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 278.

⁴ Anthony Esler, *The Human Venture*, 2nd Edition (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1992), 526.

⁵ McNeill, *A World History*, 333-336.

⁶ McNeill, *A World History*, 278-282.

⁷ Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), 16, 92.

⁸ Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatán, 1517-1570* (New York: Cambridge, 1988), 162, 173-175, 187.

⁹ Nancy M. Farriss, “Persistent Maya Resistance and Cultural Retention Yucatán,” in John E. Kicza, ed., *The Indian Latin American History* (Wilmington DE: Scholarly Resources, 1993): 51-63.

¹⁰ Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987).

¹¹ “Americas” (South Burlington, VT: Annenberg/CPB Collection, 1993).

¹² Hugh Hamill, “Caudillismo and Independence: A Symbiosis?” in Jaime Rodriguez O., Editor, *The Independence of Mexico and the Creation of a New Nation* (UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1989), 163-174.

¹³ John P. McKay, Bennett D. Hill, John Buckler, *A History of World Societies*, 2nd Edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988), 971-972. The idea of a three-tiered structure is that of the Dutch scholar Hoetnik.

¹⁴ Fernand Braudel, *A History of Civilizations*, trans. Richard Mayne (New York: Allen Lane, 1994), 436. Braudel refers to Latin America’s socio-racial culture as a “quasi-fraternity.”

The Caribbean as Crossroads of World History*

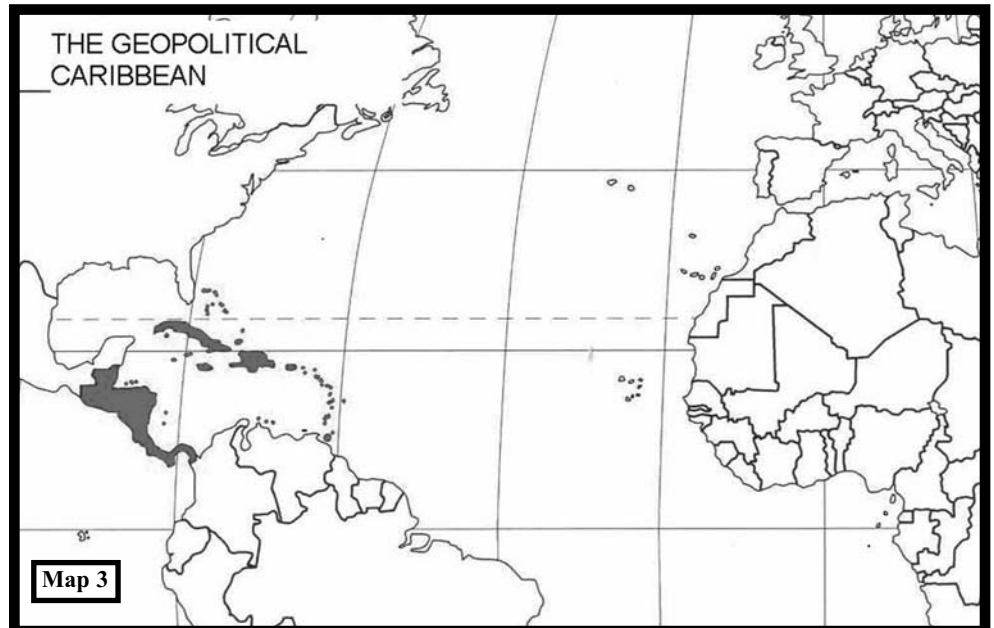
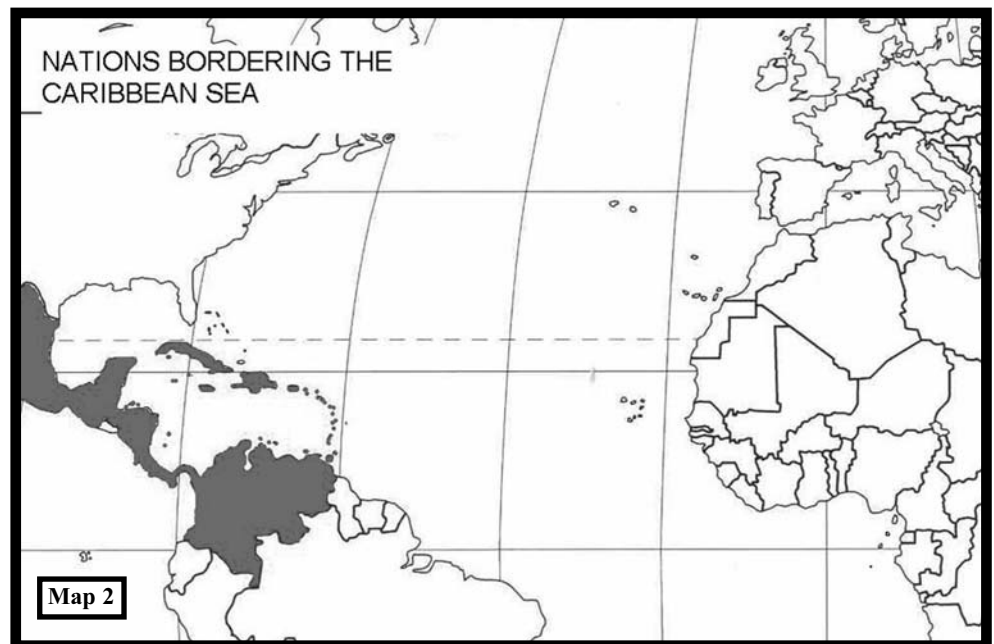
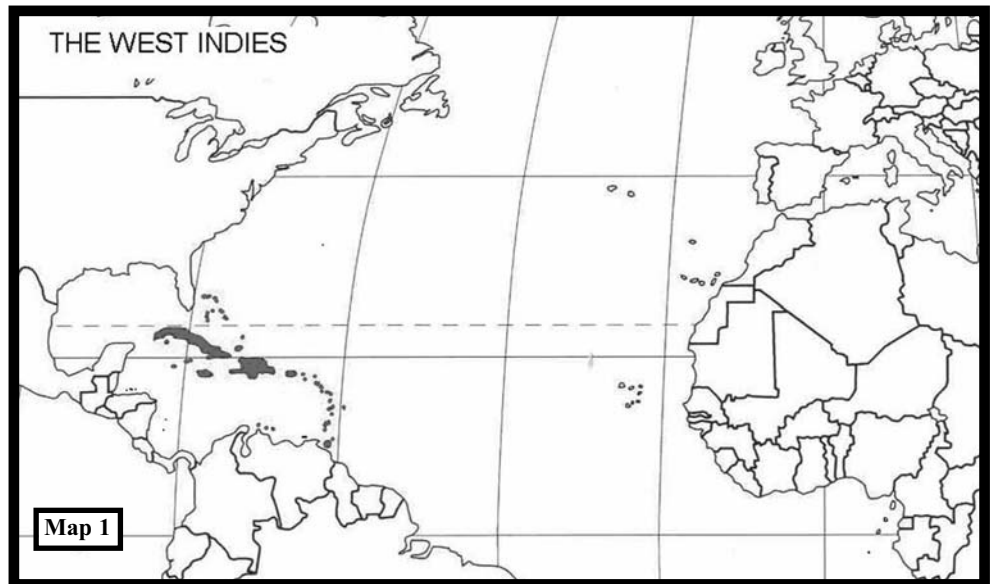
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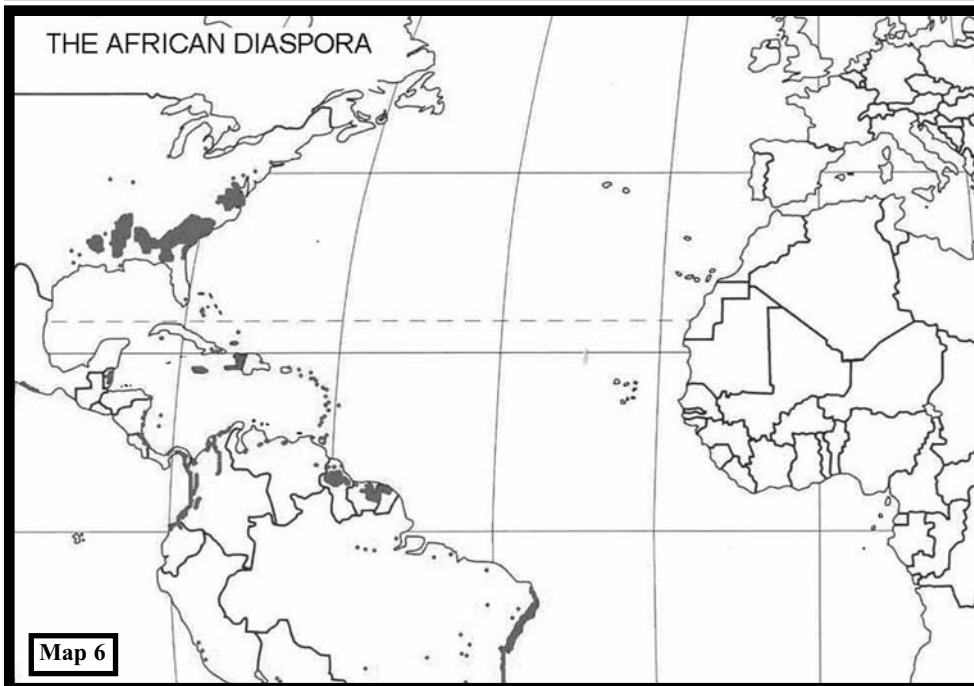
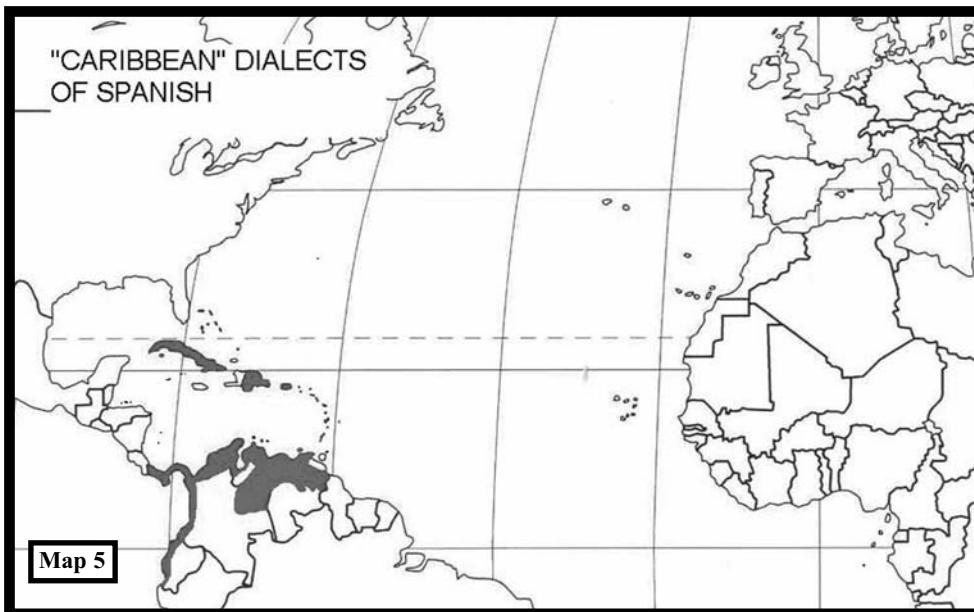
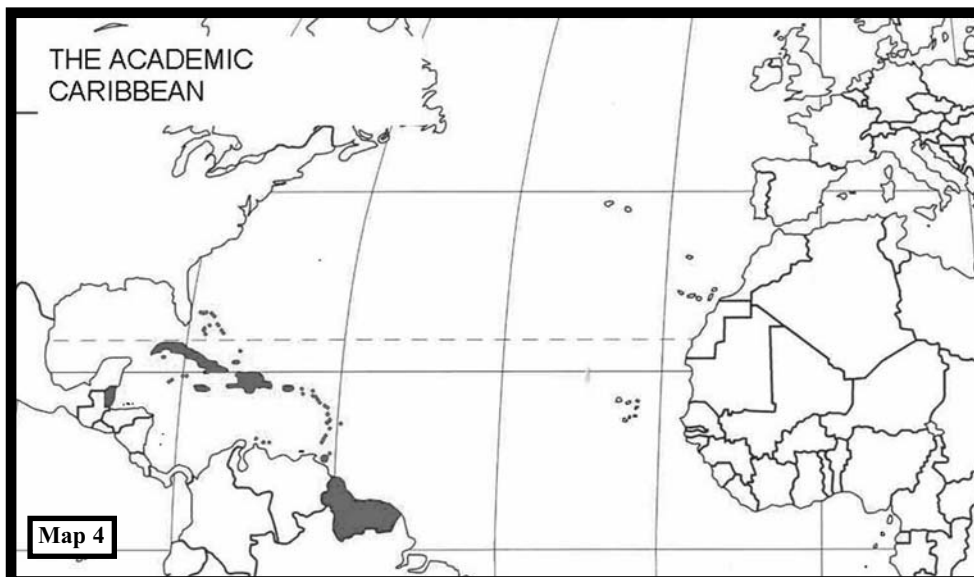
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From the perspective of a world history survey course, the Caribbean is a small region which appears only sporadically. A short list of salient aspects of Caribbean history would have to include Columbus, the sugar plantations, the Haitian Revolution, the Spanish-American War, and Fidel Castro's Cuba. All of these are incomprehensible except as part of larger world events such as European exploration and colonization, the Atlantic slave trade, the Atlantic revolutions, imperialism, and the Cold War. Perhaps more than any other region, the Caribbean demonstrates the necessity of understanding world history in order to understand local events.

I came to realize the importance of the world to this region while designing a Caribbean history survey class. Specifically, the world connection provided an answer to a nagging question: How can this area be defined as a region when its component parts are so diverse? The area commonly called the Caribbean includes twenty-eight political jurisdictions (some independent, some not), four European official languages, perhaps seventeen creole languages, and populations with African, European, Native American, Asian, and mixed ancestries. In trying to find an acceptable concept of the Caribbean region, I reviewed previous definitions and prepared maps for each.

Two definitions of purely geographical convenience can be made: one being the West Indies chain of islands (Map 1), and the other being those countries which border on the Caribbean Sea (Map 2). In addition, United States policymakers had defined a geopolitical Caribbean after 1898, consisting of the islands and the nations of Central America (Map 3).¹ All these definitions are less than satisfying for someone interested in the human history of the area. This problem had been "solved" by Anglophone intellectuals by 1970. Attempting to take culture into account while defining a field of research, they created an academic Caribbean including the islands, the Guianas, and Belize (Map 4).² Such a definition is flawed, however, because there are at least two Caribbeans defined by cultural





similarity. The non-Hispanic countries to the south of the United States form a logical unit of analysis. But it is illogical to include Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico without including parts of the Hispanic mainland countries of Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela, which share at least some common culture in the form of similar dialects of Spanish (Map 5).³ Consequently, Hispanic academics tend to include these regions in the Caribbean, while Anglophone academics do not.⁴

Some scholars have attempted to define the Caribbean as African in population and culture.⁵ Without denying the important African contribution to the Caribbean, we must remember that the African Diaspora spreads across the Americas (Map 6), and that not everyone in the Caribbean is part of it. Creole languages are a cultural trait commonly associated with Afro-Caribbean peoples, but Caribbean creoles have close relatives in the United States and West Africa (Map 7).

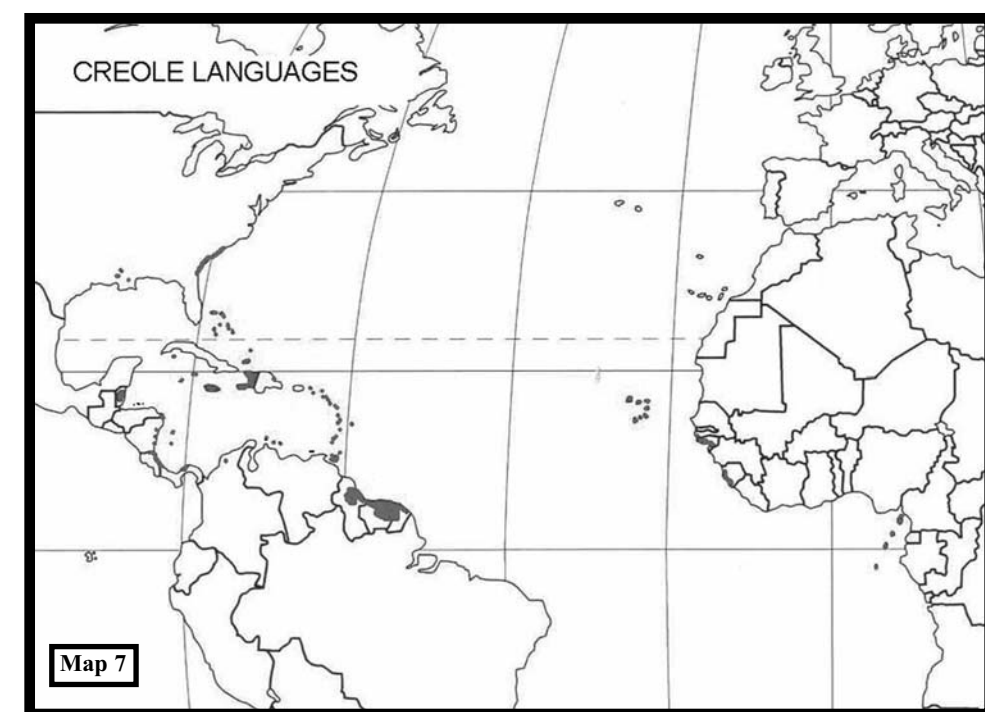
Other scholars characterize the Caribbean as a region dominated by the plantation, particularly the sugar plantation.⁶ But sugar plantations have existed over much of the world at different times, and a map of sugar plantations in the Atlantic world over several centuries (Map 8) indicates a distribution well beyond the Caribbean. Even a stricter definition of European-owned sugar plantations worked by African slaves for an overseas market would have to include northeast Brazil. Linking the Caribbean to sugar also raises the question of whether certain islands were "Caribbean" before or after the dominance of sugar, and suggests that some were never "Caribbean" because sugar plantations were never part of their economy.

Defining the Caribbean is thus no easy task, and the latest theoretical approaches offer little clarification. Postmodern scholars like Mimi Sheller who try to get away from a geographic or cultural-historic definition, nevertheless end up accepting the academic definition.⁷ And if we follow Sheller's reasoning and define the Caribbean as what Europeans and North Americans imagine it to be, we again run into problems. The popular mind has never really chosen one of several competing names (West Indies, Caribbean, Antilles, Caribbees, "the Islands") as authoritative, and at present seems to define the Caribbean as where the resorts are, and where the cruise ships stop.

Popular culture also confuses Caribbean and Pacific islands as generic tropical paradises. In American children's programming, Barney can be seen playing steel drums while wearing a grass skirt, and Spongebob mixes Caribbean pirates with Polynesian designs and Hawaiian guitar music.

Although all definitions of the Caribbean are arbitrary constructions, the term is here to stay. If we want to find a useful concept of the Caribbean that includes both Hispanic and non-Hispanic areas, we have to look for a common theme in all of the conflicting definitions of the region. That theme, I suggest, is that the Caribbean has, since 1492, been in constant and intimate contact with the outside world. The nearness of the sea makes the region easily penetrable by outsiders, although the myriad islands prevent outsiders from ever completely controlling the region. Its tropical climate has made it valuable to Europeans and North Americans as the nearest place to produce all kinds of products.

In the age of sail, trade winds and currents brought European ships to the Caribbean in about a month to a month and a half, making it the closest part of the New World to Europe. The Caribbean in this period is perhaps best understood as a part of the Atlantic world, and was in fact a crossroads

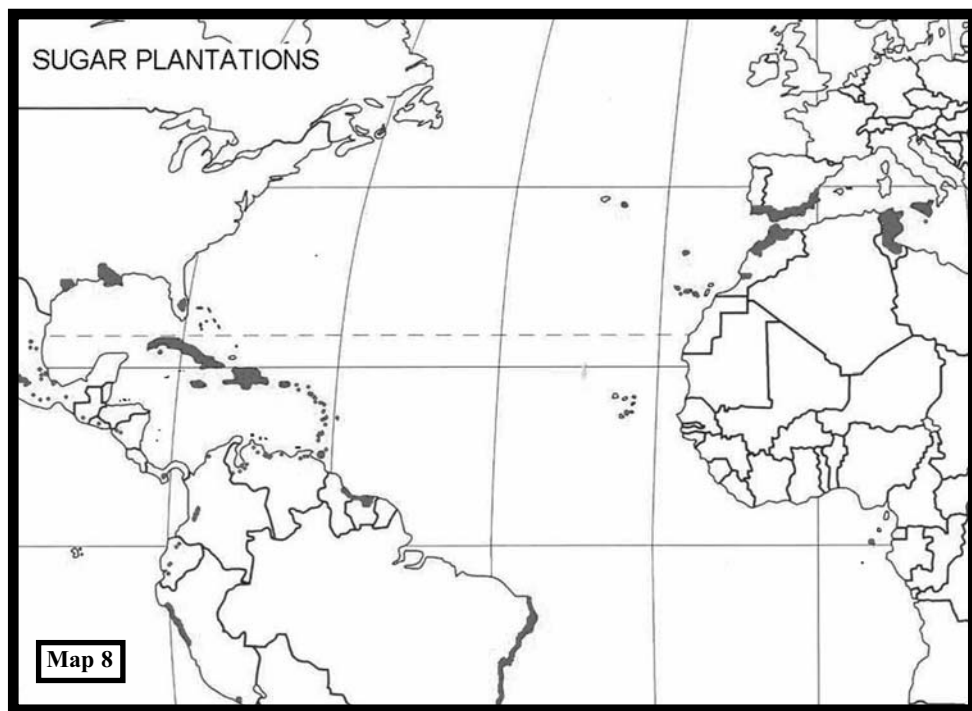


also part of the "Near Atlantic," meaning that it was always profitable to export bulky goods like sugar to Europe.⁹ In effect, the West Indies, Venezuela, the Guianas, and northeast Brazil formed a "Near Tropics" for Europe, as they were all close enough to produce tropical products at a profit. By the late nineteenth century, the Caribbean, Central

Sea assumed a new nickname, the "American Mediterranean."

An easily-accessed Near Tropics, always in touch with the outside world, explains many traits commonly considered to be "Caribbean." The Caribbean style of Spanish colonial maiolica pottery noted by Florence and Robert Lister was all made in Spain and brought to the Caribbean, in contrast to the Mexican, Guatemalan, Panamanian, and Andean styles, which were all produced locally.¹⁰ The Caribbean dialects of Spanish result from constant visits by metropolitan fleets and ships over hundreds of years, bringing the latest linguistic innovations of Andalusia and the Canary Islands.¹¹ This contact never ceased, even as the Spanish Caribbean changed from being the center of Spanish attention, to a corridor on the way to Mexico and Peru, to a renewed center of attention. World historians should also remember that most of the worldwide Columbian exchange of plants, animals, and diseases happened through the Caribbean, and that later tropical transplants from Africa, Asia, and the Pacific to the Americas came to the Caribbean first.

The winds and currents brought northern Europeans to the Caribbean, and Spanish responses to this intrusion, from fortifications to contraband trade, were similar throughout the region. The northern Europeans used this nearby, accessible tropics for sugar plantations beginning in the 1640s. They imported African slaves to work the plantations, who brought all of the



of the Atlantic world. The nickname "Cockpit of Europe," bestowed by Eric Williams, makes the Caribbean's importance in an age of imperial rivalry clear.⁸ It was

America, Mexico, and even Hawaii became a "Near Tropics" for the United States. As the Caribbean region changed from cockpit into backwater for Europeans, the Caribbean

“African” cultural elements sometimes used to define the Caribbean. The Spanish-speaking islands also had sugar plantations and African slaves from the early 1500s, but plantations only boomed in Cuba from the 1760s, in the Dominican Republic from the 1880s, and in Puerto Rico from the 1900s, mostly as a function of United States demand. In an important variation, Venezuela developed cacao plantations in response to Mexican demand in the 1620s, and imported African slaves who brought their culture to the plantation area. The trade between Veracruz and Venezuela helped spread a common Spanish culture in the region.¹²

After sugar declined and slavery disappeared, the Caribbean continued to serve the outside world as an easily-accessed Near Tropics in new ways. It has since provided coffee, bananas, spices, drugs, tourist destinations, and offshore economic opportunities to Europeans and North Americans. A United States economic, cultural, and military presence added another layer of common historic experience to much of the region and is especially visible in the spread of baseball. Louis Pérez's *On Becoming Cuban* makes the point that it is impossible to understand Cuban culture without taking its interaction with American culture into account.¹³ The same can be said of virtually every other political unit in the region.

The Caribbean can thus be understood as a region in which the defining characteristic is constant contact with the outside world. Although each of the region's diverse components is more than just its relationship with the outside world, this is really the only trait that unites them all over several centuries of history. John Stuart Mill noted this feature when he wrote of the Caribbean in 1848:

These are hardly to be looked upon as countries...but more properly as outlying agricultural or manufacturing estates belonging to a larger community. Our West Indian colonies [are]...the place where England finds it convenient to carry on the production of sugar, coffee, and a few other tropical commodities.¹⁴

Nevertheless, it has taken scholars some time to further develop concepts of the Caribbean's relation to the outside world. The writings of the prominent anthropolo-

gist Sidney Mintz demonstrate his changing concept of the Caribbean. In 1971, he tried to define a Caribbean “societal area” based on nine criteria without any one unifying theme. Still, he correctly considered the degree of “Africanization” of population and culture to be a function of the relative importance of the sugar plantation on different islands.¹⁵ In 1985, Mintz noted in passing that “Caribbean people have always been entangled with a wider world.”¹⁶ In 1996, he advanced the view that the colonial Caribbean sugar plantations were examples of “precocious modernity,” and that the Caribbean colonies were the first places in the world to become modern in economic and social organization.¹⁷ But to date, geographer Bonham Richardson has come closer than anyone else to conceiving of the Caribbean as a region defined by its dependence on the outside world. This dependence, Richardson notes, even extends to a reliance on outside supplies of food for survival, so that when local economies slump, malnutrition results.¹⁸

Defining the Caribbean by its relationship with the outside world should not blind us to the real creativity of people at this crossroads of cultures and empires. But because of the Caribbean's intimate relationship with the world, many of its peoples' contributions have traveled rapidly to areas outside the region. Music is the most obvious example, as evidenced by the spread of several Cuban genres (son, rumba, conga, mambo, and cha-cha-chá), Colombian cumbia, Dominican merengue, Jamaican reggae, and Puerto Rican reggaeton. The Caribbean has also produced a long list of novelists, many of whom choose to live outside the Caribbean, and one has only to think of Marcus Garvey and Franz Fanon to realize the importance of Caribbean political activism to the outside world. In addition, Caribbean-born scholars were the first to view the region as a whole, and the first to adopt a non-Eurocentric perspective in works including C.L.R. James' *The Black Jacobins* (1938), W. Adolphe Roberts' *The Caribbean* (1940), Eric Williams' *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944), and Germán Arciniegas' *Caribbean, Sea of the New World* (1946).¹⁹ James and Williams in particular have had a lasting impact on Caribbean and world historiography.

Much of the Caribbean's relationship with the outside world seems to confirm dependency- and world-system theories' concept of a periphery kept in a state of per-

manent underdevelopment by the core nations of Europe and North America. Yet the very openness of the Caribbean fostered connections with Europe, Africa, and both Americas, and the very process of outside domination mixed cultural influences in a way that created new cultures, which in turn influenced the outside world. Here we have a region which is as clearly important to world history as it is incomprehensible out of the context of world history.

Though other regions may be less obviously linked to the rest of the world, it is hard to conceive of any modern region without such links. Since most world historians are trained in some field other than world history, I believe that we can learn a great deal by applying the Caribbean example to our own fields of specialization. In asking ourselves not only “Why is my region important to the world?” but also “Why is the world important to my region?” we can all arrive at a better understanding of the necessity of a world-historical perspective.

ENDNOTES

* A version of this paper was presented at the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Southeast World History Association (SEWHA), Boone, North Carolina, October 20-22, 2006.

¹ Antonio Gaztambide-Géigel argues that these very policymakers were the first to define the region as “the Caribbean” in the wake of the Spanish-American War in “La invención del Caribe en el siglo XX: Las definiciones del Caribe como problema histórico y metodológico,” *Revista Mexicana del Caribe* 1 (1996): 74-96. See also Frank Moya Pons, “Is there a Caribbean Consciousness?” *Américas* 31, 8 (1979): 72-76.

² Norman Girvan, “El Gran Caribe,” http://www.kaleidoscope.caribseek.com/Norman_Girvan/El_Gran_Caribe/index.shtml, (2002), 1.

³ Dominican linguist Pedro Henríquez Ureña first grouped the dialects of these nations together in “Observaciones sobre el español de América,” *Revista de Filología Española* 8 (1921): 357-90.

⁴ Girvan, 2.

⁵ Examples include Robert C. West and John P. Augelli, *Middle America: Its Lands and Peoples* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966), 11; Gaztambide-Géigel, 92; Antonio Benítez Rojo, “La cultura caribeña en Cuba: Continuidad versus ruptura,” *Cuban Studies/Estudios Cubanos* 14, 1 (Winter 1984): 1-15; and Alan West-Durán, ed., *African Caribbeans: A Reference Guide* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2003), xv-xvi.

⁶ Examples include West and Augelli, 14-15; Sidney W. Mintz, “The Caribbean as a Socio-Cultural Area,” in *Peoples and Cultures of the Caribbean*, ed. Michael M. Horowitz (Garden City, NY: Natural History Press, 1971), and Gaztambide-Géigel, 91.

⁷ Mimi Sheller, *Consuming the Caribbean* (London: Routledge, 2003), 5-8. While calling the Caribbean “a projection of Euro-American fantasies and desires,” and “an effect, a fantasy, a set of practices, and a context,” she bounds her area of investigation by the accepted academic definition of the islands, the Guianas, and Belize.

⁸ Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean, 1492-1969* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 69.

⁹ Murdo J. MacLeod includes the West Indies,

Venezuela, the Guianas, and northeast Brazil in the Near Atlantic in *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520-1720* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 199.

¹⁰ Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, "Maiolica in Colonial Spanish America," *Historical Archaeology* 8 (1974):17-52.

¹¹ José Joaquín Montes Giraldo, *Dialectología general e hispanoamericana. Orientación teórica, metodológica y bibliográfica*, 2^a. ed. (Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1987), 214-216; John M. Lipski, *El español de América* (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, S.A., 1996), 41-42.

¹² See Eduardo Arcila Farias, *Comercio entre Venezuela y México en los siglos XVI y XVII* (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1950) for details of this trade.

¹³ Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality, and Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

¹⁴ John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy* (New York: D. Appleton, 1876 [1848]), 685-86, cited in Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), 42.

¹⁵ Mintz, "The Caribbean as a Socio-Cultural Area," 20, 25-26.

¹⁶ Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, xv.

¹⁷ Sidney W. Mintz, "Enduring Substances, Trying Theories: The Caribbean Region as Oikoumene," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2, 2 (June 1996): 295-298. The same argument was implicit in Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, 46-61.

¹⁸ Bonham Richardson, *The Caribbean in the Wider World, 1492-1992: A Regional Geography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 106-131.

¹⁹ Girvan, 1.

Editorial

H. Micheal Tarver

Reflections on the Importance of Teaching the Spanish Borderlands in the United States History Class

Some teachers of American History continue to present the story of the development of the United States as being exclusively a westward movement from Jamestown to Honolulu. What they often do not present is the story of the western region of the United States and the impact that its Spanish culture had on the nation. A pioneer of the study of the U.S. Southwest was Herbert Eugene Bolton, who in 1921 reminded his North American readers that "the Southwest is as Spanish in color and historical background as New England is Puritan, as New York is Dutch, or as New Orleans is French".¹ In his study, Bolton introduced the reader to the history and culture of those regions which had once belonged to Spain and would later become part of the United States. This region would serve as a buffer zone between the Spanish and either the Indians, French, Russians, or the Anglo-Americans. Bolton's seminal work proposed that this "border

land" area which became a part of the United States contributed to the character of the United States, and therefore, deserves to be studied by students of American History. With that exposition, Bolton launched a new area of study within American History, that of the Spanish Borderlands. *This brief essay attempts to illustrate the importance of the Spanish Borderlands to the United States.*

For purposes of this study, the term Spanish Borderlands refers to those areas of the present-day United States which at one time belonged to Spain. The *American Heritage Dictionary* defines borderland as "land on or near a border or frontier" and as "an uncertain area or situation." The Spanish lands on the border between present-day Mexico and present-day United States contained both of these characteristics.² From the landing of Juan Ponce de León in 1513 to the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848, the Spanish Borderlands contained both international boundaries and areas of uncertainty.

The landing of Ponce de León in Florida (1513) became the official "opening" of the history of the Spanish Borderlands. Within seven years of this landing, the entire Gulf of Mexico coast between *La Florida* and the Yucatan peninsula had been charted by the Spanish.³ Thus, the stage had been set for more exploration and additional opportunities became available for the expansion of the Spanish empire. Great men who would follow de León include Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón and Panfilo de Narváez.⁴

The exploration of the western Spanish Borderlands began in March 1539, when Fray Marcos de Niza led a small group of explorers northward from New Spain.⁵ Within a year, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado led an expedition which was designed to spread the Spanish empire northward. This expedition would introduce the Spanish to many of the local customs and characteristics of this new land. The Spanish encountered for the first time a town built of stone and adobe. They learned about some of the beliefs of the Indians in the region; Fray Juan Padilla and his followers established the first unarmed mission of the Church in present-day United States (1541); uncharted waters of the Colorado River were explored; additional information was obtained about the coast of the California peninsula; and new territories were charted for later land expeditions from New Spain. By the year 1543, the far-reaching exploration period was at an end. With the *New Laws* of 1542 and *Regulations* of 1573, Spanish expeditions, such as Coronado's, became illegal. Expeditions thus began to take on stronger religious leadership and direction, but still contained soldiers for safety.⁶ During the latter part of the 1500s, the first American frontier movement was in

progress. In this instance, it was a northward movement and the Spaniards were the first American frontiersmen. The pattern of Spanish exploration and colonization was thus in place: the establishment of the mission, the presidio, and the pueblo.⁷

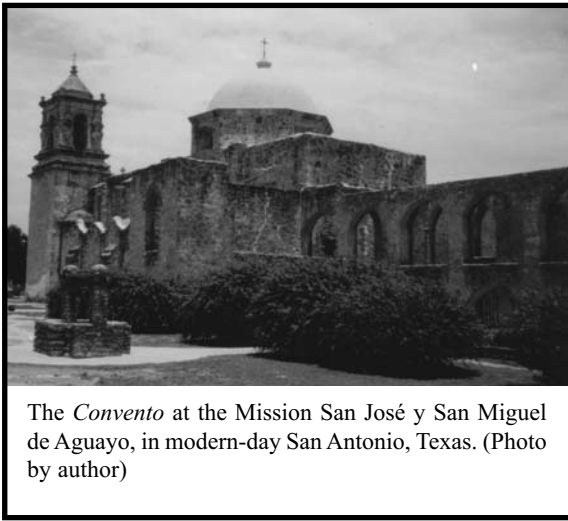
The presidios established in the new frontier areas were small in size, but the 10-15 soldiers stationed in them were necessary.⁸ During the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, the presidios served the function of protecting the Spaniards from hostile Indians. During the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, the presidios on the frontier became defensive positions against France, Russia, and the Anglo-Americans. This defensive posture would become the dominant theme of the Borderlands in the eighteenth century. The presence of the presidios in the Borderlands would remain throughout the Spanish and Mexican periods of the southwest. As late as 1976, a former presidio was being used by the United States as a military outpost of the United States Army.⁹

At the same time, the missions would not have been successful as a frontier institution without the assistance of the presidio. The mission served a dual purpose in the Spanish Borderlands: 1) the spread of Christianity and 2) the promotion of the white man's ways. It was, perhaps, the most successful of the Spanish frontier institutions. From the mission, the Indians were instructed in the ways of the Church and in the ways of civilized man. The Indians were taught agricultural techniques and new cooking methods, introduced to new food stuffs, and schooled on how to dress and behave as the white men did. Thus, the mission was the focal point for the conversion of the Indians into Spanish society.¹⁰ The missions of the Spanish and Mexican periods still exist today. While most are muse-

... the Southwest is as Spanish in color and historical background as New England is Puritan, as New York is Dutch, or as New Orleans is French.

ums, they provide a focal point for the religious life of the local inhabitants as a reminder of the life and times of their ancestors.

Along with the establishment of the presidio and the mission, the *pueblo*, or civilian town, began to be formed. It was usually small in size and served as another example to the Indians of how the white man lived. The Spaniards began their colonization of the later-day United States with the founding of San Agustín (Florida) in September 1565. As would be the case for most of the expansion within the Spanish Borderlands, a motivating factor for the settlement of San Agustín was the nearby presence of foreigners. In this case, the French at nearby Fort Caroline. The earliest of the permanent *pueblos* in the Southwest was La Villa Real de la Santa Fé de San Francisco de Asís, (Royal City of the Holy Faith of St. Francis



The Convento at the Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, in modern-day San Antonio, Texas. (Photo by author)

of Assisi), which had its origin in 1609. This city, modern-day Santa Fe, New Mexico, is the third oldest permanent settlement in the present-day United States (after San Agustín and Jamestown). In addition to the settlement of the *pueblos*, the Spanish system of local political authority set in motion a concept which would one day be found across the United States.¹¹

Thus, as early as the sixteenth century, the Spaniards were exerting their influence on the inhabitants of the present-day United States. Spain's Catholic religion, language, and agriculture had been transplanted from the Iberian peninsula into the northern frontier of New Spain in an attempt to integrate the native inhabitants into Spanish society. While the reasons for this conversion varied from a true concern for their souls to the need for manpower in times of conflict with foreigners, the Indians were, nevertheless, converted.

In 1821, the Spanish Empire dissolved in North America. With this, the territory of New Spain became the nation of Mexico, and thus the Borderlands became the far northern frontier of the Mexican Republic. With the Mexican Constitution of 1824, borderland frontiersmen "became citizens instead of subjects," and for the first time the "voices of the frontiersmen could be heard on the national level." In addition, during the Mexican period came the "complete collapse" of the mission system. Also under the Mexican period of the American Southwest, the region broke from the Spanish system of mercantilism and entered into the American system of capitalism. This change greatly benefited the Borderlands, which had suffered economically because of its distance from Mexico City. In addition, during the Mexican period, there was a gradual (and steady) political and social drift of the Borderlands' frontier away from the Mexican capital.¹²

In regards to the northern region of present-day Mexico, which was also considered to be a part of the Spanish Borderlands, David Weber (1982) wrote that in a larger sense, the Mexican frontier can best be

understood as the periphery of an aspiring nation which was itself peripheral to the world's capitalist system.¹³ By 1846, the United States began military actions to acquire the Mexican territory which was desired by Washington, D.C. With the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848), the United States gained most of its wishes. The remaining land (southern Arizona and New Mexico) would be acquired by the Gadsden Purchase in 1853. The transfer of Mexican lands to the United States included the change of citizenship for thousands of Mexicans.¹⁴

As noted above, the Spaniards would build their missions, garrisons, and civil buildings in their new territories. The architectural styles of the Spanish remain a trademark in the Southwest. In later years, the Spanish style would be mixed with local Indian patterns and the American Southwest would gain a unique style of both art and architecture which is not found in any other part of the world. This truly is a unique characteristic of the Spanish Borderlands.¹⁵

The Spanish language also made permanent inroads into the native culture. To this date, many of the inhabitants of the Southwest speak either Spanish or local Indian languages. But either way, the influence of the language exists. Even names of present-day cities have Spanish origins, among them are Santa Fe, Los Angeles, Monterrey, and San Francisco. The inhabitants of the Southwest will always be reminded of the presence of the Spaniards.

The former Spanish Borderlands have remained an area of cultural mix between the United States and Mexico. From the days of Coronado to the present, the region has provided a "buffer" in which this cultural mix could be allowed to develop and grow. The Borderlands will remain an important part of the United States. The influence of the Spanish in the region has been noted above. In order to fully understand the local inhabitants of the American Southwest, a knowledge of their history is necessary. Only then can the Anglo-Americans appreciate the impact and influence which the Spanish had on the culture of the United States. In 1921, Herbert E. Bolton published his examination of the "Spanish pathfinders and pioneers in the regions between Florida and California."¹⁶ As noted above, Bolton introduced the American reader to the history and culture of the region. His work illustrated that the Spanish Borderlands had indeed contributed to the character of the United States, and therefore, deserve to be studied by students of American History.

ENDNOTES

¹ Herbert E. Bolton *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (New Haven: Yale

University Press, 1921), vii, x.

² *The American Heritage Dictionary* [Paperback version based on the hardcover Second College Edition of *The American Heritage Dictionary*] (New York: Dell Publishing, 1983), 81.

³ Bolton, *The Spanish Borderland*, 7-9.

⁴ See John Francis Bannon, *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier, 1513-1821* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974), 8-27; Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands*, 9-25; Herbert E. Bolton and Thomas M. Marshall, *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920), 25-26; Stephen Clissold, *The Seven Cities of Cibola* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1961), 29-54.

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⁶ Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Albuquerque: Horn & Wallace, 1963), 53-161; Andrew Rolfe, *California* (New York: Columbia University, 1965), 9-12; John A. Schultz, *Spain's Colonial Outpost* (San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Publishing, 1985), 13-29; Rufus Kay Wyllys, *Arizona: The History of a Frontier State* (Phoenix: Hobson & Herr, 1950), 13-38.

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¹⁰ Bannon, *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier*, 71; Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish American Colonies," in *New Spain's Far Northern Frontier*, edited by David J. Weber. 49-66; Frank W. Blackmar, *Spanish Institutions of the Southwest* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1891), 112-152.

¹¹ Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 144; Gibson, *Spain in America*, 183; Bolton and Marshall, *The Colonization of North America*, 62-64; Bannon, *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier*, 41; Marc Simmons, "Settlement Patterns and Village Plans in Colonial New Mexico," in *New Spain's Far Northern Frontier*, edited by David Weber, 97-115.

¹² David Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982).

¹³ Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*. For additional information on the Mexican Borderlands, see Michael C. Meyer, William L. Sherman, and Susan M. Deeds, *The Course of Mexican History*, 7th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); W. Dirk Raat, ed., *Mexico: From Independence to Revolution, 1810-1910* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982).

¹⁴ Otis A. Singletary, *The Mexican War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

¹⁵ See Trent Sanford, *The Architecture of the Southwest: Indian, Spanish, American* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997. Originally published by W.W. Norton & Co, 1950).

¹⁶ Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*.

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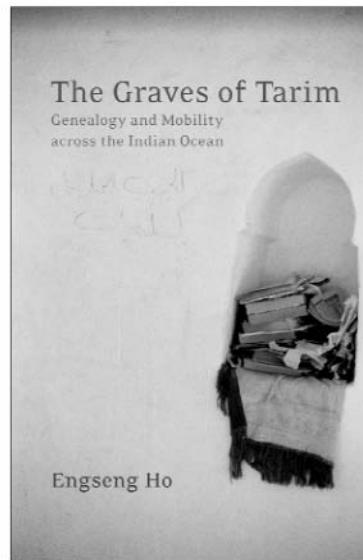
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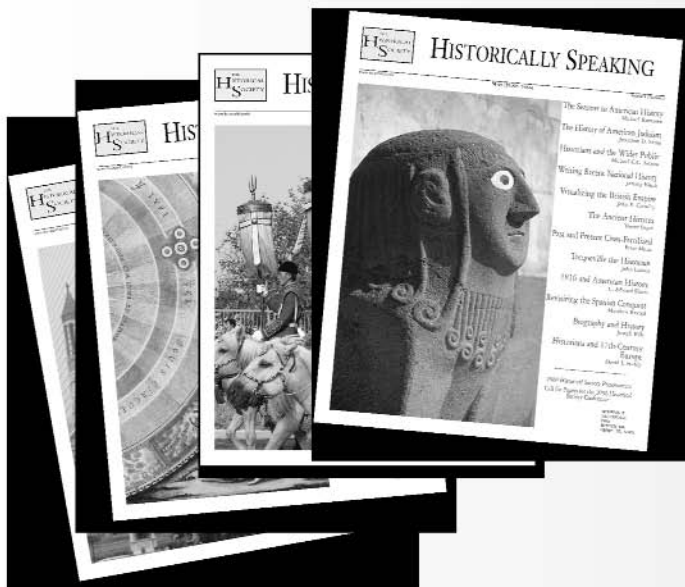
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SSA1



BOUND BY A SILVER CHAIN: 1571

Maggie Favretti
Scarsdale High School

From Ms. Favretti: *I wrote this lesson on silver and monetary exchange after reading Pomeranz & Topik's The World That Trade Created, Flynn & Giraldez's "Born with a Silver Spoon," and Paul Lunde's "American Silver, Ottoman Decline." I had in mind an AP World History class, which would have these "role-play" discussions during their study of the era of global interaction, 1450-1750. The lesson deals with three different empires, and demographic changes, but most importantly addresses economic issues such as global trade and currency flows. It additionally provides students with a basis for interpreting contemporary economic models, such as globalization and currency trading. I have tried to incorporate change over time by having students address issues typical of 1571, 1635, and 1700, key dates in the history of silver exchange. Students can compare and contrast responses among three empires: China, Spain, and Japan. Students must also become aware of divergent points of view within each of these areas, as they prepare for and play roles in the days' discussions. Lastly, the structure functions as a predictive lesson model ("how do you think people would have reacted under these circumstances"), and then asks students to analyze how and why their responses may differ from the interpretations provided by the supportive reading. The predictive model reinforces my efforts to lead students to use historical thinking skills (or "habits of mind") to make sense of historical events and also the world around them.*

Preparatory study would include relevant background reading on global exchange in the textbook (Bentley & Ziegler), and also work on Native and European perspectives on the colonization of the Americas and the extraction of silver and other minerals. Background reading on China, Japan, and Spain during the era is also needed. I used this lesson toward the end of the study of the era. The daily procedures are given as directions in the lesson plan, though teachers should note that it worked best when the students had a few days after the 1571 discussions to read and write their analyses. Also, note that you should assign the groups and roles before they begin work. Assessments are built in, in the form of nightly role preparation questions which can be collected, the participation in the discussion itself, the comparative analysis the students' do after reading the support pieces, and the possibility of assigning a choice among the "questions for further discussion" for a follow-up essay (I did not do this, but someone could).

I would ask more advanced students to prepare their own fact sheets, or research the roles in more depth. For regular-level world history, I would do a simpler model, with fewer and more generalized roles, and more time to work through the fact sheets and roles together before the role play.

BOUND BY A SILVER CHAIN BIBLIOGRAPHY

Here's a place to begin:

Flynn, Dennis and Arturo Giraldez. "Born with a 'Silver Spoon': The Origin of World Trade in 1571." *Journal of World History*, Vol. 6, No. 2. Univ. of Hawai'i Press, Fall 1995. *Don't try to touch this silver question without reading this article and assigning it at some point to your students.*

Flynn, Dennis and Arturo Giraldez. "Cycles of Silver: Global Economic Unity through the mid-18th Century," which divides the role of silver in the modern world into two great cycles: Potosi/Japan (1540s to 1640s) and Mexican (1700-1750). *Makes great use of the impact of American foods on Chinese population, with the predictable effect on China's demand for silver.*

Flynn, Dennis and Arturo Giraldez, eds. *Metals and Monies in an Emerging Global Economy*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1997. *Takes a look at the world's four main monetary substances (silver, gold, copper, and cowries). I haven't read it, but the editors say it's good.*

Hansen, Valerie. *The Open Empire: A History of China to 1600*. New York: Norton, 2000. *A fascinating book that brings social and cultural history into focus. Hansen has a knack for weaving primary sources directly into the text, and providing anecdotal details that humanize her story.*

Lunde, Paul. "American Silver, Ottoman Decline," *Aramco World*, May/June 1992. *A short, readable look at the global impact of American silver, especially in the Muslim world. Also explains the process for purifying silver, and has good pictures.*

Lunenfeld, Marvin. *1492: Discovery, Invasion, Encounter*. Lexington, MA: DC Heath, 1991. *A collection of primary sources and interpretations representing 1492 and its aftermath from various points of view.*

Pomeranz, Kenneth. *The Great Divergence*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000. *A fairly dense economic explanation of why, when there were some clear similarities between China and NW Europe circa 1750, the Europeans industrialized and China didn't. Excellent Table of Contents. There are references to silver in several places, but the book does not focus on it.*

Pomeranz, Kenneth and Steven Topik. *The World That Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400 to the Present*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1999. *A marvelous collection of highly accessible short articles on a variety of economic topics. The articles and the introductory segment for each "theme" are extremely useful for teaching purposes.*

Waley-Cohen, Joanna. *The Sextants of Beijing: Global Currents in Chinese History*. New York: Norton, 1999. *A highly readable account of Chinese history, from about the 3rd century BC on. It doesn't try to "cover" everything (most of the book is from the 16th century onward), but convincingly proves its point that China was never isolated. An excellent Table of Contents helps guide the reader.*

Williams, Jonathan, ed. *Money: A History*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. *A book published to accompany the opening of the "Money Gallery" at the British Museum. Provides an excellent overview of what money is and how it was used worldwide. Good pictures, too.*

BOUND BY A SILVER CHAIN

Maggie Favretti

For homework tonight, read all the fact sheets, and formulate responses to your questions according to your role. Write these out (note form is okay) to use as a guide in the discussion. Your teacher will divide you into empire groups, and you can assign roles before you leave today. The roles are found at the end of each fact sheet. Don't forget to find relevant places on your map.

Bound by a Silver Chain: 1571

China Fact Sheet:

Ming legitimacy is established when Yongle sends Zheng He on extensive voyages

- To impress others around Indian Ocean
- To prove Mongols no longer a threat
- To establish tributary relationships around the Indian Ocean
- To create an ethnography of peoples around the Indian Ocean

Ming legitimacy questioned:

- Zheng He dies 1433, navy declines in popularity...too expensive
- Mongols capture northern frontier and emperor in 1449
- Ming attention focused on North
- Private trade increases at the expense of gov. monopoly and oversight

Paper money crashes mid 15th century due to oversupply

- Fiduciary value (value based on faith) disappears; Ming have to pay in goods for horses, weapons, etc.
- Tax base disappears; imperial treasury bankrupt
- Natural disasters and bureaucratic corruption make it worse

Diplomatic relations with Japan in trouble by mid. 1550s;

- 1560 China officially banned trade with Japan
- “Private trade” continues, and indirect trade flourishes
- (Portuguese finance Macao by shipping silver from Japan to Macao, where it is bought by Cantonese merchants beginning 1550s)

Japan discovers its own rich silver deposits in mid-1500s

Chinese Muslims, traders from Fujian & Guangdong already a small presence in SE Asian ports

Chinese taxes are multiple, some paid every ten years (1570 would be a collection year); some more frequently. Some are paid in goods such as grain or cloth; some in copper, paper, or silver.

Commercially oriented centers such as Fujian and Guangdong are already requiring their provincial taxes be paid in silver only. The quality of copper can't be tested without melting it down. Experienced silversmiths can assay the purity of the silver using simpler tests.

The gold:silver ratio in Guangzhou (Canton) is 1:5.5. In Spain it's 1:12.5. In Japan it's 1:10. In India it's 1:8.

Chinese silk and porcelain lead the world in quality and desirability.

Europe is a threat to China because it won't accept the Chinese tributary system, it wishes to convert the Chinese to Christianity, and it seems to base its view of the world on trade and profit.

China is the most advanced, largest civilization in the world. Whole nations in “barbarian” Europe cannot equal in population one large Chinese city. Confucius confirmed the basis of Chinese society before Europe was even an idea. Spain has only been Spain since 1492.

China Questions, 1571

Roles (points of view) to represent: Gov't officials, private bankers, Fujian merchants in Philippines, Guangzhou (Canton) trader, Confucian scholar.

Should the central gov. allow the spread of silver monetization inland, or stop it?

If it allows it to spread, should it convert the taxation system to silver?

If it converts the taxation system to silver, should it also convert the tributary system to silver?

Should the central gov. maintain the quality of the silver, or leave this to the private sector?

Should the central gov. ally with merchants? Punish traders dealing in silver? Extend to them benign neglect?

What will be the impact of silverization on the silk production and artisanal industries? Will life be permanently changed as a result of silverization?

Should European traders and missionaries be allowed to set up permanent settlements in China?

In class: Develop an economic and/or business plan, having discussed with each other the advantages and disadvantages of the various solutions. Because you have different points of view, with perhaps unresolvable differences, you may end up with both public and secret plans.

After your discussions: READ: Flynn & Giraldez, "Born with a 'Silver Spoon.'" Also, "Social Change Under the Ming," Valerie Hansen pp 387-405 (role of women, Jesuit presence incl. Matteo Ricci, the Old China Hand (a guide for Korean merchants in China), concerns about silver quality, Zhou Chen's illustrations of economic crisis in 1516). WRITE TO HAND IN: Observe which decisions were different from your approaches. Why were they different? What was the same? What were the results of their decisions?

Spain Fact Sheet:

Spain had gotten rid of most of its financial and artisanal experts when it expelled the Jews and the Muslims in 1492.

Spain saw itself at the head of potentially the greatest Catholic empire of all time.

The notorious Pope Alexander VI (Borgia) had divided the New World between the Spanish and the Portuguese.

Commercial capitalism typically coexisted with Christianity.

The Ottoman Empire was at its height during this time...Suleiman "the Magnificent" controlled shipping in the Mediterranean, North Africa and the Balkan Peninsula (including Hungary, by 1526).

Portugal had beaten Spain into the Indian Ocean, and already had something of a trade relationship with China at Macao, and with Japan at Nagasaki.

England under Elizabeth I was a threat; hostile to Spain for religious, political and personal reasons by 1570.

The Spanish Netherlands were in revolt.

After the Aztecs were forced to mine gold and silver, they had rebelled in 1520. Hernando Cortes used intertribal hostilities, fire-power, and disease to his advantage and subjugated the Aztecs in 1521.

In the 1530s, Portuguese began settling in Brazil and discovered sugar could be produced there; but not much gold or silver. They would settle for trading smuggled slaves for smuggled silver from the Spanish.

In 1533, Pizarro had toppled the large but unstable Inca Empire under Atahualpa (or his hostile brother, depending on whom you ask). By 1545, a giant *cerro rico* (rich mountain) of silver was discovered at Potosi, Peru.

In 1570, large deposits of mercury were discovered at Huancavelica, Peru.

The mercury amalgam process of purifying silver ore was discovered by Muslims in India some time before 1000 CE. Pulverized silver is mixed with water and mercury, and stirred. Then it is spread out and washed with more water. The water washed away the impurities (the mercury having mixed with the silver to make it more liquid), and then the silver-mercury amalgamate is hung in cowhide bags. The mercury (liquid at room temperature) gradually drips out of the silver through the hide.

Magellan had claimed the Philippines for Spain, but there was not yet a significant Spanish presence there. 40 Chinese/Fujian traders lived there.

China had refused to allow the Spanish to establish a permanent trade relationship or settlement in China.

The gold:silver ratio in Guangzhou (Canton) is 1:5.5. In Seville, it is 1:12.5. In Japan, which had recently opened large veins of silver itself, it is 1:10.

Spain Questions 1571:

Roles (points of view) to represent: Gov't officials, mine owners, merchant marine captains, a Seville merchant, an Incan living near Potosi

Should Spain invest in opening a port at Manila?

If Spain opens a trade center at Manila, what should be its purpose? Who should be allowed to trade there? What items should be purchased there? Should anyone be allowed to establish permanent residence there?

Should the royalty control all of the mining in the Americas? How can it make a profit with little risk?

Should the gov. insist that all New World silver pass through Spain before it goes anywhere else?

Should the gov. ally with merchants?

Should the gov. control the mercury supplies at Huancavelica?

What should the gov. or merchants do to cut down on the potential for smuggling and piracy (especially from competitors such as the British, eventually the Dutch, and the Portuguese?)

If Spain should make a lot of money, how should it be spent?

In class: Develop an economic and/or business plan, having discussed with each other the advantages and disadvantages of the various solutions. Because you have different points of view, with perhaps unresolvable differences, you may end up with both public and secret plans.

After your discussions: READ Flynn & Giraldez, "Born with a 'Silver Spoon.'" Also, "The Logic of an Immoral Trade," "Rich as Potosi" and "The Freebooting Founders of England's Free Seas" from Pomeranz and Topik, pp. 154-161 (the results of smuggling potential in the slave trade, Potosi and the Inca, and British pirate-heroes). Also, Paul Lunde, "American Silver, Ottoman Decline" (describes the mercury process, the global links of the silver trade, and especially the impact of the trade around the Mediterranean). WRITE TO HAND IN: Observe which decisions were different from your approaches. Why were they different? What was the same? What were the results of their decisions?

Japan Fact Sheet:

In 1570, Japan was in a state of disorder, as Nobunaga sought to unify the daimyo by force under his shogunate.

His most powerful allies were Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu.

Newly identified sources of silver were being mined by private companies and shipped secretly to China in return for gold and luxury items.

Nagasaki had been founded in 1562 by a daimyo who wished to trade with the Portuguese.

The Portuguese and Jesuit missionaries had been a presence in Japan since the mid-1540s, and were sometimes encouraged by daimyo who wished to break the power of the Buddhist temples around the capital Kyoto. Japanese suspicious of Christianity as a religion, and more so when it seemed associated with gunboats.

Portuguese control Macao and Malacca.

Spaniards competed with the Portuguese, Dutch, and English for converts and trade in and around Japan.

Gold to silver ratio is 1:10 in Japan, 1:5.5 in China, and 1:12 in Spain.

Japan Questions, 1571:

Roles (points of view) to represent: Tokugawa officials, daimyo, Japanese merchant in Nagasaki, Japanese merchant in Manila

Should Japan invest in opening a major port at Nagasaki? Should it be open to all shippers?

How can the gov. control the most profits for the least risk? How could silver be used to stabilize the gov?

Should Tokugawa ally with merchants over daimyo? Should Tokugawa end its tribute to China?

If Tokugawa becomes wealthy, how should the money be spent? Should Japan mine copper as well?

In class: Develop an economic and/or business plan, having discussed with each other the advantages and disadvantages of the various solutions. Because you have different points of view, with perhaps unresolvable differences, you may end up with both public and secret plans.

After your discussions: READ Flynn & Giraldez, "Born with a 'Silver Spoon.'" WRITE TO HAND IN: Observe which decisions were different from your approaches. Why were they different? What was the same? What were the results of their decisions?

Bound by a Silver Chain: 1635

Here's the situation:

The gold:silver ratios have evened out between China and Europe.
In China, silver has lost 2/3 of its value.

In your groups, discuss:

From the perspective of your character, what will be the result?
What do you plan to do?

Bound by a Silver Chain: 1700

Here's the situation:

China's population is surging upward, fed by sweet and white potatoes, corn, and peanuts from the Americas. These crops can be grown in areas previously not under cultivation, can fill in when there might otherwise be a famine, and provide for more variety in the diet.

The gold:silver ratio in China is 1:10, and in Europe 1:15.

New sources of silver have been identified in Spanish Mexico, which is now producing the purest silver pesos the world has seen. Europe is still fascinated by chinoiserie and, now, tea.

In your groups, discuss: For large-group discussion this time, add a Dutch and a British merchant.

What goods would they trade? How would they earn their profit? What obstacles might they have to overcome in order to be active traders in China? What role can India play? How will Spanish enthusiasm for the silver trade be similar to or different from the way it was in 1571? Will they buy Chinese goods with silver? Why or why not?

By 1750, the gold:silver ratio had dropped to 1:15+, while in Europe it was at about 1:14.5.

China had been drained of gold.

In 1752, Great Britain took over Bengal, giving them a ready supply of opium, a forbidden but highly desired item in Chinese bureaucratic circles.

Topics for Further Discussion:

- To what extent was silver a “dangerous commodity,” which not only connected the global economy, but also handcuffed the states involved?
- Compare and contrast the strategies of two supply-side powers in the silver trade, Spain and Tokugawa Japan. Was either more “successful?” Why?
- What was the impact of the Japan-Potosi silver cycle on the Islamic world? (Ottoman Empire, Mughal India)
- What was the economic impact of the silver cycles on other goods, such as other precious metals, or commodities like silk, sugar, or cowries?
- What was the impact of the silver cycle on the slave trade?
- What was the impact of the silver cycle on the working classes? Pick a role here...a janissary, an Argentinian cattle farmer, a Dutch sailor, a Chinese farmer, etc.

The WHA Teaching Prize

PURPOSE: The World History Association is committed to working across all grade levels to maintain the use of current world history research in classroom practice.

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AWARD: The winning lesson will be published in the Fall WHA *Bulletin*. The designer of the winning lesson will receive a \$750.00 cash award sponsored by Pearson-Prentice Hall and recognition at the WHA Annual Meeting in June. Educators may have a letter announcing the award sent to their supervisors and local press.

DEADLINE: APRIL 15, 2007. Submissions from all grade levels are welcome. Please write to Jen Laden (murphyladen@aol.com), Chair of the WHA Teaching Prize Committee, if you are interested in submitting an example of how you link scholarship to teaching in your classroom or look on www.thewha.org.

So as to encourage new recipients, winners from anytime in the past three years, as well as committee members, are ineligible. These are suggestions to guide your thinking. Feel free to add to the prompt questions below.

1. Brief introduction

For whom is the lesson intended?

What is the purpose of the lesson?

How does it fit into your curriculum, or larger plan?

What are the lesson's links to current research?

2. Procedures for implementation

What preparatory work is assigned?

How does the lesson work? (procedure, number of sessions, etc.)

How do you know that students have "gotten it?"

3. Conclusion

Reflections on how it went in your class?

(Student work and/or student reflections are encouraged)

How might you adapt it to more advanced or lower level students?

What other possible conceptual links do you see?

Possible Appendices:

1. Appendix of relevant handouts or supporting materials used

2. Annotated list of available resources for students and teachers

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BOOK REVIEWS

Peter Dykema -- Book Review Coordinator

Colin Mackerras. *China in Transformation 1900-1949. Seminar Studies in History.* Longman, 1998. 149 pp. \$18.00.

Gloria Tseng
Hope College

China in Transformation 1900-1949 covers the crucial transitional period between China's imperial, monarchical past and its communist, republican present. It presents a concise history of the last decade of the Qing dynasty and the republican period up to the communist victory in 1949. According to its "Introduction to the Series" and "Preface," this work aims to bridge the gap between monographs and general surveys and is designed for use by students. *China in Transformation* fulfills these aims by virtue of its conciseness and clarity and readily lends itself to use in an undergraduate class as supplemental reading.

Organized both chronologically and thematically, *China in Transformation* comprises five parts. Part One introduces the main themes of Chinese history from 1900 to 1949 and gives a brief background of nineteenth-century developments that preceded and shaped developments in the twentieth century. Part Two, the lengthiest portion of this work, is a chronological treatment of political developments such as the Boxer Rebellion, the 1911 Revolution, the Nanjing decade, the Chinese communist movement, and China's War of Resistance against Japan. Part Three deals with the two themes of social change and student movements throughout the entire period covered by this work. Part Four is a very brief evaluation of the significance of this period, and Part Five is a collection of excerpts from primary documents. The book also includes a useful reference section of chronology, glossary, and bibliography, which can well serve as study aids. The organization of this book follows the general pattern of the Seminar Studies series.

The strongest section of *China in Transformation* is Part Two, where the author gives a clear narrative of events of the period under consideration, most of which took place in rapid succession and are often confusing to students of Chinese history. The era of the warlords, between the death of Yuan Shikai and the establishment of Chiang Kai-shek's Nanjing regime, is summarized expertly by Mackerras. Likewise, he is able to cut through the other political tangles of early twentieth-century China, such as the rise of the Chinese Communist Party and its tortuous relationship with the Guomindang. Interspersed

throughout all the chapters of the book are some specific references to the historiography of this period as well as to documents in Part Five.

The section of the book where weakness appears is Part One, which comprises the two chapters that set up a framework for the book and present the historical background for events and developments discussed in Part Two and Part Three. Perhaps due to his attempt to be concise, Mackerras's definitions of certain concepts in this section border on over-generalization. An incidence of this is his definition of Confucianism and casual mention of the practice of foot-binding as an illustration of the low status accorded to women by Confucian ideology (8). This association between foot-binding and Confucianism is rather misleading in two ways. One, the Confucianism that Mackerras has in mind is most likely the Confucian revival brought about by twelfth-century scholars of the Sung dynasty, centuries removed from Confucius himself, who lived from the late sixth to the early fifth century B.C.E., and from Han Wudi, who reigned in the second century B.C.E. and was the first emperor to adopt Confucianism as the official state ideology. Two, even though the Confucian revival of the Sung dynasty, alternatively known as Neo-Confucianism, was upheld by the later dynasties of the Ming (1368-1644) and the Qing (1644-1911) as state orthodoxy, roughly the same period that foot-binding spread to all segments of society, the origin of the cruel practice cannot be attributed to either the earlier or the later Confucian orthodoxy per se. This practice originated among court dancers in the late Tang or the Five Dynasties period, from the ninth to the tenth century, ironically a time when Confucianism was on the wane, not the reverse.

Overall, *China in Transformation* is strongest in its main sections, Parts Two and Three, which deal with the main subject considered in this work, China from the last decade of the Qing dynasty to 1949. This work can be used in conjunction with a general survey in an undergraduate course on modern China. In addition to presenting a clear picture of the twists and turns of the republican era, the book can serve as a starting point for student assignments on the period. Its bibliography and excerpts of documents are a good resource for book reports and research projects.

***The Industrial Revolution: Great Britain 1750-1850 / Die Industrielle Revolution: Grossbritannien 1750-1850.* Produced by Anne Roerkohl. DVD-Video, 74 minutes. Dokumentarfilm, 2004. €49.90.**

Peter Dykema
Arkansas Tech University

Anne Roerkohl's German multi-media firm has produced this useful, bilingual documentary package. *The Industrial Revolution* consists of a short film (23 minutes) summarizing the key facets of British industrialization and seven modules (6-9 minutes each) which address specific points in more detail. Lesson plans and ancillary materials based on the documentaries are available from the company's website. Dokumentarfilm offers similar modular and interactive packages on the Weimar Republic, the German Kaiserreich, and the Nazi regime but these are not offered in bilingual format.

The main film presents four themes. The first argues that industrialization occurred first in England due to a rising population, a growing demand for goods, an advanced financial system of stocks and investments, trans-Atlantic (triangle) trade routes, and the presence of an entrepreneurial middle class. The second and third trace the development of technological innovations in textile production and transportation: the flying shuttle, the spinning jenny, the water frame, mechanized looms, steam engines, canals and railroads. These sections are capped off with a description of the wealth and opulence of Manchester's civic buildings and the pride and power on display during the first world's fair at the Crystal Palace. Part four discusses the "dark side" of the revolution – low wages, unemployment, child labor, urban slums – and attempts to reform industrial society, most notably the work of Robert Owen at New Lanark.

Whereas the short film is a quick overview, the seven modules each address a specific theme in some detail. The first shows how Richard Arkwright used water wheels to drive large-scale textile production at the "world's first factory," Cromford Mill. Already in 1771, Arkwright built a company town, linking jobs and housing, and employed child labor. The early factory system was in place from the start. Child labor and the rhythm of the machine are detailed in the second module focusing on Quarry Bank Mill. Other modules show the development of textile technology from hand spinning to fully mechanized mills, the development of steam power, and the

Renew Your Membership

rise of the railroads.

Even from these brief descriptions, the reader can readily see that the strengths of this package are in the presentation of technological developments and the inventors and entrepreneurs behind them. Much of the filming was done at factory sites, many of which are museums today. Students will surely learn from seeing the textile machinery in operation, complete with cotton lint stuck to every surface and a background racket that threatens to drown out the narrators. Likewise the segments on child labor are effective, as the camera takes us into the bleak dormitories and school rooms of Quarry Bank Mill. The weakness of the package is its scant treatment of broader context. The impact of industrialization on the rest of the world is raised and quickly set aside. The tensions created in British society by the radical transformations of industrialization are not addressed in depth. Long term class antagonisms are passed over in place of a presentation on Owen's local – and in the end unsuccessful – attempt at utopian reform at New Lanark. But even these weaknesses are surmountable. Because the modules are so short and so focused, they can be used to teach the nuts and bolts of the factory system and technological change, while other readings or lecture could address the more sophisticated historical questions. Indeed, I find very appealing the modular approach to multimedia instruction. Rather than showing an entire documentary or making my own harsh editorial decisions with the stop button, this package allows a great deal of flexibility in classroom instruction. Finally, in contrast to other multimedia companies offering videos and DVDs at very high prices, Dokumentarfilm's price of 49.90 Euros (about \$57) is within reach. *The Industrial Revolution* is suitable for secondary schools, college surveys in world and European history, and even as a quick visual resource for advanced courses on industrialization.

Chris Eboch. *Life Among the Maya. The Way People Live Series.* Lucent Books, 2005. 110 pp.

Michael Hanewald
The Bryn Mawr School

For the middle or high-school level teacher that wants to go beyond the few pages allotted to the Mayan civilization in general world history textbooks, Chris Eboch's *Life Among the Maya* is an excellent addition to the classroom. This book may be useful as a general, easy to use reference for the teacher, but a class set would allow for some quick and interesting jigsaw-style lessons based on the lifestyle of the ancient Maya.

Prior to Eboch's book, teachers and students interested in pursuing more detailed information on the subject would have needed to access the more authoritative and scholarly works such as Michael Coe's *The Maya*, Robert Sharer's

The Ancient Maya, or Linda Schele & David Friedel's *A Forest of Kings*. These authors and their works are not easily read by secondary school students, and teachers would find themselves adapting the information to meet their students' needs.

If one is interested in a text that is going to clearly map out the growth of this culture and civilization chronologically, highlighting the rise and fall of particular city-states and rulers, then this is not the source you are looking for. However, if you and your students are interested in exploring how people performed their daily lives and the type of system they lived in, then Chris Eboch's book is a perfect match. As part of "The Way People Live Series," the main focus of *Life Among the Maya* is to "emphasize the daily routines, personal and historical struggles, and achievements of people from all walks of life." (6) This book is true to the mission of the series, containing chapters such as 'Family and Community', 'Priests, Prophecy, and the Marking of Time', 'Kings and Kingdoms', and 'Peasants: A Simple Life' to name a few. Filled with illustrations and pictures, the eye is kept busy and entertained, however at times the descriptions and details are lacking. For example, the map to represent the Mayan region contains a small fraction of the known archeological, city-state sites, and even fails to label any within Belize (Caracoal, for example, which had defeated the very powerful city-state of Tikal in Guatemala, requires recognition). This book's appeal to the secondary school teacher and student is its easy to understand language, and approach to organizing the information. Color images do not exist, which would enhance many of the images such as the famous murals from Bonampak.

Ultimately, Chris Eboch's *Life Among the Maya*, provides secondary students with the information to the questions they often ask; what was it like as a teenager growing up? What was school like? What were the differences between the rich and the poor? How did religion and politics impact the lives of ordinary citizens? A class set of this text would serve the teacher who is interested in creating a number of well-structured jigsaw style lessons that would enable students to easily find the answers to those types of questions. With a well annotated 'Works Consulted' section towards the end of the book, student researchers have the opportunity to go further with their pursuit of Mayan knowledge.

*Join us in
Milwaukee*

Elizabeth Greenhalgh. *Victory through Coalition: Britain and France during the First World War.* Cambridge Military Histories. Cambridge University Press, 2006. xvi + 304 pp. \$75.00.

Ellen J. Jenkins
Arkansas Tech University

Great Britain and France had little in common besides their traditional enmity and mutual distrust in 1904 when they formed a nebulous partnership, the *Entente Cordiale*, in the face of growing German military ambitions. The result of their affiliation was a thorny coalition that remained ill-defined for several years after its initiation, since the members were bound mainly by the threat of a German empire with enough strength to upset the Continental balance of power. When Germany invaded France in 1914, Britain and France entered the Great War with contradictory expectations and much residual (and reciprocal) hostility. Their military and political leaders faced several years of frustration over varying degrees of conflicting aims until 1918, when they finally got it right and managed to defeat the Central Powers.

In *Victory through Coalition*, Elizabeth Greenhalgh has described the evolving World War I coalition of Britain and France as a work in progress through the final year of the war. That this uneasy alliance managed to work out a system of command and supply successful enough to defeat Germany, even after many mistakes and missteps, was a testament to the resilience of leadership and willingness to set aside differences on both sides.

Greenhalgh, a research fellow at the University of New South Wales at the Australian Defence Force Academy as well as joint editor of the journal *War and Society*, points out in her excellent account that the early expectations were generally based upon the premise that each partner in a coalition must make an "equal" sacrifice in the war or be guilty of shirking responsibility. She argues that expectations about equity were so unrealistic that they were destined for frustration, since industrialized allies were unlikely to be able to offer the same resources. Contributions of manpower, for instance, could not be measured against contributions of shipping or supply line management. Unlike France, Great Britain did not practice military conscription until 1916, so whereas twenty percent of France's population served in the French army in World War I, less than eleven percent of Britons served in the British army. The French, who were thus able to field a larger number of troops, had difficulty understanding or valuing the difficulties of moving ships to transport men and matériel, one of the major British contributions to the war effort, especially once the U.S. entered the conflict and was ready to start sending troops to Europe.

Language could be a significant barrier, as well. British officers, who still came largely from public-school backgrounds, were likely to be able

to speak French, even if, as in the case of Sir John French, the first Commander of the British Expeditionary Force, it was not a sort of French that Frenchmen were likely to understand. French officers, on the other hand, were more likely to be able to speak German than English.

The question of combined commands remained sticky throughout the war. The characteristics that make strong leaders are usually not the ones that make compliant colleagues. Greenhalgh points out that because each army was anxious to preserve its separate identity and its own chain of command, battles were fought as concurrent rather than joint efforts. The French general, Ferdinand Foch, who eventually was named Allied Supreme Commander, and the Briton, Sir Douglas Haig, Commander of the BEF after Sir John French, continued to clash until the end of the war.

The successes that enabled the Allies to defeat Germany included the establishment of the Supreme War Council in late 1917 to coordinate military strategy, and the Allied Maritime Transport Council, which coordinated the allocation of ships for troop and supply transport. Greenhalgh credits Etienne Clémentel, France's Minister of Commerce, with having the foresight to understand that unless imports of goods could be limited, with such limitations equally distributed among the belligerent nations, troop shipments would remain a serious weakness to the Allies. Though Greenhalgh has provided a riveting account with *Victory through Coalition*, the work is likely to be more useful for upper-division or graduate students with some background in the history of World War I.

Ian Copland. *India, 1885-1947: The Unmaking of an Empire*. Pearson Education, 2001. 132 pp., paperback, \$18.00.

James W. Hoover
Salem State College

Ian Copland's *India, 1885-1947: The Unmaking of an Empire*, is part of Pearson Education's Seminar Series in History, designed to present background information and primary sources for advanced and specialized undergraduate courses, and for focused modules of broad-ranging courses. A stated purpose of the series is to expose students to current research in the field. Unfortunately, in Copland's volume, new research is rarely introduced and not directly attributed to particular authors as an aid to further investigation.

Copland's approach to Indian nationalism, also known in the field of South Asian studies as the "Freedom Struggle," is traditional. His book is divided into four parts. The first of these examines the colonial state, focusing on the structure of the British Raj and the practical limits of its power to rule India. The second part, consisting of four chapters (each about fifteen pages long)

deals with 1) the ideologies of British imperialism in South Asia and a cost-benefit analysis of the Raj, 2) the rise of the nationalist movement, up to the time of Gandhi's non-cooperation campaigns, 3) the emergence of "Muslim separatism," and 4) the processes of Independence and Partition. The third part of the book is a short "assessment" entitled "The Gift of Freedom," while the fourth section presents excerpts from primary sources that shed light on different points of view regarding India's fight for independence. All these sections – together with a glossary, appendices, bibliography, and index – are crowded into 132 pages.

Copland provides an introduction to a complicated era of India's modern history in layman's terms, using little specialized terminology. His writing is well-organized, clear, and accessible. For these reasons people unfamiliar with South Asian history, including many students, may find his work helpful. However, for the specialist and students interested in understanding Indian nationalism from the "inside-out," Copland's drive for clarity at the expense of detail is a weakness. Indeed, it is British policy and the European-style institutions of the Indian elite that take center stage in Copland's work. At least two pages are devoted to describing the trappings of wealth enjoyed by early Congress leaders, while the famines of the late 19th century, which killed millions of Indians, receive only passing reference in a few scattered sentences. More time is spent on George Orwell's carefully-staged and self-indulgent angst over the shooting of a rogue elephant than is devoted to the sufferings of the Indian poor during the hard years of the global Depression, when standards of living in India dropped to their lowest ebb in the entire history of South Asia.

Other flaws in Copland's text concern details that are important given the persistent, elitist narrative of India's struggle against colonialism. With respect to "collaboration," to use Copland's problematic term, he describes Indian sub-officials and the princes as "collaborators," whereas the Bengali upper classes, the so-called Bhadrak, are merely "drawn to" the Raj. This subtle but rather misleading interpretation overlooks evidence that Indian officials of the colonial state, far from being ciphers of a monolithic imperial bureaucracy, were career administrators in their own right and not always entirely identified with British interests. Indian princes, furthermore, were not always passive puppets of the Raj, as indicated by the number of princes, such as the Maharajahs of Gwalior, Mysore, and Travancore, who participated in or patronized the nationalist movement, especially during its early years. Nor could the British treat with impunity especially powerful princes, closely allied with their regime, such as the Nizam of Hyderabad or the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. While not exactly enlightened leaders, in many cases, the princes and their political concerns certainly deserve more consideration than Copland gives them.

Copland's subtle exoneration of the Bhadrak elite, furthermore, reflects a trend that permeates generalized accounts of modern Indian history: the complicity of the Bhadrak classes in the construction and financing of British imperialism in India is conveniently brushed aside in favor of a focus on their late 19th century nationalist activities. In fact, the Bhadrak must be understood as both collaborators, conservative *zamindars* (rural landholders), and progressive critics of the Raj in order for their class interests to be fully understood and properly analyzed. A fuller depiction of the significant degree of disjuncture and ideological hypocrisy – "the embarrassment of riches" – is essential to appreciating the extreme cultural anxiety that drove so many elite young Bengalis into the nationalist movement, where many highly-conflicted men such as Subhas Chandra Bose eventually emerged as leading figures.

A persistent North Indian bias pervades Copland's book, as if historical events in modern India occur only in Punjab, Delhi, and Bengal, with the occasional "scene" in Bombay or Poona. This is a common problem in South Asian historiography. South India – the Dravidian cultural zone – is consistently ignored or dismissed. For instance, in describing Annie Besant's role in organizing the Home Rule Leagues, Copland says (46) that she worked through the Theosophical Society's branch offices, and that the growth of these nationalist organizations in the Madras Presidency was remarkable because the area had been "politically backward." In fact, the opposite was the case. The Theosophical Society's political cache in South India had been lost by the end of the 19th century, and Besant embraced Indian nationalism as much to save Theosophy as to satisfy her own revolutionary desires. The political awakening of the South occurred with Vivekananda's return from America – a Bengali adopted by the "Madrasis" as one of their own – after which he emerged as a nationalist orator of no mean stature. Indeed, especially compared with Bengal, the Madras Presidency was slower to react to nationalist agitation precisely because it was politically more advanced. The Madras Presidency already had strong municipal boards, entirely in Indian hands, as well as a legislative assembly, with broad-ranging powers. Under the control of the Justice Party, this legislative body was grappling with important local issues such as the human rights of the depressed classes, who composed a significant portion of the population of the region. The British considered South India both pacified and loyal, and therefore conceded extraordinary autonomy to its elites. These elites, as a result, saw little need for an all-India nationalist movement that would, they predicted, merely grant power to a North Indian elite. South Indian participation in the Indian nationalist movement, therefore, was carefully restrained and geared toward addressing local problems. Later on, in another passage, comparing Hindus and Muslims, Copland mentions (54-55) that in

the 19th century, despite their differences, they shared the Hindustani (Urdu) language – an assertion that ignores not only the cultural gulf between North and South India, but also the very different pattern of Hindu-Muslim relations that prevailed in the Madras Presidency. In South India, Hindus and Muslims were united in the nationalist cause, which was as much a movement against upper-caste privileges as a fight against British rule. In the South, Hindus and Muslims belonged to the same political parties, communal violence was rare, and almost no one from the Dravidian cultural zone migrated to Pakistan in 1947. This story, so different from the North Indian “model,” also deserves to be told.

Another problem with Copland’s work is its consistent failure to present aspects of Indian culture accurately. Early in the work, for instance, Mumbai is referred to as “Mumbhai” (ix), which, apart from being an incorrect transliteration, imposes a masculine term, *bhai* (brother), upon the word *bai* (a respectful suffix attached to a woman’s name in Rajasthan and western India), meant to refer to the local Goddess after which Shiv Sena activists renamed Bombay in 1995. In another instance (9), Copland refers to certain landlords as members of the *kshatriya* caste. This is unfortunate because *kshatriyas* were a *varna*, not a caste (*jati*); because, according to Hindu legend, there are no true *kshatriyas* any more; and because what Copland is referring to are Rajput castes, which were invented by means of expedient Brahmin rituals in the early medieval period, or to other warrior elite communities that emerged relatively recently in different parts of India. Copland might have introduced, as an example of new research, our current understanding of caste as a British intellectual construction, conjured by ethnographic studies, work spearheaded by Susan Bayly and Nicholas Dirks, among others, but instead he raises the old trope of nationalists grappling to form numerous castes into a nation. It is assumed, of course, that castes are divided, almost to the point of atomizing society, but in accepting this rhetoric – dear both to nationalists and the British – Copland fails to address why Indians had been able to work across caste lines to build state systems for millennia during the pre-colonial period. Caste was not an impediment to national unity, but rather a particular expression of power dynamics; caste does not prevent communities from cooperating, but rather regulates the manner in which they share and negotiate power. In another instance (56), Copland refers to the Jamma Masjid of Delhi as an “Islamic shrine” – a characterization of a mosque that surely will irk his Muslim readers. The Jamma Masjid, after all, is not a Sufi *dargah*, but simply a gathering-place of the faithful. Another problem is Copland’s characterization of men who joined the Indian National Army as “disaffected Indian POWs” (xviii). In fact, the number of Indian soldiers who ardently supported Japanese imperialism during World War II was minute; the British, in reviewing individual cases

related to the I.N.A., concluded that a large number of men had joined Subhas Chandra Bose’s force through coercion, or out of a desire to return to India by marching with the I.N.A. and surrendering at the first opportunity. Nor did the British try, as he puts it, the I.N.A. “leaders” (68). In fact, they selected prisoners at random, which is one of the reasons why their “show trial” raised such strong opposition from nationalists.

Copland’s book, unfortunately, is far from original, but it has the advantage of being non-technical and well-organized, which is rare in books dealing with South Asian history. Used in combination with David Arnold’s masterful work, *Gandhi* (another Pearson publication, part of their Profiles in Power series), and with Bipan Chandra, et al.’s more “grassroots” approach, *India’s Struggle for Independence* (Penguin), Copland’s effort can serve as a good orienting tool. Students can begin with Copland’s overview, move on to Arnold’s insightful focus on Gandhi’s career, and then obtain a nuanced, countervailing point-of-view by examining relevant chapters of Chandra’s study of peasant nationalism. The ideal combination of texts, however, must include Gyanendra Pandey’s *Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India* (Oxford India), which clearly and even-handedly explains the growth of the political divide separating Hindus and Muslims, taking the story beyond the policy-making level to examine popular movements as they impacted local communities.

Alex Woolf. *Medieval Realms - Death and Disease*. Lucent Books, 2004. 48 pp. \$28.70.

Peter Dykema
Arkansas Tech University

This slim but solid and richly illustrated volume is intended for use by middle and high school students and focuses primarily on the European Middle Ages. Each of 21 two-page spreads addresses a different topic (the medical legacy of the ancient world, famine, medical schools, hospitals), while a number of the spreads focus on aspects of the Black Death (causes, explanations, treatment, consequences). The book’s title is surely meant to appeal to those attracted by blood, guts and/or alliteration, but the book’s scope is actually quite a bit broader than disease and death: medieval medicine, nutrition, and the role of the church and civic authorities in shaping public health are all treated at some length.

Woolf’s presentation is clear and concise yet also reveals a solid knowledge of recent scholarly work on medieval medicine and disease epidemics. The repeated use of the two-page spread keeps attention fresh and encourages focus. His prose is sophisticated yet fully readable, his use of primary sources do favor the British context but they are excellent selections, spot on in illuminating the topic at hand, while the illustrations are among the best I’ve seen in a full bookshelf of

volumes on the plague and disease epidemics. For the most part, this is a fine and reliable book.

Experts will rightly disagree with one of Woolf’s theses that the plague “brought about the birth of modern medicine” (34). But the author does well to describe changes over time in the practice of dissection and surgery, the appearance of medical treatises in the vernacular, shifts in the role of the hospital (although I found the description of patient care a bit too rosy with little emphasis on the woeful prognoses for the impoverished sick cooped up in pest houses), and the establishment of permanent public-health boards in many cities. These developments hardly heralded ‘modern’ medicine but they were significant nonetheless. Likewise, we could quibble over whether it was specifically the plague that sparked all of these changes—let’s not forget that Europe 1300-1700 had a very rich and varied disease environment—but on this point Woolf is merely following the majority of scholars, who for decades have privileged the plague to the exclusion of the many other epidemics ravaging Europe. World historians will be pleased to see that the author does at least briefly mention the outbreak of plague in China, the Middle East, and eastern Europe (how many college textbooks even mention the outbreaks in Moscow 1351-52?). I would have appreciated a bit more treatment of non-traditional medicine (herbalists and mid-wives are mentioned but briefly) and religious mechanisms for coping with death: purgatory, plague saints, memorial masses, and the popular ‘art of dying well’ guidebooks.

Despite these points of critique, this book receives my strong recommendation. Woolf clearly explains humoral theory, the role of climate and trade routes in creating the context for the epidemic, how plague came to be socially constructed as a disease of the poor, and the establishment of surgeon guilds as separate from both academic physicians and the lowly barbers. These are sophisticated achievements in a text geared towards children. When I review history books written for secondary schools, I often pose the question: if my college students learned *everything* presented in the simpler text, would I be satisfied? In this case, if the students in my courses on European disease epidemics learned everything in this little book, I would be very nearly thrilled!

Visit the Discovery School website <<http://school.discovery.com/lessonplans/9-12.html#>> for the following lesson plans dealing with the Americas:

A Classical Maya News Report
Conquistadors: Francisco Pizarro
Conquistadors: Hernán Cortés
Conquistadors: Inca Rebellion
Mesoamerica: The History of Central America

Silver, Markets, and States: The Impact of Islamic Trade on Eastern Europe in the Ninth through Eleventh Centuries

Dariusz Adamczyk
Universität Hannover

[Image added by WHB]

Introduction

One of the most fascinating phenomena in the Early Middle Age history of western Eurasia was the interaction between the Islamic World and eastern Europe (to include Scandinavia). Arab sources, archaeological evidence, and the numerous hoards with silver coins (dirhams) and so-called hacksilver (silver pieces), emphasize the importance and the intensity of these contacts. Oriental silver flowed into Eastern Europe from the early ninth to the early eleventh century, but dirhams and dirham fragments circulated there sporadically until the twelfth century.¹ In Russia, Ukraine, and Belorussia alone, 95 silver hoards with at least 10 coins each from the tenth to eleventh centuries were found. The chronology of the other 75 hoards cannot be specified at this time. At least 216 hoards from the same period were found in Scandinavia, 78 in Poland and Germany, and 24 in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.² They all contain 200,000 to 300,000 dirhams. And we do not count here the many hoards from the ninth century. The early silver coins were minted in Iraq, North Africa, and Iran, from the late ninth century, especially in Central Asia since 900. There also is strong evidence that from the 880s-900s, the Islamic weight system was adopted in eastern Europe.³ But why and under which circumstances did this large amount of silver reach Europe?

The Islamic World and the Emerging Markets in Eastern Europe

In the ninth to twelfth centuries, the most cultivated civilizations of the "Old World" were located in Asia, above all in the Middle East and China. The economic foundations of the Caliphate were the agricultural innovations⁴ that enabled the growth of production and the dynamic development of cities. Some scholars assume that in Iraq and Syria, 30% of the population lived in urban centers.⁵ In this context, commerce and industry played important roles, and the

demand for various goods increased, among them the forest products of East Europe: furs and skins (including squirrel, marten, beaver, black and red fox, sable, ermine, and hare), wax, honey, amber, Frankish swords, and slaves. (We might also add that some argue that the word "slave" is derived from "Slav." A Jewish merchant and envoy reported that, in 965, the number of Slavonic slaves in Cordoba increased within 50 years from 3000 to 13,000.⁶) But the fact that most oriental silver coins flowed into eastern Europe in the tenth century is connected with the strong political position of the Saminids in Central Asia and the Middle East. They controlled all important silver mines of western Eurasia, and supported the trade and urban centers. The evidence of trade intensification with Europe in the tenth century is quite convincing. Beside the silver hoards, we also know from the written sources that Muslim and Jewish merchants traveled to the markets in eastern Europe: Bulgar on the Kama, Hedeby (now in Germany), Prague, and Cracow.⁷ Other important markets were Kiev, Chernigov and Gnezdovo (near Smolensk) in the Dnieper basin, Polotsk on the West Dvina, Novgorod, Old Ladoga and Rurikovo Gorodishche along the Volchov river, Timerevo and Sarskoe Gorodishche in the upper Volga basin, Suvar in Volga Bulgaria, Wolin in the Pomerania, Truso in Prussia, Birka in Sweden, and Paviken on Gotland. In regions where early urban centers did not emerge, oriental silver also played an important role. The oldest Russian source, the so-called Nestor Chronicle, reports in 859 that the Khazars levied as tribute from some tribes of the Dnieper-Oka basin a squirrel skin and perhaps also a silver coin from each hearth. Under 885 and 964, the Chronicle informs us that the Radimichians and the Viatichians paid their tributes to the Khazars and later to the Kievan Rus in shillings.⁸ Therefore, these tribes must have been able to exchange their furs and other forest products for dirhams. A symbolic reflection of this Central Asian - East European interaction was a camel the Polish ruler, Mieszko I, gave German Emperor Otto III as gift.⁹

The people of the "barbarian" zone purchased, in addition to silver, glass, carnelian beads, silk, and spices; however, silver coins were desired most highly. They might have

been cut into small pieces, melted down into ornaments and ingots, they might also have been hoarded and then used without loss of value. The numerous dirham fragments, especially from hoards with the latest coins minted between 950 and 1020, clearly show that silver was not only a raw material, but also money used by weight. Central Asian silver became a very important means of payment, stimulating the development of regional markets.¹⁰

The topography of the silver hoards confirms these remarks. In Russia most hoards from the tenth through eleventh centuries were found on the left bank of the

Without the contacts with the Islamic World, the incorporation of Early Medieval eastern Europe into the Christian community would have required much more time.

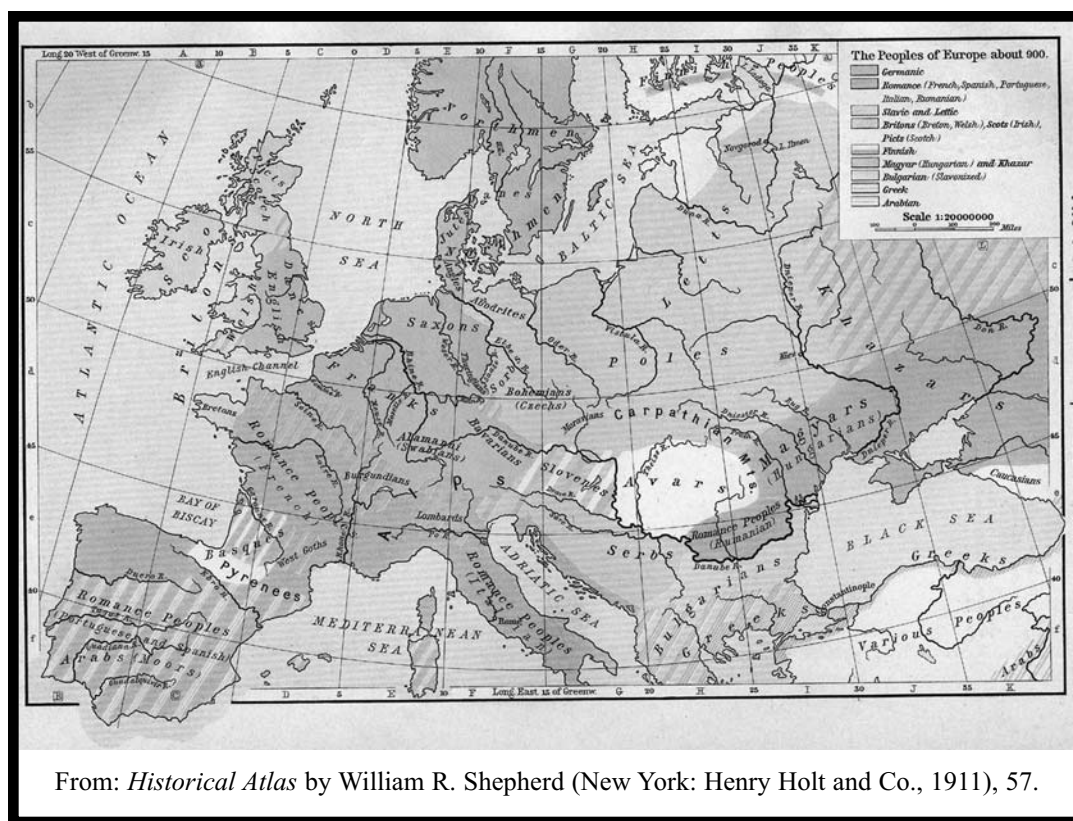
Dnieper, and in northwestern Russia between Old Ladoga, Novgorod, Polotsk, and Gnezdovo-Smolensk. Besides, many hoards come from Volga Bulgaria, some from the Volga-Oka basin, upper Dniester and Bug rivers, and Belorussia (Pripyet and Niemen). The hoards in the Dnieper basin reflected the political and economic emergence of Kiev in the late ninth and early tenth centuries. On the one hand, silver reached this area via trade with the Khazars and Volga Bulgars; on the other hand, it arrived as loot, gifts, bribes, and tributes. The sources give us a lot of examples of Kievan raids in the Caspian and Azov Sea areas, of tributes in coins or furs (that later could be exchanged for silver), and of slave trade.¹¹ Novgorod in 1014, had to pay to Kiev 2000-3000 grivny (plural for grivna, a weight measurement equal to about 410 grams) as tax.¹² It is estimated that this tax yielded about 50,000-80,000 dirhams. Four years later Jaroslav, Kiev's ruler imposed on Novgorod a head tax of four silver kuny (plural for kuna, a currency in many Slavic areas) to recruit Scandinavian warriors with which to win back Kiev. We might add that in the most important trade and handicraft settlements of northern Russia alone, Novgorod and Gnezdovo, seven and five hoards were found. From Kiev, and above all from Volga Bulgaria, the Central Asian silver was transported along the Volga to the Oka basin and to northern Russia. Volga Bulgaria was a trading center where the intercultural encounter took place: Muslim merchants met the people from the "barbarian" zone, Vikings, Slavs, Finno-Ugrians, and so forth. Ibn Fadlan has written a won-

derful report of this encounter.¹³

Other silver hoards were found along the upper Dniester and Bug rivers which linked Kiev with the so-called red burghs. We know that some merchant caravans from "red burghs" set out on a journey to Cracow and Prague (or to Mazovia and then to Greater Poland or Pomerania), and from there via west German towns to Provence and al-Andalus. From Novgorod and Old Ladoga, Central Asian silver arrived in Scandinavia and settlements on the southern coast of the Baltic Sea, from there was carried to the Polish interior. The many hoards from Gotland have been a controversial issue for years. Some scholars emphasize the importance of trade with Russia, some point to the Gotland hoards as the result of loot and blackmail.¹⁴ That many dirham hoards came from West Pomerania is not surprising. Wolin was one of the most important urban centers on the Baltic Sea, and according to an important source from the second half of the eleventh century, it had 5000-10,000 inhabitants.¹⁵ The influx of silver coins reached Greater Poland (where in the tenth century, the early Polish Piast state was emerging) from Wolin and also by land routes.

Arab Commerce and the Emergence of the Early States in Eastern Europe

That Central Asian-Baltic trade coincided with the state-building in eastern Europe was no accident.¹⁶ The connections between both processes were very close. Revenue needed to build early states was being produced not only locally within the society. In addition, tribute, loot, monopolization of the flow of silver, and control of long-distance trade were crucial. Precious metals and luxury goods played a central role for the new elites, as they were necessary for their prestige. Not "land with people," but silver, gold, slaves, and horses created the basis of wealth. For the emerging or existing states in Russia during the ninth through eleventh centuries (Khazars, Kievan Rus, Volga Bulgars), tribute imposed on commercial transactions, the control and protection of trade routes, and robberies were the material basis. Medieval Russia was largely a product of trade connections between the Baltic Sea and Asia. We might



From: *Historical Atlas* by William R. Shepherd (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1911), 57.

also point out a similar state-building process on the southern flank of the Islamic World to the south of the Sahara. The Trans-Saharan trade in the eighth through twelfth centuries favored the formation of early states like Ghana, Mali, and Songhai. Above all, slaves and gold were exported to the North African markets and exchanged for salt, textiles, and the such. Some historians estimate the number of black slaves sold in northern Africa in the years 800-1100 to be 2,000,000 people.¹⁷ Similar to the role that the Abbasids and Saminids in the Middle East played in relation to eastern Europe, the North African dynasties of Aghlabids, Fatimids, Almoravids, and Almohads stimulated the economic and political development in the African periphery of the Islamic World System.

From the written sources, we know that in Kievan Rus, Scandinavia, and Poland the princes rewarded their retinue with silver. A Jewish merchant from al-Andalus, Ibrahim ibn Jaqub, reported in 965 that the Polish Duke Mieszko I, imposed taxes and tributes in the form of *mitkal* (silver coins and pieces) to pay his retinue.¹⁸ In Scandinavia, kings rewarded their warriors with precious metals, and one of the most famous Vikings, Olaf Trygvasson, became king after he imposed a large tribute on England.¹⁹ We have already mentioned the examples from

Russia. Therefore, the main sources of material and financial means necessary for the building of the trans-tribal states from the Volga to Pomerania were tributes paid in kind and with silver, loot, and trade. Furs and skins, wax, honey, amber, and last but not least, slaves, could be exchanged for silver and luxury goods. They created the basis for the building of early states in eastern Europe. The influx of Central Asian silver helped the new elites to pay their retinue, to build up the state apparatus, and to conquer the neighboring tribes. In this context, we may agree with a Polish historian who said that without Mohammad, Ruric in Russia, Mieszko in Poland, and Gorm in Denmark would not have been possible.²⁰ Without the contacts with the Islamic World, the incorporation of Early Medieval eastern Europe into the Christian community would have required much more time.

Endnotes

¹ Thomas S. Noonan, "When and how dirhems first reached Russia," *Cahiers du monde* 21, (1980): 401-469; Dariusz Adamczyk, "Silberströme und die Einbeziehung Osteuropas in das islamische Handelssystem," in *Die Welt querdenken. Festschrift für Hans-Heinrich Nolte* (Frankfurt am Main 2003), 107-123.

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Expanding Horizons, Collapsing Frontiers: The Macro and Micro in World History Sixteenth-Annual WHA Conference in Milwaukee, 28 June-1 July 2007 Call for Papers

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Marquette University will jointly host the Sixteenth-Annual World History Association Conference at the UWM Conference Center in downtown Milwaukee, 28 June-1 July 2007. The conference will begin with registration and a reception on 28 June (2:30 p.m. until 5:30 p.m.) and continue with panels and activities from the morning of 29 June to midday 1 July. The conference site is six blocks from Lake Michigan and the Milwaukee Art Museum, and eight blocks from the grounds of Summerfest, the World's Largest Music Festival, which will be in full swing during the conference. The local organizers have secured blocks of specially discounted rooms at two downtown locations. Information regarding housing, registration, and related issues will begin appearing on the WHA website www.thewha.org beginning in August 2006.

The World History Association (WHA) invites proposals from scholars and teachers for full panels, single papers, and roundtables on topics related to this year's theme, "Expanding Horizons, Collapsing Frontiers: The Macro and Micro in World History." Proposals should include the title and a brief (300 words or less) description of the paper, panel, or roundtable topic. Proposals should include the names of the chair, presenters, and discussants and a one-page *CV* for each. The Program Committee will give preference to proposals for full sessions and roundtables and will schedule them in the most advantageous time slots. As warranted, the Committee will fill out the program by placing individual papers into sessions of its own devising. Papers and sessions that do not directly address the conference theme will be considered and may be accepted as the program allows.

To submit a proposal, please use the form available at the WHA web site <http://www.thewha.org>. Please note: **Proposals are due by February 1, 2007, to allow time for early notification and travel planning. No proposal will be accepted after the due date. Notwithstanding acceptance of a proposal, any presenter not registered for the conference by 1 May 2007 will be dropped from the program.**

WHA in Milwaukee 2007: Events and Accommodations

The 2007 WHA Conference will be held at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Conference Center in downtown Milwaukee, six blocks from Lake Michigan and the Milwaukee Art Museum with its spectacular Calatrava addition (www.mam.com), and nine blocks from the grounds of Summerfest, the World's Largest Music Festival (www.summerfest.com). Low-cost public transportation is available throughout the downtown area.

Special Events for the Conference:

Reception, tour, and special exhibit of the American Geographical Society Library at UW-Milwaukee (www.uwm.edu/Libraries/AGSL), Friday afternoon

Reception and special exhibit at the Haggerty Museum of Art, Marquette University (www.marquette.edu/haggerty), Saturday afternoon

Reduced price (\$8 per person, including entrance to the featured exhibit) for admission for conference attendees (with a conference badge) any time throughout the weekend at the Milwaukee Art Museum. Special docent-led orientations of the museum from a world history perspective: Thursday at 6:00 PM and Sunday at 1:30 PM. Tickets for the orientation (also \$8) must be purchased in advance with conference registration.

Exhibit and reduced price at the Pabst Mansion, an enormous 1890s Flemish revival mansion built by the Pabst family (www.pabstmansion.com), throughout the weekend

Film Festival, with films provided by the Milwaukee International Film Festival (www.milwaukeeifest.org), running throughout the conference

Receptions, coffee breaks, and at least one lunch sponsored by ABC-CLIO, Houghton-Mifflin, Marquette University Department of History, Alverno College, and others.

Accommodations

Hyatt Regency Hotel, one block from the conference site. Parking available for \$15 per night. \$112 for a single or a double, \$132 for a triple, \$152 for a quad. Reservations at: (414) 276-1234 or (800) 233-1234 or Hyatt.com Cutoff date for reservations: May 30, 2007.

OR

Strasz Tower, the former downtown YMCA now run by Marquette as a residence hall Seven blocks from the conference site. Room rates for 2006 are \$41 for a single, \$56 for a double, \$66 for a triple, and \$72 for a quad; 2007 rates slightly higher. Rooms are air-conditioned with private bathrooms, and parking is available for \$5 per night. Reservations at: (414) 288-7208

Summerfest, a huge musical festival with performances for every musical taste, will be going on the weekend of the conference. It brings in tens of thousands of people, so that it will be VERY difficult to find a hotel room at the last minute. Make your reservations early!

For information on other Milwaukee attractions, see the article in the September 2006 issue of *National Geographic Traveler*, pp. 54- 7 or at: www.nationalgeographic.com/traveler/features/48hours_milwaukee0609/milwaukee.html The website links to a very interesting podcast of a socialist history walking tour of downtown Milwaukee.

WHA Events at the American Historical Association Annual Meeting (Atlanta, Georgia)

Friday, January 5

2:30-4:30 p.m. “*Globalizing Regional and National Histories*” (Discussion/Roundtable Session No. 81)

Chair: Anand Yang, University of Washington

Panel: Iris Berger, State University of New York at Albany; Edward J. Davies, University of Utah; Marc Jason Gilbert, North Georgia College & State University; Paul S. Ropp, Clark University

Location: Marriott, International Meeting Room 1

4:00-7:00 p.m. World History Association Executive Council Meeting

Presiding: Michele Forman, President - World History Association

Location: Hyatt, Vancouver Room

Saturday, January 6

9:00-11:00 a.m. “*How Successfully to Incorporate African and Latin American Topics into the World History Survey*” (Discussion/Roundtable Session No. 91)

Chair: Despina O. Danos, Educational Testing Service

Panel: Kenneth R. Curtis, California State University at Long Beach; Patrick Manning, University of Pittsburgh, and Vice President - AHA Teaching Division; Peter Winn, Tufts University; Despina O. Danos, Educational Testing Service.

Location: Marriott, International Ballroom 4

12:15-1:45 p.m. Advanced Placement History -- “*Broadening the World History Survey Course: Teaching about the Cultural Encounter between Counter-Reformation Europe and the Ming and Qing Empires*” by Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, Pennsylvania State University

Presiding: Allison Clark, Associate Director - Curriculum and Professional Development, College Board

Location: Hilton, DeKalb Room

5:00-6:00 p.m. World History Association Business Meeting

Presiding: Michele Forman, President - World History Association

Location: Hyatt, Vancouver Room

6:00-8:00 p.m. World History Association Reception

Location: Hyatt, Montreal Room



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NEWS

CONFERENCE REPORT

Mid-Atlantic World History Association Conference, Oct. 13- 14, 2006

East Stroudsburg University

The tenth annual Mid-Atlantic World History Association (MAWHA) Conference, "Intersections in World History: Teaching and Research," highlighted panels on study abroad, new directions in World History, regional and imperial conflicts, identity and historical memory, globalism, technology in the classroom, and college and secondary education collaboration. One prospective student-teacher who attended the workshop on teaching World History commented, "The conference was informative and educational. A great discussion took place about how to teach World History. . . particularly the notion of focusing on themes."

Deborah Smith Johnson, World History teacher at Lexington High School in Massachusetts, gave the keynote address, "A Recipe for a World History Teacher," and a post-lunch discussion on 9/11 drew many suggestions on how to frame the events in global historical perspective. Colleagues from the Eastern Community College Social Science Association (ECCSSA), which whom we have co-sponsored the conference in the past, attended and announced that their Spring conference will take place on April 12-14, 2007, at Northern Essex Community College in Haverhill, MA. Visit their website at <http://www.eccssa.org/> for more information.

Secondary and college faculty, and students came from a variety of institutions, including Eastern Stroudsburg University, Noble and Greenough School Center for Teaching History with Technology, Nassau Community College, Pratt Institute, Brooklyn Children's Center, Lock Haven University, College of Staten Island, United States Naval Academy, SUNY New Paltz, Brookdale Community College, Ball State University, Kean University, University of Delaware, Ithaca College, The College of New Jersey, and Queensborough Community College CUNY.

The workshop on Study Abroad focused

on summer study in four countries, Austria, Ghana, the Dominican Republic, and China, with students sharing the high points of their experiences. The students commented that "moving out of their comfort zone" has transformed their perspective on the world. The presentation on technology included specific strategies for using computer blogs, advanced search capabilities, and chat rooms to fulfill the maxim that "whoever is doing most of the talking and most of the typing is doing most of the learning." MAWHA conferences typically include a mix of content presentations and teaching sessions, and this conference was no exception.

When East Stroudsburg's Channel 13 showed up to interview Jacky Swansinger, MAWHA president, the conference planners knew we had arrived! Next year's fall conference is now in the planning stages, and we encourage all students and educators of World History to attend. The planners would also like to thank Marie Donaghay of East Stroudsburg for her on-site work, and publishers Houghton Mifflin and McGraw-Hill for their continued sponsorship and involvement with the organization.

For information on MAWHA visit our website: www.mawha.org.

CONFERENCE REPORT

Southeast World History Association Conference, Oct. 20-21, 2006

Appalachian State University

The Eighteenth Annual meeting of the Southeast World History Association took place October 20-21 on the campus of Appalachian State University in Boone, NC. Around 65 people – university students, secondary teachers, and college instructors – attended the two-day conference.

A strong program of ten panel sessions with over thirty presenters from across the region – and as far away as Idaho State University – engaged the audience on topics with provocative titles such as "Baghdad Silver, Irish Slaves and the Origins of Dublin" and panels titled "War, Protest and Identity" and a Roundtable Discussion addressing "Pirates, Chocolate, Powwows and Active Learning." [A copy of the program is available at <http://www.sewha.org>]. The special highlight of the conference was

the keynote speaker, Dr. Peter Stearns, who spoke on "The Industrial Revolution: A Point in Time or an On-Going Process?"

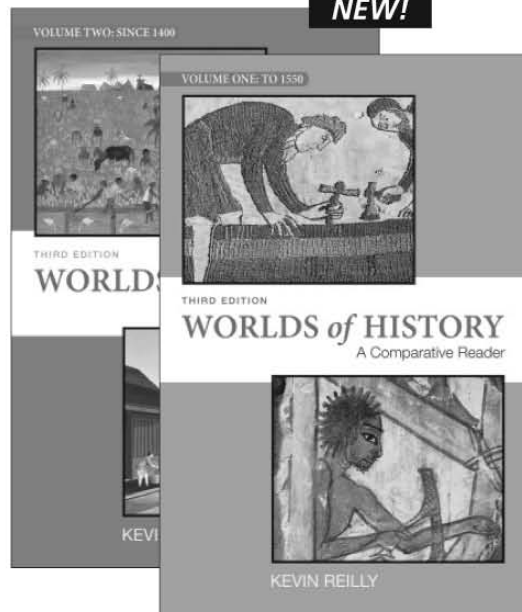
At the annual business meeting, it was announced that the organization's membership had approved the moving of the Secretariat from Kennesaw State University and the capable leadership of Dr. Alan Lebaron to Georgia State University under the direction of Dr. Steve Rapp who will serve as the next Executive Secretary.

The growth of the SEWHA also has prompted initial discussion of the prospects of creating a Proceeding Journal of selected papers from the annual meetings that could share materials to an even wider audience providing reach out to others who are teaching high school, AP, and college-level world history courses with both content and pedagogy in the field. Micheal Tarver will have more information on this project in the coming months.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL NEWS

The World History Association is pleased to welcome three new members to its Executive Council. Kerry Ward has been assistant professor of world history at Rice University in Houston since 2001. Her areas of research and teaching include world history, South African history, Southeast Asian history, Indian Ocean history, comparative slavery and the memory of forced migration in public history. She was chair of the Program Committee for the very successful Morocco and Long Beach WHA conferences in 2005 and 2006. William Ziegler has been teaching for eighteen years, currently at San Marcos High School in southern California. His earlier service to the World History Association has included membership on the Program Committee in 2006 and membership on the Teaching Prize Committee. Bill is a Consultant for the College Board's Advanced Placement World History course and has been played a leadership role in the APWH reading, serving as a Table Leader and as a Question Leader. Jonathan Reynolds completed his Ph.D. in African History at Boston University in 1995 and now teaches at Northern Kentucky University. His field work in Northern Nigeria focuses on issues of Islam and political legitimacy. Apart from publication in this area, he is also the co-author, with Erik Gilbert, of *Africa in World History*, the second edition of which is due out this year. The Gilbert and Reynolds team are also recently completed another text entitled *Trading Tastes: Culture and Commodity to 1750*, which was the first in a new Prentice Hall series called "Connections in World History." The WHA thanks Kerry, Bill and Jonathan for their dedication and service to our organization.

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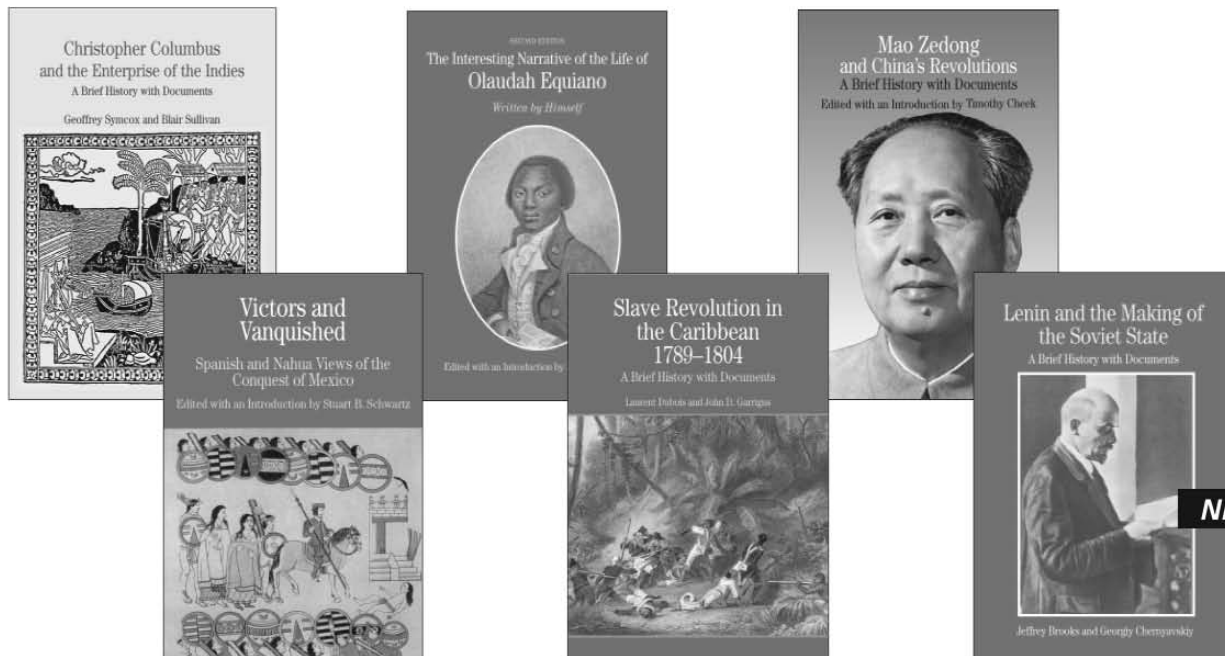
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Membership in the World History Association can be achieved by mailing your name, address, and institutional affiliation, along with the applicable membership amount listed below. The WHA accepts Visa, MasterCard, and Discover (please include the type of card and expiration date) or check payable to the WHA.

Regular Membership	\$60 per year
Two-Year Membership	\$110
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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 the WHA Headquarters.

The *World History Bulletin* appears in April and November.