

World History Bulletin

Spring 2010



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Editor

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Editor's Note

ARKANSAS TECH
A CENTURY FORWARD



April 2010

Dear Readers:

Greetings. This issue of the *World History Bulletin* marks my final issue as Editor; However, before I turn over the duties to a to-be-determined successor, I wanted to extend a few words of thanks and praise for several individuals who have made my job both memorable and rewarding.

First, I would like to thank Al Andrea and Carter Findley for having the courage to go with an unknown scholar from a mid-sized university to handle the task of carrying forward both the tradition and significance of the *Bulletin*. I hope that I have lived up to their expectations.

Second, I would like to thank Kieko Matteson, Robert White, and Winston Welch for their endless cooperation and assistance during their respective years as Executive Director. This job would not be possible without their assistance.

Third, I would like to thank Carter Findley, Ralph Croizier, David Northrup, Michele Forman, Anand Yang, and Al Andrea for their cooperation during their respective years as President. So much of the WHA-related material in the *Bulletin* is dependent upon the president's leadership, and these folks never let me down.

Fourth, I would like to thank Peter Dykema for his service to the *Bulletin* as Book Review Coordinator. Peter has served in that capacity since 2003 and will continue under the new Editor. The quality of the reviews in this issue speaks clearly to Peter's tireless efforts on behalf of the *Bulletin* readership.

Fifth, I would like to thank Carlos Marquez for his service as Copy Editor for the *Bulletin*. Carlos has done as outstanding job of helping me move the *Bulletin* from its previous simple -- yet professional -- layout and appearance to the current professionally-printed publication.

Finally, I would like to thank the scores of individuals who have contributed to the *Bulletin*. In reality, it is this group of people who make the *Bulletin* what it is today: a professional publication with top-quality essays and lessons that inform and educate its readers about the field of world history.

I believe that I have accomplished the tasks that Carter and Al set out for me in late 2001 and that the *Bulletin* has progressed nicely over the past nine years. With that said, I hope that you enjoy this issue of collected essays and book reviews.

Micheal

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From the Executive Director

Spring 2010

Dear WHA Members,

It seems that 2010 is already flying by—where does the time go? At the WHA headquarters we are busy preparing for the 2010 WHA Conference in San Diego at the Mission Valley Marriott. The conference will be a terrific lineup of keynote speakers, stimulating roundtable sessions, interesting panels, and great receptions, luncheons, breaks and socializing. The WHA conferences are always the best way to meet friends new and old, find out about the latest research and pedagogy, and collaborate with others in the field. We encourage you to attend each year—you will be glad you do.

We are also planning now for conferences in Beijing in 2011 and Albuquerque in 2012. The 2010 Istanbul Symposium in October will also be a highlight not to be missed—this event is the first in a series of tightly focused symposia, and sure to be a great success. Please visit our website for more information on these events and much more.

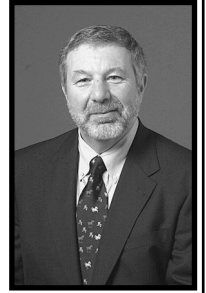
We've also introduced an online, secure membership database system, where members may update personal information at any time, register for conferences, renew memberships, and much more. Our conferences have also gone more high-tech, with online submissions which allow for better submission management, conference planning, panel programming, and allows for easy changes by those submitting.

As always, we welcome your comments, suggestions and feedback. Please let us know how we are doing and if there is anyway we may improve our service to you.

Winston Welch

See you in San Diego!

Letter from the President



Dear WHA Members,

It is a great honor to offer this initial letter to the membership. As I informed the Executive Council on 7 January when I assumed the office, following Anand Yang's dedicated stewardship, if these next two years witness any progress, it will be because of the support and hard work of not only the 12 other officers of the WHA but of the many generous WHA members who give so unstintingly of their time and talent. Together we can accomplish much.

With this in mind, I am setting "**WHA Volunteerism**" as the theme of my two-year term as president, and I invite all of you to join in the effort. To that end, I asked Micheal Tarver, the *World History Bulletin* editor, to insert a volunteer form in the pages of this issue. Please look at it, consider photocopying, filling it out, and sending it by FAX or postal mail to the WHA offices. The form has also been placed on the WHA website, where you can download it there.

So many strides have been made and so much has been accomplished since the founding of the WHA in 1982, but many things remain for us to do if, indeed, we wish to become the association that we are capable of being. What is more, although the day-to-day functioning of the association is in the capable hands of our hard-working Executive Director, Winston Welch, and of the WHA's equally industrious Administrative Assistant, Jackie Wah, our part-time Secretariat needs the assistance of many willing members in order to function as it must.

But rather than dwelling on what we can and must do over the next several years, allow me to inform you of some recent contributions to the WHA by its members and some recent initiatives that we, your elected officers, have undertaken. I also want to recognize the on-going work of some of our members. Inevitably, by singling out some, I will err by overlooking other equally deserving members. I hope in future open letters to correct those oversights.

As you can read in the minutes of the January Executive Council Meeting, the WHA has a new affiliate—the Midwest WHA (MWWHA)—thanks largely to the work of its first president, Paul Jentz of North Hennepin Community College. Please take some time to look at its web site www.mwwha.org. Soon another new group, the Florida World History Association (FLAWHA), will be applying for official affiliate status, thanks to the work of Fred Bisson, a transplanted emeritus from Keene State (NH), Carol Grigas of Daytona State College, and a host of others. This affiliate-in-the-making has a web site at www.flawha.org. Beyond that, largely due to the vision of Winston Welch and David Ruffley, with the assistance of Paul Jentz, a third new affiliate is taking shape, the Mountain West Affiliate that covers the states of Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming. Check out its web site at www.mountainwestwha.org. With this affiliate in place, all 50 states in the USA are now covered.

Across the Atlantic, the African Network in Global History/Réseau Africain d'Histoire Mondiale took shape during the waning days of 2009, thanks to the efforts of Dr. Peter Adebayo of the University of Ilorin and Pat Manning of the University of Pittsburgh. Dr. Adebayo will attend the WHA's annual conference in San Diego, where he will present a paper. Please welcome him when you see him there.

Affiliates in the USA and beyond are an integral part of the WHA and a medium through which the association can reach out to its membership around the world. Affiliates also offer the WHA an avenue through which it can potentially expand its membership. Because of the importance of the WHA's maintaining close contact with and supporting its affiliates, Marc Gilbert, our new Vice President, requested that he be given the task of coordinating affiliate relations. Appointing him to that task was a no-brainer. Assisting him will be Paul Jentz, who, given his track record with the MWWHA, should prove to be a fine second-in-command.

As noted, one largely untapped potential offered by the affiliates is to help in our recruiting of new members. Craig Benjamin of Grand Valley State College has assumed the key position of chair of the Membership Committee. I have asked the committee to set as a goal raising WHA membership by 25 percent, from the current 1200 to 1500, by the end of this year. This is a level of membership for which the WHA has often strived in the past but never attained. Despite this history of failure, it is worth trying again. To achieve it, the committee will employ several tactics. As I type these words, the final touches have just been applied to a brochure that sets out clearly reasons why everyone involved in world history at any level should join the WHA. Thanks to the graphic-design talents of Jackie Wah and Paul Jentz, this brochure is eye-catching, as well as informative. This brochure will be a valuable tool in what is still only a partially formulated plan to institute an association-wide recruitment drive that will call upon all members to assist

in this effort to reach the magical mark of 1500 members.

One person who is already active in promoting expanded awareness of the WHA within the teaching community is Sharlene Sayegh of California State University at Long Beach, who recently negotiated an advertisement swap between *The History Teacher* and the *Journal of World History*.

Speaking of the *JWH*, Jerry Bentley has been at the editorial helm of that publication for 21 years and deserves the WHA's profound thanks. The *JWH* and Jerry have become inextricably intertwined, and one seems unimaginable without the other. Likewise, Micheal Tarver has served as editor of the *World History Bulletin* since 2002, and under his leadership the *WHB* has become an important medium that serves the pedagogical needs of our members through its Teaching Forum and periodic issues that have focused on specific themes in world history. Assisting Micheal more than ably have been Alexander Mirkovic as assistant editor and Peter Dykema as book review coordinator. Micheal was recently promoted to a deanship at Arkansas Tech, and this Spring 2010 issue is his last as editor. A committee is now actively looking for a new editor who will exhibit the drive, vision, and energy that has characterized Micheal's tenure. Volunteers? If so, contact Winston Welch at thewha@hawaii.edu.

Other editors who deserve special recognition are three persons who have taken on the often unheralded job of being gate-keepers for H-World submissions and discussions: David Kalivas, Eric Martin, and, most recently, Maryanne Rhett. Their devotion to the task has ensured that H-World is and remains a highly professional medium for exchange.

It is also imperative to recognize the vast array of editors of and contributors to *World History Connected*, led by Marc Gilbert and before him Heather Salter-Streets. This is truly a major contribution to world history pedagogy.

Another of our activist members who deserves special notice is Joel Tishken of Washington State University. At the strategic-planning retreat of the Executive Council held in Seattle in November, it was decided that the WHA should institute a Speakers' Bureau as a means of spreading the word of world history, serving the needs of institutions and organizations that require the services of a guest lecturer in this field, advertising the WHA more broadly and widely, and even raising some funds for the WHA. A few weeks ago, Joel volunteered to oversee the coming-into-being of the bureau. He and two graduate assistants, Johanna Lash and Nathan Sowry, are currently advertising the bureau's existence and gathering the names and areas of expertise of volunteer speakers. As of 31 January, six WHA stalwarts had already signed up as volunteer speakers. If you are interested in joining the bureau, contact Joel at jtishken@wsu.edu.

The WHA has also begun to ask members to remember the association in their planned giving, either as bequests or as memorials established in honor of someone else, perhaps a favorite mentor. Although only a few months old, this search for sources of endowment that will exist far into the future has resulted in several promises of bequests.

One grant that we received recently is funding for two new student awards, thanks to the generosity of Mark Welter, a long-time instructor of world history and supporter of the WHA. Beginning in the Fall semester of 2010, the WHA will launch two parallel essay competitions aimed exclusively at high school and community college students. Each competition will carry with it a prize of \$500. A committee has been formed to write the rules governing the competition and to evaluate submissions. Further details will be available in the near future.

Finally (and mercifully), let us not forget the volunteerism of all who make our annual conferences so rewarding and enjoyable. The Conference Program Committee, chaired by Maryanne Rhett and previously by Carolyn Neel, has done a spectacular job in often trying circumstances. Last year's conference in Salem was fantastic, thanks in large measure to the work of this committee and also of the Local Arrangements Committee and especially Dane Morrison and Chris Mauriello. This year's conference in San Diego promises to be its equal because of the dedicated on-site work of Laura Ryan, Ed Beasley, Ross Dunn, Alex Zukas, and a host of other people.

I hope to see many of you in San Diego in June. And, when you are there, look for a few new wrinkles, including "Affiliate Thursday," when space will be given to all requesting affiliates and interest groups in which they can hold afternoon meetings. As in Salem, we will also have a table near the registration desk for affiliate and interest-group literature. But you will have to come to San Diego to see and experience all that we have in stock for you.

Al Andrea

Volunteer to Help the WHA

The WHA needs help from volunteers who can pledge to serve in a number of different capacities. These range from serving on various committees to holding elected offices. If you wish to be considered for one of these positions and are willing to put in the time and effort needed, the WHA wants you.

Executive Officers:

Vice-President (President-elect) serves 2 years as VP and 2 years as president
Secretary 2-year term
Treasurer 2-year term
Executive Council 9 positions, each a 3-year term

Please note: The Executive Council and the four executive officers meet twice annually to conduct WHA business: in January at the AHA meeting and at the annual WHA conference, usually in late June. All 13 members of this body are expected to attend each meeting.

Committees:

Book Prize; Conferences; Membership; Nominations; Program (establishes the program for the annual conference); Student Paper Prize; Teaching Prize.

Please note: You can find out what these committees are engaged in by looking at their semi-annual reports that are printed in the *World History Bulletin*.

Guest Editor:

The *World History Bulletin* seeks guest editors who will solicit and edit articles that center on a major world history theme and appear in its periodic focus issues. See the Spring 2009 issue for an example.

Speakers' Bureau:

The WHA is inaugurating a Speakers' Bureau, in which it will compile a list of world historians who are willing and able, schedules permitting, to deliver lectures on a variety of self-designated topics. All honoraria will be donated to the WHA, but hosts will cover expenses.

NAME

E-Mail Address

Institution and position

A WHA member since

Previous or current WHA service (with dates)

Special skills or experience

Office(s) and/or committees in which you are interested.

Are there any special tasks that you wish to perform for the WHA that are not covered by any of the listed committees?

Do you wish to tell us why you seek or are suited for those positions?

Mail or FAX this information to the WHA Secretariat at: The WHA, Sakamaki Hall A203, 2530 Dole Street, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI 96822; FAX: 808-956-9600.

World History Association Business Meeting

American Historical Association Conference
Friday, 8 January 2010
Carlsbad Room, Marriott Hotel, San Diego
Sheduled 5.00-6.00 PM.

Present: Al Andrea, Winston Welch, Marc Gilbert, Kerry Ward, Joel Tishken, Hayrettin Yucesoy, Connie Hudgeons, Craig Lockard, Paul Jentz, Thomas W. Davis, Peter A. Porter, Craig Benjamin, Rick Warner, Heather Streets-Salter, Pat Manning, David Lindenfeld, Laura Wangerin, Anand Yang, Jerry Bentley, John Curry, Marie Donaghay, Ane Lindeveld, Felipe Fernández-Armesto (not a complete list, inasmuch as others arrived late).

Welcome: The meeting opened on time with a welcome from the new President, Al Andrea, who began by introducing and thanking Anand Yang as the former President. He also introduced Winston Welch as Executive Director, Marc Gilbert as Vice-President and President Elect, and Kerry Ward as Secretary.

WHA Executive Office: Andrea announced that as of 1 January 2010, Winston Welch's appointment as Executive Director has been increased to 75%.

Executive Council Retreat: Report is available on the WHA website and in the *World History Bulletin*.

Agenda: Andrea announced the meeting agenda as consisting of reports from the Executive Council meeting followed by questions and feedback from the WHA members present.

WHA Conferences: Andrea announced that the call for papers and further information regarding forthcoming WHA Conference at the Marriott San Diego, Mission Valley, on 24-27 June 2010, is available on the WHA website. Andrea and Welch have recently visited the hotel, and arrangements are on track. Arrangements for the 2011 WHA conference in Beijing are also on track.

Andrea announced that the "Byzantine and Ottoman Civilizations in World History" Symposium sponsored by Istanbul Sehir University and the World History Association, on 21-24 October 2010 in Istanbul, Turkey, has received 60 paper proposals. All details of the event are on the WHA website.

Andrea announced that Connie Hutchins has invited the WHA to hold its 2012 conference in Albuquerque. A vote on this invitation could not be taken during the Executive Council Meeting but will be conducted electronically. [Note: The Council subsequently voted to accept the invitation. Preliminary details may be found at the WHA website.]

World History Bulletin: Andrea noted that the World History Bulletin has flourished under Micheal Tarver's editorship and announced that Tarver has resigned as of Spring 2010. A search committee for the new editor has been organized consisting of Al Andrea, Winston Welch, and Marc Gilbert. Andrea called for any suggestions for editor. He also said that the possibility of a WHA affiliate taking on the editorship as a group is under investigation.

Journal of World History: Jerry Bentley had reported at the Council meeting on the *Journal of World History*, which is in vibrant shape and has several volumes in the pipeline.

World History Connected: Marc Gilbert reported on *World History Connected*. He mentioned the last forum on 'big history' edited by Craig Benjamin and outlined the upcoming forums and connections with regular featured articles, including 'women in world history' and the new AP world history criteria for the June edition, followed by Latin America in world history.

Book Prize Committee: Anand Yang reported that WHA Book Prize is the only dedicated book prize in the field and the most prestigious award in World History. He encouraged submissions of books published in 2009 for the 2010 prize.

Fund Raising Committee: Andrea announced that following the WHA Retreat, the Fund Raising Committee is now part of the Finance Committee. He presented the report and stated that Charles Cavaliere has pledged Oxford University Press funding over a period of three years for the student paper prize and teaching prize (a total of \$1550 each year, 2010-2012). He urged members and friends to engage in "planned giving," which will be encouraged in WHA forums, including the website. There is the possibility of creating an endowed memorial.

Membership Committee: Craig Benjamin reported that the Membership Committee has been charged with increasing membership from 1200 to 1500. Potential cohorts for recruitment include the AP World History exam reading and AP World History teachers in general, community colleges, student membership, including Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society in History, and the other AP exam readings, such as AP European History. Craig Benjamin asks for suggestions for membership – please contact him at <benjamic@gvsu.edu>.

Nominating Committee: Andrea noted that the Nominations Committee under Kieko Matteson did a great job eliciting outstanding candidates. The Nominations Committee has been reformulated with new members.

Student Essay Prizes: Laura Wangerin expressed disappointment at the kinds of papers being submitted by graduate students but was encouraged by the good standard of the undergraduate essays. She further stated that the Phi Alpha Theta conference papers in world history offered that afternoon at the nearby PAT conference were excellent. She asked members to promote the student essay prizes and plan ahead to submit them on time.

Marc Gilbert suggested that members think about starting World History essay prizes in their own departments in order to generate papers for the national prize.

Al Andrea noted that the student essay prize award at the University of Vermont was a paid membership in the WHA and suggested this was a good incentive.

Teaching Committee: Reporting in the absence of Ane Lintvedt, Andrea said that the Teaching Committee is seeking for a new mission and membership. Rick Warner volunteered to join committee and said that other volunteers were necessary to reinvigorate the committee.

Andrea stated that as President he wants to promote volunteerism in the WHA.

Treasurer's Report & Executive Director's Report: Winston Welch said that the Executive Office staff has stabilized, as had record keeping. Initiatives have included an updated website and an online member database. Marc Gilbert suggested that a field of interest survey would be useful for members to connect with each other. The bookkeeper has helped clarify financial records. Welch is seeking an intern from the University of Hawai'i to help with the membership data base. Welch also wants to work closer with the Affiliates. He wants to promote a "World History Day". The WHA is in decent financial condition and the annual conferences continue.

to contribute to the financial health of the organization. Both Andrea, and Welch urged members to contact them if they have any potential exhibitors and/or sponsors for the conferences.

Affiliates Committee: Marc Gilbert will take over all activities connecting the WHA to affiliates. Affiliates might be a way to raise membership. Paul Jentz is also helping coordinate affiliates. Jentz is also the moving force behind the new Midwest WHA, which was unanimously accepted as an affiliate. Andrea proposed a round of applause for Jentz in recognition of his efforts.

American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) Membership: ACLS membership is the national recognition standard for academic organizations. The first WHA application was rejected and suggested for revision and resubmission in October 2010. It is likely to pass this time around

Other Issues, Questions and Feedback:

Hayrettin Yucesoy of St Louis University raised a question about membership and how to expand the WHA abroad. Is it useful to have designated individuals for certain regions to promote WHA and cultivate members and perhaps institutional members in areas where membership fees are prohibitive? In some areas world history is already being taught, and it is an opportunity to raise further awareness of the WHA. Perhaps individuals who are promoting regions could be part of the Membership Committee. Middle Eastern universities might be area for institutional membership expansion.

Andrea pointed out that institutional membership has been explored in institutions where world history is taught but even amongst well endowed institutions there was not an encouraging response.

Welch stated that the WHA already has members in 35 countries. He suggested that the WHA could expand institutional membership and offer certain benefits for institutional membership.

There was general agreement that the WHA is still the global flagship institution for world history.

Craig Lockhard suggested that there are well funded institutions in East and Southeast Asia that might be interested in institutional membership.

David Lindenfeld pointed out that the WHA has relationship with European groups through NOGWHISTO.

Craig Benjamin suggested we could encourage individuals to promote membership in a particular region e.g. China or Australia.

It was pointed out by Al Andrea that WHA members can also give guest memberships to foreign colleagues.

Marc Gilbert reported on World History in Cambodia and the 'Cambodia in World History' project. Colleagues and students in Cambodia are keen to participate – there are 30 presenters and 350 students involved. Everyone is welcome to the next conference, which is not just looking at 'Cambodia in world history', but how processes that affect world history affect Cambodia. It is hosted by the Center for Khmer Studies, Teachers Across Borders, and Thammasat University, Thailand, during the first week of January 2011 just before the AHA meeting, and has the theme "Southeast Asia in World History". The Executive Council talked about this being a WHA sponsored conference. We might through it be able to encourage people or institutions to join the WHA.

Members were encouraged to think of areas of own their interest where they can sponsor a conference in World History and the WHA can sponsor it, particularly a targeted symposium that helps to generate interest and support in WHA.

The WHA will be represented through NOGWHISTO at the International Conference of Historical Sciences in Amsterdam in August in 2010. Andrea will attend.

Andrea will also attend the inaugural conference of the African Global History Network in Cairo during 2011.

Andrea introduced the new members of the Executive Council –Candice Goucher, Connie Hudgeons, and Richard Warner.

Andrea recognized and called for a round of applause in appreciation of Marie Donaghay, as one of the founding active members of the WHA and its former, long-time Secretary.

Our esteemed President, Professor Emeritus Alfred J. Andrea, Esq., asked for any further questions or comments. None forthcoming, he declared the meeting closed at 5:40 PM.

Respectfully submitted,

Kerry Ward, WHA Secretary

World History Association Executive Council Meeting American Historical Association Conference Thursday, 7 January 2010 Torrance Room, Marriott Hotel, San Diego

Present:

Officers: Anand Yang (Pres.), Alfred J. Andrea, (VP) Ane Lintvedt (Sec.), Winston Welch (Exec. Dir).

Council Members: Craig Benjamin, Jerry Bentley (editor, *Journal of World History, ex officio*), Marc Gilbert (editor, *World History Connected, ex officio*), Craig Lockard, Jonathan Reynolds, Heather Streets-Salter, Joel Tishken, Laura Wangerin, Kerry Ward, Bill Zeigler.

Others in Attendance: Ross Dunn, Candice Goucher, Connie Hudgeons, Paul Jentz, Pat Manning, John Mears, Laura Ryan (Southwestern College), Rick Warner.

Absent: Marnie Hughes-Warrington (Council), Carolyn Neel (Treas.), Micheal Tarver (editor, *WH Bulletin, ex officio*)

The meeting began at 4:00 p.m. Anand Yang began the meetings with a welcome and introduction of newly-elected council members and officers, who will begin their terms officially at the termination of this Council meeting. New officers are Marc Gilbert (VP), Howard Spodek (Treas.), and Kerry Ward (Sec.). New Council members are Candice Goucher, Connie Hudgeons, and Rick Warner. He reported that the WHA has stabilized as an organization both intellectually and financially over the past few years, thanks to the hard work of several past presidents and councils, as well as the current one. He noted that Winston Welch was a tremendous addition as Executive Director, that the affiliates (regional and international) seem to be doing quite nicely, and that there was a very productive Executive Council retreat in October 2009. Anand then turned the meeting over to Al Andrea, the incoming President. Upon Andrea's assumption of the chair, Marc Gilbert assumed the now-vacated vice presidency.

Al Andrea thanked the retiring officers and council members and presented them with certificates of appreciation. Retiring from the Council are Jonathan Reynolds, Kerry Ward, and Bill Zeigler. Retiring officers are

Anand Yang, Ane Lintvedt, and Carolyn Neel.

In his opening remarks, Andrea articulated several immediate goals and actions.

Micheal Tarver is retiring from editing the *World History Bulletin*. We will be placing an advertisement for a new editor. Micheal, Al, and Winston will serve as a search committee and bring nominations to the Executive Council.

Al wants the WHA to work more closely with the affiliates. He has appointed Marc Gilbert to oversee coordination with affiliate organizations, with Paul Jentz, the president of the newly-organized Midwest WHA, as Marc's assistant.

Al has appointed Craig Benjamin to coordinate the efforts of the Membership Committee, with the goal of bringing membership up to 1500 by the end of 2010—an expansion of 25 percent.

Al asked that all Executive Council members email him with their committee assignment preferences.

Official Agenda

Al is looking forward to working more closely with Phi Alpha Theta. PAT is holding a conference concurrent with the present AHA conference, and its program includes a panel of previous WHA-PAT paper prize winners. Charles Cavaliere, senior editor at Oxford University Press, has promised that OUP will fund the WHA-PAT Student Paper Prize in World History, as well as the WHA Teaching Prize, to the tune of \$1550 for each of three years, 2010-20012. Thanks were offered to him and OUP.

Conferences:

The 2010 annual WHA meeting and conference will be held in San Diego at the Marriott Mission Valley Hotel. It will be co-sponsored by San Diego State University and Southwestern College, with assistance also from National University. Southwestern is a two-year college, and this is the first time a community college has co-sponsored a WHA conference. Laura Ryan (SWC) and Ross Dunn (SDSU) spoke briefly about the Local Arrangements Committee, which is making extensive plans, and noted that there should be many undergraduates attending, as well as San Diego unified school district teachers. Al thanked them both for their hard work.

The 2011 annual WHA meeting and conference will be held in Beijing, China, hosted by Capital Normal University. Pre- and post-conference tours will be arranged. Winston Welch added that the China Institute (NY) is interested in working with the WHA regarding K-12 teacher participation at the conference. [<http://www.chinainstitute.org/index.cfm?nodeId=2>] Bill Ziegler noted that College Board has done AP Summer Institutes in China, and perhaps these could be coordinated with the WHA conference.

Connie Hudgeons bought an invitation from Albuquerque High School to hold the 2012 annual meeting at its state-of-the-art facilities. Inasmuch as it had not been warned, the chair ruled that the Council could not immediately vote on this proposal. Rather, a motion to accept it would be circulated among the Executive Council members for an email vote within the week. If accepted, this will be the first time a public high school has hosted a WHA meeting. [Note: The Council unanimously voted to accept the invitation, which was circulated as a motion on 12 January.]

Rick Warner and Al Andrea are going to Mexico this year to look at possible venues for the 2014 annual conference.

The Conference Program Committee has extended the deadline for panel submissions for the 2010 conference to 28 February 2010. Keynote speakers for the conference were announced: Merry Wiesner-Hanks (University

of Wisconsin-Milwaukee) and Kathryn Edgerton-Tarpley (San Diego State University).

The *Journal of World History* is doing very well. There will be a special issue in 2010 on Cosmopolitanism. Al commended Jerry for his 21 years as editor. A round of applause followed.

Marc Gilbert reported that *World History Connected* [www.worldhistoryconnected.org] is doing well and is in good shape financially. It regularly receives 3000 sustained "hits" per issue. The next issues include: a Forum on the new AP World curriculum, Women in World History, Latin America, Immigration, and Environmentalism. Tom Laichas will be stepping down as co-editor, and Marc said that there will be a need for a high school teacher to take his editorial place. Marc also commented that since the WH Bulletin will be under new editorial direction soon, there should be discussions about how *WHC* and the *Bulletin* could complement each other's work and content.

Anand said the Book Prize was just beginning its work for 2009 published books.

Al noted that the Planned Giving Program had been launched, and that the link on the WHA homepage to Amazon.com was also a nice source of revenue.

Craig Benjamin will chair the Membership committee. Craig acknowledged the good work of his predecessors, Nancy Jorczak and Laura Mitchell, especially at the AP Readings.

Community colleges are untapped potential for the WHA. Paul Jentz (North Hennepin Community College, Minneapolis) has volunteered to help with this effort.

Ideas need to be bounced around for recruiting at the AP World History reading, and perhaps AP Government and AP European history as well. The affiliate groups can also help with membership efforts.

Phi Alpha Theta contacts might also be useful.

If there are other ideas, please email them to Craig.

Al commended the Nominations Committee for its first-rate slate of officers for the 2010 elections.

Laura Wangerin has taken Joel Tishkin's place as chair on the Student Paper Prize Committee. Joining the committee to replace Joel is Philip Sintiere. Submissions are due June 30. Laura reported that submissions for 2009 were disappointing in number and quality; hence no graduate-level prize was awarded. Moreover, a number of the submissions were not world historical in scope, despite a clear definition of world history, with examples, in the competition announcement. She further urged all WHA professors to identify potential winning research papers from among those submitted by their students and to support their submission. It is no accident that a disproportionate number of winning papers have been submitted by students from Northern Kentucky University, thanks to the efforts of Jonathan Reynolds.

Ane Lintvedt reported that the Teaching committee needs a new mandate. That mandate should cover k-12, collegiate and even graduate school teaching. She is soliciting comments and will have a draft of a report to the Executive Council well before the June meeting. John Mears, past WHA president, commented that Southern Methodist University had surprising success placing its graduate students in large part because of their required Global and Comparative History subfield.

Al asked if there were any questions about the Treasurer's report (circulated in advance). Winston noted that the membership numbers reflected only

part of the year, and that memberships continued to come in. There was a question about what "open source" column meant, and Winston did not know, but said he would ask Carolyn Neel. Marc Gilbert commented that Executive Council members should think about lifetime memberships, and Anand noted that all learned societies are seeing membership numbers drop, especially among the lower (younger, newer) levels of memberships.

Winston Welch reported that the Executive Director's office is now much more stable, and has good relations with the University of Hawai'i. He is working hard to keep the website up-to-date. Conference registration and paper and panel submission are now online; there was a successful online election for new officers and council members; and there is a new membership data base up and running on the website. For the following year, Winston would like to have better coordination with the affiliates, to have an intern from Hawai'i Pacific University, and have the ability to do a password-protected discussion online. Winston was given a round of applause for his work.

Affiliates' Reports.

A new Midwest WHA (MWWHA) affiliate has formed and has a constitution in place. Craig Benjamin praised the efficient work of the organizers. The MWWHA will hold its first conference in October 2010 at Loyola University (Chicago). The Council unanimously voted to recognize the MWWHA as an official WHA affiliate. Al then commended Paul Jentz for his key role in forming this affiliate. A round of applause followed.

Pat Manning reported that the African Network in Global History has been formed, which will hold a meeting in Cairo in September of 2011. It has associated with the Network of Global and World History Organizations (NOGWHISTO).

NOGWHISTO will hold a conference in Amsterdam in August 2010, one day before the International Council of Historical Sciences (CISH) meeting, on Regional and Global Perspectives in World History, followed by a business meeting the next day. Pat says to watch email for further developments.

Andrea has pledged to represent the WHA in both Cairo and Amsterdam.

A brief overview was given of the Executive Council Retreat that was held in Seattle on 10 October. (See the retreat report.)

A membership application was submitted to the ACLS (American Council of Learned Societies) and was rejected due to lack of sufficient information within the application. Al and Anand will work to redo the application and resubmit it by October. Benefits of membership in the ACLS include status and access to training and exposure for the Executive Director in particular.

New Business:

Marc Gilbert asked if the WHA was interested in participating in a symposium on Southeast Asia and World History, to take place in Siem Reap, Cambodia, Jan 1-7, 2011. The council agreed to discuss this electronically.

Ane Lintvedt reported that she is in contact with Tom Adams, an independent scholar whose career has included a stint at the NEH, about creating a topic of conversation about the intersection and connections between languages and the study of history. Early conversations have included ideas regarding NEH grants, History Center symposia, and WHA panels. Ane will continue these conversations and report back when something firm develops.

The meeting was adjourned at 6:10 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Ane Lintvedt, Secretary
January 13, 2010

WHA Announces Two New Student Prizes

Beginning in the Fall semester of 2010, the WHA will launch two parallel essay competitions aimed exclusively at K-12 and community college students. To be known as the "Mark Welter K-12 World Historian Award" and the "Mark Welter Community College World Historian Award," each competition will carry with it a prize of \$500, a certificate, and recognition in the various media of the WHA and in its press releases. The full rules for the competition have yet to be established, but according to the terms established by Dr. Mark Welter, who has generously pledged funding for these awards, each competitor will submit an essay that addresses the issue "In what way has the study of world history affected my understanding of the world in which I live?"

This new prize competition complements the already well-established WHA-Phi Alpha Theta Student Paper Prize in World History competition that offers prizes for the best undergraduate and the best graduate-level research papers in world history. In light of the amount offered for the two Mark Welter prizes, the two WHA-Phi Alpha Theta Student Paper Prizes will be raised to \$500 from the current \$400 for next year's 2010-2011 competition.

Community College students who submit essays for the Mark Welter Prize are also eligible to submit research papers in the undergraduate division of the Student Paper Prize in World History competition.

Mark Welter began teaching world history in 1963. He has been a WHA member since 1984 and served on its Executive Council, 1984-1987. After instructing at the secondary level for seven years, Mark took his doctorate at the University of Minnesota. The next year, he began teaching his self-authored world history course at St. Cloud State University. Today, he instructs world history and world religions courses for the University of Minnesota senior citizen program.

Mark's teaching is predicated upon the philosophy articulated by William H. McNeill that "Teaching world history is a high and noble undertaking" because only world history offers the sufficient dimensions of space and time to elicit needed awareness of the world we all share.

As a token of his commitment to the centrality of world history in the curricula of 21st-century students, Mark has not only pledged to fund this competition annually during his lifetime, he has promised to establish a bequest to carry it on in perpetuity.

Thank you, Mark.

Currently the WHA is searching for association members who are either K-12 or community college instructors of world history and who are willing to serve on a four-person committee that will establish the parameters for this competition and judge its entries. Interested members should contact the WHA at thewha@hawaii.edu.

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WHB Focus Issue & Teaching Forum

“France in World History”

Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall

and

Michael G. Vann

Guest Editors

Making French Connections: France in World History

French history may not seem the most obvious focus for a special issue of the World History Bulletin, but traces of France's role in the world are all around us. Consider the traveler who crosses from northern Thailand into Laos and suddenly finds street vendors selling baguette sandwiches in a region dominated by rice noodles; or that French is the most useful language when moving from the lush rainforests of the Congo Basin across the dry savanna and deserts of West Africa, and through the chilly Atlas Mountains to the sunny southern shore of the Mediterranean. Consider too the Gallic flavor of seemingly all-American product and places names like Cadillac and Detroit; the French influences in pre-Lent festivities from New Orleans to the Caribbean; Napoleon's impact on legal codes from Louisiana to Senegal; and the Parisian style cafés of Papeete and Nouméa in the Pacific Ocean and Pondicherry and St. Denis in the Indian Ocean. The outside world has also left its mark on France. Here we can point to Polynesian and West African influences on artists such as Gauguin and Picasso; the delicious couscous, merguez, and pho found throughout Paris; and, of course, the importance of tobacco, coffee, and sugar to French urban culture. France's inter-connections with the world are deep, complex, and omnipresent.

Despite these obvious linkages, the fields of French and World History have led parallel lives. World historians have long sought to

move away from national narratives; for their part, French historians have often felt more comfortable with the paradigm of Western Civilization than within the parameters of world history. Conversely, World Historians have made no secret of their disdain for historiographies too closely tied to the nation. Adding to France's absence from World History narratives are the numerous examples that the more familiar British empire has to offer. For example, the well-known English slave trade and plantation complexes can overshadow the fact that Saint-Domingue (colonial Haiti) produced an estimated 40% of the sugar and 60% of the coffee consumed in Europe. However, in the last two decades, a postcolonial turn in French history has pushed the field to look beyond the "Hexagon" (a nickname given to metropolitan France because of its shape). The rise of transnational and colonial topics in French history have moved the field much closer to World History, demonstrating that the French empire can reveal in microcosm many important world historical themes, from race and empire to cross-cultural trade and cultural syncretism.

The essays collected in this special issue draw upon this new scholarship, emphasizing its usage for world historians. They offer a rich set of ideas (both theoretical and practical) for integrating French history into the World History classroom and for encouraging research into France's interactions with the world. While recognizing France's special relationship with the concept of the nation, this issue offers models for thinking about French history beyond the traditional confines of the Hexagon. Moving across space and time, these essays provide a variety of historical examples

for the connections between French and World historical narratives.

Julia Landweber's essay focuses on a commodity that has come to be strongly identified with French national identity; coffeehouses around the world often call themselves "cafés," using the French term. Landweber reveals how coffee was transformed in early modern France from an exotic Turkish product into one seen as quintessentially French. Her essay, which shows how slavery, cross-cultural trade, and new commercial practices were linked, is a true global history, originating from a French site. As commodity history has an important position in the field of World History, her piece offers a clear model for France's place in the field. Sara Chapman's piece shifts our attentions from the Ottoman Empire to North America. Whereas narratives on the history of the United States often emphasize its British origins, her essay reminds us of a strong French presence in North America (and not only in Canada or Louisiana). She charts her own path to looking beyond the Hexagon as she began to teach in Michigan; more importantly, she provides invaluable detail on a course she has developed on the French in North America (including a bibliography of online primary sources translated into English).

Teaching is also the focus of Melissa Byrnes' essay. Byrnes offers a model lesson to world historians who teach comparative revolutions. Rather than teaching the French Revolution as a strictly metropolitan phenomenon (or simply adding the French colonies), she links the Revolution's development in France with its effects in both Haiti and Egypt. Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall's essay also offers

practical ideas for the classroom; she introduces her course on French colonialism in Haiti, Algeria, and Vietnam, and explains how a seemingly esoteric topic like the French empire can appear profoundly relevant to students in Southern California. Michael G. Vann's essay turns our attention to the twentieth century and to Indochina. He argues that both French historians and world historians would benefit from a greater attention to Vietnamese history, and that this history is an ideal means for teaching students about crucial world history processes, from the opium trade to the First World War.

The final two essays, from two of the most eminent historians working in French colonial studies, show how insights drawn from French cases can help complicate our understanding of the dynamics of world history. Tyler Stovall links African-American history with the history of French de-colonization by focusing on a forgotten novel, William Gardner Smith's *The Stone Face* (1963). In a rich exploration of this text, Stovall nuances our understanding of national identity, diaspora, and racial injustice. Most importantly, Stovall's analysis places the history of Algeria's struggle for independence and the American Civil Rights movements in the same global context. Julia Clancy-Smith recounts the fascinating life of one of her mentors, the French anthropologist Germaine Tillion. By analyzing Tillion's biography as well as her writings, Clancy-Smith offers new insights on migration, gender, colonialism, and the state; she also reveals the benefits to world historians of occasionally moving away from a macro angle to focus on individual lives.

It has been a pleasure to edit this volume and we hope that the Bulletin's readers, whatever their specialty, will enjoy this rich collection of essays. We hope that these contributions will not only encourage greater usage of examples drawn from the French case, but also spur further reflection on the relationship between the national and the global. Through integrating the fields of French and World History in our teaching and our research, we can make myriad French connections.

Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall
California State University – San Marcos

and

Michael G. Vann
Sacramento State University

Domesticating the “Queen of Beans”: How Old Regime France Learned to Love Coffee*

Julia Landweber

Montclair State University

Many goods which students today think of as quintessentially European or “Western” began commercial life in Africa and Asia. This essay addresses coffee as a prime example of such a commodity, with the goal of demonstrating how the history of its adoption by one European country, France, played a significant role in world history during the period between 1650 and 1800. Coffee today is second-most valuable commodity in the world, ranking only behind oil.¹ With Latin America producing over half the global coffee supply, most consumers are unaware that for centuries coffee was found only in the highlands of Ethiopia and the mountains of Yemen, or that France was an instrumental founder of the global coffee economy. Other than possibly knowing that the French invented the café, few students know anything of how an Arab and Ottoman drink became a quintessential part of French culture, and a basic commodity of modern life. Integrating coffee into the world history classroom offers an appealing way to teach students why case studies drawn from French history have value in the larger narratives about world history.

Coffee became “French” in two senses between 1650 and 1800: initially as a drink, it gained a domestic element by pairing with locally-produced milk; later as a commodity, it achieved a quasi-French identity after coffee plantations were formed in French overseas colonies, and French merchants wrested control of the global coffee trade. Coffee simultaneously (if contradictorily) benefited from its exotic Arabian and Turkish associations in a cultural era marked in France by successive waves of *turquerie*, or fascination with Turkish imagery. A third important component to coffee's adoption into French food-ways and culture is the café [as mentioned above]. Coffee gave its name to this new French institution, a favorite destination for the Enlightenment philosophers who did so much to make coffee preferable to wine for the middling and intellectual classes. Owing to space constraints, the present essay concentrates on the first two issues surrounding the history of coffee's adoption

in France.

Europeans were first exposed to the world's three great caffeinated beverages—Mexican chocolate, Chinese tea, and Yemeni coffee—during the sixteenth century, and first began importing them to Europe in quantities sufficient for serious consumption over the course of the seventeenth century. Collectively, chocolate, tea, and coffee ushered Europeans out of their inebriated past and heralded a soberer future. Individually, each of these caffeine sources charted an independent history of adoption into the different regions of Europe. The French were comparatively slow to show interest in these discoveries, with coffee an especially tough sell anywhere in France prior to the mid-1680s. The Venetians, English, and Dutch all imported coffee beans sooner, and the English and Dutch opened successful coffeehouses decades earlier, than in France. Yet, by 1716, the coffee merchant Jean de la Roque was able to assert confidently that “it is certain, that Coffee has nowhere been better received, or made greater Progress than in France, and particularly at Paris.”² What happened to effect such a dramatic about-face in French taste?

Even though pleasure derived from material goods is a matter of personal preference, Jan de Vries argues that some changes in taste are significant beyond the individual: “these are tastes that turn into values that express our identity.” This kind of sea-change can happen only when individuals' consumption of goods achieves general social meaning by redefining expectations for which things belong together. From such minor behavioral shifts large-scale transformations in lifestyle can result. The most commonly cited innovative “consumption cluster” is the bundling of sugar and tea in the hands of the British laborer.³ De Vries, Sidney Mintz, and Woodruff Smith all equate this with the birth of modernity: two imported foodstuffs, never before combined, became the cheap stimulating substance which would eventually fuel the workers of Britain's Industrial Revolution.⁴ For the French, I suggest that combining coffee and milk should be examined as similarly transformative. The now-classic *café au lait* was the unlikely idea which successfully adapted coffee to the French palate while turning a nutritionally nil beverage into something more usefully caloric. While sugar was also important to some French coffee-drinkers, it remained less crucial to the adoption of coffee in France than tea in

Britain (and unlike milk, sugar was not an innovative addition to coffee by its European adopters).

Coffee first entered France via Marseille, the port most closely associated with the Ottoman Empire (which controlled access to Arabia and the port of Mocha, the original source of all commercially-grown coffee). Jean de la Roque's father was the original Marseillais importer, bringing roasting and brewing equipment and beans back from Constantinople in 1644. Thirteen years later, Orientalist traveler-scholar Jean de Thévenot brought the first Turkish coffee to Paris in 1657. Like these two, most early coffee consumers in France were associated by experience, profession, or birth with the Ottoman Empire. Only they had had the necessary prior exposure to coffee which could persuade them to desire it in France. By the 1660s, coffee began attracting customers in Marseille, soon copied by nearby Lyon, with distant Paris following more slowly. But even as it spread through the country, it remained a largely urban taste well into the eighteenth century.⁵

As a small coffee market emerged, several Armenians tried selling brewed coffee commercially, first in Marseille, then in Paris. These attempts failed; coffee drunk black and bitter, Turkish-style, did not appeal to the seventeenth-century French palate. Coffee with just sugar added did little better initially, possibly because of growing French disapproval of heavily sugared and highly seasoned foods.⁶ It took the addition of milk to cement coffee's popularity in France with doctors and women, from whom it would pass gradually into general usage. Philippe Dufour first described this new concoction in his expert medical-historical study, the *Traitez nouveaux & curieux du café, du thé et du chocolate* (1685). After being invented by a German doctor to fix chest complaints, a French doctor of Grenoble had been testing the coffee-and-milk cure on his patients since about 1680. Dufour also suggested a reason why *café au lait* might please the French when black coffee had not: "when [ground] coffee is boiled in milk, and a little thickened, it approaches the flavor of chocolate which nearly everyone finds good."⁷ The usage of drinking chocolate spread through northern Europe nearly half a century before coffee, and may well have taught Europeans to appreciate "bitter, sweetened, hot stimulant drinks."⁸

Along with improving the taste and consistency of the drink, adding French milk

brought Arabian coffee beans in line with a growing interest in local foods. Fresh milk was one of the few provisions which was truly local in the early modern period; even highly concentrated urban populations such as Paris, which acquired food from sometimes quite distant regions, produced their own milk.⁹ The Marquise de Sévigné, who slavishly followed court opinion on the merits of coffee (popular one season, "disgraced" the next, etc.), was rapturous when royal doctors embraced coffee-with-milk as a health tonic. In 1690, she wrote to her daughter, "We have here good milk and good cows; we've taken it into our heads to skim the cream . . . and mix it with sugar and good coffee: my dear child, it's the loveliest thing. [Doctor] Du Bois approves it for the chest, and for a cold; in a word, it's the 'coffee'd milk' or 'milky coffee' of our friend Aliot [one of the king's doctors]."¹⁰

Once successfully adapted to the French palate and proven to be a cure-all, coffee began to

attract attention from the government. In the 1690s, Louis XIV grew persuaded that there was serious money to be made in coffee—something he needed in order to help pay for the ongoing Nine Years' War. He experimented with supporting the coffee trade in several ways, beginning with two 1692 edicts to control its import and distribution throughout France, and decreeing an official price for beans both whole and ground.¹¹ Although Louis initially considered coffee something worth controlling *after* it entered French soil, within twenty years French merchants were seeking both to dominate the coffee trade at its source and to establish rival coffee plantations in overseas colonies. Naturally, the government also stepped in to regulate and profit from these actions. Coffee would soon become one of the leading commodities France traded in globally in the eighteenth century.

Not surprisingly, France came late to the international trade in coffee beans. As with the drinking and buying of coffee, here too other European powers—chiefly the Dutch—had beaten them by many decades. But once the French decided to enter the field they did so with remarkable success. In 1708-1710 and 1711-1713, Jean de la Roque led two successful expeditions on the first French ships to sail around Africa and into the Red Sea, there to establish direct competition with the Arab, Ottoman, Dutch and

English buyers already at Mocha. In 1713, the Royal Botanical Garden in Paris received France's first coffee bush (tellingly, a gift from the Botanical Garden at Amsterdam). From the cuttings of this plant, the first French coffee plantations were established in 1715 in the Caribbean island of Saint Domingue (Haiti); that same year a plant from Mocha was brought to the Indian Ocean island of Bourbon (Réunion).¹² Although Mocha would soon cede its monopoly of the world coffee trade to European colonial plantations, De la Roque's popular 1716 memoirs of his voyages to Yemen completed the "launch" of coffee among both the Parisian and provincial elite of France.¹³ In the later 1720s the first colonially-produced beans arrived in France from the West and East Indies. By 1730, the flow of goods had reversed direction: French coffee from Martinique was

now being sold on the Ottoman market. Although the Dutch were the initial victors

in the race to control the emerging world coffee market—through the middle of the eighteenth century, Dutch Java output produced 50 to 75 percent of the world's coffee—by 1789 French-owned Saint Domingue had taken over with 77 million pounds of beans exported, reaching 60 percent of global coffee consumption and out-selling both the original (and still superior, according to connoisseurs) Mocha beans, and Dutch Java beans, throughout the world.¹⁴

Saint Domingue, Martinique and Bourbon became coffee production powerhouses only because their leaders relied on some of the most coercive slave labor the world had yet seen. Of this tragedy, eighteenth-century novelist Bernardin de Saint-Pierre observed: "Coffee and sugar [...] have made two parts of the world miserable. America was depopulated to make room for their planting, and Africa was depopulated to have a nation to cultivate them."¹⁵ In Indonesia, Javanese workers on recently-founded coffee plantations were similarly exploited by the Dutch East India Company. The competition between French and Dutch colonial plantations across the world slashed coffee prices for Europe before mid-century, and opened coffee consumption to a much broader range of consumers than had hitherto been possible in France. By the late 1700s, an adulterated version of the

It took the addition of milk to cement coffee's popularity in France with doctors and women, from whom it would pass gradually into general usage.

Marquise de Sévigné's beloved "milky coffee" could be downed daily by even the lowliest Parisian laborers.¹⁶

Another factor apart from palatability or price also affected coffee's adoption by the French. Even while being domesticated, and decades after colonially-produced beans had stripped coffee of any Arabian connections, fashionable consumers—especially subscribers to the *turquerie* fads of 1670–1789—preferred to consider coffee an Oriental good. Accordingly, early coffee sellers and café founders in France all claimed Ottoman-related identities to advertise their brew's authenticity; a century later, elegant Parisian cafés still featured Turkish décor.¹⁷ Coffee also became a prop in the trade of other luxury goods with Eastern associations, such as Ottoman sofas, Indian dressing gowns, and "sultana" dresses. Combining coffee with milk turned an Arab drink into a French one; sipping that same beverage comfortably ensconced on a sofa, perhaps in Turkish costume, ushered the French consumer back into a full-blown fantasy of *turquerie* (Fig. 1).

Champions of the *nouvelle cuisine* also embraced coffee. One of the surest signs that coffee—initially viewed as a drug substance with no caloric food value—was entering the French alimentary lexicon can be traced through its seepage from medical books in the 1680s, to drink books in the 1690s, and finally into cook books in the 1730s. Initially, apothecaries declared the coffee bean only ingestible in one way: "it has no other use than [...] as a drink made with sugar and water."¹⁸ Professional *limonadiers* (soft-drink sellers) concurred. In the 1690s, several books inserted coffee-brewing directions beside recipes for traditional soft-drinks and liqueurs. By presenting coffee as a drink, not a medicine, *limonadiers* made it possible for cooking professionals to remove coffee altogether from the medical domain.

Eighteenth-century chefs interested in modernizing French cuisine grew intrigued by coffee's food-flavoring potential. The first cookbook author to use coffee this way (in a savory cream sauce) was Vincent La Chapelle, whose 1735 *Cuisinier Moderne* marked a decisive break with previous French culinary traditions. A 1739 cookbook included another coffee recipe, for a sweet custard.¹⁹ Ten years later, these tentative beginnings were followed by an explosion of inventiveness which enshrined coffee within the French dessert repertoire. François Menon's *Science du maître d'hôtel*

cuisinier (1749) recorded eight coffee-based desserts, including the first coffee ice cream.²⁰ The focus on sweets in many Enlightenment philosophers' works suggests "these were the totem foods of the *Encyclopédie* generation, symbols of peaceful civilization."²¹

Coffee fit right in with the new ways of cooking and eating, provided that (as with sugar) one overlooked the slave trade on distant shores that sustained its affordable presence in the metropolis. But the modern reader should not forget the global realities backing the eighteenth-century trade in coffee and sugar which haunts the invention of treats like Menon's coffee ice cream. The French adoption of coffee offers an excellent case study in how national histories, such as France's, regularly intersect with global his-

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⁴ Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking Press, 1985), 214; Woodruff D. Smith, "Complications of the Commonplace: Tea, Sugar, and Imperialism," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 23, no. 2 (1992): 259.

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⁶ Susan Pinkard, *A Revolution in Taste: The Rise of French Cuisine* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 125.

⁷ Philippe Dufour, *Traitez nouveaux & curieux du café, du thé et du chocolate* (Lyon: Deville, 1688), 142–153; 152.

⁸ Marcy Norton, "Tasting Empire: Chocolate and the European Internalization of Mesoamerican Aesthetics," *The American Historical Review* 111 (June 2006): 671.

⁹ See Reynald Abad, *Le Grand Marché: L'approvisionnement alimentaire de Paris sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Fayard, 2002).

¹⁰ Letter of 29 January 1690, Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de Sévigné, *Lettres*, ed. Gérard-Gailly (Paris: Pléiade, 1960), 3:664.

¹¹ Ina B. McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism, and the Ancien Régime* (New York: Berg, 2008), 191–193.

¹² Mauro, 25. Martinique followed, with coffee arriving in 1723.

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¹⁴ Holden Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient, 1600–1800* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), 253–255; Alan K. Smith, *Creating a World Economy: Merchant Capital, Colonialism, and World Trade, 1400–1825* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), 140; and Jordan Goodman, "Excitantia: Or, how Enlightenment Europe took to soft drugs," in *Consuming Habits: Drugs in History and Anthropology*, ed. Jordan Goodman and others (London: Routledge, 1995), 130.

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¹⁶ John E. Wills, Jr., "European consumption and Asian production," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (New York: Routledge, 1993), 143.

¹⁷ Édélestan Jardin, *Le caféier et le café* (Paris: Leroux, 1895), 23–24.

¹⁸ Pierre Pomet, *Histoire générale des drogues* (Paris: Pomet, 1695), 205.

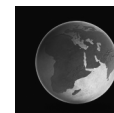
¹⁹ Vincent La Chapelle, *Le Cuisinier moderne* (The Hague: De Groot, 1735), 3:258–260; *Les Dons de Comus* (Paris: Prault, 1739), 4:225.

²⁰ François Menon, *Science du maître d'hôtel cuisinier* (Paris: Paulus-Du-Mesnil, 1749), 2:171–72, 175–76, 185, 191, 397–400.

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tory via the history of cross-cultural trade. One small country's luxury product, coffee from Yemen, presented such great untapped commercial potential that the French and the Dutch turned whole worlds upside down to be able to sell it cheaply across the globe. Their legacy lives on today, with each cup of coffee brewed.



World History Association

Teaching About the French Colonies in North America

Sara Chapman
Oakland University

Through the study of the French colonies in North America, we discover “another” American history that has been obscured in the narrative offered in most texts and courses at all levels of education in the United States. While American history as it is taught today focuses almost exclusively on the British Atlantic seaboard colonies as the origin of our nation, France once controlled a vast expanse of North America. Seeking to fully exploit the fur trade and secure key water routes, the French expanded their claims to include most of the inner continent by the early 1700s. Studying these colonies is essential to a broader understanding of the development of this continent. The history of the French colonies in North America is particularly relevant to students at my institution, Oakland University, a public university with nearly 19,000 students in the suburbs of Detroit, Michigan.

In the Detroit metro area, the history of French colonial expansion has important local significance. Students, alumni, and amateur historians enjoy learning about the colorful and rich history of New France and its cast of larger-than-life people: the Iroquois and Huron; the French “Sun King,” Louis XIV; the enigmatic adventurer Cadillac who served as commander at Fort Michilmackinac and founded Detroit. In addition to these prominent figures, the history of New France offers insights into aspects of natural and economic history. For example, the impact of the Michigan “Great Beaver,” which fascinated European observers and eventually

lent its name to one of today’s major thoroughfares in the Detroit suburbs: Big Beaver Road.

Amazingly, waterproof beaver felt hats made from these creatures were the sole basis of New France’s lucrative transatlantic fur trade as the coveted headwear was an important fashion accessory for wealthy French men. Tying the past to the present in such a manner entices students to delve deeper into the area’s early influences.

Trained as an early modern French historian, I am a newcomer to colonial studies. In many respects, my own transformation

parallels the shift in the field of French history from one grounded within national borders on the European continent to one with a wider focus on the interactions and encounters that connected France to the larger world. My first book examined the implementation of royal policies *within* France by analyzing the political networks and policies of Louis and Jérôme Pontchartrain, who served as royal ministers for Louis XIV in the 1680s-1715. Among other governmental units, they oversaw the department of the navy and the colonies. After moving to Michigan for my position at the university, I discovered that Detroit was established in 1701 because Cadillac won the favor of the Pontchartrains for his proposal to found the settlement. They, in turn, secured the king’s support for the project. To show his gratitude, Cadillac named the settlement: “Fort Pontchartrain at the Strait” (*Fort Pontchartrain à détroit*). Thus, my earlier research and my move to Detroit provided the perfect segue to study the colonies in New France.

More and more European and French historians agree that studying “the colonies” is central to understanding European and French history. I now include sections about the Atlantic world or New France in all of my courses and have designed a research course around these themes. I frequently teach a section of a capstone course that is required for all our graduating seniors at the university. Typically, faculty members choose a specific theme or period of history to serve as an anchor for the course. Students then formulate and complete an independent research project on a topic that meshes within the larger theme. They must work from primary sources and situate their analyses and arguments within the existing scholarly literature. In the end, they produce a twenty

More and more European and French historians agree that studying “the colonies” is central to understanding European and French history.

to thirty-page research paper.

Using the theme “France in the Americas” I have created a framework for the capstone class that allows students to explore French colonial history in North America and the Great Lakes region through the use of primary sources. One of the limiting factors in teaching this class, especially on European history topics, has been locating suitable primary sources that are in English and readily available to serve as the centerpiece of students’ projects. While con-

ducting my own research, I realized that many primary sources for French colonial history had been translated and made available on-line through the work of Canadian, French, and American libraries and archives.

Taking advantage of this technological advance, I compiled a comprehensive list of these on-line documents. Now, Oakland students researching from home can read the descriptive reports of seventeenth-century Jesuit missionaries and the journals of intrepid French explorers. Digitized works have been especially important when I teach a night class, as many of our “non-traditional” students do not have large blocks of time to travel to far-flung libraries. Nevertheless, they can complete interesting, thoroughly researched projects by using these more accessible resources.

The on-line availability of primary sources and other resources for the French colonies in North America make it easy for English-language scholars and teachers to incorporate some aspect of this history into classes on American, French, and European history. These sources and themes represent the wave of the future in our profession and will enrich our understanding and practice of history.

A list of online sources and resources for the French colonies in North America. Compiled by Sara Chapman.

Early French Settlements in North America (1500s-early 1600s) along the Saint Lawrence River seaway and the Great Lakes

Champlain, Samuel de. *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*. 6 vols. Edited by Henry Percival Biggar. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1922-36. Available: www.champlainsociety.ca/

Lescarbot, Marc. *The History of New France*. Translated and edited by W. L. Grant, 1907-14. Reprint. New York: Greenwood Press, 1968. Available on-line through Early Canadiana Online <http://www.canadiana.org/>

The Jesuit Relations. Available on-line through <http://puffin.creighton.edu/jesuit/relations/>

Later settlements: Louis XIV’s reign (1660s-1680s)

Allouez, Jean Claude. “Father Allouez’s

Journey to Lake Superior, 1665-1667." In *Early Narratives of the Northwest: 1634-1699*, edited by Louise Phelps Kellogg. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1945. Available: www.americanjourneys.org.

Duluth, Daniel Graysolon. *Memoir on the Sioux Country, 1678-1682*. In *Early Narratives of the Northwest: 1634-1699*, edited by Louise Phelps Kellogg. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1945.

*Also available: www.americanjourneys.org.

Hennepin, Louis. *A New Discovery of a Vast Country*. Chicago: A.C. McClurg, 1903. Available: www.americanjourneys.org.

Hennepin, Louis. *Narrative of the Voyage to the Upper Mississippi by Father Louis Hennepin*. Springfield: Illinois Historical Society, 1903. Available: search www.loc.gov catalog for digital copy

Lahontan, Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, Baron de. *New Voyages to North America*. 2 vols. London: Bonwicke, 1703. Available online through Early Canadiana Online <http://www.canadiana.org/view/37429/0149>

Lalemont, Jérôme. "Journey of Raymbault and Joques to the Sault." In *Early Narratives of the Northwest: 1634-1699*, edited by Louise Phelps Kellogg. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1945. Available: www.americanjourneys.org.

La Potherie, Claude Charles Le Roy de, "Adventures of Nicolas Perrot (1668-1738)" In *Early Narratives of the Northwest: 1634-1699*, edited by Louise Phelps Kellogg. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1945. *Also available at www.americanjourneys.org.

Nicolas, Louis. *Codex Canadiensis*. Manuscript collection. Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, OK. <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/codex/index-e.html>.

Peyser, Joseph and José António Brandão, editors and translators. *Edge of Empire: Documents of Michilimackinac, 1671-1716*. (East Lansing: Michigan University Pr., 2008. (In Kresge Library)

Other on-line scholarly resources for the History of the French in North America

The Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online. www.biographi.ca. Comprehensive biographical dictionary for major figures of history in New France written by noted scholars who are experts in the field. Usually includes a scholarly biography.

France in America/La France en Amérique <http://international.loc.gov/intldl/fiahtml/>. Joint collaboration between Library of Congress (US) and National Library of France. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/html/dossiers/FranceAmerique/fr/default.htm> (French)

Early Canada On-line www.canadiana.org/eco.php. A service of the National Archives in Canada, this includes primary and secondary published works in full text.

The Champlain Society www.champlainsociety.ca/. See digital collection for a wide range of journals, books, and primary sources.

The Jesuit Relations <http://puffin.creighton.edu/jesuit/relations/> Full text copies of letters by Jesuit missionaries.

American Journeys www.americanjourneys.org. Excerpts of accounts of early American exploration and settlement.

Center for French Colonial Studies/Centre pour l'étude du pays des Illinois. http://www2.noctrl.edu/academics/departments/history/departement_site/cfcs/

French Canadian Heritage Society of Michigan fchsm.habitant.org. Website has articles published in their journal and other information, especially for genealogical research.

HST 495: Capstone in European History (4 credits): French Colonies in North America

Professor Sara Chapman
Oakland University
College of Arts and Sciences
Department of History

Catalog Description: In this capstone course students investigate topics in European history in a seminar setting. Under the guidance of the faculty leader, substantive issues, research techniques and historiographical problems will be considered as the student prepares a research paper to be submitted at the conclusion of the course.

Course Objective: Students will produce an original research paper, based on primary and secondary sources. Research topics and questions must be tied to the history of French explorations and colonies in North America or "New France" from the 1500s to the loss of the territories as a result of defeat in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). Course readings, discussions, and assignments will provide the practical, theoretical, methodological, and historiographical background for students to complete the project.

Class discussion and participation: The first half of the course will consist of seminar-style discussions of assigned readings. These readings and the discussions provide essential background information you will need to complete the individual research projects.

Research Practicum: Students will be required to turn these assignments on the dates indicated on the syllabus below. These allow me to give feedback on research projects throughout the semester and assess progress.

Final Research Paper: "Grading Criteria for Capstone Papers," found on the course website, outlines the specific guidelines used to evaluate the draft and final papers. Students must get the instructor's approval in writing, of their chosen topic for the paper. The research paper should have a clearly stated, original main thesis or argument, historiographic overview (literature review), and supporting material from primary and secondary sources. Research papers will be graded on the basis of content (strength of argument, use of sources, treatment of themes, historiographic overview) and mechanics (organization, clarity, grammar, punctuation and spelling).

Required books for the course:

W.J. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760* (University of New Mexico Press, 1969 or 1983)

Richard White, *The Middle Ground* (Cambridge University Press, 1991)

Allan Greer, *The People of New France* (University of Toronto, 1997)

Mark T. Gilderhus, *History and Historians* (Prentice Hall, 2009)

William Kelleher Storey, *Writing History: A Guide for Students* (Oxford University Press, 2003)

Kate Turabian, ed., *A Manual For Writers of Research Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, 7th edition (University of Chicago, 2007)

Final grade for the course:

Discussion and participation in seminar	20%
Citation Quiz & Research Practicum 1-8	30%
Final Draft of Research Paper	50%

TOTAL	100%

Schedule for course:

Week 1 Introduction to course and course resources

Week 2 TARGET FOR PAPER: Explore possible topics and research questions.

READINGS:

“Traditional” Political History of New France:

Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, chapters 1-6 (copy on reserve at Kresge and available as electronic book at Kresge)

Historiography:

Gilderhus, *History and Historians*, chapters 1- 4

Research methods:

“Possible Primary Sources for French Colonies in North America”

Week 3 TARGET FOR PAPER: Explore possible topics, research questions, and primary sources

READINGS:

“Traditional” Political History of New France

Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, chapters 7 and 8

Historiography:

Gilderhus, *History and Historians*, chapters 5 - 7

Primary Sources:

The Jesuit Relations, “On the Manner of Living Among the Christians of Sillery” chapter 4, found online at http://puffin.creighton.edu/jesuit/relations/relations_24.html

Lahontan, *New Voyages to North America*, read letter XVI, pages 104-110 found at <http://www.canadiana.org/view/37429/0149>

Research methods:

“How to Read a Primary Source”

Storey, *Writing History*, chapter 1

Turabian, *A Manual for Writers*, chapters 1 and 2

Week 4 TARGET FOR PAPER: Narrow in on topic and possible research questions for topic; explore possible primary source to be used for project.

A “Social” History of New France:

Greer, *People of New France*, introduction through epilogue (whole book)

Research methods:

Storey, *Writing History*, chapter 2

Turabian, *A Manual for Writers*, chapters 3, 16 and 17

ASSIGNMENTS DUE:

Research Practicum 1: Topic, possible research questions, and official search terms

Take-home Citations Quiz, complete, print out, and turn in at start of class

Week 5 TARGET FOR PAPER: Identify primary source(s) to be used, do initial analysis of it. Compile bibliography for secondary sources.

READINGS:

History of Native Americans and New France: The “Traditional” Approach

Francis Parkman, “Introduction,” “The Hurons,” “The Iroquois”

(excerpts)

Francis Jennings, “Francis Parkman: A Brahmin among Untouchables” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 42:3 (July 1985): 306-328.

Research methods:

Storey, *Writing History*, chapter 3

Turabian, *A Manual for Writers* chapters 4 and 5

ASSIGNMENTS DUE:

Research Practicum 2: Primary source review and analysis

Week 6 TARGET FOR PAPER: Finalize bibliography for secondary sources. Submit ILL requests and visit libraries. Begin reading most important secondary sources.

READINGS:

History of Native Americans and New France: The New “Cultural” History

White, *The Middle Ground*, chapters 1 and 2

Sleeper-Smith, “Women, Kin, and Catholicism: New Perspectives on the Fur Trade,” *Ethnohistory* 47:2 (2000): 423-452

Research methods:

Storey, *Writing History*, chapters 4, 5, 6, 7

Turabian, *A Manual for Writers*, chapters 6 and 7

ASSIGNMENTS DUE:

Research Practicum 3: Revised Research Question and Bibliography

Week 7: TARGET FOR PAPER: Continue reading and note taking in secondary sources. Narrow and refine research problem/thesis. Organize notes and ideas for historiography (literature review). Submit last ILL requests and visit other libraries. Write working outline for body of paper.

READINGS:

Research methods:

Storey, *Writing History*, chapters 8 and 9

Turabian, *A Manual for Writers*, chapters 9 and 10

ASSIGNMENT DUE:

Research Practicum 4: Paper Outline

Research Practicum 5: Historiography Grid

Week 8: TARGET FOR PAPER: Finish reading and note taking on secondary sources. Draft historiography section (literature review). Start writing body of paper.

ASSIGNMENT DUE:

Research Practicum 6: Historiography Essay

Week 9: TARGET FOR PAPER: Reading and note taking should be done. Write body of paper.

Week 10: TARGET FOR PAPER: Have fully completed paper.

ASSIGNMENT DUE:

First Draft Due: Turn in two copies

Week 11 TARGET FOR PAPER: Begin edits and revisions of paper.

ASSIGNMENT DUE:

Research Practicum 7: Peer Review

Week 12 TARGET FOR PAPER: Edit and revise paper in light of peer reviews and professor feedback.

ASSIGNMENT DUE:

Second draft due: Turn in one copy

Week 13 TARGET FOR PAPER: Make final edits with attention to details for final polished version.

Week 14: Turn in final draft of paper

Teaching the French Revolution From the Inside Out: Views from Egypt and the Caribbean

Melissa K. Byrnes

Southwestern University

In the spring of 2009, I set out to teach a course on the “ins and outs” of modern French history, reincorporating France into global currents. As an historian of immigration and decolonization, I hoped to break out of “the Hexagon” and imbue my students with an understanding of history that reached across traditional national borders. Though my own focus in designing this course was to bring the world back into French history, I believe many of the examples I used to demonstrate global consequences and continuities can be fruitfully applied to bringing French and Francophone history back into the greater world history currents. My class was small and discussion-driven; students were assigned essays, but no exams. In a larger classroom setting, the sources we used would make equally engaging reading assignments, while elements of our discussions could be added into lectures and exam questions.

One of the most successful segments of the semester was the earliest: our study of the French Revolution. Even most global history courses tend to pull back completely within mainland France’s borders at this point, possibly asking later how others were inspired by the iconic events of 1789. There was, however, a place in which revolt was not merely inspired by the French Revolution but part and parcel to it: the island colony of Saint-Domingue (renamed Haiti upon its independence in 1804). Laurent Dubois and John D. Garrigus’ excellent documentary reader, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean, 1789-1804*, provided the sources for this analysis.¹ Evaluating the Caribbean experience altered our understanding of the foundational ideas of the French Revolution and the evolution of the French Republic and Empire, as well as expanded the theatre of the Revolutionary wars, and revealed French variants on the institution of slavery. In addition to our study of the Haitian Revolution, we considered how the French Republic appeared to a foreigner confronting zealous revolutionary soldiers. Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti, Ottoman

Egypt’s preeminent historian, penned a detailed account of Napoleon’s Egyptian adventure.² This perspective from a region the French could not hold (the occupation lasted only three years, 1798-1801) offered both an alternative critique of the French Republic and a prime example of a failed attempt at colonization. The French Revolution thus took on deeper and more differentiated significance once we left the streets of Paris for those of Cairo and Le Cap.

Turning to the Caribbean required that we look to the development of France’s North American Empire under the Old Regime. The 1685 *Code Noir* (Black Code), which regulated slavery in the French Empire, fascinated my students. They not only discovered significant contrasts with more familiar American slave decrees,³ but they also contemplated the concrete effects of these differences on the lives of individual slaves, particularly those who found themselves subject to harsher laws after Napoleon Bonaparte sold the Louisiana territories to the United States in a bid to consolidate his empire (and enhance his finances).⁴ Written under Louis XIV—and bearing above all his concern for the dominance of the Catholic faith—the *Code Noir* appears relatively lenient and included stronger protections for slaves than other statutes. All French slaves were to be baptized; unlike under later U.S. laws, slave marriages were legally recognized and slave families could not be separated by sale. Owners had specific obligations to feed and clothe slaves, and could be prosecuted if found to be negligent in these duties. Above all, upon being freed, all slaves immediately became subjects of the king, granted “the same rights, privileges, and liberties enjoyed by persons born free.”⁵ The *Code Noir* thus enshrined a notion of belonging and proto-citizenship for colonial subjects that would not be seen again for centuries—my students harkened back to these articles repeatedly in our discussions of the French Empire in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. We must accept, of course, that this code was not fully observed by French colonial slaveholders, whose practices could be at least as brutal and arbitrary as in other plantation economies; still, it set an important legal precedent. The *Code Noir*’s decrees on manumission and legal equality, moreover, permitted the growth of a relatively large class of wealthy and educated men of color, including Vincent Ogé, who would argue

forcefully for a French Republic without racial barriers.

After our brief overview of the Old Regime, we studied some of the foundational documents of the Revolution itself.⁶ As an introduction to the historiography of the French Revolution and a way to begin thinking through its broader significance, I assigned my students brief presentations based on articles in Ozouf and Furet’s *Critical Dictionary*.⁷ Not surprisingly, a large part of the ensuing discussion centered on the various treatments of the Terror; my students found themselves struggling, alongside the authors they had encountered, to understand how 1789 led to 1793. The next class issued in a new level of complexity when we had to grapple with the fact that the height of the Terror was also the moment of the abolition of slavery—proclaimed first by officials in Saint-Domingue and formally ratified by the National Convention on 4 February 1794. Here was the other side of Republican radicalization: dedication to liberty as an absolute and universal ideal not only inspired the revolutionary fervor that drove the bloody purges of the Terror, but it also forced the members of the Convention to confront the hypocrisy of asserting the freedom and equality of all men while maintaining the practice of slaveholding. Reestablishing the relationship between the reign of the guillotine and the abolition of slavery thus helped to bring the Terror—and its leading characters—back into a morally complex field of analysis. Furthermore, it raised the difficult question of just how far French officials had to be pushed in order to rethink their assumptions about race, labor, and citizenship.

Ideals alone did not, however, drive the abolition of slavery in Saint-Domingue. French officials were motivated by the diplomatic and military context in the Caribbean as much as by any rejection of colonial racism. Though the Revolutionary Wars typically bring to mind Napoleon’s armies marching across Central Europe and down the Iberian peninsula, combat stretched across the Atlantic. The island colonies were major sites of diplomatic wrangling and military confrontation—both of which often paralleled the opposition of the Republic to royalty. The Spanish monarchy supported early slave insurrections in the French colonies as a means of destabilizing the French Republic; once war was declared in 1793, the Spanish army offered formal commissions and uniforms to those

leading the slave rebellions (even Toussaint Louverture, the ex-slave rebel leader who produced Haiti's first constitution, served as a Spanish officer). The French, therefore, embraced abolition as an important weapon for the Republic to gain the support of former slaves and foster identification between the winning of individual freedom and the defense of the French Republic. This decision resonated through the nineteenth-century debates to abolish slavery (following its reinstitution by Napoleon in 1802); Alexis de Tocqueville argued in 1843 that if the French failed to free their slaves as the British had, France would lose its power and influence along the crucial Caribbean commercial axis.⁸

The French Revolution had repercussions beyond Europe and the Americas, of course, and the Revolutionary Wars crossed the Mediterranean as well as the Atlantic. For an account of the French Revolution from completely outside the French sphere of influence, we turned to al-Jabarti and his chronicle of the French invasion of Egypt in 1798. In this engaging view of the French Republican project, the French forces figured as a distinctly alien force, with puzzling customs and still stranger ideas. Al-Jabarti's analysis of Napoleon's initial proclamation to the Egyptian people provided an intriguing translation of French Enlightenment ideals into Egyptian terms; that "liberty" was the basis of the French Republic, for example, was taken to mean that the French "are not slaves like the Mamluks."⁹ Al-Jabarti's critique of Republican institutions shared many themes with more familiar European royalists and conservatives—concerns about extreme secularism, questions about the real meaning and implication of equality, and a belief that the new French system would engender immorality. His chronicle introduced a perspective on European civilization as vulgar, ill-educated, and backwards. The stark differences between French and Egyptian society, coupled with the population's clear distaste for the French invaders, indicated reasons for the failure of French colonization in Egypt. The Egyptian reaction to French occupation also offered an opportunity to compare Napoleon's reception in Central Europe with that across the Mediterranean.

Over the first few weeks of this course, my students found themselves continuously reevaluating the French Revolution and their previous ideas about this pivotal moment and its ramifications. The Revolutionary

pantheon expanded to include Vincent Ogé and Toussaint Louverture—individuals who were not only key to establishing an emancipated and independent Haiti, but who also contributed significantly to the debates going on in the halls of Parisian assemblies. From the opposite side of the political spectrum, al-Jabarti emerged as a new counterpart for Edmund Burke and others who opposed French Republicanism and its universalist presumptions. Set in this wider frame, the repercussions of events in France were no longer understood simply as the spread of Western political progress across the globe, but as developments that were critiqued, questioned, and embraced to varying degrees and in widely differing contexts. For the purposes of my course, these discussions set the stage for further explorations of the relationship between the global context and French developments. Within a world history setting, the Egyptian invasion illustrates the reception of French ideas in the broader world and sets the stage for later confrontations between Europe and Africa. Likewise, teaching the Haitian Revolution as an integral part of the French Revolutionary tale transforms the late eighteenth century into an age of truly Atlantic revolutions; instead of a series of tangentially related revolts, these events signify a process of political evolution with multiple centers, in constant communication with each other.¹⁰ This revolutionary era can then be better connected to themes with particular resonance in an American classroom: raising fundamental questions about the institution of slavery and its varied forms; delving into alternative understandings of republicanism, liberty, and equality; and calling attention to the history of an island nation we now associate more with crisis, poverty, and environmental catastrophe than with its legacy of freedom and abolition.

Suggested Discussion Questions

The French Caribbean

- How were slaves perceived under the Old Regime? What punishments and protections did the *Code Noir* outline?
- What ideas about race come through the various texts?
- How did the inhabitants of Saint-Domingue, both free and enslaved, view the French king?
- What claim did free men of color make to French citizenship? How was this

received (supported and denied)?

Revolution in Saint-Domingue

- What arguments were made for the emancipation of France's slaves? How did proponents adopt the language and ideas of the French Revolution?
- In what ways did the Caribbean rebellions intersect with international conflicts at the time of the French Revolution?
- What concerns did leaders voice about the effects of abolition on social and political order? On economic prosperity? What measures were enacted to curb these fears?
- What events led to the declaration of Haitian independence?
- What rights and values did the final Haitian Declaration and Constitution enshrine?

Al-Jabarti's Chronicle

- How did the Egyptian population react to the arrival of French soldiers and the French occupation?
- What characteristics does al-Jabarti ascribe to the French in terms of appearance, customs, etc.?
- How does al-Jabarti interpret Napoleon's proclamation and the events of the French Revolution?

Essay Assignment (5-7 pages)

This essay asks you to address the relationship between domestic and imperial developments during the time of the French Revolution. The following questions suggest ways in which you may approach this topic. You should not, however, feel constrained by them; nor should you feel obliged to answer all of them. The strongest essays are limited to concrete and specific arguments that address one or two facets of the larger questions:

- How did the ideals at the heart of the French Revolutions translate into other territories under French control (the Caribbean colonies, Egypt)?
- In what way did the acts and laws passed by the French revolutionary governments address the inequalities of the Old Regime on the mainland and in the colonies?
- How did the revolutionary system evolve from 1789, through the radical stages, the conservative reaction, and

Napoleon's Empire? Be sure to include examples from the colonies as well as from mainland France.

ENDNOTES

¹ Laurent Dubois and John D. Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean, 1789-1804: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2006).

² Shmuel Moreh, trans., *Napoleon in Egypt: Al-Jabarti's Chronicle of the French Occupation* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Weiner Publishing, 1993). Robert L. Tignor's Introduction provides a useful background narrative for the text.

³ Slave codes that might be considered in a comparative discussion include the Spanish Black Code for Cuba from 1574, the British slave code for Barbados from 1661, and the Virginia slave laws of 1705.

⁴ Dubois and Garrigus include a section on American reactions to the Haitian Revolution, particularly the widespread concern that a successful slave rebellion could act as a contagion.

⁵ *Code Noir*, Article LIX, in Dubois and Garrigus, 54.

⁶ There are two solid documentary readers for the French Revolution: Lynn Avery Hunt, *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History* (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1996) focuses on the notions of rights and citizenship, and the expansion (or failure to expand) these rights to segments of the population; John W. Boyer and Julius Kirshner, *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*, ed. Keith M. Baker, vol. 7 of *University of Chicago Readings in Western Civilization* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987) offers a closer look at daily life and social circumstances. The basic documents of the French Revolution are also widely available on-line; the Internet Modern History Sourcebook has a comprehensive and well-organized collection at <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook13.html>.

⁷ François Furet and Mona Ozouf, eds., "Historians and Commentators," in *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Boston, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989), 881-1034. There are sixteen ten-page entries on individual authors that may be assigned to students to present singly or discuss in small groups.

⁸ Alexis de Tocqueville, "The Emancipation of the Slaves," in *Writings on Empire and Slavery*, ed. and trans. Jennifer Pitts (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 199-226.

⁹ Moreh, 28. The full text and analysis of the proclamation may be found on pp. 24-33. The Mamluks, Egypt's ruling class, were elite slave soldiers.

¹⁰ The most recent plea to reconsider the French Revolution within the Atlantic frame may be found in Laurent Dubois, "An Atlantic Revolution," *French Historical Studies* 32, no. 4 (Fall 2009), 655-661. The article includes a brief, comprehensive historiographical overview.

Istanbul Symposium, October 2010

A Symposium organized by Istanbul Sehir University and the World History Association, 21-24 October 2010, Istanbul, Turkey. The theme of the symposium will be "Byzantine and Ottoman Civilizations in World History," and will focus on the world-historical significance of Byzantine and Ottoman civilizations, 330-1922. The symposium will consist of approximately 50 papers by Turkish and international participants, plus several plenary sessions. The official languages of the symposium are English and Turkish. Persons not presenting a paper may also register for the conference, attend at no fee, and will be eligible for discounted lodging at 4- and 5-star conference hotels in the Old City. You may register for the symposium on the WHA website. In order to participate in any capacity, you must register online no later than 15 September 2010. All registrants are responsible for their own travel and accommodation expenses and schedules. See you in Istanbul for an excellent time! While there is no registration fee, registration is required.

"Is This Tocqueville or George W. Bush?" Teaching French Colonialism in Southern California After 9/11

Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall
California State University – San Marcos

Comparative French Colonialism may seem an unlikely centerpiece for a world history curriculum at a public university in Southern California. In the United States – and in California in particular – British or Spanish colonialism seem like subjects more likely to engage students and to demonstrate the relevance of the history of colonialism. However, even if students know little about the subject when they enroll, by the end of the semester many say that the course was one of the most important they took in college. Using this course as an example, I argue here that examples drawn from French and French colonial history can be especially useful entry points for understanding world history themes. While French examples are good case studies for colonialism (in the same way that examples from elsewhere can be), I hope to suggest further that the study of the French empire, often neglected in Anglo-centered curricula, offers lessons about the history of the United States that students might not otherwise learn.

California State University – San Marcos, where I teach this course, is a relatively new comprehensive state university in suburban San Diego. I first created the class because the History Department was eager to build an upper-division world history curriculum. As a specialist in French history who also works on Haiti, I felt that starting with a course on French colonialism would be a good way to ensure that the class could be comparative and transnational, while still drawing upon my own research. I also hoped that teaching it would enrich my scholarship by affording me a deeper understanding of the workings of empire.

The course turned out to be good for students for still other reasons. First, the field of French colonialism is an excellent vehicle for introducing students to cutting-edge historical scholarship in an accessible, vivid way. Historians generally write for our colleagues; we assume that our readers are familiar with the debates which we are entering, and we sometimes resort to theoretical jargon which is off-putting to students. French colonialism is hardly immune

to these tendencies; however, if one looks carefully, one can find a wealth of accessible and exciting literature on French colonialism. The field's focus on ideas of race and on analysis of visual images (whether in empire-related advertising or other forms) has resonated with my Southern California students and made them willing to read graduate-level material.

Furthermore, French colonialism has proven to be highly relevant to the era in which we live, even for those of us far from the empire's former borders. When I developed the course in 2000, I thought it might seem obscure to California students, but could still be intrinsically interesting. However, in September 2001, as I taught the course for the first time, the history of relations between "Western" and "non-Western" countries suddenly struck students as critical for understanding the world. I taught it again during Fall 2003, as support for the American invasion of Iraq was at its zenith; and then in Fall 2006, as frustration with the war peaked. Cal State San Marcos was a particularly "hot" place for course discussions since we are in the shadow of the Marine base at Camp Pendleton; many of our students are recent veterans, have significant others serving overseas, or are on active duty themselves. Teaching French colonialism in Southern California has proved relevant in other ways. Given the large Vietnamese population in Southern California, I should not have been surprised when one of my older students turned out to be a former South Vietnamese Army officer educated in French colonial schools.

The course focuses on three case studies (Saint-Domingue/Haiti, Algeria, and Vietnam), with some small transgressions (a full syllabus can be seen at <http://www.csusm.edu/history/facultydirectory/hist381.html>). This structure offers depth while we move comparatively; it also allows us to contrast core elements of empire with variations at particular moments. The course explores political, cultural, and economic aspects of colonialism and presents perspectives from both colonizers and colonized. We read translated primary sources as well as carefully selected secondary sources. The course also features a web presentation process through which students read additional works and teach their classmates about them. Finally, we use film heavily, an approach that not only helps students envision colonialism as a lived experience, but also demonstrates how cul-

tural stereotypes can be deployed in popular media. Many students say the course is the first time they have thought about film as presenting more than plot, and that it has made them more critical viewers of film in general.

The course's main text is Robert Aldrich's *Greater France* – a book I see as crucial to the class' success, since it is both smart and clear. We begin with a background unit, discussing three waves of colonial historiography (the first written by participants in the colonial enterprise who celebrated colonialism and viewed natives as “backwards”; the second seeing colonialism as exploitative and shifting attention to resistance by colonized peoples; and the last sharing many of the premises of the second while also calling attention to the nuances of colonialism in different contexts). We also read an excerpt from Edward Said's *Orientalism*. While Said's language can be challenging for undergraduates, I stress his observation that our ideas about “the East” are constructed. We focus on the stereotypes that permeate European and American discussions of “the Orient” (i.e., sensuality, despotism, backwardness). We also discuss what Said called the “willed imaginative and geographic division...between East and West,” in which differences among countries on each side are minimized and similarities between far-away cultures effaced. Said's writing provides an essential backdrop for the course.

Our first main unit, on Saint-Domingue/Haiti, covers the history of sugar plantations, slavery, and race in the French Caribbean. It also examines the resistance by slaves and their descendants, both in the eighteenth century and later through oral tradition. Next, we study the French and Haitian Revolutions and interrogate their relation. Finally, we watch the film *Sugar Cane Alley*. Though it focuses on Martinique, the film shows the legacy of slavery and the continuing impact of colonialism in the French Caribbean in the 1930s, from the perspective of the colonized. This unit teaches students both about the economic underpinnings of colonialism and the hierarchies of race involved in it. It also introduces them to the legacies of slavery and colonialism after their formal ends. In addition, studying the relationship between the French and Haitian Revolutions allows students to weigh the relative importance of transnational versus local processes. (NOTE: In Spring 2010, as this issue was

going to press, the catastrophic earthquake in Haiti added additional relevance to this section of the course. I enhanced our Haitian coverage to show linkages between the country's colonial history and its current situation. For a fuller explanation of some of the issues I discussed, see the interview I did for Chicago Public Radio's program *Worldview*, archived at <http://www.chicagopublicradio.org/content.aspx?audioID=39618>).

Our next unit, on Algeria, begins with some background reading on the country. We then examine excerpts from Alf Heggoy's *The French Conquest of Algiers* (which presents Algerian reactions to France's 1830 invasion) and Jennifer Pitts' translation of Alexis de Tocqueville's *Writings on Algeria*. The unit includes a section on how gender intersected with and supported colonialism in Algeria, and another on empire and culture. The latter section, one of the course's most popular, uses Elizabeth Ezra's writing on the Miss Overseas France pageant and Timothy Mitchell's work on colonial exhibitions. This section also includes a material culture workshop using artifacts purchased on eBay, such as colonial stamps, exhibition catalogs, and brochures. Students divide into groups and examine several artifacts to determine what images of the colonies they transmitted to people in the metropole. The film for this unit moves us to French West Africa. *Black and White in Color*, set in the Ivory Coast during World War I, is ostensibly a critique of colonialism, but largely shows the colonizers' perspective.

Though I obviously did not plan it this way in 2000, this unit has been eye-opening for students in helping them understand that the justifications used to support the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq have histories. In Fall 2001, French discourses about liberating Muslim women from the veil were particularly striking to students as the United States invaded Afghanistan and politicians spoke in similar terms; in Fall 2003 and 2006, the rest of the unit made students look at the Iraq invasion in a more historicized way. For instance, Heggoy's text made students wonder how anyone could have thought there would be no resistance to an American invasion of Iraq. Parallels with Tocqueville struck them even more, as students noted similarities between his arguments in the 1830s and 1840s for invading and remaining in Algeria, and George W. Bush's language in 2003-2006 about liberat-

ing Iraqis and then “not cutting and running.”

In Fall 2003, at the height of American hostility to France, studying Algeria also illuminated for students why the French had opposed the Iraq War. Without offering any commentary myself, I asked three questions: “When the U.S. was deciding whether to go to war, what historical parallel were most people thinking about, and what lesson did they draw from it?” They answered, echoing many commentators at the time, that World War II was the relevant parallel, and that its lesson was that the invasion was necessary because one must not appease dictators. I then asked, “In France, what historical parallel do you think most people were thinking about, and what lesson did they draw from it?” Light bulbs came on for many students as they realized the pertinent example for the French was Algeria. Then I asked, “Were there reasons the French might have thought the war was a bad idea, other than ‘liking to say no’?” The students realized that France's difficult experience in Algeria had made the French more skeptical that Americans and their allies would be greeted as liberators. The unit helped students see that “experts” on television often have limited historical knowledge.

The next unit of the course focuses on Vietnam. After some background, we read documents resisting France's conquest (especially from Truong Buu Lam's *Patterns of Vietnamese Response to Foreign Intervention*). We also read *The Red Earth*, a fascinating memoir by a communist worker about a Michelin rubber plantation. Finally, we watch *Indochine*, and debate whose perspective it portrays.

Our final unit covers decolonization. We read more sources on resistance in Vietnam, including some very vivid writings by Ho Chi Minh. We then turn to anticolonialism in Algeria, with excerpts from Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* and Moulud Feraoun's *Journal*. Though Fanon's work is more famous, Feraoun's provides a more ambivalent look at the conflict from someone native to Algeria. The film for this unit is Gillo Pontecorvo's classic *Battle of Algiers*. If we are not falling behind, we watch a wonderful movie from Cameroon (*Afrique, Je Te Plumerai*) about the post-colonial condition, in which nominally independent countries still suffer from colonialism's legacy.

The Vietnam and decolonization units offer students a new perspective on

American involvement in Vietnam. They often conclude that, if Americans understood the history of French colonialism there and what the Vietnamese independence movement was fighting for, the American entanglement might have been averted. The *Battle of Algiers* also leads to some important moments of discovery. The film focuses on an FLN cell planning attacks against French military and civilian targets in Algiers. By this point in the class, most students identify with those who sought to end colonialism. Even so, as one self-proclaimed patriotic army brat told me in Fall 2003, “the film was really disturbing. I couldn’t believe that I was empathizing with terrorists.” Reading Fanon and Feraoun together, we invariably have a discussion about whether it is legitimate to use violence to end violence.

As one of the course’s concluding assignments, students choose an additional film, whether the modern films *Burn!*, *The Lover*, or Claire Denis’s *Chocolat*, or the 1930s films *Princesse Tam-Tam* (with Josephine Baker) and *Red Dust* (with Clark Gable). In an essay, they analyze their film against others we have watched in terms of its depiction of colonialism.

While the era in which I began teaching the class made it tricky to cover some of the material, overall the course has been very satisfying for me and for the students. As one student wrote on course evaluations, “Of all the history classes I have taken, this is one of the most relevant courses for anyone today. I actually believe that colonialism should be a required subject for university students.” The course has also been enriching for me, allowing me to gain new perspectives on the French empire as a whole.

While my students and I have learned a great deal from the course, my experience still gave rise to one caution. I discovered during the “freedom fries” era that I needed to emphasize that we were studying France only as a *case study* of empire. I thought it was implicit that other countries had empires, and that France was merely one empire we were exploring in depth. However, I have since had to add material on American imperialism (such as cartoons on the American invasion of the Philippines) so students understand that Orientalism and colonialism are not uniquely French modes of thinking and acting. Otherwise, the course has proven an ideal way to launch upper-division study in world history. The French empire is not relevant only in Paris, Quebec, or Hanoi; American students can learn a great deal about world history - and their own history - from its study.

HISTORY 381

COMPARATIVE FRENCH COLONIALISM: FROM THE CARIBBEAN TO INDOCHINA

Prof. Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall

Course Description: This course introduces students to a crucial but little-understood aspect of modern world history: colonialism. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed an explosion of empire-building by Europeans and Americans. In order to better understand this process, we will focus on one empire, that of the French, and its colonies in three regions: the Caribbean (Haiti), North Africa (Algeria) and Southeast Asia (Vietnam). We will examine political, cultural, gender, economic, and racial aspects of colonialism, from the perspectives of both the colonizers (the French) and colonized (Haitians, Algerians and Vietnamese). Course materials will include primary sources written by people who experienced

colonialism or advocated it, recent scholarly writings on colonialism, and films and literary accounts about the colonial experience. The course will involve some lecture, but will rely most heavily on students’ reading and discussing assigned materials. When students complete the course, they will have a much deeper understanding of international relations today, and of the legacy of colonialism for current world events, particularly regarding relations between “Western” and “non-Western” nations.

Course Goals: Students enrolled in the course will:

1. Learn about French colonialism from the eighteenth century until the twentieth, and about the legacy of colonialism today.
2. Gain a familiarity with changing scholarly approaches to colonialism.
3. Improve their skills at reading and analyzing scholarly articles, historical primary sources and film.
4. Improve writing and discussion skills.

Course Readings:

Required readings/viewings: Robert Aldrich, *Greater France: A History of French Overseas Expansion*; Tran Bu Binh, *The Red Earth: A Vietnamese Memoir of Life on a Colonial Rubber Plantation*. Other readings are available in the course bulkpack (“BKPK”), on reserve or online. We will also watch several required films together.

Other readings: For your web presentation, you will choose a topic to explore in more depth, based on the “for further reading” suggestions.

Course Requirements/Grading

- 1) Regular attendance and active participation: 20% of your grade.
- 2) Quizzes: We will have three 15-min. quizzes, focused mostly on geography, with attention also to key dates and terms (20% of your grade).
- 3) Colonialism in Film Paper: You will choose one of the following films: *Burn!* [Queimada], *The Lover*, *Chocolat* [not the 2001 film with Juliette Binoche, but the 1988 one directed by Claire Denis], *Princesse Tam-Tam* (1935) or *Red Dust* (1932). You write a 4-5 page paper (1000 - 1250 words) comparing that film’s depiction of colonialism with that of other films we have seen together, and drawing upon course readings. More guidelines will be given in advance of the deadline (20%).
- 4) Web presentation: Each student will choose one topic to pursue in greater depth. You will select one article (or a few chapters from one book) from the “for further reading” lists; read it carefully; prepare a web presentation; and upload it to the course WebCT site. Presentations should give your classmates a clear summary of what you read, explaining how it adds to what we’ve learned about colonialism from required readings (12.5%). Further guidelines will be provided, but keep in mind that explanation and analysis is more important than design “bells and whistles.”
- 5) Reports on web presentations: Look at your classmates’ web presentations. Choose two of the units you would like to focus on, and do a one- to two-page write-up on what you learned from them. Your write-up is due the class period after the presentations are posted (7.5%).
- 6) Exam: There is one exam in the course, a take-home final (20%).

COURSE SCHEDULE

INTRODUCTION: COURSE AND BACKGROUND TO COLONIALISM

Th Aug 24) **Introduction to course**

T Aug 29) **Introduction to French Colonialism and Modern French Government**

Reading: Aldrich, 10-28; look over 29-88

Th Aug 31) **Introduction to Historiography of Colonialism**

Reading: Aldrich, 1-9; Edward Said excerpts (BKPK)

T Sep 5) **Origins of French Colonialism: Pre- and post-“Race”**

Reading: Aldrich, 200-4; Carl Linné, “God-given Order of Nature” + Encyclopédie, “Nègre” excerpts (BKPK)

—*For further reading: William B. Cohen, *French Encounter with Africans*; or Pierre Boulle, “In Defense of Slavery: Eighteenth Century Opposition to Abolition and the Origins of a Racist Ideology in France,” in *History from Below. Studies in Popular Protest and Popular Ideology*.

UNIT ONE: SAINT-DOMINGUE/HAITI

Th Sep 7) **Background to Colonialism in Caribbean/Saint-Domingue: Sugar**

Reading: Robert Louis Stein, *French Sugar Business in the Eighteenth Century*, excerpts (BKPK) + Carolyn Fick, *Making of Haiti*, 15-45 (Res)

—*For further reading: Peter Hulme, ed., *Wild Majesty: Encounters with Caribs from Columbus to the Present Day*; ch. 1 of Charles Arthur and Michael Dash, eds., *A Haiti Anthology: Libete*; or David Geggus, “Sugar and Coffee Production and the Shaping of Slavery in Saint-Domingue,” in *Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas*, ed. Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan; or on France elsewhere in the Americas, Philip Boucher, *Les Nouvelles Frances: France in America* [exhib. catalogue]; W.J. Eccles, *France in America*; or *French Colonial Louisiana and the Atlantic World*, ed. Bradley G. Bond

T Sep 12) **Quiz #1/Old Regime in Saint-Domingue**

Reading: Moreau de Saint-Méry, excerpts (Res)

—*For further reading: Médéric-Louis-Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry, *A Civilization that Perished: The Last Years of White Colonial Rule in Haiti*, ed. Ivor Spencer [other sections]; John Garrigus, “‘Sons of the Same Father’: Gender, Race and Citizenship in Saint-Domingue, 1760 – 1792” in *Visions and Revisions of Eighteenth-Century France*, ed. Christine Adams et al.; John Garrigus, *Before Haiti* (selections)

Th Sep 14) **Slave Resistance**

Reading: Fick, 46-75 [Res] + Patrick Chamoiseau, *Creole Folktales*, excerpts (BKPK)

—*For further reading, ch. 3, 4 or 5 of Carolyn Fick, *Making of Haiti*

T Sep 19) **French and Haitian Revolutions**

Reading: Dec. of the Rts. of Man [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/rightsof.asp]; “Enfranchisement of Free Men of Color [Raymond]” + Toussaint L’Ouverture + Napoleon (BKPK); Haitian Const. of 1805 [<http://www.webster.edu/~corbetre/haiti/history/earlyhaiti/1805-const.htm>]

—*For further reading, Laurent Dubois and John Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean, 1789 – 1804* (primary sources); CLR James, *The Black Jacobins*; David Geggus, “Racial Equality, Slavery, and Colonial Secession during the Constituent Assembly,” *American Historical Review* 94 (1989): 1290 – 1309; David Geggus, “The Haitian Revolution,” in *The Modern Caribbean*, ed. Franklin Knight/Colin Palmer; or Alyssa Sepinwall, “Eliminating Race, Eliminating Difference: Blacks, Jews, and the Abbé Grégoire,” in *Color of Liberty*

Th Sep 21) **Film: Sugar Cane Alley [Rue Cases-Nègres]**

Reading: Alyssa Sepinwall, “The Specter of Saint-Domingue: American and French Reactions to the Haitian Revolution” [from *The World of the Haitian Revolution*, eds. David Geggus and Norman Fiering]

T Sep 26) **Finish film; Discussion of film and Sepinwall article**

—*For further reading, Patrick Chamoiseau, *School Days*

UNIT TWO: NEW COLONIALISM IN THE 19TH C.: ALGERIA

Th Sep 28) **Algeria Background**

Reading: Alf. A. Heggoy, *French Conquest of Algiers*, excerpts (BKPK); Benjamin Stora and John Ruedy excerpts on Algeria (BKPK)

Optional: <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/dztoc.html> (Library of Congress Algeria site)

Unit One Presentations Due

—*For further reading, more of Alf. A. Heggoy, *French Conquest of Algiers*; Benjamin Stora, *Algeria, 1830 – 2000*; John Ruedy, *Modern Algeria*; or Charles-Robert Ageron, *Modern Algeria*

T Oct 3) **Quiz #2/Intro. to ideology of new Fr. col’m in Alg. and elsewhere**

Reading: Aldrich, 89-94; Alexis de Tocqueville + Jules Ferry excerpts [in BKPK]

—*For further reading, more of Tocqueville, *Writings on Empire and Slavery*; ch. 4 and 6 of Aldrich, *Greater France*; Patricia Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*.

Th Oct 5) **Gender and Empire in Algeria**

Reading: Julia Clancy-Smith, “The ‘Passionate Nomad’ Reconsidered”; Yael Simpson Fletcher, “‘Irresistible Seductions’: Gendered Representations of Colonial Algeria around 1930”; Jeanne M. Bowlan, “Civilizing Gender Relations in Algeria: The Paradoxical Case of Marie Bugéja, 1919 – 39” [all in BKPK]

—*For further reading, Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*, chs. 2, 3, 9; Penny Edwards, “‘Propagender’: Marianne, Joan of Arc and the Export of French Gender Ideology to Colonial Cambodia (1863-1954),” in *Promoting the Colonial Idea*; any other articles in *Domesticating the Empire* (NOT Fletcher or Bowlan); Marie-Paule Ha, “‘La Femme française aux colonies’: Promoting Colonial Female Emigration at the Turn of the Century,” in *French Colonial History* 6 (2005); Sara Kimble, “Emancipation through Secularization: French Feminist Views of Muslim Women’s Condition in Interwar Algeria,” in *French Colonial History* 7 (2006)

T Oct 10) Continued

Th Oct 12) **Colonial Culture in France/Imagining the Colonies at home**

Reading: Elizabeth Ezra, “Colonialism Exposed,” excerpts + Timothy Mitchell on expositions [BKPK]; optional: Aldrich, ch. 7.

—*For further reading, Dana Hale, “French Images of Race on Product Trademarks during the Third Republic”; or Lynn Palermo, “Identity Under Construction: Representing the Colonies at the Paris *Exposition Universelle* of 1889,” both in *The Color of Liberty*; any essay in *Promoting the Colonial Idea*; Thomas G. August, *The selling of the empire : British and French imperialist propaganda, 1890-1940*; Kathryn Castle, *Britannia’s children: reading colonialism through children’s books and magazines*; Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins, *Reading National Geographic*; Tamar Y. Rothenberg, “Voyeurs of Imperialism: The National Geographic Magazine before World War II,” in *Geography and empire*, ed. Anne Godlewska and Neil Smith

T Oct 17) Continued + **Images of the colonies**

Th Oct 19) **Anti-colonialism/World War I; Film: Black and White in Color**

Reading: Anatole France, Jean Jaurès (BKPK)

T Oct 24) Watch rest of Black and White in Color

UNIT THREE: VIETNAM

Th Oct 26) **Vietnam Background**

Reading: William Duiker, *Vietnam: Revolution in Transition*, selections (Res)

Unit Two Presentations Due

—*For further reading, see John Tully, *France on the Mekong: A History of the Protectorate in Cambodia*

T Oct 31) **Quiz #3/Vietnamese resistance to early French colonialism**

Reading: “Early French Imperialism in Cochinchina”; Resistance docs from Truong Buu Lam (BKPK); *Optional*, Louis XIV letter (BKPK)

—*For further reading, see David G. Marr, *Vietnamese Anticolonialism, 1885 – 1925*; or Truong Buu Lam, *Patterns of Vietnamese Response to Foreign Intervention*

Th Nov 2) **Practices of colonialism in Vietnam**

Reading: *Red Earth* + Aldrich, 188-192

—*For further reading, see Cao Duong Pham, *Vietnamese peasants under French domination, 1861-1945*; Ngo Vinh Long, *Before the Revolution: Vietnamese Peasants Under the French*; Michael Vann, “The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly: Variation and Difference in French Racism in Colonial Indochine,” in *The Color of Liberty*; Michael Vann, “Of Rats, Rice, and Race: The Great Hanoi Rat Massacre,” in *French Colonial History* 4 (2003); Frank Proschan, “Eunuch Mandarins, *Soldats Mamzelles*, Effeminate Boys, and Graceless Women: French Colonial Constructions of Vietnamese Genders,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 8 (2002): 435-467.

WATCH INDOCHINE AT HOME OR IN MEDIA CENTER

Th Nov 7) **Discuss Indochine** [not being shown in class]

UNIT FOUR: ROAD TO DECOLONIZATION

T Nov 9) **Lecture on integration, assimilation, association and WWI**

Unit Three Presentations Due

No Other New Reading—>Read Ahead

—*For further reading, see Tyler Stovall, “Love, Labor, and Race: Colonial Men and White Women in France during the Great War,” in *French civilization and its discontents*

Th Nov 14) **Beginnings of resistance in Vietnam/World War II**

Reading: “Conservative Nationalism in Vietnam”, “Radical Nat’lism in Vietnam” (BKPK)

T Nov 16) **Continuation**

Reading: Ho Chi Minh docs (<http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/ho-chi-minh/>, selection TBA) + Vietnamese Declaration of Independence, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1945vietnam.html>

+ *PAPER DUE*

—*For further reading, read other Ho Chi Minh documents; Introduction and several documents in Truong Buu Lam, *Colonialism Experienced: Vietnamese Writings on Colonialism: 1900-1931*; David G. Marr, *Vietnamese Tradition on Trial, 1920 – 1945*; ; Erica Peters, “Culinary Crossings and Disruptive Identities: Contesting Colonial Categories in Everyday Life,” in *Of Vietnam: Identities in*

Dialogue, ed. Jane Bradley Winston and Leakthina Chau-Pech Ollier; Erica Peters, "Indigestible Indo-China: Attempts to Introduce Vietnamese Food into France in the Interwar Period," in Martin Evans, ed. *Empire and culture : the French experience, 1830-1940*; David Del Testa, "Automobiles and Anomie in French Colonial Indochina," in Kathryn Robson and Jennifer Yee, eds. *France and "Indochina" : cultural representations* (or Michael Vann, "Of *Le Cafard* and Other Tropical Threats: Disease and White Colonial Culture in Indochina" in the same volume)

T Nov 21) **Beginnings of resistance in Algeria**

Reading: excerpts from Sartre, "Introduction" to *Wretched of the Earth*; Fanon, "Concerning Violence" (*Wretched of the Earth*) (Res)
—*For further reading, read Dennis McEnnerney, "Frantz Fanon, the Resistance, and the Emergence of Identity Politics," in *The Color of Liberty*

Th Nov 23) NO CLASS—THANKSGIVING

T Nov 28) **Algerian War: *Battle of Algiers***

Th Nov 30) Finish watching film

Reading: Feraoun, *Journal* (Res) [to be discussed 12/5]

—For further reading, read rest of LeSueur's intro and more of Feraoun, *Journal, 1955-1962*; Jo McCormack, "Terminale History Class: Teaching About Torture During the Algerian War," *Modern & Contemporary France* 12 (2004): 75-86; Philip Dine, "France, Algeria and Sport: From Colonisation to Globalisation," *Modern & Contemporary France* 10 (2002): 495-505; *Battle of Algiers* bonus material [disc 2 or disc 3]; Robert Aldrich, *Vestiges of the Colonial Empire in France*; or Alec Hargreaves, ed., *Memory, Empire and Postcolonialism* (selections)

Unit Four Presentations Due

Challenge of postcoloniality

T Dec 5) Discuss Battle of Algiers and Feraoun; "Afrique, Je te plumerai [Africa, I will fleece you]"

Th Dec 7) Decolonization/Class Wrap-Up; Take-Home Distributed

Th Dec 14) ****Exams Due ****

ART IN WORLD HISTORY: A SPECIAL INTEREST SUBGROUP IN THE WHA

CONTACT: Ralph Croizier, ralphc@uvic.ca

MEMBERSHIP: Anyone interested in Art (visual culture in general) and relating it to World History.

FUNCTIONS AND ACTIVITIES:

1. Communicating with those in the WHA who are interested in Art.
2. Connecting with those outside the WHA who are interested in World History, especially scholars, teachers, and students in disciplines that deal with visual culture: Art History, Architectural History, Archaeology, Cultural Anthropology, Visual Studies, Cultural Studies.
3. Organizing panels, first, at the WHA annual conference and regional conferences, then, at the conferences of other organizations' such as the College Art Association and Visual Anthropology Association. Anyone interested in forming or joining art panels at the 2010 Annual Conference in San Diego next June should contact Ralph Croizier asap.
4. Promoting workshops for teachers.

No fees, no dues, no obligations. Get on our emailing list.

Teaching Colonialism in World History: The Case of French Indochina

Michael G. Vann

Sacramento State University

A version of this essay was originally delivered at the Western Society for French History's annual meeting in Quebec City, Canada, in October, 2008, as part of a memorial plenary session for the late Ronald S. Love. Professor Love's teaching and research reflected the inter-connection between early modern French History and Southeast Asian and World History. While my Quebec audience was composed of French Historians, these observations and suggestions are also relevant to World Historians. Specifically, I want to argue the case for using colonial Vietnam to give French History courses a World History perspective and to offer World History courses a French alternative to the generally Anglocentric narrative. This strategic intervention encourages French Historians to engage with colonial history and World Historians to work with French History in the hopes of establishing a productive exchange between these two fields. Colonial Vietnam (and Laos and Cambodia) provides the World History classroom with opportunities to explore race, empire, the nation-state, commodity history, World War One, and international political movements.

With a colonial occupation lasting some five generations, the histories of France and Vietnam are clearly intertwined. From the fiasco of the invasion of Tonkin (which contributed to the fall of Jules Ferry) to the publicly humiliating defeat at Dien Bien Phu (which turned a militant faction in the officer corps against the fragile Fourth Republic), a teacher of French history can cite numerous examples of the interdependence, importance, and inextricability of French and Vietnamese history. France's colonial expansion in Southeast Asia is closely tied to crucial patterns in World History narratives that are frequently illustrated with English examples. Yet France's colonial empire in Southeast Asia has often been on the margins of French History and frequently neglected in World History.

Due in part to the obsession with the unresolved legacies of 1789 and to France's collective amnesia regarding things colonial after the traumatic experiences of the

Algerian War, until the past two decades, historians of France on both sides of the Atlantic have neglected the subjects of both colonialism and race.¹ When compared with the body of literature on the British Empire, French colonial studies seemed a weak second. Despite some important exceptions such as Kim Mulholland, William Cohen, Robert Ageron, and Henri Brunschwig, few scholars sought to interweave French colonial and metropolitan history, leaving colonial history to military historians and area studies specialists.² It was as if crossing the seas in the pursuit of France's history automatically distanced one from the core of the field and banished one's work to the periphery, making it, in H. L. Wesseling's terms, "over-seas" history.³ However, the last two decades have seen a renaissance in French colonial historiography. While some post-colonial critics, such as Panivong Norindr, question the fad for colonial kitsch and nostalgia, there can be no denying that some of the most interesting work in French history is currently in the tropical empire.⁴ The increased number of papers and panels on "colonial" topics presented at the Western Society for French History, the Society for French Historical Studies, and the American Historical Association, the increased activity in the colonial archives of Aix-en-Provence, and especially the new vitality of the French Colonial Historical Society, stand as evidence.

Despite France producing many of the founders of modern racism, including Gobineau and Renan, the study of race in France has been another area of weakness.⁵ To the collective colonial amnesia we can add the tradition of Jacobin intolerance of regionalism and a faith in the universal power of French civilization to assimilate and homogenize, turning all within its grasp into Frenchmen - Frenchmen of color, but Frenchmen nonetheless.⁶ With the nation considered able to assimilate newcomers regardless of skin color, religion, or social practice, the subject of race did not figure as a particularly important field in French studies; again there are crucial exceptions to this generalization, such as William Cohen's 1980 study of French views of Africans.⁷ Yet conventional wisdom deemed racism an Anglo-Saxon problem and clearly not an issue for the nation that had sheltered and loved refugees from American racism such as Josephine Baker, Richard Wright, and James Baldwin. However, events in France, including Jean-Marie LePen's xenophobic

politics, the desire of many immigrants to hold on to their family's cultural traditions, and the rise in racialized violence in the depressed suburbs, have proven these assumptions wrong. Scholarship on France has responded appropriately, producing historical, sociological, and anthropological studies of French racism and the role of race in France.⁸

The task now is for French Historians to incorporate these recent historiographic trends into the French History curriculum and for World Historians to take French History into account. In contrast to the field of Francophone Literature, which frequently studies the voices on the receiving end of the colonial and postcolonial power structures, French History has been viewed as elitist, Eurocentric, and not connected to world historical events. I would agree with some of these admittedly harsh critiques. Yet just because the field of French History has been obsessed with national issues, such as the details and meaning of the Revolution, it is simply not true that France lacks relevance to the outside world or to the field of World History. We can, or rather, we must, dispel this myth, increasing French History's global relevance by integrating the French colonial into the French national and by letting French colonialism play a role in World History narratives.

There are several important reasons why historians teaching in the United States should integrate France's Southeast Asian colonial history into their historical narratives. First, we owe this to our students. Many have a poorly informed understanding of American involvement in the region, and are unaware of the crucial importance of the French colonial period in the development of the Vietnamese Revolution. We have a particular responsibility to meet the needs of the changing demography of American classrooms. The presence of increasing numbers of students of Vietnamese, Lao, Cambodian, and Hmong ancestry requires that we consider the impact of France upon their countries of national origin. Second, the Vietnamese case provides us with an insightful look into the development of communism from international and inter-cultural perspectives. Third, the serious consideration of French colonialism in Southeast Asia helps to integrate France into World History. This is an important task as it helps to shed the often parochial and Eurocentric image of French Studies, meet the demands of departments which are moving towards an

increased emphasis on World History in their course offerings, and demonstrate how French history matters outside of the Hexagon. Finally, a serious consideration of France's colonization of Vietnam sheds light on the nature of French universalism.

In teaching French colonial history the goal is to weave the colonial thread into the fabric of the master narrative of French history. We need to avoid marginalizing colonial history by teaching a "colonial week." By comparison, the "Just Add Women and Stir" technique, that is to say the idea of throwing in women's history or gender history without properly integrating these themes, strikes us as seriously outdated.⁹ Instead, we must illustrate the ways in which specific moments of national history are intertwined with the colonial empire. We should be including the various aspects of the colonial encounter and the French imperial phase. Thus, we need to consider economic relationships, military history, political movements and ideologies, and the construction of race (both in terms of the idea of the "*indigène*" or "native" and in terms of "whiteness"). Crucial aspects of French history that have happened outside of the Hexagon must be reconnected to events in the metropole.

Within the French colonial empire, Indochine had a unique position. Neither a complete settler colony like Algeria nor an imperial possession with relatively few white colonists like much of French West Africa, Indochine saw medium size French communities in its cities. Hanoi, for example, generally had a white population of about five per cent of the total city and never rose above ten thousand.¹⁰ This meant that Indochine failed to develop a powerful settler lobby such as Algeria's "Parti Colonial" and had little if any institutionalized impact on France. However, the five colonies were economically vibrant, providing crucial resources such as rubber and coal as well as various opportunities for investment.¹¹ As Dana Hale's work shows, the rich cultural traditions of the region, such as the Khmer ruins of Angkor Wat and the Bayon, were the origin of many of the most famous images of colonial exoticism.¹² In order to work French Indochina into World History courses, I propose several examples of larger historical processes where the French colony can serve to make the point. I strongly urge World History lecturers to consider making an argument with the French colonial case rather than falling back upon the ubiquitous

British imperial examples. This will not only make French history more relevant, but also balance a World history that all too often falls into the Anglocentric trap. Of course, we must be fair and balanced, noting moments when the Dutch, Belgian, American, German, and Japanese colonial examples can make similar points.

The French conquest of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos tells us much about the geopolitical rivalries and machinations of the time. The French expansion is also a story of commodity history. Feeling frozen out of the lucrative China trade by the British, the French expansionists (particularly the Lyons silk industry) pushed for a backdoor into China, particularly one that would lead to the assumed El Dorado of Yunnan. Thus, France seized the Saigon region and Cambodia to gain access to Yunnan via the Mekong in the late 1850s and early 1860s. When the Mekong proved to be a rather less than navigable, safe, and healthy means of travel, two attempts were made to take Tonkin, unsuccessfully in the 1870s and successfully in the 1880s. Taking these lands was motivated less by interest in the specific region (the actual real estate taken by France) than it was as a means for entry into China. Only when the silk trade failed to live up to its economic promise did France get serious about developing Indochina for its own sake. Charles Fourniau and Milton Osbourne provide useful and critical narratives of the conquest.¹³ While the silk dream failed to materialize, the access-to-Yunnan scheme was not a complete failure. Following the British example, France entered into narco-trafficking. Earlier, the British had reversed a flow of capital into the Celestial Empire by producing opium in India and selling it in China. The French version was to buy the opium in Yunnan, transport it on the new Yunnan-Hanoi-Haiphong railway, and ship it to the French Concession in Shanghai. Chantal Decours-Gatin has argued that as a state monopoly, opium became one of the pillars of the French colonial economy.¹⁴ The story of this commodity links French colonial schemes to the larger World History narrative of the rise of the West as tied to the collapse of China.¹⁵ The opium narrative can be a useful case of adding a French example into what is normally an Anglocentric story. Rubber, one of the key commodities of the Second Industrial Revolution, is another commodity narrative that can be used to integrate French-colonial Vietnam into

World History. Steve Harp has shown how the story of rubber links European industrialization with colonial raw material production, European economic hegemony with Vietnamese labor resistance and the rise of Asian variants of Communism, and Euro-American economic fluctuations with devastating interventions in social structures on the other side of the planet.¹⁶ Tran Bu Binh's memoir of life on the Phu Rieng rubber plantation provides students with an extremely engaging and openly politicized primary source.¹⁷

The First World War provides a specific historical moment when colonial Vietnam went global, illustrating the intertwined fates of colonizer and colonized. First, as French males left the colony to serve the nation, unprecedented opportunities appeared for Vietnamese entrepreneurs and civil servants. Nguyen Van Ky and Hue-Tam Ho Tai provide excellent discussion of this key moment in the formation of a Vietnamese modernity.¹⁸ In France, colonial troops and laborers made significant contributions to the war effort. Furthermore, as Tyler Stovall has documented, the arrival of colonial troops and laborers (and later African-American soldiers) was the first mass encounter of French citizens and people of color, a crucial moment in the history of race.¹⁹ The end of the war revealed the hypocrisy of the French empire. Promises made to collaborating Vietnamese were seldom fulfilled, helping to create the Constitutionalist movement in Saigon, a crucial nationalist event. In the realm of high politics, the failure of the Peace of Paris to apply Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points to colonial Indochina demonstrated that national self-determination was not for people of color. But as William Duiker's biography tells us, Nguyen Ai Quoc knew this when they would not even let him into Versailles.²⁰ A lecture that mentions the future Ho Chi Minh as a failed Peace of Paris gatecrasher will do much to argue for the relevance of the French colonial experience in Vietnam to World History.

Vietnamese debates, conflicts, and feuds over the strategies of anticolonialism, as seen in the now classic work of David Marr, detail the various paths the struggles of national self-determination could take.²¹ We can find elite reformists, bomb-throwing radicals, marching students, boycotting consumers, and card-carrying Communists in the streets of Hanoi, Haiphong, and Saigon. A comparison of the strategies of Phan Boi

Chau with Mohandas K. Gandhi or Ho Chi Minh with Mao Zedong can demonstrate the global nature of anticolonialism. The colonial state's harsh and brutal responses can be seen in Peter Zinoman's study of the colonial prison system.²² At the end of empire, the symbolism of Dien Bien Phu was obviously important for Algeria, but it also resonated in Nigeria, Kenya, and Rhodesia. The communist control of the alliance that successfully resisted the Japanese and the French-made Vietnam a crucial hot battle in the Cold War. With the arrival of Lao and Khmer strains of Marxism, the ensemble of colonies that was French Indochina plunged into some of the worst excesses of Communist and anticommunist violence, including detached and distant deaths from the payload of high-altitude American bombers and intimate and insane murders by hand in the Cambodian Killing Fields. As William Showcross' study *Sideshow* and Odd Arne Westad's Bancroft Award winning book *The Global Cold War* show, the roots of many of the Cold War disasters are to be found in the colonial era.²³

Thus, from silk to rubber and from nationalism to communism, colonial Indochina provides us with numerous historical moments and patterns that allow us to link French colonial history to World History. This in turn allows us to connect French history to the larger global processes. The colonial factor can argue for France's relevance in World History without falling into a Eurocentric or even Francocentric trap. Indeed, by using French examples to illustrate aspects of the world system, we can move away from the field's Anglocentrism. I hope these reflections and suggestions will bring the world into French History and bring France into the World History classroom.

ENDNOTES

¹ See Henry Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991): 60-97 for a discussion of the repression of France's collective memory of both Vichy and the Algerian War.

² Among Charles Robert Ageron's many works, see *Politiques coloniales au Maghreb* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1972), *France coloniale ou parti colonial?* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1978), *L'Algérie Algérienne: de Napoléon III à de Gaulle* (Paris: Sindbad, 1980), & *L'Algérie des Français* (Paris: Seuil, 1993). For Henri Brunschwig see *Mythes et réalités de l'impérialisme colonial français, 1871-1914* (Paris: Colin, 1960), *Noirs et blancs dans l'Afrique noire française, ou, Comment le colonisé devient colonisateur, 1870-1914* (Paris: Flammarion, 1983), & *L'Afrique noire au temps de l'Empire français* (Paris: Denoel, 1988). See Marc Michel L'appel à l'Afrique: Contributions et réactions à l'effort de guerre en A.O.F. (1914-1919) (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1982) and Gallieni (Paris: Fayard, 1989). For a sampling of the military history of colonization see the detailed but

atheoretical works by Douglas Porch, *The Conquest of Morocco* (New York: Knopf, 1983), *The Conquest of the Sahara* (New York: Knopf, 1984), and *The French Foreign Legion: A Complete History of the Legendary Fighting Force* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1991). Despite the length and impressive scholarship of these books, Porch never raises the question of race in the colonial world.

³ H. L. Wesseling, *Imperialism and Colonialism: Essays on the History of European Expansion* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1997): 140-74.

⁴ Panivong Norindr, *Phantasmatic Indochina: French Colonial Ideology in Architecture, Film, and Literature* (Duram: Duke University, 1997)

⁵ See Tzvetan Todorov, *Nous et les autres: La réflexion française sur la diversité humaine* (Paris: Seuil, 1989): 111-96. An early study of French racial thinking is Jacques Barzun, *The French Race: Theories of its Origins and Their Social and Political Implications Prior to the Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932); he is especially concerned with the history of the Franks and the Gauls. Unfortunately, Barzun fails to explore the impact of colonialism on French racial thinking.

⁶ Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976) stands as a model of this process which was exported to the colonies. Raymond Betts, *Assimilation and Association in French Colonial Theory, 1890-1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961) & Alice L. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997) complicate the history of republican assimilation as an ideology and a practice in the colonial world.

⁷ William B. Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans: White Responses to Blacks, 1580-1880* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980).

⁸ In addition to Todorov, see Maxim Silverman, *Deconstructing the Nation: Immigration, Racism, and Citizenship in Modern France* (New York: Routledge, 1992), Roger Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), Emmanuel Todd, *La Nouvelle France* (Paris: Seuil, 1987) and *Le Destin des immigrés: Assimilation et ségrégation dans les démocraties occidentales* (Paris: Seuil, 1994), and Alec G. Hargreaves, *Immigration, 'Race', and Ethnicity in Contemporary France* (New York: Routledge, 1994) and *Multi-Ethnic France: Immigration, Politics, Culture and Society*, 2nd Edition (New York: Routledge, 2007).

⁹ Ross E. Dunn, *The New World History* (New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000): 442.

¹⁰ Michael G. Vann, "Building Whiteness on the Red River: Race, Power, and Urbanism in Paul Doumer's Hanoi, 1897-1902" *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* (2007: V. 33, N.2): 277-304.

¹¹ Martin J. Murray, *The Development of Capitalism in Colonial Indochina (1870-1940)* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

¹² Dana Hale, *Races on Display: French Representations of Colonized Peoples, 1886-1940* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2008).

¹³ Charles Fourniau, *Annam-Tonkin, 1885-1896: Lettrés et paysans vietnamiens face à la conquête coloniale* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1989) and *River Road to China: The Search for the Source of the Mekong, 1866-73* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1999).

¹⁴ For French Indochina see Chantal Descours-Gatin, *Quand l'opium finançait la colonisation en Indochine* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1992). For the great Asian area see Carl A. Trocki, *Opium, Empire, and the Global Political Economy* (New York: Routledge, 1999). For a history of opium and heroin that takes us up to the present debacle in Afghanistan, see the revised edition of Alfred McCoy *The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Press, 2003). McCoy's investigative research in the early 1970s clearly linked French colonial rule with the establishment of a drug trafficking infrastructure in Indochina and in France that was then used by American intelligence in the Cold War.

¹⁵ Robert B. Marks, *The Origins of the Modern World: A Global and Ecological Narrative from the Fifteenth to the Twenty-first Century* (New York: Rowan and Littlefield, 2006).

¹⁶ "Marketing in the Metropole: Colonial Rubber Plantations and French Consumerism in the Early Twentieth-

Century," in *Views from the Margin: Creating Identities in Modern France*, pp. 84-107, edited by Kevin J. Callahan and Sarah A. Curtis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008).

¹⁷ Tran Bu Tinh, *Red Earth: A Vietnamese Memoir of Life on a Colonial Rubber Plantation* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1985)

¹⁸ Nguyen Van Ky, *La Société Vietnamiennne Face à la Modernité: Le Tonkin de La Fin Du Xixe Siècle à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995) and Hue-Tam Ho Tai, *Radicalism and the Origins of the Vietnamese Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

¹⁹ Tyler Stovall, *Paris Noir: African-Americans in the City of Light* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1996).

²⁰ William J. Duiker, *Ho Chi Minh: A Life* (New York: Hyperion, 2000).

²¹ David G. Marr, *Vietnamese Anti-Colonialism, 1885-1925* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), *Vietnamese Tradition on Trial, 1920-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), and *Vietnam, 1945: The Quest for Power* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

²² Peter Zinoman, *The Colonial Bastille, A History of Imprisonment in Vietnam, 1862-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). See also Michael G. Vann, "Of Pirates, Postcards, and Public Beheadings: The Pedagogical Execution in French Colonial Indochina," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* (forthcoming, 2010: V. 36, N.2).

²³ William Shawcross, *Sideshow (Revised Edition): Kissinger, Nixon, and the Destruction of Cambodia* (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2002) and Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).



Civil Rights Meets Decolonization: Transnational Visions of the Struggle for Racial Equality in France and America

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In a recent article on French history in America, Jan Goldstein argued that increasing interest in global perspectives on history posed a fundamental challenge to the study of French history in the United States.¹ Goldstein's article is perhaps the most prominent of a number of recent essays by historians of France about the demise of the nation-state as a historical subject in favor of international and transnational approaches.² In this essay, I hope to contribute to this interchange by considering a specific primary historical text whose very nature forces reflection upon the relationship between French and global history. The text, William Gardner Smith's 1963 novel *The Stone Face*, is a book written in France about events in France, but written by an American and published in the United States. In interrogating the utility of such a text for our understanding of life in 20th century France, I argue that global perspectives enrich,

rather than detract from, this understanding. Furthermore, Smith's novel demonstrates that in certain cases, the absence of such perspectives can render the writing of French history problematic and incomplete.

If a transnational reading of *The Stone Face* challenges us to rethink ideas about the history of France, it also suggests new visions of world history from a French perspective. The concept of France has a complex relationship to issues of globalization, both past and present. On the one hand, France is in many ways the modern nation *par excellence*, with not only a long national history but even more importantly a rich national political culture grounded in the French Revolution. The very idea of citizenship as both membership in a national polity and as a central aspect of public existence comes down to us from the cauldron of 1789, and the concept of the modern nation-state as a political and cultural entity is to an important extent a French invention. On the other hand, modern French nationalism has often looked beyond the boundaries of the hexagon. The seminal defining event of the modern nation was not just a transnational event, as historians of the French Revolution increasingly recognize, but an equally important landmark in the history of globalization. Moreover, a key aspect of French identity in the modern period has been the idea of universalism, in this case the belief that the values of French republicanism are equally the values of all civilized men and women. This belief inspired Napoleon's European conquests, for example, and has interwoven ideas about French-ness and about humanity ever since.³

To make the case for a specifically French contribution to ideas of world history may strike some as an attempt to reintroduce the nation-state through the back door. Instead, I believe that the essence of transnational and global history is not the absence of the nation, but rather a critical interrogation of its relationship to other levels of the human experience. Whereas world history has often been regarded as the province of specialists in the "Third World," more recently, scholars of America and Europe have investigated how the existence of strong nation-states coexists and interacts with transnational influences.⁴ The study of France as both a national and global entity vividly illustrates this approach. For example, Gerard Noiriel's well-known studies of immigration in France have not only demonstrated the central role of migrants in that nation's history,

but have also shown how the suppression of immigration from popular and official memory has been a key part in the construction of national identity.⁵ Nations and cultures certainly interact with each other and are mutually constituted by those interactions, but at the same time concepts like transnationalism and globalization look differently when perceived from Paris, Dallas, Beijing, or the Sahel.

This study of *The Stone Face* contributes to our understanding of world history by looking at three central interactions between France and the wider world in the modern era, and at the relationship between those two interactions. The first is the relationship between the nation and its colonies, between metropole and empire. As a number of historians have noted, France and its colonies were never separate, constituting instead continually interacting parts of the same whole. Current ideas of *francophonie* underscore the idea of France as a global culture, considering multiple relations between the hexagon and the periphery of French life.⁶ The second is the relationship between France and the African diaspora. Initially largely focused on the United States, Britain, and Anglophone Africa and the Caribbean, African diaspora studies have in recent years become much more global, and studies of blackness in France have mushroomed, challenging traditional ideas of French identity.⁷ The third is the relationship between France and the United States. From the days of Benjamin Franklin to the era of EuroDisney, the world's two great republics have had a close, often contested, relationship, and their manifold interactions constitute an important aspect of world history. In this novel, therefore, microhistory and macrohistory meet: the experiences of one African-American journalist in one city for a few years encapsulate a variety of global interactions, tensions, and conflicts.

Over the past ten years, there has been an explosion of interest in the history and memory of France's "war without a name" in Algeria. In particular, the tragic massacre of October 17, 1961, during which an estimated 200 Algerian demonstrators were murdered by the Paris police, has generated a wave of horrified attention.⁸ The single bloodiest event in the history of postwar metropolitan France, October 17 is all the more shocking in that French authorities successfully covered it up for over a quarter of a century, even though it took place in the very heart of the nation's capital. Since the

declassification in 1998 of the official files on the events, a steady stream of scholarly and popular books and articles, both fiction and non-fiction, has attempted to explain the massacre and its legacy for contemporary France. Of all the texts about October 17, surely none is more unique than a novel published in 1963 by an African-American writer living in Paris. William Gardner Smith's *The Stone Face* almost certainly represents the only literary account of the 1961 massacre written at the time of the actual events by an eyewitness, yet it has never been translated into French and remains unknown in France to this day.⁹

The history of *The Stone Face* and its relationship to the massacre of October 17, 1961 not only adds a new dimension to the study of the Algerian war, but also raises some important questions about techniques of writing the history of France in general. How should historians approach primary historical sources about France written by people who are not French, and published outside that country? In particular, what challenges and opportunities does an American primary source offer to American historians of France? In considering the memory of historical events, do neglected or forgotten texts have a role to play?¹⁰ Additionally, should we approach the history of *la France d'outre-mer* from a hexagonal or a global perspective?

The Stone Face is certainly not the only "foreign" text used by French historians. Specialists in the Revolution have long considered Arthur Young's *Travels in France* a valuable analysis of social and economic conditions in late-eighteenth-century France. The works of Janet Flanner, *Paris Was Yesterday* in particular, have often informed both my own teaching and research and that of other historians of the interwar years. And yet using the works of foreigners, especially those not published in France or read by the French, poses some methodological problems. Historians generally consider primary sources useful not just for factual information about the past, but also as tools offering insights into the way people conceived of their lives and their world at the time. This is especially true of works of fiction, which are important for giving us insights into how people perceived their own times rather than as accounts of objective circumstances. Yet how can a novel like *The Stone Face*, published in English and unknown in France, inform our understanding of life in that country as its

inhabitants saw it?

I would answer this question in two ways. First, since William Gardner Smith lived the last twenty years of his life in France, one must consider his story a part, albeit unusual, of the history of that nation. Smith's life speaks to the broader history of immigrants in France, and the ways in which their views of the world are shaped both by their countries of origin and by their newly adopted homeland.¹¹ Second, I would argue that in an era as globally interdependent as the mid-twentieth century, the construction of national identity is a dialogue between those who belong and those who do not, and that outsiders' views of what constitutes France can play a role in the national experience.¹² In short, *The Stone Face* is a French novel in important respects, as well as a product of French history. If *The Stone Face* does not fit into the usual conceptions of French history, we must come up with new ones into which it will fit. Otherwise, we risk not only neglecting a source that offers singular insights into French history, but more generally, distorting the reality of life in modern France.

The Stone Face also offers both possibilities and perils for the pedagogy of world history.¹³ Those teaching courses on French history to Anglophone students may well be overjoyed to find another primary source on the period, and, in this case, one originally written in English by an American. Yet the text also challenges us to look beyond traditional views of France and consider the nation's history as a transnational phenomenon. Similarly, those interested in African-American history will find this a text ideally suited to the study of the African diaspora, but at the same time significantly removed from some key themes of black life in the United States. More generally, as a novel, the imaginative creation of one mind, *The Stone Face* creates a mediated vision of several different histories at once. One important approach to teaching it consists of asking students to define the identity (or identities) of the hero, Simeon Brown. How does he see himself, how do others see him, and how do the interactions between these characters reflect the mindset of an African American intellectual in mid-twentieth-century Paris? Which is more important and/or engaging, Smith's portrait of French society at the time or what the novel reveals about the author and his immediate milieu? By approaching the teaching of *The Stone Face* in this way, we can give our students insights

into the ways individuals experience some primary themes of world history.¹⁴

How did it happen that an American, one concerned with his own people's search for justice and equality, wrote a key document on the colonial conflict between France and Algeria? William Gardner Smith was a writer and journalist who settled in Paris during the 1950s, part of the brilliant expatriate community of African-American writers centered around Richard Wright.¹⁵ Born in 1927, Smith grew up in the black ghetto of South Philadelphia, first traveling to Europe as a member of the American occupation army in postwar Germany. After returning to Philadelphia, he began a career as a writer, publishing two novels before the siren song of racial tolerance lured him to Paris in 1951. He spent most of the rest of his life there, writing fiction and working as a reporter for Agence France-Presse, dying there in 1974.¹⁶ Smith, like most of the other black expatriates in postwar Paris, (initially) believed in the myth of France as a place without racism, in flagrant contrast with the bigotry prevalent in the United States. "There is more freedom in one square block in Paris than in the entire United States of America!", thundered Richard Wright from his Left Bank exile.¹⁷ Moreover, the strength of the intellectual Left in Paris, compared to McCarthyite repression at home, made life overseas all the more appealing. Smith and his friends viewed themselves not just as expatriates, but as refugees from the racial and political oppression of America who regarded Paris as a blessed land of exile.

Yet a defect scarred this pretty picture, as William Gardner Smith was one of the first to realize. The idea of France as a color-blind nation ignored the nation's long colonial history, ranging from Caribbean slavery to the vast 19th century empire in Africa and Asia. More immediately, it failed to take into account France's brutal wars against national independence after 1945, above all the epochal struggle in Algeria. The Algerian war was crucial not only because of its bloody intensity, but because it had the greatest impact on life in Paris itself. Whereas earlier generations of black expatriates could overlook or romanticize French colonialism, the presence of thousands of North Africans in Paris, not to mention the violence that spilled over from across the Mediterranean, made this more difficult to do in the 1950s.¹⁸ In such a climate, certainties about color-blind France became more difficult to cling to.

William Gardner Smith wrote *The Stone Face* in this atmosphere. Soon after arriving in Paris, Smith had become aware of the plight of poor Algerians living in the capital, and as the war in Algeria increased in intensity he became ever more fascinated with France's colonial trauma. As the articles he wrote for the African-American press made clear, he began to see Algerians as the French equivalent of blacks in the United States, equally oppressed and marginalized.¹⁹ Such a perspective naturally challenged the idea of France as a land without racism. It is this intellectual and political journey that Smith chronicles in his novel. *The Stone Face* gives a straightforward (and highly autobiographical) account of the life of Simeon Brown, a young black American who flees racist violence in Philadelphia to settle in Paris. When he first arrives, he glories in the city's beauty, excitement, and tolerance, luxuriating in his ability to go anywhere he wants and to date white women without censure or consequence.

Simeon's naïve enthusiasm for Paris changes abruptly, however, when he meets a group of Algerians, one of whom hails him with the potent remark, "Hey! How does it feel to be a white man?"²⁰ Simeon's sense of triumph soon turns bitter as he begins to see Paris through the eyes of his Algerian friends, and realizes that the view closely resembles his agonized memories of life back home. In one scene, for example, Simeon returns to a nightclub that had welcomed him over the objections of white American patrons, only to find that the proprietor now kicks him out because he's accompanied by North Africans.²¹ By the end of his novel, having lost his illusions and his romance with Paris, Simeon plans to return to America.

Although the description of the October 17 massacre only occupies a few pages of the novel, it plays a central role in the story. Indeed, without this event the entire trajectory of the novel would be different. In *The Stone Face*, the massacre represents the culminating act of racial violence, and the event that removes the last remaining scales of naiveté from Simeon's eyes. The title of the novel refers to the ways in which racial hatred and violence distort a man's features, removing his humanity and giving him instead a hardened face of stone. This is the image Simeon sees in the faces of all those racist whites who had attacked him in Philadelphia, the image that forced him to flee his native land. And it is during the

October 17th massacre that Simeon glimpses it for the first time in France, in the face of a Parisian policeman viciously clubbing a woman with a baby. The appearance of the stone face in France makes it impossible for Simeon to remain there, and constitutes his definitive rejection of the myth of color-blind France.

A few themes stand out in William Gardner Smith's description of the October 17, 1961 massacre. The first thing that strikes the reader is the accuracy of the account. From his description of the organization of the march, notably the FLN's command that no demonstrators should carry arms of any sort, to his outline of police strategies to confront the protesters, Smith closely follows the events as they actually happened. He even uses the figure of roughly 200 dead, a number that has since become generally accepted. Finally, Smith's depiction of the horrendous violence unleashed by the Paris police is echoed by all contemporary and subsequent commentators on the massacre. The verisimilitude reminds us that William Gardner Smith wrote both as a journalist and a novelist, and in *The Stone Face* he blends the two genres.

Another key theme is the contrast between the chic, worldly Paris of tourist imagery and the poor, oppressed Paris of Algerian immigrants. One consequence of the gradual expulsion of working class Parisians to the suburbs during the 20th century was a spatial reconfiguration of protest. Instead of workers erecting barricades to defend their own neighborhoods, as in the 19th century, after 1900 their confrontations with the bourgeoisie often assumed the form of city invasions. The annual May Day parades, which bring in workers from the Paris suburbs to march through the city, represent a symbolic restaging of such invasions. On October 17, the FLN intentionally chose to deploy its protesters in the heart of the city, sending tens of thousands of demonstrators from the *bidonvilles* (slums) in the city's periphery. Smith underscores this dimension of the October 1961 massacre, describing how carefree residents of affluent areas, like the Opéra, suddenly came face to face with the (usually well hidden) poverty of Algerian immigrants. However, this contrast looms larger than Paris: it also represents the conflict between the affluent, colonialist West and the insurgent masses of the *Tiers Monde* (Third World). At the same time, given the close link between racial oppression and urban segregation in the United States, it is

not surprising that Smith seized upon the contrast between white and brown Paris to press home his analogy with American bigotry.

Smith's description of the October 1961 massacre ultimately centers around the reaction to it of his protagonist, Simeon Brown. The fact that Brown observes the events at all illustrates his rejection of the myth of a color-blind France: his fellow expatriates are perfectly aware of what's about to happen, but manifestly refuse to see it. More significantly, Brown intervenes on the side of the demonstrators, an act both spontaneous and definitive. With this act, Brown abandons once and for all the white privilege conferred upon him by life in France, symbolically reclaiming his own blackness and once again taking up the struggle against racism. A gesture of heroic individualism in the purest American tradition, Simeon's defense of a woman and her child also depicts the tragedy of racism, for in this case, the stone face claims the victory. Finally, Simeon's intervention underlines his realization that one cannot escape racism by running away; instead, one must fight against it wherever it appears. Even if Paris had represented a true refuge from racism, one had no right to enjoy life there by giving up the struggle for equality. Consequently, as a result of the October, 1961 demonstration Simeon decides not to stay in France and fight the stone face, but rather to go back to America and confront it head on.

Shadowing Smith's depiction of colonialist violence in France is black America's own anticolonial struggle, the civil rights movement. At one point, Simeon Brown sees, in a Paris newspaper, a photograph of black children braving furious white mobs to integrate schools in Little Rock, Arkansas.²² Although *The Stone Face* only mentions the history of American desegregation a few times, it too is a major presence in the novel. For William Gardner Smith and his fellow black expatriates, the struggle for racial justice at home posed even more of a moral dilemma than did the Algerian war. If people in America risked their lives to fight the stone face, then did that make Parisian expatriates less political refugees than cowardly escapist, willing to let even small children fight their battles for them? Not by accident does Simeon come to the defense of an Algerian infant on October 17; in reality he fights for Lulubelle, the black girl in Little Rock whose face haunts him. For Smith, the October 17 massacre paralleled the increas-

ing violence confronting the civil rights movement in America, and, at the same time, underscored the moral imperative for all to join the fight.

The Stone Face, and in particular its account of October 17, 1961, transgresses boundaries of politics, race, and nation. As such it offers much to students of both French history and postcolonial society. In interrogating its utility to the former, one must consider its relevance to the latter. It is noteworthy that *The Stone Face*, a novel written about and set in France, speaks in many ways to concerns far removed from the mainstream of French history. Like the work of Frantz Fanon, this novel has begun to attract attention from those interested in black and African diasporic studies. Works by Paul Gilroy, Brent Edwards, and Stuart Hall have chronicled the rise of a trans-Atlantic black intelligentsia, emphasizing its variegated approaches to questions of race and politics.²³ One can easily regard William Gardner Smith as a key example of the diasporic intellectual. Yet Smith's text also calls into question the utility of diaspora, showing both the possibilities and limitations involved in becoming an expatriate. More broadly, it raises the question of the politics of displacement, and the ways in which citizenship shapes political strategies. Simeon's final decision to leave France after the massacre could just as easily have taken the form of involuntary expulsion, a fate that haunted those expatriates who considered interfering in the nation's domestic politics.²⁴

At the same time, *The Stone Face* speaks to the new internationalist historiography of the civil rights movement. Although scholars have long known of the ideological influence of Mahatma Gandhi upon Martin Luther King, Jr. (not to mention that of Frantz Fanon on the Black Panthers), only recently have some begun to consider the many interactions between the movement, U.S. foreign policy, and global decolonization. Historians like Penny von Eschen, Mary L. Dudziak, and Brenda Gayle Plummer have placed internationalism at the center of the civil rights movement, considering the worldwide impact of these events as well as the ways local activists used foreign opinion to further their cause.²⁵ Smith's account of the October 1961 massacre confirms the importance of this cosmopolitan understanding of the movement, but also highlights a new dimension, the struggle for equality and justice in postcolonial Europe. In the future events like October 17, 1961 in

Paris and the 1958 Notting Hill riots in London may take their places alongside Selma and Birmingham as *points de repères* in the struggle for a racially egalitarian post-colonial society. In addressing the question of what all this means to historians of France, I argue that what is needed is not so much the application of a U.S. civil rights model to events in Europe, but rather polyvocal studies of the interrelationships between the two.

In addition, *The Stone Face* raises questions about how we approach the study of colonialism in general and decolonization in particular. In recent years, many scholars have taken up the study of France's forgotten colonial heritage, considering why this past has been so neglected, and assessing its legacy for the nation.²⁶ Many have concluded that the traditional separation between France and her empire is an artificial one; that it makes more sense to speak of imperial France as one united, internally segregated, and hierarchical unit.²⁷ William Gardner Smith's description of the October 1961 massacre certainly gives a graphic portrayal of the impact of colonialism on life in France. Yet a reintegration of the imperial experience into an expanded national narrative does not go far enough in allowing room for the impact of a text like *The Stone Face*. Smith was American, after all, not French nor Algerian, and his novel spoke to concerns in both France and the United States. We must respond to this dilemma by insisting upon the fact that the Algerian war, and colonial history in general, is not just a bipolar relationship between metropole and colony, but part of a global history that both influenced and was influenced by people beyond the formal boundaries of empire. Colonial studies should aspire not to expand and recreate a reified vision of the nation, but rather to explode it while at the same time emphasizing the central roles played by national cultures and politics. In short, the Algerian war was a global event whose impact transcended the boundaries of both France and Algeria, an event that individuals interpreted according both to their understandings of imperial France and also in light of their own national and local histories. Grappling with such a global conceptualization of history is a tall order indeed, yet *The Stone Face* provides one example of how to undertake it.

Moreover, Smith's novel raises questions about how we approach the memory of French colonialism. France's approach to

the October 1961 massacre provides a fascinating case study in the history of colonial memory. Thanks to the official suppression of knowledge about the event, it remained largely unknown in France until the 1990s. Although various literary and journalistic accounts began to address it during the 1980s, not until the trial of Maurice Papon in 1997-98 did the French government finally come clean and open the official archives to the public. Yet because he did not publish his novel in France, the new concern with the memory of the Algerian war has passed Smith by.²⁸ This neglect exemplifies a challenge for the history of the memory of colonialism. Paradoxically, although the history of memory often centers around global events like the world wars and the Holocaust, it tends overwhelmingly to privilege national narratives of those events.²⁹ Like the writing of history itself, the history of memory has come to be dominated by national archives, national museums, and journals oriented toward a national audience. Yet colonialism is not only transnational by definition; it has often acted to undermine the unity and legitimacy of the nation-state. Even the comparative approach to the history of memory, considering it in both the metropole and former colony, can end up comparing national narratives rather than addressing the interplay between colonizer and colonized that is the essence of the imperial encounter.³⁰ In order to embrace the colonial experience fully, and assimilate a text like *The Stone Face*, the history of memory must take on a global dimension.

Finally, Smith's novel is an important source for our understanding of Franco-American relations in the modern period. France is historically the oldest ally of the United States, and in return, twice during the 20th century American troops fought and died on French soil for that nation's freedom. At the same time, the two nations' political and cultural alliance has often been strained by competition and mutual misunderstandings: calling French fries "Freedom fries" during the Iraq war was only the most recent example of this.³¹ The novel shows how, in both America and France, the ideal of universal human freedom collides with the reality of racism, and how one person caught between these two cultures struggles to resolve that paradox. In doing so, Simeon moves from a straightforward rejection of America to a more nuanced understanding of its problems and promise. His return home at the end of the novel is both a rejection

of his utopian image of France and at the same time an acknowledgment of what that country has taught him.³² The novel illustrates in miniature both the conflicts and commonalities between two nations, making the point that Franco-American relations have often been so bitter precisely because the two cultures have so much in common.

The Stone Face plays on American and French themes simultaneously. It puts into dialogue with each other France's history of decolonization and America's struggle for racial equality. Yet it also goes beyond this bipolar relationship to consider both in a global context of postwar liberation struggles. This global perspective itself comes across as rather French, embracing the theoretical internationalism of a Jean-Paul Sartre or a Frantz Fanon. In addressing international issues via the lens of a French experience, Smith's text thus appears not just a blend of the local and the global, but also one whose international vision is anchored in France, and whose view of France is transatlantic and multifaceted. It is an excellent text to use in teaching American students about both France and the civil rights movement, with its mixture of issues that may seem familiar along with those that may seem less well known. I look forward to the day when it is published in French and has the opportunity to contribute to international dialogues about what is this land called France.

ENDNOTES

¹ Jan Goldstein, "The Future of French History in the United States: Unapocalyptic Thoughts for the New Millennium," *French Historical Studies*, vol. 24 No. 1 (Winter, 2001)

² See the articles in "Forum: Teaching National and Regional History in a Global Age," *French Historical Studies*, vol. 23 No. 2 (Spring, 2000)

³ On French universalism and French national identity see Maxim Silverman, *Deconstructing the Nation: Immigration, Racism, and Citizenship in Modern France* (London/New York: Routledge, 1992); Tzvetan Todorov, *On Human Diversity: Nationalism, Racism, and Exoticism in French Thought*, translated by Catherine Porter (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Patrick Weil, *How to be French: Nationality in the Making since 1789*, translated by Catherine Porter (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

⁴ See for example Thomas Bender, *A Nation Among Nations: America's Place in World History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006).

⁵ Gérard Noiriel, *The French Melting Pot: Immigration, Citizenship, and National Identity*, translated by Geoffroy Laforcade (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); —, *A quoi sert l'identité nationale?* (Marseille: Agone, 2007).

⁶ David Murphy and Charles Forsdick, eds., *Postcolonial Thought in the Francophone World*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009); Alec Hargreaves, ed., *Memory, Empire, and Postcolonialism: Legacies of French Colonialism* (Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2005).

⁷ See for example Darlene Clark Hines, et. Al., *Black Europe and the African Diaspora* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

⁸ Among the many recent works see Michel Levine, *Les*

Ratonnades d'octobre: un meurtre collectif (Paris: Ramsay, 1985); Jean-Luc Einaudi, *La Bataille de Paris: 17 Octobre 1961* (Paris: Seuil, 1992); Anne Tristan, *Le Silence du fleuve* (Paris: Au Nom de la mémoire, 1992); Jean-Paul Brunet, *Police contre FLN: le drame d'octobre 1961* (Paris: Flammarion, 1999); Jim House and Neil MacMaster, *Paris 1961: Algerians, State Terror, and Memory* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Joshua Cole, "Remembering the Battle of Paris: 17 October 1961 in French and Algerian Memory," *French Politics, Culture, and Society*, 2003.

⁹ William Gardner Smith, *The Stone Face* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1963).

¹⁰ One important consideration is the fact that, not only was *The Stone Face* not published in France, but given the repressive climate of the early 1960s it almost certainly could not have been. One can compare it with Jacques Panijel's documentary film *Octobre à Paris*, also an eyewitness account of the massacre by a foreigner that was only recently screened in France.

¹¹ A comparable example is Irène Némirovsky's *Suite Française* (New York: Knopf, 2006), translated by Sandra Smith, a novel by a Russian Jewish woman living in Paris during the German occupation.

¹² Consider, for example, the literature on tourism in France, which interrogates the interplay between national identity and foreign expectations.

¹³ Heidi Roupp, ed., *Teaching World History: A Resource Book* (Armonk NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997); Ross Dunn, ed., *The New World History: A Teacher's Companion* (Boston/New York: Bedford/St. Martin's Press, 2000); Patrick Manning et al., *Navigating World History: Historians Create a Global Past* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

¹⁴ On using novels in world history, see the discussion thread on H-Net: <http://www.h-net.org/~world/threads/thread-novels.html>. Jennifer Trost, "Using Personal Narratives to Teach a Global Perspective," *History Teacher*, vol. 42 No. 2 (February, 2009), pp. 177-189.

¹⁵ Michel Fabre, *From Harlem to Paris: Black American Writers in France* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991); Tyler Stovall, *Paris Noir: African Americans in the City of Light* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1996).

¹⁶ LeRoy S. Hodges, Jr., *Portrait of an Expatriate: William Gardner Smith, Writer* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1985).

¹⁷ Richard Wright, "I Choose Exile", unpublished essay, Department of Special Collections and Archives, Kent State University.

¹⁸ For example, several black American artists attended the 1931 Colonial Exposition in Paris, seeing it as a place to observe "real" Africans, rather than as an exercise in colonialist propaganda. See Theresa Leininger, *New Negro Artists in Paris: African American Painters and Sculptors in the City of Light, 1922-1934* (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001).

¹⁹ William Gardner Smith, "European Backdrop," *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 9, 1952, 12.

²⁰ *The Stone Face*, 55.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 106-112.

²² *Ibid.*, 132-135.

²³ Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Stuart Hall, et al., *Without Guarantees: In Honour of Stuart Hall* (London: Verso, 2000).

²⁴ Failure to consider this point is a key weakness of Paul Gilroy's recent analysis of the *The Stone Face*. Gideon's decision to return to America does not represent a rejection of an internationalist vision, but rather an understanding that activism is shaped by national citizenship, that one can do things as a citizen that one can't do as an expatriate. Moreover, it suggests that the fight against all forms of bigotry is one, that the struggle for the rights of American blacks is also the struggle for those of Algerians in Paris. Gilroy, *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Color Line* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), pp. 316-324.

²⁵ Penny Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997); Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American*

Democracy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and US Foreign Policy, 1935-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); —, ed., *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1988* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

²⁶ Among many recent examples, see J.P. Daughton, *Empire Divided: Religion, Republicanism, and the Making of French Colonialism, 1880-1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Laurent Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Ruth Ginio, *French Colonialism Unmasked: The Vichy Years in French West Africa* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Gary Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State: Negritude and Colonial Humanism Between the World Wars* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

²⁷ Gary Wilder, "Unthinking French History: Colonial Studies beyond National Identity," in Antoinette Burton, ed., *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking With and Through the Nation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

²⁸ Benjamin Stora, *La gangrène et l'oubli: la mémoire de la guerre d'Algérie* (Paris: La Découverte, 1998). See also the forthcoming collection of essays by Patricia Lorçin, *Identity, Memory, and Nostalgia: Algeria 1800-2000*.

²⁹ For example, in looking through the journal *History and Memory*, one finds numerous articles on the memory of the Holocaust in specific nations.

³⁰ See Tyler Stovall, "Forget it! Colonialism, National Identity, and the Limits of Memory," unpublished paper presented to the Institute for European Studies, UC-Berkeley, 2002. For broader reflections on the politics of colonialism and world history, see Heather Sutherland, "The Problematic Authority of (World) History," *Journal of World History*, vol. 18 No. 4 (2007), 491-522.

³¹ On Franco-American relations and conflicts see Richard Kuisel, *Seducing the French: the Dilemma of Americanization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Jean-Philippe Mathy, *French Resistance: The French-American Culture Wars* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000); Frank Costiglia, *France and the United States: The Cold Alliance since World War II* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1992); Laura Lee Downs and Stéphane Gerson, eds., *Why France? American Historians Reflect on an Enduring Fascination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).

³² Like other African-American expatriates in Paris during the 1950s, Smith was influenced by French Existentialist philosophy. His concept of the "stone face", for example, is a direct allusion to Jean-Paul Sartre's *Anti-Semite and Jew*, translated by George Joseph Becker (New York: Schocken Books, 1948).



Germaine Tillion: A Twentieth-Century Life in World History

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In 1976, a chance encounter in Paris altered the course of my life.¹ I enrolled in a M.A. program with the noted Anthropologist Germaine Tillion (1907-2008), in her year-long seminar, "Ethnology of the Maghreb." This in itself was fortuitous since Tillion retired soon thereafter from her position at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. Before moving to Paris, I taught for a time as a Peace Corps volunteer in a

Tunisian lycée in Kairouan, where I had unwittingly become an ethnographic observer and practitioner. Several years later, under Tillion's direction, the amorphous material about Tunisian society that I had randomly collected began to make sense; the culturally unfamiliar became less so. This was due to the perspective that Tillion employed: specific problems in North African history were always framed by larger, comparative approaches from the social sciences and humanities. In the seminars, intense discussions ranged far and wide—different types of slave systems, varying forms of kinship structures, pastoral nomadic economies, pilgrimage rituals, etc. But most often, our conversations centered upon women, both as a distinct object of study and as integral to all dimensions of social existence. The subject of women, whether North African, Muslim, or Mediterranean, generally represented truly new terrain, as it did for most students since the historical narrative still largely excluded or ignored women as actors and agents. The year 1978 proved critical for knowledge about women in the Middle East and Islam, since a volume appeared, one of the first of its kind, that evoked Germaine Tillion's thinking on veiling from her 1964 work, *Le harem et les cousins*.² In a sense, she had been engaged in comparative/world history before it had fully emerged as a way of thinking about the past or the present.

By this time, Tillion's intellectual positions had been ineluctably shaped by her own life experiences that illuminate the grand currents of French history in the twentieth century: colonialism, resistance to Fascism and global war, world-wide anti-colonial movements, decolonization, and her field research which informed her prescient thinking on women and gender in long-term historical perspective. Indeed, that Tillion and her French colleague, Thérèse Rivière, had been assigned in 1934 the challenging task of collecting ethnographic data on semi-nomadic Berber tribes in the Algerian Aurès signaled women's (partial) admission into the profession as then understood in French academia. Thus, their work as trained researchers attached to the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, one of the world's principal centers for anthropology and closely tied to museum work, was emblematic of women's entry across the globe into the social sciences, academia, and the the professional workforce.³ This in turn was directly connected to trans-national feminisms, expanded female education, and the

acceptance, however uneven or grudgingly, of the fact that women could legitimately contribute to the production of knowledge, a phenomenon directly tied to modernity.

This essay examines various facets of Tillion's life and work in order to demonstrate how they illuminate France's multiple roles in modern world history and how these themes can be usefully applied in the classroom. It probes key moments in Tillion's biography, all of them intertwined: her field research in colonial Algeria, her role in organizing opposition to the Nazi occupation of France, the terrible years in the notorious Ravensbrück concentration camp, and her active part in negotiating with Algerian nationalist leaders during the devastating war for independence from 1954 to 1962. The final section deals with the interplay between these events, which resonated with upheavals and changes across the globe, and how her thinking on the "woman question" was forged within the crucible of these larger forces at play. Viewed from this perspective, the national and colonial histories of France and the Francophone world break loose from nation-state and imperial boundaries to stand in for the grand currents of the twentieth century.

In the Field: From France to the Aurès and Back Again, 1934-1940 - Born in Allègre, in the Haute-Loire, Tillion's later career was greatly influenced by her mother, an art historian who wrote for the Guide Bleu travel books. After studying what was then known as "oriental languages" in Paris, Tillion enrolled with Marcel Mauss at the Musée de Trocadéro (later the Museum of Man), the premier institution for the discipline of ethnology in France. In 1934, she was assigned to study the peoples and cultures of the Aurès of northeastern Algeria where she worked for the next six years, part of that time in collaboration with Thérèse Rivière. This was not a choice post since the region was isolated, impoverished, and without any European community; the women adopted the harsh lifestyle of the villagers to carry out their mission of collecting data on two related dimensions of local social organization: material culture and practices; and human geography, mythology, and the impact of colonialism upon women's status. Significantly, the only studies of these Berber peoples, especially for questions relating to family structure, had been carried out by "amateur" female researchers, such as the French lawyer Mathéa Gaudry.⁴ Once

again, the fact that these two researchers from France had been given the task of uncovering the "lived realities" of daily life, beliefs, kinship, and gender relations, demonstrates the progressive acceptance of women in science—a science deeply involved in, and compromised by, colonialism at that historical moment. Nevertheless, the gendered nature of their ethnographic research, focused upon the familial and the domestic, needs to be acknowledged.

In the interwar period, many ethnographers of North Africa, whether professional or amateur, still viewed "pre-modern" peoples, such as the Chaouià of the Aurès, as primitive and relatively unchanged. While Tillion worked at first more or less within the paradigm of archaic societies as then articulated, she intuitively grasped the dynamic aspects of the Chaouià, despite the fact that her informants' collective memory held otherwise, that their local community remained stable and coherent. Attentive to the subtle manifestations of critical, yet barely visible, social processes, Tillion's research revealed important contradictions in the ideology of patriarchal control, some the product of colonialism; others connected to world-wide trends, such as peasant emigration to industrialized states in Europe or elsewhere. These contradictions became glaringly apparent after Tillion situated local women not only in dense networks of exchange, production, and kinship, but also within a particular ecology and mode of resource extraction then in the throes of deep-seated crises due to world-wide depression, environmental degradation, and population overshoot.⁵ Some of the questions studied by Tillion in the pre-World II era were later taken up by African historians and anthropologists in the 1970s. In addition, her analysis from the 1930s hints at the importance of male/female spheres [later subsumed under the rubric of "gender"] to the political economy, to an ecology of honor and dishonor, and to masculine reputation as social capital - a theoretical orientation that would prove crucial to the anthropology of Mediterranean societies some decades later.⁶

During her years in the Aurès, Tillion amassed a large corpus of photographs, collections of indigenous artifacts and material culture, and kept extensive field notes in anticipation of later writing her doctoral thesis in Paris. While her earliest publications came in 1938, she submitted a number of field reports on the Aurès from 1935 on.⁷ As

originally conceived by their male mentors at the Museum of Man, the Tillion- Rivière mission had not privileged colonialism's impact upon local Berber society, but it had included that question as one of a number of research objectives. Nevertheless, Tillion's published articles and unpublished reports contain astute insights into the profound, often unanticipated, shocks that modern capitalism and the colonial state had wrought upon the seemingly isolated peoples of the Aurès.⁸ "One needs to consider the profound disturbances that the capitalization of land introduced by French rule has exerted upon the structures of indigenous society."⁹ The economic, political, and legal transformations which had been imposed by the colonial regime on the region, had even changed traditional marriage customs. Finally, in 1937, she observed another critical change: the annual pilgrimage cycle had been disrupted. Equally alarming, in Tillion's view, was the fact that some women refused to engage in the traditional rites that accompanied the annual departure north for pasturage during the terrible drought of 1935-1936.¹⁰ Attentive to the culturally deleterious effects of catastrophic poverty, she observed that: "This justified their refusal to obey because there remained nothing for them to lose."¹¹ That she grasped the fundamental significance of a seemingly small-scale women's rebellion demonstrates the degree to which Tillion comprehended local Aurèsien society then being undermined from within and without. But she had not yet directly contested the legitimacy of French colonialism. However, after 1954 she engaged in an increasingly scathing critique of "the colonial situation" that was in turn shaped by her earlier militant activism during World War Two.¹²

Prison Memoirs: From Paris to Ravensbrück - On June 9, 1940, Tillion returned to France from her fieldwork in Algeria only five days before the German army marched into Paris; one of the first traumas that she experienced was Pétain's speech accepting an armistice with Germany. She later observed that: "I vomited. Literally, it takes one second for the course of a life to change for ever...Once the choice is made, one must hold to it."¹³ Her immediate action was to organize semi-clandestine material assistance for the million and a half soldiers from the defeated French army in German camps; among them were large numbers of colonial troops, particular-

ly North Africans, who received the worst treatment. At the same time, together with colleagues at the Museum of Man, Tillion created one of the first resistance groups whose objective was to attack with ideas and words the pro-Vichy “accommodationists.” In December 1940, the first issue of the underground newspaper, *Résistance*, was distributed; its message was simple: subversive collective action is more efficacious than individual acts of disobedience to the occupiers. In February 1941, the leaders of Tillion’s network were arrested and shot; she pursued political activities with another cell until her arrest in August 1942, after being betrayed by a priest working as a double agent.¹⁴

In October 1943, Tillion was deported to the Ravensbrück camp in Germany, which had been created in 1939 and which held mainly women accused of resistance. Unfortunately, she brought along the copious field notes from her years in the Aurès which did not survive. But the greatest tragedy was that her mother, who had earlier been arrested, was sent to the same camp in 1944 and was condemned to the gas chambers in March 1945—too old and exhausted to perform the brutal forced work. Ever the anthropologist-ethnographer, Tillion closely studied the infernal social organization of the camp, arguing later that the system of inhumanity operated according to a terrible human logic.¹⁵ As she wrote of her experience: “If I survived, I owe the fact first to chance, then to anger - the desire one day to reveal these crimes - and finally to a set of friendships.”¹⁶ While living the hell of Ravensbrück, she found the courage to write a comic operetta, “Le Verfügar aux Enfers,” ridiculing the insanity of the place which provided some measure of solace and, unlike her dissertation research, survived until her release in 1945. (The operetta had to wait until 2007 to be performed in honor of her 100th birthday at the Théâtre du Châtelet in Paris.) After her return to Paris in July 1945, Tillion dedicated the next years of research to analyzing the historical and social forces that had produced what she termed the “de-civilisation of Europe,” publishing her first account in 1946.¹⁷ Numerous editions of the book that resulted, *Ravensbrück*, have appeared since 1973; each contained further meditations upon what this episode in modern world history meant. Not surprisingly, she was among the first French intellectuals to publicly denounce the Soviet Gulag in 1949. After

World War II, the victorious allies organized war tribunals in which Tillion participated, although she despaired of seeing true justice rendered because of the legal framework within which these trials took place. She even made a trip to the U.S. to consult the mass of Gestapo documents that the American military command had seized and sent to Washington. Tillion had just returned to France from the US in the autumn of 1954 when the Algerian revolution broke out; one of its principal theaters of combat was the Aurès. She was immediately sent on a mission to Algiers by the French government.

Anticolonial Resistance - By the early 1950s, the colonial situation posed compelling, indeed urgent, questions for world leaders, policy-makers, and intellectuals grappling with the end of empire worldwide, the Cold War, and decolonization.¹⁸ When Tillion returned to Algeria after a fourteen-year absence, she was shocked by the extent to which unrelenting poverty and dislocation had affected indigenous society, the socioeconomic consequences of global forces, and expressed her ideas on material and cultural deprivation in the notion of “clochardisation” which roughly translates as severe breakdown. Her earlier knowledge of the Aurès and her experience in the labor camps led Tillion to take a particular position at the beginning of the Algerian War. As Ravensbrück, “the Nazi phenomenon,” and the post-War tribunals had made it incumbent to challenge state violence and totalitarian regimes, so too the kinds of cultural violence engendered by “extreme misery” with its devastating consequences for the Algerian people demanded recognition and thus resolution.¹⁹ The soundest measure for the degree to which social and family structures verged on collapse was to focus upon women’s condition. Tillion’s conversations with Algerian women led her to realize the extent to which social disintegration had utterly transformed mentalities: “even in isolated villages in the countryside from 1955 on, I heard women asserting astonishing things about the awful realities of their situation.”²⁰ If the havoc wrought by war, overpopulation, worker emigration, the murderous famine of the war years, and wholly inadequate resources for both the peasantry and the urban proletariat were apparent, solutions were more elusive.

In 1956, she proposed economic and educational policies centering on female needs and family assistance in order to spare

Algerian Muslim society from further suffering. This position brought down upon her the opprobrium of both the Left and the Right in France. Nevertheless, the next year, she clearly saw that approaching the terrible afflictions of the colonized from a strictly materialist perspective failed to address the fundamental roots of the problem—Algeria had to be given its independence from France. A number of key concepts emerge from her two publications on Algeria in 1957 and 1958 - the notion of cultural contact as social trauma under situations of extreme power differentials, the idea of colonial paternalism, the realization that women and men experienced the colonial order differently, and the generational dimensions of this difference.²¹ These notions underlie current studies of imperialism and gender, whether for the French Empire or other imperial formations, and have resulted in more finely grained analyses of modern colonialism as well as pointed to unexplored lines of inquiry.²²

In addition, Tillion singled out critical issues for French-Algerian identities: the problematic nature of the doctrine of cultural assimilation, worker emigration to colonial Metropoles, demographics, and the transformative significance of colonial subjects serving in European armies. Although contemporary scholarship on imperialism might take issue with some of her analyses written during the heat of war, nevertheless, many of her insights inform studies of the end of empire globally and decolonization, the latter process still incomplete in many parts of the formerly colonized or neocolonial world.²³ Since the end of the Algerian tragedy in 1962 until her death in 2008, Tillion worked tirelessly to bring to public scrutiny and justice the systematic acts of torture inflicted upon civilians, a passion that was directly tied to the woman question.

From Algerian to Mediterranean Women -

By this time, Tillion had long been pre-occupied with questions relating to women, although other scholars of her generation had also been concerned with the inner workings of North African, particularly Berber, tribes and focused upon the divergence between Quranic prescriptions, especially governing female inheritance, and local practices or customary laws that were at variance with Islamic law. One of her first publications, “Berber Societies in the Southern Aurès” (1938), offered a rich fund of data on tribal organization, family struc-

tures, and modes of resource extraction; more importantly, perhaps, the study contains the outlines of an ethnographic approach that rendered women legitimate objects of scholarly scrutiny.²⁴ At the same time, the article traced the corrosive impact of the colonial regime upon the social order of the Aurès. From her earliest work, two major, intimately interconnected, lines of inquiry developed: first, women's complex relationships to the larger political economy, including reproduction and demographic issues; and second, women, violence, including war, and social disruption.

The publication of *Le harem et les cousins* in 1966, translated into English as *The Republic of Cousins*, and subsequent writings generally devoted to women, signaled a widening of Tillion's analytical perspective as well as the appearance of novel concepts.²⁵ One striking notion is that of women's socio-legal "enclosure" which harkens back to Ravensbrück and the post-war era when Tillion took up the causes of slavery and prison reform, among many others. Systems of domination are always undergirded by various kinds of exclusions and enclosures - whether these be "the invisible shackles of the mind" generated by a repressive ideological system or by legal regimes that are invariably gendered and directly connected to women's reproductive, sexual, inheritance, and other rights. The significance of *Le harem* was that it situated Muslim women in a novel comparative and analytical framework - that of a Mediterranean-wide cultural ecology whose ideologies, practices, and laws disenfranchised women, irrespective of religion. This represented an important conceptual advance since most studies of women in Islam at the time assumed uncritically that religion, understood in a narrow scriptural sense, was all-powerful in determining women's status. Some of her thinking on the comparative nature of belief and practice came from the two earlier works on Algeria where she pointed out that urban, secular, educated Catholics and Muslims from the middle classes were closer in world views than either was to its own rural populations. In any case, the attempt to re-think a major binary by questioning the validity of the Christian versus Muslim dichotomy constituted a singular contribution.

Second, influenced by Fernand Braudel's historical work on the sixteenth-century Mediterranean world, but taking a new direction, she conceptualized Mediterranean

women as a unified category of analysis because their status was, or had been, more or less similar, despite religious differences. One persistent feature of cultural similitude the fact that "virginity constitutes sacred social capital" and "the illegitimate child is regarded as the most shameful of all transgressions."²⁶ Her search to explain specific forms of women's subservience in the region led Tillion far back in historical time to the Neolithic period, which constituted a novelty in terms of temporal conceptualization. From this framework sprang her most original insight—the existence of a "republic of cousins" based upon veneration for the father's line, a particular form of endogamy privileging marriage between paternal cousins, certain modalities of inheritance that dispossessed women, sexual segregation, honor and virginity codes, and women's seclusion and veiling - all intimately tied to law and custom.²⁷ Whether one quarrels with the model itself, or with specific elements of it, it can not be denied that, once again Tillion brought to the foreground critical arguments that resonate even today: that women's debasement (which she did not equate with endogamy *per se*) undermines state and society as a whole and impedes the formation of modern republics with citizens of both sexes.²⁸

The last chapter of *Le harem* observed astutely that, if Africa and Asia were in the throes of decolonization in the 1960s, women in many places still remained colonized; that is, colonies within colonies. Thus, her vision moved from the Mediterranean to a world historical approach that viewed states and societies as grappling with analogous challenges. By placing women at the heart of the modernity and citizenship nexus, Tillion represented an alternative, and unfortunately, a minority voice, concerning social progress and the ways to best achieve it. In a popular piece published in English in 1969 for the World Health Organization, Tillion returned to the themes of poverty, social misery, global demographic trends, and women's status in law and culture. Inspired by her earlier writings on Algeria, both before and during the war, she returned to the idea that: "a society that crushes its own women, condemns itself to death."²⁹

Her advocacy for systemic, and thus enduring, social advancement through women's education, reproductive rights, and economic independence contrasted with the majority of Western capitalist development

schemes for the so-called "Third World" at the time. The imperialism of decolonization favored, for obvious reasons, huge, very expensive infrastructural projects and technologies - enormous dams for example - imported from former colonial nations to the detriment of the individual and local community. It is instructive to reflect upon the original United Nations Charter and contrast its early political and military emphasis with the contemporary situation. Currently, the UN judges its foremost objective to effect a real improvement in women's status and condition world-wide, however much of that goal is ineluctably sabotaged by military interventions, as seen in the United States' current wars in the Middle East, aided by transnational corporate interests, into the domestic affairs of states possessing coveted resources.³⁰

Finally, the idea that states or societies could be classified, mapped, and categorized in accordance with how they treat women, while not invented by Germaine Tillion, benefitted from the undeniably vigorous, lucid manner in which she advocated this point of view. At the same time, she evinced a prudent caution about the true or lasting gains that women had made or could make. Not that Tillion lacks optimism - far from it - but rather her "longue durée" historical approach, and her long full life itself, conferred a vivid awareness of the tentative, always precarious state of material, social, intellectual, and spiritual advances for women.

Conclusions - Decades later, Tillion's work on women and Algeria continues to provoke scholarly debate. In 1991, an article in the leading feminist journal, *Genders*, took up her ideas on veiling and an article published in 2004, "A Life of Resistance," by Suzanne Ruta, characterized *Le Harem et les cousins* as a "feminist classic"; thus, the impact of her thinking upon the fields of women's history and feminist studies in English-language research is beyond dispute.³¹

Seen in the long term, Tillion brought to light a number of profound truths which remain valid today: that migration and migrants have always been critical to social and political transformations, although those shifts are often imperceptible during the early stages of displacements; that the surest path for calibrating social change is to measure improvements - or deteriorations - in women's condition and status; that education, reproductive rights, and economic

independence for women represent the keys to collective social progress; that torture, collective punishment, summary executions, and so forth, debase those who perpetrate unspeakable acts; and that war, militarism, and state violence inevitably provoke a degradation in women's position which eventually results in system-wide socio-moral degradation. One would hope that the renewed interest in Tillion's ideas, which began over a decade ago in France, would stimulate serious interest across the Atlantic - particularly her thinking on the big moral conundrums posed by Ravensbrück and warfare. Her uncompromising devotion to the cause of "what is true and what is just" are particularly urgent in the U.S. during another time of war.

As is true of other twentieth-century thinkers, such as Edward Said, Germaine Tillion's singular contribution sprang from the fact that she not only delved into novel topics, but that her work also proposed new perspectives and approaches that combined the very local and specific with vast, panoramic syntheses. While scholars have disagreed with dimensions of her arguments, her work has stimulated debates, discussions, and conversations. And exchange and dialogue have long been at the core of Germaine Tillion's self-view as an ethnographer and her world view as a humanist. Can we write the history of France in the twentieth century through the biography of a single individual? It seems that the answer to this fundamental question to the practice of world history is yes.

ENDNOTES

¹ A different version of this article was published in French: Julia Clancy-Smith, "La Question de la femme," in Tzvetan Todorov, *Le siècle de Germaine Tillion*, ed. Todorov Tzvetan (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2007), 239-250. The present article draws upon Nancy Wood, *Germaine Tillion, une femme-mémoire. D'une Algérie à l'autre*, translated by Marie-Pierre Corrin (Paris: Éditions Autrement, 2003). For background on North Africa and French colonialism globally, see Julia Clancy-Smith, co-editor and introduction, *Domesticating the Empire: Gender, Race, & Family Life in the Dutch and French Empires*, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998); editor and introduction, *North Africa, Islam, and the Mediterranean World from the Almoravids to the Algerian War* (London: Frank Cass Publications, 2001); and co-editor and introduction, *French Historical Studies* 27, 3 (summer 2004): 497-505, special issue "Writing French Colonial Histories." See also, Alison Rice, "Déchiffrer le silence": A Conversation with Germaine Tillion," *Research in African Literatures* 35, 1 (Spring 2004): 162-179.

² Lois Beck and Nikki R. Keddie, eds., *Women in the Muslim World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978); and Germaine Tillion, *Le harem et les cousins* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1966).

³ See Linda L. Clark, *The Rise of Professional Women in France: Gender and Public Administration since 1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁴ The interest in women related to two important studies from the period: Mathéa Gaudry, *La Femme chaouïa de l'Aurès: Étude de sociologie berbère* (Paris: Gentner, 1929);

and Marguerite A. Bel, *Les arts indigènes féminins en Algérie*. (Algiers, 1939). Although Gaudry, a lawyer at the court of appeals in Algiers, and Bel were not professionally trained, they did have extensive experience in Algeria. On colonial studies of Algerian women, see Julia Clancy-Smith, "Islam, Gender, and Identities in the Making of French Algeria, 1830-1962," in Clancy-Smith and Gouda, eds., *Domesticating*, 154-174.

⁵ Tillion, Germaine Tillion, "Les Sociétés Berbères dans l'Aurès Méridional: La Harfiqt," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 11, 1 (1938): 42-54, quote, 48.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Wood, Tillion, 43-51; Germaine Tillion, "La période des pèlerinages dans l'Aurès," *Anthropologie* 58 (1938); and Germaine Tillion, *Il était une fois l'ethnographie* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2000).

⁸ See Wood, Tillion, 28-30, and 40-48, for additional information on her field reports.

⁹ Tillion, "Sociétés Berbères," 42, note 4; and Tillion, "La période," 212.

¹⁰ Tillion, "Sociétés Berbères," 49, note 1; and Tillion, "La période," 212.

¹¹ Wood, Tillion, 42.

¹² Donald Reid, "Germaine Tillion and Resistance to the Vichy Syndrome," *History and Memory* 15, 2 (2003): 36-63; and Donald Reid, "From Ravensbrück to Algiers and Noisy-Le-Grand: Dialogues with Deportation," *French Politics, Culture & Society* 22, 3 (2004): 1-24.

¹³ Julian Jackson, *The Guardian*, Thursday, April 24, 2008.

¹⁴ Wood, Tillion, Chapter Two.

¹⁵ Ibid., Chapter Three; Germaine Tillion, *Ravensbrück* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1973); and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, "Reflections on Three Ravensbrücks," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 96, 4 (Fall 1997): 881-894, page 882-83, observes that the first edition of *Ravensbrück* "was not just another piece of concentration camp testimony: it was an inquiry about herself." An English-language edition of *Ravensbrück* was published in 1975.

¹⁶ Julian Jackson, *The Guardian*, Thursday, April 24, 2008.

¹⁷ Ibid. See also <http://www.germaine-tillion.org>.

¹⁸ For example, Georges Balandier, "La situation coloniale, approche théorique," *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie* 11 (1951): 44-79.

¹⁹ Wood, Tillion; and Germaine Tillion, *À la recherche du vrai et du juste: À propos rompus avec le siècle*, Tzvetan Todorov, ed. and introduction (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2001).

²⁰ Germaine Tillion, *L'Afrique bascule vers l'avenir: l'Algérie en 1957 et autres textes* (Paris: Édition Tirésias, 1999), 100-106.

²¹ Ibid., and Germaine Tillion; *Les ennemis complémentaires* (Paris: Éditions Minuit, 1958).

²² Julia Clancy-Smith, "Changing Perspectives on the Historiography of Imperialism: Women, Gender, and Empire." In *Middle East Historiographies: Narrating the Twentieth Century*, eds. Israel Gershoni, Amy Singer, and Y. Hakan Erdem (Seattle, Wash: University of Washington Press, 2006), 70-100; and Julia Clancy-Smith, "The Intimate, the Familial, and the Local in Trans-National Histories of Gender," *Journal of Women's History*, 18, 2 (2006): 174-83.

²³ James LeSueur, *Uncivil War: Intellectuals and Identity Politics during the Decolonization of Algeria*, foreword by Pierre Bourdieu (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania, 2001).

²⁴ Germaine Tillion, "Les Sociétés Berbères dans l'Aurès Méridional: La Harfiqt," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 11, 1 (January 1938): 42-54. Other male anthropologists at the time studied some dimensions of women's roles in North African society but the difference lies in the scholarly manner in which Tillion conceptualized women's place in the larger social order.

²⁵ Germaine Tillion, *Le harem et les cousins* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1966), has appeared in numerous subsequent editions and other languages; the first English edition was *The Republic of Cousins: Women's Oppression in Mediterranean Society* (London: Al Saqi Books, 1983).

²⁶ Germaine Tillion, "L'enfermement des femmes dans notre civilisation," in *Le fait féminin*, ed. Evelyne Sullerot (Paris: Fayard, 1979), 405-418, quote, 418.

²⁷ Germaine Tillion, *The Republic of Cousins: Women's Oppression in Mediterranean Society*, translated by Quintin

Hoare (London: Al Saqi Books, 1983), 166-167.

²⁸ Winifred WoodHull, "Unveiling Algeria," *Gender* 10 (Spring 1991): 112-131, examines Tillion's treatment of the post-colonial state and women's relationship to a new, imagined political community based upon the notion of citizenship, while Howard Eilberg-Schwartz and Wendy Doniger, eds., *Off With Her Head: the Denial of Women's Identity in Myth, Religion, and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) take up some of the issues earlier advanced by Tillion in her treatment of Greco-Roman and Mediterranean traditions.

²⁹ Germaine Tillion, "Women towards Equality," *World Health* (October 1969): 3-11; quote from Todorov, *À la recherche du vrai et du juste*, 17.

³⁰ Paul Kennedy, *The Parliament of Man: The Past, Present, and Future of the United Nations* (New York: Random House, 2006).

³¹ Suzanne Ruta, "A Life of Resistance," *The Women's Review of Books* 21, 12 (September 2004): 17-18.

Editor – World History Bulletin

The *World History Bulletin*, an official, semi-annual publication of the World History Association, is seeking a new Editor, effective Fall 2010. The *World History Bulletin* publishes academic and pedagogical materials for the world history community at large, with a specific focus on materials of interest to secondary and post-secondary instructors. It also serves as a medium through which official news of the WHA is disseminated. Prospective candidates should have a background in world history, a general knowledge of the current field of scholarship, excellent communication skills, and a vision of how the *WHB* might serve the WHA and its members in new ways. Candidates must also be members of the WHA. Candidates who present themselves as prospective Co-Editors are equally welcome to apply. Although prior knowledge of desktop publishing is not required, the new Editor will be required to learn appropriate desktop publishing programs and procedures.

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Book Reviews

Peter Dykema

Book Review Coordinator

John E. Wills, Jr. *The World from 1450 to 1700. The New Oxford World History.* Oxford University Press, 2009. 192 pp. \$19.95, paper.

Stephen Varvis

Fresno Pacific University

This volume, written for undergraduates, is a brief history of the world in the early modern period. It is part of “The New Oxford World History,” which has broad and ambitious goals: to be comprehensive of all regions of the world, and all peoples of those regions. A work of “new” world historians, the series attempts to make comparisons, find similarities, and point out interactions helpful for “developing a global framework.”

As a text for the classroom, Wills’ work has several merits. The prose is lively and direct, and is written by one who is fully in command of his multiple and interweaving stories. Wills covers just enough, develops particular themes, and occasionally left me wanting more, though I suspect that students will find it more than enough. He weaves between and among narratives of specific events and movements and discussions of particular topics, and moves around the globe explaining developments and connections. The book includes a useful bibliography and an annotated list of websites.

The text also has a few drawbacks. The maps are too simple and few; there are only three or four black and white illustrations per chapter. These might easily be doubled. The chronology or timeline is overly selective, leaving off some important symbolic events (for example, the Ottoman siege of Vienna and Magellan’s famous voyage, to note just two from one decade) that help students recognize interactions between different cultures. One oddity of the text is its chapter titles. The titles each indicate the thematic content, along with a chronological period, each a forty-year time span. However, the chapters do not remain or even begin within these time periods, and often

range wider than the titles. Given the difficulty of teaching students to remember sequences of events, the before and after of cause and effect or influence, the time periods in the titles might not just be inaccurate but may cause some confusion.

The strength of the volume in narrating many regions of the world is clear. Wills begins with the Ottomans, not as an older text might with European voyages and expansion. He succeeds at being even-handed in his treatment. Each time and place is treated with respect, and its own uniqueness and accomplishments noted. There are even some unexpected pleasures along the way. As one who teaches descendants of the twentieth-century Armenian Diaspora, I found the inclusion of an earlier Armenian Diaspora, along with that of Jews (after the *reconquista*) and Africans as slaves illuminating. Similarly the discussion of the developing understanding of the linkage between trade or profit and political power is insightful, and will be helpful for students of a globalized commercial and political world. I hoped for more explicit discussion of the meaning and pattern of the “gun powder” empires (chapters 1 and 4) as a contrast to the discussion of trade. Also among the discussions that will help students see more clearly into the roots of our own times are the inclusion of the history of Southeast Asia, and of the interactions between Native Americans and the Spanish, French and English in North America, a topic too often relegated to American history.

What are perhaps not shown in high relief are some movements and cultural characteristics formed in this period that are still evident today and need some explanation: the energy and sometimes chaotic dynamism of the European movement around the globe through trade, colonization and conquest compared to the relative closure and peacefulness of China, Japan and the Ottoman Empire for example. This problem shows up most prominently in the third chapter which discusses intellectual and cultural movements around the globe. It is help-

ful to show that just as Europe experienced movements we refer to as the Renaissance and Protestant and Catholic Reformations, so too Chinese philosophers developed Neo-Confucian doctrines with new emphases, and Hindu teachers elaborated methods of devotion still practiced today. However we miss the contrast between the dislocating and divisive, and sometimes violent effects of the European movements compared to the relative traditionalism of the Hindu and Chinese developments.

Wills presents a well-told-tale, orderly but also complicated, messy enough that the student will not leave the text with the impression that history, especially the history of the world, can easily be sorted out. The tale is told at moderate length, while including people and places not always included in some standard histories of the world. Teachers and professors of world history will find the text well suited to develop themes and debates about how the various stories might be told, and where the major turns, conflicts and developments arise. One can hope that the series editors can in subsequent editions develop the illustrations, timeline and maps – basic tools to assist the beginning student to imagine and track the unfolding stories.

Catherine Clay, Chandrika Paul, and Christine Senecal. *Envisioning Women in World History, vol. 1, Prehistory – 1500.* McGraw-Hill, 2009. 234 pp. \$28.75, paper. **Pamela McVay.** *Envisioning Women in World History, vol. 2, 1500 to the Present.* McGraw-Hill, 2009. 286 pp. \$33.13, paper.

Kathy Callahan

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The two-volume series, *Envisioning Women in World History*, is a welcome addition to the world history classroom. Each book fol-

lows the trajectory found in most world history texts and, thus, provides easy-to-assign auxiliary readings on gender for world history students. Because the construction of each book does exhibit differences provided by each volume's writers, each will be examined separately, with joint comments on the volumes following the individual examinations.

Volume one, *Prehistory to 1500*, examines women by exploring their lives in various regions. Each chapter is broad from a chronological vantage point, but this helps to demonstrate the authors' claim that women's lives became more constrained over the long time period. Chapter topics include the Gupta Empire, the Tang and Song Dynasties, Medieval Europe, Greece and Rome, Meso-America, and the rise of Islam and the Abbasid Caliphate. The authors' decision to examine five specific topics related to women in each chapter (political power, familial and economic roles, access to participation in religion, and realities versus prescriptions in contemporary texts) provides instructors plenty of opportunity for comparison of pre-modern societies (5). The chapters clearly delineate each of the topics, making it easy for a reader to move from chapter to chapter to make comparisons; this means of organization is one of the strengths of the book. Primary source references are made in most chapters, providing students plenty of evidence and teachers opportunities to pull primary sources into the discussion.

As described above, a real strength of the book is the authors' well-supported assertion that the opportunities of women in each society did decline over the long period. As examples, Neo-Confucianist scholars insisted upon a limitation of female roles to the private sphere (110-11); Aztec women saw their rights and opportunities give way to the importance of the military state (149-52); and Gupta women lost specific legal and economic property rights because of a more strict interpretation of male inheritance rights (79-80). The authors work hard throughout to draw comparisons between societies and they are quite successful in this regard.

One of the fascinating topics that the authors cover, one that is not usually found in the narrative of textbooks, is the lives of courtesans. The authors reveal that the life of a courtesan could have tangible benefits to the woman involved. For example, a *ganika* (courtesan) in Gupta India was educated in a

variety of ways making her a thorough entertainer of men and some of these women "lived in palatial houses and controlled a whole enterprise consisting of male bodyguards, numerous servants, and maids" (78). In these ways she, along with the *heterai* of Classical Greece (41-42) and courtesans of the Song and Tang Dynasties (107, 113), had much more control over her daily life, more than most other women could only dream of. When describing courtesans, there was at least one inconsistency. In reference to *heterai*, the authors write they "had more in common with modern Japanese geisha than with other ancient prostitutes" (42). Later, when discussing the courtesans in the Gupta Empire, the authors write, "the *ganika* played a role comparable to the *heterai* of classical Athens or the geisha of Japan (78). Some closer editing in the second edition will surely catch inconsistencies such as this.

The weaknesses in this volume are small and not unexpected in a book that covers such a long period of time and is authored by three scholars. One oversight regards Ban Zhou of Song China; she is never identified as female (101). She did reach a level of prominence as a historian and should be properly identified. It is a small oversight, but an oversight nonetheless. Chapter 5, "Meso-American Civilizations," relies almost exclusively on secondary sources; more attention to available primary sources would make the writing more consistent with other chapters. On the other hand, if there is a real shortcoming of the text it is a lack of examination of women in Africa (Egyptian women are covered in chapter 1); seemingly, if a chapter on Maya and Aztec women can be constructed on secondary sources, one of this nature could be constructed on African women, as well. A final note to the editors of the series: a more comprehensive index would assist readers.

Volume two, *1500 – Present*, is organized in a very different fashion. Instead of examining specific regions, McVay's chapters explore women's lives from thematic perspectives, including chapters on "The Atlantic World, 1492-1750: Speaking for Cortés," "Imperialism and Activism, 1830-1930," and "Cold War, Neo-Colonialism, and Second-Wave Feminism 1945-Present." Her methodology works well as it is a direction that many of the world history textbooks are taking (versus regional studies). The real strength is the case studies, usually three, in each chapter. For example, the sec-

ond chapter, "Ideological Transformations in Eurasia, 1500-1750," explores gender in Qing China, the Tokugawa Shogunate, the Ottoman Empire, and Europe during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation (40-79). Using case studies within chapters gives readers opportunities to make quick comparisons over very specific periods of time. By working with the "second half" of world history, McVay is given the opportunity to show the return of female participation in the public sphere (volume one noted the diminishment of opportunities) and does so with examinations of economic and political developments as well as the rise of feminism.

McVay's text is less reliant on primary source material than was the first volume. Because of this approach volume two's narrative reads a bit more like a standard "textbook" than does volume one. This lack of inclusion of multiple primary sources is somewhat rectified by the inclusion of a bibliography at the end of each chapter giving readers several primary source suggestions. The endnotes of her volume are annotated, giving further insight to both topics and sources. Further, although no fault of the author's, the material examined in large measure is material more well-known to students. This said, she does seek to illuminate less well-known examples such as the lives of Iroquois women after first contact and rise of Egyptian and Indian female activism in the nineteenth century.

Pamela McVay asserts in her Preface in volume two that *Envisioning Women in World History* represents the first textbook treatment of women in world history (xi). While it is agreed the approach is fresh and is more "textbook-like" in its orientation than other books, this writer is hard-pressed to call it the "first." For example, Peter Stearns' *Gender in World History* (2nd ed., 2006) and Merry Wiesner-Hank's *Gender in History* (2001) are monographs that are certainly being used as textbooks in many undergraduate classrooms. Further, Jane Slaughter et al.'s *Sharing the World Stage: Biography in World History* (2 vols., 2007 and 2008) are certainly world history textbooks, albeit organized in a bit more unorthodox fashion around primary sources and biographies.

Common to both books are several things that bear mentioning. Each of the chapters in both volumes provides study questions which should provide students a framework for their reading and would make

good starting places for class discussion. Both volumes are compact: volume one has 217 pages of text and volume two has 264; this concise presentation is helpful for instructors given our students' resistance to reading. One topic covered in each stands out for additional praise. The lives and roles of Islamic women are examined in real depth in both volumes. Authors Clay, Paul, and Senecal demonstrate the important role of women in the rise of Islam, giving Aisha and Fatima real voices (158-69). Further, McVay, in volume two, is particularly illuminating in her sections on the Sokoto Caliphate and Fundamentalisms (174-79 and 243-47). The writing on Islam in both volumes would surely benefit a number of courses, not just world history.

Taken together, these two textbooks are sure to find readers in undergraduate and Advanced Placement classes. The material examined in each text is sure to provide an in-depth examination of the lives of women, amply showing change and continuity over time.

Laura J. Mitchell. *Belongings: Property, Family, and Identity in Colonial South Africa (An Exploration of Frontiers, 1725-c. 1830)*. Columbia University Press, 2009. 247 pp. \$60.00.

Jessica Achberger

University of Texas at Austin

In this historical monograph, Laura J. Mitchell, an assistant professor of African History at the University of California, Irvine, presents an excellent social history of the colonial South African frontier. *Belongings* explores the relationships of land tenure between the various groups of residents of the Cedarberg Mountain region of the Western Cape, including settlers, Dutch East India Company officials, Khoisan people, and slaves. Mitchell argues that this specific region, along the Olifants River around which the narrative is centered, was colonized not because of the Company or the imperial army but because of the influence and actions of the settler population.

In four parts Mitchell describes what she calls "resistance on many fronts" in a series of interactions between settlers and Khoisan, Company officials and settlers, and

amongst individuals – resistance that was often violent (4). Yet, as she explains in her introduction, while the study can be read straight through as a continuous narrative, it can also be read out of order and several sections are cross-referenced throughout the book. The first section creates the setting for the narrative and provides historical context regarding the unique nature of the colonial project in South Africa. Mitchell also establishes her definitions and understandings of frontier, including its similarities to life on the American frontier, specifically regarding the focus on farm and family life.

Part II, "Terms of Contest," examines the specific land use patterns in the region, beginning with indigenous Khoisan land use and continuing to the establishment of colonial society and settler's dominance over the region. Mitchell uses, and reproduces, a number of sources for this section, including archaeological surveys of the Khoisan and archival documents from the settlers. The wide array of source materials continues into Part III, "Mechanics of Conquest," which examines four family case studies that further illustrate the conflict surrounding land tenure. Using genealogies, estate inventories, auction rosters, and criminal depositions, Mitchell explores the range of social history, from kinship and identity to material culture. Finally, in Part IV, a two part conclusion is presented that examines first how *Belongings* speaks against the established historiography, particularly its distinct periodization, and second how the Cedarberg mountain region during this period of settlement and confrontation fits into the broader picture of South African historiography.

Importantly, *Belongings* represents not only a strong historical work, but also the future of academic publishing. The book is a part of the new Gutenberg-e initiative that was begun by the American Historical Association and Columbia University Press, which presents historical studies in both electronic and print formats. All of the titles are available free online at <http://www.gutenberg-e.org> and allow access not only to the full text of the manuscript, but also easy navigated additional digital sources such as photo galleries, charts and maps, and oral histories. For *Belongings* specifically, there are archival transcripts, genealogy charts, maps, and numerous photographs from the author's own travels to South Africa. These resources not only allow the book to come to life, but will also be excellent to use in the classroom when

teaching about colonial South Africa or about the different types and uses of primary sources.

Overall, *Belongings* represents a well-researched and important addition to South African historiography while proving that electronic books and resources do not necessarily mean a lower level of scholarship. As printing materials becomes increasingly costly and the focus shifts to digital publication, these new e-books represent the future of both academic and trade publishing. In fact, for *Belongings* and the other books of the Gutenberg-e series, the free online accessibility makes them even more accessible to fellow researchers and teachers interested in using the books in the classroom, yet they can also be made available in print if the demand exists. This is certainly a development worth cheering.

G. Bruce Knecht. *Hooked: Pirates, Poaching, and the Perfect Fish*. Rodale Books, 2006. 278 pp. \$24.95.

David Lipton

Middlesex County College

In *Hooked: Pirates, Poaching, and the Perfect Fish*, G. Bruce Knecht offers an innovative alternation of chapters to concurrently present two narratives about the Patagonian toothfish fishery during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. One narrative is a contextualized chronology of a high speed chase through the South Indian and South Atlantic Oceans during 2003, in which a Uruguayan fishing vessel was pursued by an Australian governmental ship. The other narrative is a thematic world history of the economic, environmental, diplomatic, and popular cultural dimensions of the Patagonian toothfish fishery from its apparent origin in 1977 through the year of the book's publication. The two narratives are linked at the end of the book, when an Australian court acquitted the officers of the Uruguayan fishing vessel. The court determined that the Australian government did not offer convincing evidence that the defendants were attempting to catch toothfish in Australian territorial waters near Heard Island.

What is so desirable about the Patagonian toothfish, and why does it need protection? This species, otherwise known

as the Chilean Sea Bass or *Dissostichus eleginoides*, which frequents the Southern Ocean, has become a delicacy in expensive American restaurants. Much of Knecht's narrative discusses the marketing process that created the gourmet demand. Consequently, the toothfish has become an endangered species. Currently, its population is managed by the licensing of fishing vessels, and by limiting the sizes of total annual catches. This enforcement effort is internationally coordinated by a secretariat that was created by signatories of a 1982 treaty, the *Convention for the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources*. Nevertheless, unlicensed and illegal toothfish catches continue, because the wholesale value of a single boatload can exceed one million dollars.

Knecht's book is also important in a historiographical context. Most of the book discusses events that postdated the inception of the Internet. Consequently, this work is apparently one of a relatively few volumes on this subject which offers the stability and durability of having been published on paper. Thus, to research the statements in Knecht's historical synthesis, one might primarily use electronic journalistic accounts and electronic representations of diplomatic and legal documents.

Hooked has several strengths that are useful for pedagogical purposes. Within the academic discipline of world history, it offers an unexpected geographical perspective that focuses on events in the southern hemispheric high seas, rather than on densely-populated land areas of Asia, Europe, and North America. This can allow greater focus on the concept of globalization, because there might be a reduction of the significance of *weltanschauung* for students who live in the northern hemisphere. As a result, students might be able to more fully appreciate the possibility that despite hundreds of years of diplomatic and military efforts, the legal status of *mare communis* (internationally owned ocean) has not yet been achieved in practice. Consequently, the *de facto* situation continues to be *mare libre* (ocean that is not owned or regulated by any nation).

Thus, students can more easily understand that there is an illicit aspect of contemporary globalization, in which the world's oceans can be construed as a vast region which is inadequately policed by sovereign nations and by their multinational organizations. This may result in a better understanding of the geography that is relative to the

study of history. Students can appreciate why evasion is easy. For example, during Knecht's chase narrative, the fishing boat entered the Southern Frigid Zone, because navigation is hazardous as a result of very high waves and ice conditions. Knecht offers several photographs to document these conditions. Thus, students will be able to understand that as a result of enforcement difficulties in this region, as well as in other parts of the oceans, it is possible to move merchandise, money, and fugitives at will between the ports of tolerant nations in widely scattered locations throughout the world.

In addition to this pedagogical value for specific problems in world history, there are also other reasons why this book might be used for instruction in history. Students might be motivated to read the entire book, because Knecht engages his readers by arranging the chapters so that they alternate between his two narratives. This style might be studied in a historical methods course.

Nevertheless, there were also a few weaknesses in this book. The work does not offer full scholarly apparatus, such as a bibliography, and the frequent use of endnotes or footnotes. However, these omissions may be attributed to Knecht's choice to write for the trade press, rather than for the academic press. Despite these lacunae, Knecht does provide a Table of Contents in which the brief chapter titles can be used to infer the contents of each section, after a reader becomes familiar with the two narratives in the book. Additionally, there is a bibliographical essay, and the main text includes information about each of the persons who Knecht interviewed during his research.

Thus, *Hooked: Pirates, Poaching, and the Perfect Fish* is a well-researched, innovatively-structured, and engaging thematic world history that was published in the popular press. It should be of interest to world history students who specialize in environmental, economic, oceanic, diplomatic, or international law enforcement sub-disciplines.

Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds. *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality. Critical Perspectives on Empire.* Cambridge University Press, 2008. 371 pp. \$29.99, paper.

Clif Stratton

Georgia State University

Following W.E.B. Du Bois's astute 1910 recognition of a new white consciousness, Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds contend that in anxious response to a perceived "rising tide of color," global white solidarity reached critical mass in the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century. In this inaugural and groundbreaking work in the new Critical Perspectives on Empire series, Lake and Reynolds illuminate the transnational connections among white men's countries in Great Britain and the Anglo-Saxon settler societies of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and the United States. In doing so, the authors depart from a historiography that has largely employed national or parallel national frames to examine immigration policy and segregation. They argue that histories of white nativism, often confined by scholars to local context and particularity, collectively constituted modern geo-political arrangements at a time of mass global migration, scientific racialism, and high imperialism. As Lake and Reynolds aptly observe, "the project of whiteness was ... at once transnational in its inspiration and identifications but nationalist in its methods and goals" (4). Through immigration exclusion and racial apartheid, white men's countries attempted to simplify the multifarious anthropological categories of the world's people into two raced divisions: white and non-white.

Drawing the Global Colour Line provides readers with a transnational discourse analysis of whiteness from the perspectives of both its ardent supporters and its unrelenting detractors. The international conversations and conflicts among statesmen, academics, and activists such as Mohandas Gandhi, James Bryce, Theodore Roosevelt, Jan Smuts, Charles Pearson, Tokutomi Soho, and W.E.B. Du Bois reveal the assertions of and contestations against an emerging global racial order. Beginning with the integrated phenomena of global migration, new labor markets, and settler colonialism bordering the Pacific and Indian Oceans, Lake and



Reynolds provide rich historical context for the ensuing debates about fitness for republican self-government – a privilege whites increasingly sought to reserve for themselves. The sections that follow examine the transnational pervasiveness of Anglo-Saxon racial thought that included both the triumphalist racial vigor of Roosevelt as well as the cautious liberalism of Pearson, who prophetically announced the inevitable historical usurpation of white hegemony by overwhelming numbers of “Asiatics” as early as 1893.

The strength of the text lies not in these intellectual debates alone but rather in the decision of Lake and Reynolds to integrate these discursive frameworks with legislative and political designs for racialized national belonging. The success of concerted efforts by Anglo-Saxon Australians, Californians, British Columbians, and South Africans to bar Chinese, Japanese, Africans, and Indians from immigration, land ownership, and citizenship signaled the conscious emergence of white solidarity across national borders. The final sections illuminate the important contradictions of national self-determination and racial inequality raised in the international conferences of the first half of the twentieth century. The authors reexamine the Universal Races Congress, often assessed as a display of European humanitarianism and racial reconciliation, to reveal the intentions of non-white activists to dismantle British imperial regimes and to chart new global political courses that would directly affront white supremacy. Of particular interest is the ardent opposition to and ultimate jettison of Japan’s proposed racial equality clause for the League of Nations charter. As Lake and Reynolds boldly assert, Japan’s audacious attempt to join the collective of international powers on level grounds of race fueled a renewed commitment among Anglo Saxons to immigration restriction and a subsequent Japanese foreign policy that culminated in the bombing of Pearl Harbor. The epilogue raises cogent questions about the effectiveness of the United Nation’s protection of the universal declaration of human rights against national racist policy even as many Western powers dismantled, albeit reluctantly, domestic racial laws.

Drawing the Global Colour Line will likely prove a useful teaching tool in several ways. First, it provides both advanced undergraduates and graduate students with a research model for situating the local and the

discursive within broader transnational frameworks. Second, the book reshapes the ways in which we teach empire. Despite the ominous nature of the title, Lake and Reynolds do not present white men’s countries as expressions of absolute hegemony but rather as a collective organizational vision of the world that continues to face criticism, challenge, and alternatives. Herein lies the real power of this text. Like most useful histories of race and racism, the book provides clear and refreshing relevance for today. Students’ own cosmopolitanism and increasing temporal departure from decolonization and civil rights movements combined with new rhetorical devices shaped by the steadfast protection of national democratic values may disguise the restatement of former racial and cultural divisions. But as Lake and Reynolds remind readers, “old fears now return in new forms” (12).

James Belich. *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939*. Oxford University Press, 2009. 573 pp. \$50.00, cloth.

Clif Stratton

Georgia State University

Replenishing the Earth provides readers with a comprehensive survey of and challenge to the immense historiography on Anglophone settler expansions of the long nineteenth century. James Belich re-examines and re-organizes a half-century of scholarship in order to explain more clearly and more critically the rapid rise to prominence of Anglo settler societies in North America, South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia. Settlement and the creation of new societies – not empire – provided the staying power and far-reaching influence that characterized European expansion (23). Of particular importance to Belich’s argument is what he calls “mega-change,” or the intersection of two or more historical developments such as wars, revolutions, new technologies, or emergent ideologies. These conjunctures create conditions in which myriad actors make choices, economic or otherwise, that compound big change. The result, in this case, was the development of “a politically divided but culturally and economically united intercontinental system”

(9).

The book subsequently divides into three sections. In part one, Belich argues that in order to explain “Anglo-prone” expansion, historians must consider several processes. First, the migration of Anglo peoples that included Britons as well as Irish, Scots, and Welsh and their subsequent biological and cultural reproductions occurred in explosive fashion. Boom mentality more so than rational choice characterized much of the initial growth of the Anglo world. Though not a steady, continuous, incremental process of growth, Anglo expansions did conform to particular economic patterns of boom, bust, and export rescue. In the nineteenth century, places that had historically experienced relatively steady growth and new frontier regions became sites of “growth through growth.” But when booms inevitably busted, oldlands that included Britain and the northeastern seaboard United States provided markets for both economic and cultural reintegration or “re-colonization.” Secondly, the strengthening of these networks involved mutual dependency between old and new lands, and in contrast to other colonialisms, rarely involved exploitation of colonies. As Belich argues, for example, railroads not only carried meat and wheat from settler frontiers in the American West to the Northeast but also facilitated the mass transfer of books, print news, and, more broadly, culture (249). In turn, the experiences and identities of these Anglo Wests infiltrated and re-shaped oldland centers such as London and New York.

In part two, Belich tests his hypotheses of boom, bust, and export rescue with case studies that include Australasia, South Africa, western Canada, and the multiple Wests of the continental United States. It is in this context that Belich’s argument, that at times can seem too grandiose and broadly conceived to consider local circumstance, makes its strongest case for a re-articulation of Anglo settler migration. For example, the discovery and subsequent rush to gold in California, Victoria, and Witwatersrand have been used to explain explosive growth in Anglo Wests. But as Belich contends, settler booms preceded gold rushes and were typically not products of them. Moreover, the icons of nineteenth-century progress tell only part of the story. Mass transfers of people, goods, and information occurred not solely through the advent and development of steam and coal-powered locomotives and ships. Belich points to an increase in “eo-

technic" transportation (wind, wood, water, and work animal) even as new "paleo" technologies (iron, coal, steam, and rail) pervaded the Anglo world. Particularly true of the "last best Wests," Anglos imagined and then executed the transformation of the arid deserts of Southern California and Perth and dry arctic territories of Saskatchewan and the Canadian Yukon. These marginal regions certainly experienced explosive growth, but the over-extension of agriculture onto non-viable lands yielded even steeper busts. Collectively, the histories of these far-flung Wests reveal the immensity of Anglo settlerism, ground the mutually sustaining developments of hyper-colonization and industrialization in specificity, and contribute needed amendment to the details of the Great Divergence that historians locate at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Teachers will find *Replenishing the Earth* a rich and provocative source at all collegiate levels. First, it is a goldmine for the particulars of growth and expansion, and it provides excellent distinction between settlerism and imperialism. Though as Belich certainly recognizes, settler migration almost always involved violent displacement of indigenous people even if it mostly avoided direct, sustained exploitation. Second, the third section of *Replenishing the Earth* tests, albeit briefly, Anglo expansion against similar processes in French Algeria, Chinese Manchuria, and Russian Siberia as well as the "adopted [Anglo] dominions" of the Argentine Pampas and Brazil's São Paulo region. Taken together, these case studies, Anglo and otherwise, provide classroom-ready readings that deal comparatively with the specifics of global and sub-global migration and invite new research questions for both undergraduate and graduate students. Finally, Belich allows us to see Anglo expansion through what he calls "medium-term contingency" rather than through mythical Anglo-Saxon virtue or long-term advantages. In doing so, he provides a valuable lesson in objectivity as he deals with a process that has been both overzealously celebrated and begrudgingly denied. As he concludes, "One response is to deny the success; another is to explain it differently. This makes the history of the English-speakers more interesting, not less – by freeing it from the shackles of the normative" (559).

Phillip Buckner, ed. *Canada and the British Empire. Companion Series to The Oxford History of the British Empire.* Oxford University Press, 2008. 308 pp. \$70.00, cloth.

Kenneth Shonk, Jr.
Marquette University

At the heart of Phillip Buckner's edited collection of essays, *Canada and the British Empire*, is a much needed and welcome appraisal of the understudied and often unclear relationship between Canada and Britain. In the preface Buckner writes, "Canada cannot be understood without placing its evolution in an Imperial context" (viii). Further, Buckner adds that the purpose of the volume is to offer a Canadian perspective on the British Empire that not only serves to reassess the relationship between Britain and its "informal colonies," but also to correct the scant attention given to Canada in the *Oxford History of the British Empire*. As such, this work is of great value for it provides great insight and clarification into the complex nature of Canada and Canadian national identity.

Although one cannot attribute a singular description of Canadian sentiments toward Great Britain, the contributors to *Canada and the British Empire* contend that the English-speaking citizens of Canada harbored a definite respect toward the British monarchy as well as an overarching desire to be a part of the Empire writ large. In his essay on the consolidation of Canada, Phillip Buckner argues that Canadians wanted to not only show that they were "not just a part of Greater Britain, but ... in some ways a Better Britain, with a less rigid class structure and an education system more open to talent than that of the mother country" (74). John Herd Thompson adds a further racial element suggesting that many English-speaking Canadians developed a dual identity, seeing themselves as both Canadian and British – an identity no doubt aggravated by vague constitutional ties to Britain as well as their uneasy relationship with the Aboriginal and French-Canadian populations. At its essence Canadian identity was a negotiated proposition debated and forged through a political process rooted in the nation's Anglophilia.

Though much of the work understandably centers upon the English-speaking population of Canada, supplemental thematic essays do examine the experiences of

Aboriginals – the term used throughout to describe native tribes of North America – and French-speaking Canadians. Adele Perry contributes an informative historiographical and narrative work on the intersection of gender and empire, where she seeks to link works on Canadian and British Empire gender histories. Further, Perry's article corrects the near exclusion of Canadians in Philippa Levine's contribution to the *Oxford History of the British Empire* entitled *Gender and Empire*. Philip Girard provides a rather unique perspective on his chapter on Canada's legal history and how perspectives on law either clarified or muddled the relationship with Britain as colony and dominion.

Many of the essays contained in *Canada and the British Empire* tend to focus on perceptions of the British Empire from within Canada and how these views shaped the nation's historical memory as well as efforts to consolidate and, later, dominionize. As a result, many of the essays are Canadian-centric in that little is written on connections to the larger Empire in a comparative sense. However, two chapters are of special interest to global historians. The first being John G. Reid's and Elizabeth Mancke's chapter entitled "From Global Processes to Continental Strategies: The Emergence of British North America to 1783," in which the authors contextualize and situate what was then British North America within the larger Atlantic world. One such example notes the significance of Canada's eastern territories (Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Rupert's Land) in the multi-national Treaty of Utrecht (26). Of further interest is Elizabeth Jane Errington's chapter on the movement of peoples between Britain and British America in the years before consolidation.

In terms of its viability in the classroom, *Canada and the British Empire* has many applications, from upper-division history courses on either Canada or the British Empire, for the narrative contained in the articles does much to clarify the often nebulous relationship between Canada and Britain, not to mention that of French-Canadians to governments centered in Ottawa and London. More advanced students will gain much through the examination of the non-militaristic means of domination as well as the legal foundations upon which Canada was founded. The opening paragraph by editor Phillip Buckner offers an outstanding historiographical essay

that not only traces the rather fluid perspective of Canada's historians and its relationship to the British Empire, but also situates the book's essays in a historical context free from patriotic and imperial trappings. This particular collection can be an essential work for students of imperial histories, for it offers an insightful perspective on the machinations of a colonial relationship that is far more complex than the traditional conqueror/conquered dialectic as was seen in Britain's colonies in Africa and Asia.

Miles Ogborn. *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800*. Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography 41. Cambridge University Press, 2008. 368 pp. \$24.99, paper.

Alex Zukas
National University

Miles Ogborn has written an engaging and readable history of the rise of the British Empire from its Elizabethan origins to the late Georgian era. It is an ambitious book that looks at the changing historical geography of the British Empire and engages issues of globalization, historical narrative, theoretical perspective, and explanation. Interdisciplinary in his approach, Ogborn, Professor of Geography at the University of London, wants to show how previously disconnected parts of the world became connected in new ways from 1550 to 1800, how cultures and landscapes were reworked as people, ideas and material objects moved across the globe, and how these changes were experienced differently by men and women, by those in different class positions, and by people of diverse ethnic groups. Writing for advanced undergraduate and graduate students of world history (and their teachers), he succeeds in this endeavor for the most part.

Divided into eleven chapters, the book is broadly sequential. While there is some temporal and thematic overlap, each chapter explores the shifting geography of a separate historical process or set of processes and advances the author's argument chronologically. Chapter 2 details Elizabethan ventures into trade, empire and colonialism; chapter 3 looks at settlement in early North America; chapters 4 and 5 examine trade with the East Indies and in the Atlantic world respectively;

chapter 6 investigates the organization of maritime labor while chapter 7 analyzes changes in piracy; chapters 8, 9 and 10 review the trans-Atlantic slave trade, plantation slavery in the Caribbean, and the movement to abolish the slave trade; chapter 11 details various "voyages of discovery" in the Pacific. Each chapter lays out the changing historical and geographical dimensions of each process and while each chapter is global in its intent it is also partial, exploring only particular forms of connection and engagement. Each chapter is fairly self-contained and can be read independently of the others.

Ogborn questions how modern global history has been conceptualized and taught. He begins by arguing that global history is intimately bound up with questions of geography and that global (or world) historians need to be clear about the spatial scales with which they operate if they want to establish valid connections or make valid comparisons between different parts of the globe over time. His solution to the issues of appropriate spatial scales and comparability is to focus on the British Empire: it provides an overarching framework that reduces arbitrary comparisons and connections while remaining global in scope. He also takes issue with the explanatory adequacy of what he calls "grand narratives" like the "rise of the West," the "rise, fall and legacy" of modern European empires, and the development of a "single capitalist world-system." His main complaint is that these narratives simplify the diverse trajectories of material life, warfare, religion, culture, gender and politics and the wide variety of spatial forms and relationships of modern global history to meet the needs of a specific narrative structure. His concern with appropriate generalization is well placed but he never quite resolves the tension between the micro and macro dimensions of his own analysis and many historians may argue that his connecting the concerns of global history and globalization with the history of empire involves another kind of reductionism.

He begins each chapter by providing a general context for the process he will examine. The context delineates overarching social, economic, cultural and political structures that shape, and are in turn shaped by, the process under discussion. It is macro-history but Ogborn does not want to write history with human agency left out so he includes biographical sketches of individuals from different social and cultural situa-

tions. This is microhistory (biography) but with a difference: it situates individual lives into the more abstract macro-processes discussed in each chapter. The point is to see the effect of human agency in initiating, promoting or resisting the larger process of which people are a part. By the end of the book the author has outlined the lives of over forty different individuals from all walks of life and cultures. Besides promoting diversity, his goal in telling these life stories is parity. That is, each life is given roughly the same amount of narrative space regardless of the historical prominence of the individual. Some individuals are well known (Elizabeth I, Pocahontas, Toussaint L'Ouverture) while others are not (Kasi Viranna, Briton Hammon, John Jea). Students (and teachers) should appreciate this more inclusive approach to the past.

To his credit, Ogborn acknowledges several problems in using a biographical approach to global history. First, the lives of the powerful are better documented than the lives of the less powerful. Reconstructing the lives of the latter involves greater conjecture but he believes that drawing on a wide variety of different sources and other scholars mitigates that weakness. This is debatable and depends on the strength of the source material. Secondly, there are the dangers of tokenism (a generic stand-in) and exceptionalism (a remarkable individual) in using biographies to make general points about the past. He does not completely solve the dilemma and it brings up a key weakness in the book, one that derives from the needs of a specific narrative structure anchored in postmodern discourse with its emphasis on the positive value of difference and diversity. To take one example, he argues that the segregated social geography of Madras as shown in contemporary maps and official documents was too schematic and overemphasized separation since, among his other activities and holdings, an Indian merchant, Kasi Viranna, owned property in "White Town." That fact helped "[confuse] any simple social distinction between Indians and Europeans" (90). There are at least two problems with Viranna's life experience as a basis for such a broad generalization. First, economic power seldom erodes social distinctions overnight; second, as the author notes, after Viranna's death in 1680 no other Indian achieved his stature and there is no mention of any other Indian merchant owning land in White Town. On Ogborn's terms, then, Viranna's biography is "exceptional"

and it seems to be an exception that proves the rule that difference and diversity were not embraced by the British but were aggressively restricted, if not always successfully, in the physical layout of Madras. That Viranna was a wealthy and powerful merchant who actively shaped Madras' geography and British destinies in that city is a point well worth making to students and helps round out early British imperial history in India but Ogborn gets carried away looking for signs of social "pluralism" or social integration in Madras in the last half of the seventeenth century. A final dilemma related to tokenism and exceptionalism that he mentions but does not resolve is how to fill in the gap between the individual actions of an ordinary person and global history and geography.

Fully conversant with the recent major works of British imperial and world historiography, Ogborn has produced an absorbing synthesis that has broad sweep and intimate detail that is well worth reading but despite all of his concern with globalization, historical narrative, theoretical perspective, explanatory adequacy, and the open-ended nature of human actions, his conclusion is hardly earth-shattering: the way global connections changed after 1550 shifted Britain from a position of global marginality to one of global centrality. His accomplishment is to tell the story a different way. The "global lives" of the book's title refer to a large-scale dialectic in which global processes shaped individual human lives and actions in the modern world and the individual actions of these separate lives flowed together, across and against each other to create and sustain those larger processes. In a thinly disguised paraphrase of Marx, Ogborn writes that he constructs each life so that "individuals are seen acting in situations that, in varying degrees, are not of their own choosing" (11). Historians and students will appreciate his nuanced approach and his allowance for different ways of "being global" but given his critique of "reductionist" grand narrative, one has to wonder why he uses the singular noun "globalization" throughout and does not talk about "globalizations" given his stance that globalization is "partial, multiple and diverse" (5). In fact, the biggest problem with the book is its loose use of key terminology like "world." At times he uses "world" metaphorically to denote a shared social and economic environment as in the "world of Kasi Viranna" and at other times he uses it more literally as a synonym for

"global." Perhaps that is why he prefers the term "global history" to "world history" because otherwise he would have to specify which metaphorical "world" he meant. Nevertheless, Miles Ogborn has constructed a rich and fascinating narrative of the rise of the British Empire that places it squarely within the concerns of world history and invites classroom discussion of issues of methodology and interpretation.

Robin A. Butlin. *Geographies of Empire: European Empires and Colonies c. 1880-1960*. Cambridge University Press, 2009. 673 pp. \$54.00, paper.

Joseph Swain
Arkansas Tech University

In *Geographies of Empire*, Robin Butlin examines historical geographies associated with both colonialism and imperialism. With a focus on the period of high imperialism through decolonization, Butlin provides an in-depth analysis of numerous topics and forces that shaped processes and patterns of global interaction. Graduate students and researchers in historical geography will be impressed with Butlin's initial literature review, which is followed by a detailed account of European territorial expansion. Other topics include migration and settlement, views of land-use and access rights, exploration and geographical knowledge, the influence and motives of geographical societies, religion and the "civilizing mission," and both urban and economic geography. In each chapter, Butlin examines the geographic implications of each respective theme through a detailed survey of empire, discussing some combination of British, French, German, Dutch, Belgian, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish holdings around the world. Throughout his analysis, Butlin reminds the reader that the actions of each institution, group, or individual results in a clear and dramatic transformation of space and place in both empire and colony.

Butlin's examination of both colonialism and imperialism serves to advance the streamline narrative so often presented on such subjects to reflect the multiple and varied conjunctures of direct motivation and accidental happenstance that underlay such broad processes of geopolitical, economic, and cultural extension. The focus becomes

one of contested space, a familiar theme to be sure, but while many treatises on colonialism and imperialism simplify the narrative to a dichotomous relationship of powerful empire against hapless aboriginal, Butlin expands the discussion to include the messy fractures within and between individuals, multiple groups, and institutions which hold interest in territorial advancement. The discussion is elegant in its complexity. In this narrative, explorers can serve as both violent trespassers and compassionate humanitarians. Colonial governments end uprisings with extreme violence while simultaneously attempting infrastructure projects to reduce famine. Geographical societies in the metropole draw from enlightenment values of scientific endeavor while their libraries are frequented by both government and military personnel. Christian groups seek to end slavery while advancing their "civilizing mission" through western style education incongruous with the needs of the indigenous population. Conservation movements remove access rights from indigenous peoples to both land and resources while preserving the flora and fauna for big game hunters. The motives of economy, culture, and government often clash with unpredictable results, but always with geographical implications.

While researchers in historical geography and history will enjoy Butlin's recognition of imperial complexities, graduate students will benefit from his use of theory. Each chapter draws from the theoretical discussions found in the literature review of chapter one, (e.g., models of colonial settlement, Marxist materialism, economic and geopolitical theory, World Systems and globalization, modernity, pluralist explanations, and post-colonialism). Unfortunately, the depth of analysis and level of writing would make this work too difficult for any but the most advanced undergraduate classes. While giving sufficient voice to matters of theory, *Geographies of Empire* would benefit from a more extensive discussion of post-structural investigations. In particular, discussion of indigenous access rights to land and resources fails to expand upon themes of indigenous agency. While Butlin references such post-structural themes in his chapter on environmental interactions, he fails to elaborate in sufficient detail. Nevertheless, indigenous peoples are recognized as actors, sometimes resisting, sometimes working in concert with Europeans. Any lack of detail on such themes cannot be criticized too harshly given the scope and

depth of Butlin's endeavor. As one of the premier scholars in historical geography, Butlin has produced another remarkable contribution to the fields of both history and geography.

Alan Kramer. *Dynamic of Destruction: Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War*. Oxford University Press, 2007. 417 pp. \$23.00, cloth.

Timothy Westcott
Park University

Dynamic of Destruction augments the non-military historical debate of the interrelationship encasing European cultural destruction and mass killing during the Great War, 1914-1918. Alan Kramer, professor of European History at Trinity College, Dublin, resumes a theme from his co-written earlier work *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial* (2002) and Larry Zuckerman's *The Rape of Belgium: The Untold Story of World War I* (2004) in which the German strategy of *Schrecklichkeit* (horror) in Belgium, France, Italy, Poland and Russia established the destruction of culture and instigated mass civilian killings in which "the goal of war was victory ... there were no means a soldier did not have the right to use in the pursuit of victory" (24).

Kramer's thesis of "a 'dynamic of destruction'" created by "the most extensive cultural devastation and mass killing in Europe since the Thirty Years War" (5) is substantiated by his advancement that the brutality of the Great War "was both the incidental by-product of combat and the consequence of deliberate policy" (1). Kramer validates his thesis with painstaking research drawn from primary historical records and secondary literary sources. Additionally, the vivid narrative underscores facts absent from more traditional histories of the Great War.

The German army strategy of unserved eradication of culture ("Using petrol and inflammable pastilles, they set it [Louvain Library] on fire" which "burned for several days" (8)) and mass killings ("the burned corpses of executed civilians, whose hands had been tied behind their backs, with gaping wounds to their heads, their faces contorted, their skin already turning green and their eyes still open, decomposition

beginning to distend their bodies, and everywhere large flies" (11)) illustrate the terror which resulted from common German soldiers' and officers' military indoctrination and unwarranted and unsubstantiated battlefield panic. Kramer incorporates this "symbolism of the destruction of a seat of culture" as fuel for Allied propaganda in which he illustrates the headlines of "The Oxford of Belgium burnt by the German 'Huns'" and the "Holocaust of Louvain" (13) and documents the German stratagem by contemporaneous descriptions from Belgian civilians, German soldiers and the international press.

The book has two strong points: discussion of the fronts in continental Europe and the Near East, and incorporation of photographs and artistic works. The chapters titled "The Warriors" and "German Singularity?" incorporate detailed and scholarly discussions of familiar and unfamiliar belligerent involvement in the Great War related to the belligerents' own components of cultural and mass destruction. The empires of Austria-Hungary, Germany, the Ottomans and Russia were comprised of large minority populations which were always of concern to the imperial leaders. The Russians banished eastward large populations of Germans, Lithuanians, Latvians, Jews and Poles and the Turks committed genocide against the Armenians, which manifested an extensive program to eliminate non-Turkish ethnic influences. Kramer furnishes detailed and previously limited Great War historiographical discussions regarding these belligerents and their role in the dynamic of destruction.

Kramer incorporates, in the chapter titled "War, Bodies, and Minds," photographs, poetry, artistic works, and memoirs to illustrate the dynamic of cultural destruction and mass killings. The illustrations and verbal descriptions represent "the aestheticization of destruction" (230) which promoted "military and patriotic values" and "had a broad appeal extending throughout the highly literate European societies ... which constructed their image of war with reference to war stories in classical antiquity and national history" (231). Artistic expressions include works representing the art movement *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity), such as those by Germany's Max Beckmann and Otto Dix, as well as social realist Irishman William Orpen.

The interdisciplinary nature of the book will benefit the high school, community col-

lege, and university professor with outstanding background information and explicit examples related to the arts, humanities, genocide studies, and social sciences. Kramer's book would benefit the undergraduate and graduate with outstanding research and source materials related to a variety of topics previously unfamiliar regarding the cultural destruction and mass killings associated with the primary Great War belligerents. However, due to the book's mixture of narrative and analytical style, and its compactly written and doctrinaire prose, the book would be a hard read for general readers. Nevertheless, in presenting a comparative analysis of the European belligerents relating to their complicity in cultural destruction and mass killings, *Dynamic of Destruction* is an invaluable contribution in Great War historiography and pedagogy as the centennial of that military engagement approaches.

Williamson Murray and Jim Lacey, eds. *The Making of Peace: Rulers, States, and the Aftermath of War*. Cambridge University Press, 2009. 404 pp. \$26.00, paper.

Jessica Achberger
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The Making of Peace is a sweeping survey of the history of definitions of peace (and subsequently, war) throughout history. A collaborative volume written by historians from the United States and the United Kingdom, and edited by two historians from the Institute for Defense Analyses in Britain, it contains the usual problems of cohesiveness inherent with any edited work. However, for this particular subject matter, which stretches from ancient times to the present, having the input of various experts of specific periods proves to be positive and not detrimental to the value of the volume. This scope proves interesting and informative for readers who will most likely not be familiar with every case study presented, but there are other aspects of the book that leave historians of world history wanting.

The book begins with a chapter on The Peace of Nicias in 431 B.C., by Paul A. Rahe and then jumps ahead to a chapter on the 1643-48 Congress of Westphalia, by Derek Croxton and Geoffrey Parker, that ended the

Thirty Years' War. This large gap is accounted for due to the fact that the authors' focus is that of the peace made between states and states did not exist during the interceding period as Europe was controlled by the Holy Roman Empire warding off their heathen enemies. What is made clear by this focus is that the volume does not focus on states generally, but on European, and later "Western," states particularly, effectively ignoring ideas of peace around the world. Murray acknowledges this criticism in his introduction, stating that "Our only reply is that we have spread our net as widely as limitations of time and resources would permit," but this seems an acceptable retort more for a single authored manuscript, rather than an edited volume (6). The authors cannot be faulted for desiring to only examine war and peace within the West, but too often throughout the book it is presented as the basis for understanding conflict throughout world history and much of the language is decidedly Eurocentric and will be problematic for scholars of area studies.

This takes away from the fact that there is a considerable amount of useful information in the book, and a great deal can be gleaned from its pages. Authors of the chapters explore such diverse topics as the Congress of Vienna and Treaty of Versailles, to the establishment of peace in the post American Civil War South and the desire for democratic nationalism as a precursor for peace in the Middle East. Yet despite the diversity, changing ideas of peace are presenting as a connected, evolving narrative and are tied together through similarities such as the "Bedford debate" surrounding the appeasement of defeated adversaries. This includes the Treaty of Paris in which Great Britain restored the majority of France's West Indian possessions following the Seven Years' War and in the Treaty of Versailles, which the author explains by noting "the failure of Versailles lay not in the restrictions themselves but rather in the failure of the Allies to force the Germans to live up to the Treaty" through appeasement (230).

The broad nature of the book would make it very useful for classroom use, particularly for undergraduate or graduate students of European history; however, its decidedly Eurocentric portrayal of war and peace may not be the choice with students who do not yet have a greater understanding of world history. For those historians of European or American history, or simply

those from Europe or America, the book is an interesting look at how ideas of peace have changed and become what they are today and Murray is correct in stating that the book does help those in the West better understand ourselves, as is often the by-product of history. It is not necessarily true, however, that "If we cannot understand ourselves, how can we understand others?" as Murray claims (6). For in order to understand peace throughout world history a much wider geographic net must be cast, one in which each culture and civilization must be understood in its own context, not viewed through the lens of Western definitions of peace.

Neil Kent. *A Concise History of Sweden*. Cambridge University Press, 2008. 311 pp. \$25.99, paper.

Laura Wangerin
Latin School of Chicago

A Concise History of Sweden by Neil Kent covers, over the course of ten chapters and 269 pages of text, the entire sweep of Swedish history from the arrival of the first humans after the Ice Age to the environmental concerns of its 21st century population. This book is a good introduction to Swedish history, but will be most useful to readers who already have a good understanding of European history.

What Kent does well is demonstrate that Sweden's history was in no way isolationist. The first chapter, an overview of Sweden from its first Paleolithic settlements through Scandinavian Viking hegemony, gives the first hint that this book – purportedly a country history – is really world-historic in scope. This emphasis that Sweden's history can only really be understood by understanding how its people historically have interacted with other parts of the world is the greatest value of this book. Every chapter demonstrates significant interactions with other cultures, not just from a political point of view (as many a history is wont to do) but also from social and cultural standpoints.

Where this volume is at times problematic is perhaps due to its ambitious scope. For example, chapter 4, "Towards a Centralist and Military State," covers such varied topics as political consolidation, economics, religion, expansion, the Thirty Years

War, the arts, war with Russia, re-establishment of the universities, the reigns of various heirs to the throne, health and hygiene, orphanages, criminality, and witchcraft, from the mid-sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. This type of breadth in every chapter, while giving the reader a good sense of the cultural richness of Swedish society, at times feels disjointed.

As the book sets Sweden so squarely on the world stage and situates it within events outside its borders, this book might have utility for undergraduates who already have a good understanding of European history. Even when discussing what was happening within Sweden's borders, this would allow students to get more out of the material by being able to compare, for example, traditional medieval institutions such as the church and feudalism with other parts of the world. Alternatively, the text would make good auxiliary reading for classes examining larger issues (constitutional states, the world wars, development of a welfare state) as a case study or comparative study. The appendices are also quite useful, and include a detailed chronology of Sweden (829 CE – 2000 CE), its monarchs and regents, and its prime ministers. Periodic maps, illustrations, and photographs are also helpful, though for teaching purposes additional maps will probably be needed.

Stephanie J. Snow. *Blessed Days of Anaesthesia: How Anaesthetics Changed the World*. Oxford University Press, 2008. 240 pp. \$35.00, cloth.

Craig Patton
Alabama A & M University

Pain is an integral part of being human and from earliest times people have sought to come to cope with it or alleviate it. In this book, Stephanie Snow describes the discovery and spread of anesthesia in the nineteenth century and the ways in which it transformed medicine and society. Snow begins her account with a brief description of an operation in the late 1700s to highlight the painful and dangerous nature of surgery before the use of anesthesia. The pain and risks which attended operations meant that they were only undertaken as a last resort and, consequently, performed only rarely by most doctors. In the seventeenth and eigh-

teenth centuries, Western medicine, based on classical and medieval medical ideas, saw pain as a general indicator of health and not a specific entity that could be treated locally. In fact, while doctors often used alcohol or chemical mixtures in operations, they were reluctant to suppress feeling too much because they saw pain as a “vital stimulant that worked to protect the body” during risky procedures.

Throughout the following chapters, Snow points out how this traditional attitude was deeply entrenched in the medical profession and only slowly overcome. Likewise, running throughout the book is the argument that the two most important reasons for the eventual triumph of anesthesia were the work of several pioneering physicians, including her own distant relative, Dr. John Snow, and pressure from patients who had learned of anesthesia and insisted that they be allowed to use it. Thus, the overall picture is one of an often conservative medical establishment slowly responding to new ideas and practices in response to the successes of the reformers and changing public opinion.

Snow divides her book into eight chapters. The first two focus on scientific and medical research in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and how this contributed to new ideas about pain and techniques for alleviating it. She points out that despite increasing knowledge about the physiology of nerves and muscles in the 1700s, it wasn't until the 1800s that research on the brain provided an explanation for the physiological roots of sensation and pain and, thus, created the basis for the science of anesthesia (7-8, 17-18). According to Snow, in the early 1800s, a number of dentists and doctors were now able to use this new scientific view of anatomy to understand and regulate the effect of various chemical gases, some of which had been known for decades or even centuries, on the sensations and functions of the human body (34, 41). In particular, she singles out Henry Morton in the United States and John Snow in Great Britain as the most important figures in understanding and demonstrating how anesthesia, principally ether and chloroform, could be used to suppress pain without endangering the deeper, more vital functions of the body (22-26, 36-40, 44-47).

In the middle four chapters, Snow describes the gradual spread of ether and chloroform in various procedures, operations or treatments during the second half of

the nineteenth century. In chapter four she discusses the growing popularity of anesthesia in childbirth and highlights how Queen Victoria's decision to use it, overriding the initial objections of some of her own doctors, was a turning point in making it more acceptable (88-90). In chapter five she sketches the debates over the use of anesthesia on the battlefield and demonstrates its increasing use during the Crimean and American Civil Wars, although she notes the speed with which it was adopted varied among the different belligerents (105, 112, 115). However, Snow notes that the spread of anesthesia was neither smooth nor uniform. For example, in chapter three she points out doctors' willingness to administer it often depended on pre-conceived ideas and biases about the ability of different types of people to bear pain. Reflecting the widespread beliefs of the time, physicians typically assumed certain people, such as men, members of the lower classes, and “lower races,” had higher pain thresholds and therefore treated them without anesthesia (63-66). In a somewhat similar manner, the fact that chloroform was used or allegedly used to commit crimes such as burglary, kidnapping, rape, or murder made it “the Jekyll and Hyde of the Victorian drug market” and contributed to lingering doubts about the safety and desirability of such drugs (121). Yet despite the sometimes evil associations of chloroform and resulting anxiety about anesthesia, usage grew steadily since the potential risks were far less frightening than undergoing surgery without it (146).

In chapter seven Snow discusses how the growing use of anesthesia both reflected and reinforced new attitudes towards pain and contributed to a variety of reform movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries including anti-vivisection and penal reform. In particular, as anesthesia proved pain was not necessarily useful or natural, it led increasing numbers of people to regard “its infliction not just as inhumane, but as a great moral danger” (149). She also discusses how it led to intensified efforts to alleviate the suffering of the chronically or terminally ill using opiates and cocaine. And in the final chapter, she carries the story to the present, outlining the discoveries and impact of new drugs such as halothane and the increasing importance of anesthetists in modern medicine. She highlights how the two world wars contributed to these developments, especially the creation of anesthesiology as a specialist discipline in medical

schools.

Snow's account is straight-forward, well-organized and contains numerous examples and vignettes to illustrate her points. As such it is easily accessible and would therefore be well-suited for either advanced high school or college students interested in the history of medicine. It could also serve instructors as a rich source of information and interesting stories to use in the classroom to enliven lectures or stimulate discussion. What students and teachers of world history will not find is much in the way of broader analysis or a comparative framework. For example, while Snow touches upon the professionalization of medicine in a number of places, it is never developed in a systematic way. Similarly, there is no discussion of non-Western societies and how they have dealt with pain. This is certainly not a fatal weakness since she makes it clear at the outset that her focus is mainly on England and the United States, yet it seems a significant oversight, especially when she describes how physicians experimented with drugs derived from foreign products, e.g. opiates, cocaine, and curare. Presumably they became aware of the potential of these through Europe's contacts with and conquest of much of the world before or during the period studied. One wishes that her discussion of the impact of Europe's wars in stimulating new discoveries and techniques was matched by one on what impact, if any, imperialism and colonialism may have had on medicine in general and anesthesia in particular. Thus, while Snow's book is an informative and often lively contribution to Anglo-European medical history, its usefulness to students of world history is not as great as it could have been.

Teaching World History in Secondary School

One of the WHA's largest commitments is to extend knowledge of world history to younger students. We at the WHA believe that students should not have to wait until college to be exposed to a global education. Understanding cross-cultural interaction and development throughout history should begin earlier. In an ever increasingly connected world, the WHA believes that secondary school teachers are an important asset in this regard. Therefore, we make every effort to work with secondary school teachers in the field of world history.

Call For Papers First Annual Midwest World History Association Conference

October 15-17 2010, Loyola University (Lake Shore campus), Chicago

Theme: Middle Grounds

The Midwest World History Association, an affiliate of the World History Association, invites proposals from scholars and teachers for panels (up to 3 panelists, one chair and one discussant), single papers, roundtables (4 to 5 participants) and workshops on topics related to the pedagogical and scholarly aspects of the conference's theme: "Middle Grounds." We intend this theme to both encompass the concept of middle grounds in world history scholarship and to encourage the sharing of world history pedagogical practices between teachers and scholars at different kinds of institutions.

To underscore this conversational and inclusive focus, we particularly welcome workshops of pre-circulated papers (accessible to registered participants online) that would allow for open discussion at the meeting. In addition we encourage proposals from undergraduate students as well as mixed panels that include students, K-12 teachers, college professors and independent scholars.

Topics might include, but are not limited to:

- The connections between the K-12 world history curriculum and world history in the college classroom*
- Best practices for the training of future world history teachers*
- Discussions of syllabi, texts and lesson plans*
- Interrogations of moments of cross-cultural encounter, communication and negotiation in world history*
- The Middle Ground as "between" space: dividing and connecting the world we study*

Each proposal should include a 250 word abstract of the paper and a *curriculum vitae*. Where a complete panel is proposed, the convener should also include a 250 word abstract of the panel theme. Panelists should plan to spend no more than 20 minutes presenting their paper.

Proposals should be submitted in electronic format to Louisa Rice: ricecl@uwec.edu by May 15, 2010. Presenters must register for the conference by September 15, 2010 to be included in the program.

Conference participants must be members of the Mid-West World History Association. Further information about the MWWHA, including membership and conference registration (when it becomes available) can be found on our website: <http://www.mwwha.org>

Textbooks and Films, Facts and Problems: Linking Visual Literacy and Critical Thinking in the World History Survey*

James De Lorenzi

CUNY John Jay College

Teachers of the world history survey face a host of daunting pedagogical challenges. The chronological, geographic, and conceptual scope of our courses can exhaust our students with a seemingly endless deluge of unfamiliar places, people, and ideas, and the introductory nature of the survey often requires that we spend time attending to students' academic skills as well as their historical knowledge. To these challenges we can add the epistemological dilemma of introducing our students to the idea that history is an ongoing intellectual conversation, not the study and memorization of objective facts. In response to these and other challenges, Lendol Carter recently suggested a new pedagogical approach that he terms "uncoverage". In his view, history pedagogy should emphasize not the acquisition of information but the exploration of meaningful intellectual problems. Why? If we acknowledge that a fact-based, banking approach to teaching and learning conflicts with our disciplinary understanding of history as an evolving project of argumentation and interrogation, and if we accept recent claims that learning emerges from application, not memorization, then it follows that we can most help our students develop lasting historical knowledge if we build our courses around the exploration of key disciplinary questions—and not the illusion of comprehensive topical coverage.

For teachers of the world history survey, Carter's notion of

uncoverage poses a number of questions. Given the daunting scope and large enrollments of our courses, is it possible for us to feature highly complex intellectual problems as we also try to introduce our students to the major contours, themes, and debates of world history? Can we move towards a problem-based pedagogy if we employ textbooks that generally hide argument and authorial identity while promoting content-based reading?¹ And more practically, what would an uncovered world history survey actually look like? What would we gain? What would we lose?

I recently grappled with these questions while redesigning my world history survey at CUNY John Jay College. This undertaking emerged from a trend I noticed among our students: though they are often intimidated by abstract critical thinking skills like close reading, argument mapping, and counter-arguing, they sometimes intuitively practice these skills when they engage films and television, the main foci of their out-of-school media consumption

Indeed, many of our students see moving images as constructed and invested with argument even as they struggle to see the rhetorical dimension of academic texts on similar subjects. In short, their visual literacy is far more developed than their academic literacy. Struck by this pattern and curious about its pedagogical implications, I soon discovered that several scholars of teaching and learning have shown how precisely this kind of visual literacy can inform our classroom teaching. Peter Felten argues that many contemporary students are attuned to the authorial dimension of films, and suggests that with careful use, this awareness can provide a foundation for further historical thinking.² In a similar vein, John O'Connor has developed a film-based pedagogy called "critical viewing", in which films are used to introduce students to the notion of the past as representation.³

David Jaffee has explored the challenges students face as they compare images and printed texts: he notes that with careful scaffolding, the act of linking visual and literal can encourage students to think about texts in their historical context.⁴ And still others suggest that images can be used to engage students of diverse learning styles, broadening the range of classroom opportunities for inquiry and investigation.⁵ Though these scholars all emphasize the fact that visual literacy is simply a foundation for further inquiry—by no means does a turn to the visual eliminate the need to push our students to deepen and complicate their analysis beyond first impressions—their work nonetheless offers us an important insight: if we want to help students develop critical thinking skills and an understanding of history that transcends content, then it makes sense to privilege the specific form of literacy with which they are most comfortable.

I decided to try using this insight to create uncoverage in my introductory world history survey. In previous semesters, I based my survey on a textbook and used films as alternative texts to stimulate discussion or illustrate a particularly abstract or difficult theme. I now decided to abandon the textbook for a heterogeneous combination of films and other texts in a visual literacy-based pedagogy intended to emulate Carter's problem centered approach. Acting on the premise that students are better able to engage complex questions if their visual literacy can inform the task at hand, and recognizing that critical thinking often emerges from the act of forging links between disparate texts,⁶ I decided to build the course around a series of writing assignments that asked students to integrate their visual and academic literacies to explore complex historical and intellectual problems. In each assignment, I paired films with texts that would normally be quite challenging for students in our general education surveys: excerpts from specialist studies, rich primary sources, and contemporary analytic works. By making these pairings, I aimed to use films to give students a conceptual and historical orientation in a topic—a matrix of basic information—that would contextualize, support, and enrich their subsequent reading of other texts. After they viewed the films and then read the texts, we discussed the pairings in class before the students finally wrote an analytic paper that explicitly brought the visual and written texts to bear on a focused, complex question. Each

stage built upon the insights the students developed in previous ones, and each engaged multiple literacies.

I include here the most successful assignments rooted in this new approach. The first, which I now use at the conclusion of our modern survey, asks students to reflect on contemporary globalization by comparing a documentary film and two texts:

In *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, Thomas Friedman argues that “the more you let market forces rule and the more you open your economy to [international] free trade and competition, the more efficient and flourishing your economy will be.” Do you agree or disagree with this assessment of globalization? In a paper of 750 words, outline Friedman's argument and make your case using the film *Black Gold: Wake up and Smell the Coffee* and a recent article from *The New York Times*. You must include at least one quote from Friedman, the film, and the article.⁷

The next assignment asks students to consider decolonization through three seminal primary sources, including very challenging excerpts from Mohandas Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj* and Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*:

Imagine that you have been teleported to an alternate dimension based on this class. You decide to watch *The Battle of Algiers* with your friends Mohandas Gandhi and Frantz Fanon, and when it ends, they begin to argue about the role of violence in revolutionary movements. In a paper of 750 words, describe how you think Gandhi and Fanon would react to the events depicted in the film, and then choose a side in their debate using at least one historical example to make your case.⁸

The final assignment, which I now use in our early modern survey, introduces students to myth and memory by combining a documentary film with an excerpt from a specialist study:

Historian Matthew Restall outlines several myths that have developed surrounding the Spanish conquest of the Americas, and the film *The*

Last Conquistador describes contemporary conflicts that surround the memory of these events. In the film, one of the Acoma elders says that his ancestors “thought [Juan de] Oñate was the last conquistador, but he was not.” What do you think this means? Do you see any connections between the myths of the past and the present? Answer these questions in a 750 word paper.⁹

These three writing assignments each represent the final stage of the students' exploration of the problem at hand—the students do not receive the essay prompt until they have first viewed the film and then completed the required reading. I generally do not devote any of our class time to discussing the specific questions raised by the prompts.

Reflecting on these assignments and the nature of my world history survey since the redesign, it is clear that visual literacy-based pedagogy has moved my course towards the kind of uncoverage that Carter suggests—the class is now centered upon the exploration of rich intellectual problems with a reduced focus on topical comprehensiveness, and as a result, students feel less pressure to manage information (ie, facts) and more liberty to consider the implications of meaningful historical questions. This development suggests that if we incorporate the potential of our students' visual literacy into our course design, we can create more room for critical thinking within the challenging constraints of the world history survey. As much as this shift makes the course more satisfying for me as a teacher, it also creates a forum for the students to practice skills that have wide relevance outside the classroom. To my mind, this is one of the most important goals of history education—after all, as Sam Wineburg observes, “history offers a storehouse of complex and rich problems, not unlike those that confront us daily in the social world.”¹⁰ Though it is through confrontation with these problems that students develop lasting historical knowledge and analytic skills, it is precisely these problems that survey textbooks very often occlude.¹¹ Visual literacy-based pedagogy offers us one way of resolving these dilemmas.

But the survey redesign also revealed another, equally significant merit to visual literacy-based pedagogy: it can improve the performance of our most challenged stu-

dents. This trend, which I documented in detail through a teaching portfolio at CUNY John Jay College,¹² emerges from the fact that it is often our struggling students who can most capitalize on the academic potential of their out-of-school visual literacy. After comparing the performance of students in my redesigned course with students in one of my more conventional textbook-based courses, I discovered that the former outperformed the latter in a number of ways. The students who were able to draw on multiple literacies (ie, visual and academic) in their work were better able to identify claims, characterize complex arguments, and draw links between texts, and this was particularly true if their written work typically fell within the lower end of the grade range. This difference, manifest in the difference between the two classes' mean scores and standard deviations, is even more striking given the tremendous disparity in the kinds of texts the students were reading: the students in my visual-literacy based course dealt with highly complex and heterogenous texts (Gandhi and Fanon, for example), while their counterparts in the more conventional course focused exclusively on a narrative textbook. Thus it would seem that visual literacy-based pedagogy can foster uncoverage in an additional way: not only does it create room for problem-based thinking in large survey courses, but it also creates more opportunities for struggling students to engage with these same problems. In short, visual literacy can make uncoverage accessible.

** I would like to thank Jennifer Maloy, Allison Kavey, Greg Umbach, David Jaffee, and the students of CUNY John Jay College for their assistance with this article.*

ENDNOTES

¹ On these issues, see Richard Paxton, "Someone with Like a Life Wrote it: The Effects of the Visible Author on High School History Students," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 89 (1997), 235-250, and Avon Crismore, "The Rhetoric of Textbooks: Metadiscourse," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 166 (1984), 279-296.

² Peter Felten, "Confronting Prior Visual Knowledge, Beliefs, and Habits: 'Seeing' Beyond the Surface," *Journal of American History* 92, no. 4 (2006), <http://www.journalofamericanhistory.org/textbooks/2006/felten.html>. For a discussion of historical thinking, see Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching about the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 2001).

³ John E. O'Connor, "Reading, Writing, and Critical Viewing: Coordinating Skill Development in History Learning," *The History Teacher* 34, no. 2, 183-192.

⁴ David Jaffee, "Thinking Visually as Historians: Incorporating Visual Methods," *Journal of American History* 92, no. 4 (2006), <http://www.journalofamericanhistory.org/textbooks/2006/jaffee.html>.

⁵ Ryan Sprau and Larry Keig, "I Saw It In The Movies: Suggestions For Incorporating Film And Experiential Learning In The College History Survey Course," *College Student Journal* 35, no. 1 (2001), 101-113.

⁶ James Voss and Jennifer Wiley, "A Case Study of Developing Historical Understanding via Instruction: The Importance of Integrating Text Components and Constructing Arguments," in Peter N. Stearns and Samuel Wineburg (Eds.), *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives* (New York: New York University, 2000), esp. 380.

⁷ Thomas Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* (New York: Anchor Books, 2000), 7-16, and Marc Francis and Nick Francis, Directors, *Black Gold: Wake up and Smell the Coffee*, 2006.

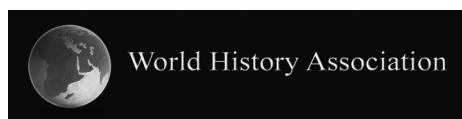
⁸ Mohandas Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj, or Indian Home Rule* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing, 2003), Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 35-37, and Gillo Pontecorvo, Director, *The Battle of Algiers*, 1966.

⁹ Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (New York: Oxford University, 2003), 100-130, and John Valadez, Director, *The Last Conquistador*, 2008.

¹⁰ Wineburg, 51.

¹¹ For discussions of this issue, see Wayne Weiten, Daniel Deguara, Erika Rehmke, and Laura Sewell, "University, Community College, and High School Students' Evaluations of Textbook Pedagogical Aids," *Teaching of Psychology* 26, no. 1 (1999), 19-21; and Danny Benbassat, Tim Underwood, Brian Bailey, Charles Albright, and Brian Caldwell, "Empirical and Perceived Utility of Textboxes," *College Student Journal* 42 no. 3 (2008), 939-944.

¹² This world history teaching portfolio and others like it are available through the CUNY John Jay College website: jweb.jjay.cuny.edu/history/facultyportfolios09.



The World in Relation to What?

Carl J. Post

Essex County College

Felipe Fernández-Armesto's *The World: A History* (Upper Saddle River: Pearson-Prentice Hall, 2007) is an unusual text. It shuns traditional political and military history per se in favor of a decidedly less narrow and much more humanistic approach. Not surprisingly, students often resent the book at first. It comes as a shock. They bristle at its resemblance to a travelogue—one in which dates and places are relative to a larger drama. The story is a compelling one even if it is rendered in what appears to be a rambling or even disjointed fashion.

Humans embrace the world even as it terrorizes them and eventually form a working agreement with it. Humans encounter one another and sometimes manage to form analogous agreements with one another. Success breeds confidence or even hubris. The situation slowly builds to one in which the humans seem to gain control of the situation. Weather, diet, disease and religion are complicating factors but progress toward what we consider modern

life appears to have been inevitable even at the dawn of earliest material cultures on the planet. Humans, their habitat and other humans combine to shape the world. There are two sides to this story.

Fernández-Armesto has the human race mastering, devouring and despoiling our planet. This horror story is ongoing. People come to live in this world with relish. Their maladroitness management strategy gainsays just about everything they have accomplished. Greenness is a tough variable to weave into a history text. This may be due to the fact that for all practical terms it eludes any attempt at pristine definition. Fernández-Armesto does not proffer a slide show such as that they might find in Al Gore's award winning film that covers the same subject. Students are instead left with an unsettled feeling of slowly approaching doom—a doom that has been in the works for quite some time.

They are perhaps equally disturbed by the author's refusal to provide them with finite algorithms. The negative aspect creeps into the story gradually. Neat little equations rooted securely in what students have traditionally been conditioned to see as causation are nowhere to be found. *The World: A History* deliberately denies it to them. Fernández-Armesto has other focal points in mind. He asks students to consider food, weather, ecology and folk myths. Chance and spontaneity are preserved. An implied scrutiny of the psyche and motivation of mankind and womankind is built into the narrative. Always the student must marvel at what happened, what might have been and the recurrent pattern of harmful behaviors.

Reviewing for tests in the traditional sense is rendered just about impossible. Teacher and student alike are handed an untoward challenge! It is immediately clear how daunting can it be? The first impulse is to shoot it down or reject it on the face of it. Students early on remark that Fernández-Armesto's narrative jumps around suddenly and without adequate warning from time to time and place to place far too much. The lack of linearity or clear thematic boundaries disturbs them. What are they studying? How will they study it? It seems apparent that teachers could and should have their hands full getting students to take the plunge and wade into *The World*.

There is however another way to look at the issue at hand. A careful examination of the text and its arguments reveals that Fernández-Armesto has consciously jettisoned traditional and hackneyed confines in order to free the minds and the spirits of contemporary students. He offers them and their instructors a chance to grow by exploding the history of the world in a series of contexts only loosely cir-

cumscribed by the dictates of time and Augustinian, Hegelian or Marxian Dialectic. Making use of this opportunity is exciting. It requires experimentation. Innovation is the order of the day. Frustration will pass. Dividends can and do accrue.

Methodology: At Essex County College in the Spring Term of 2008, a case study replete with a decision matrix was employed to dovetail with the assigned readings from the Fernández-Armesto text. The case study provided students with a frame of reference. The decision matrix formed a direct catalyst for their use of the book and their participation in the case study as well. Contexts or a framework so some sort appeared indispensable.

Fernández-Armesto's work is long on humans interacting with the planet and equally long on humans encountering and becoming involved for good for ill with each other. The book does not focus directly on economic matters. While some scant attention is paid to practical philosophy, and by extension to political theory, it eschews the traditional emphasis on wealth and power as key elements in the drive to create nation states. Students might fairly ask where modern countries come from after all? Nation states played a defining role by acquiring and expressing power and expanding their spheres of influence.

Plainly, they built markets and tried to play a key role in the flow of goods and wealth within them. Students at Essex County College could and would see the European embrace of and collision with the rest of the world as a species of empowerment. Major European countries were not so different from either corporations on the one hand or the executives who ran them on the other hand. Taking in the world as presented in Fernández-Armesto's book required mastery of it in part and carried with it onerous repercussions for the ecology of it at the same time. Western Civilization became dominant for several centuries-centuries in which managerial styles helped define the future of various locales.

If Fernández-Armesto supplied what happened and how it expressed itself inside a timeless seam of people and places, then the matrix and the case study would mark the mechanics of it all. How exactly did things get organized and damaged too. The course is World Civilization II. It is the second half of two part survey of the West within in the World. Happily at this particular community college chic pat answers concocted over the last three decades are not in vogue. The Atlantic Rim and other Global History concerns are sometimes alluded to but not addressed directly. This particular course traces events in the world from the Fifteenth Century to the Present. Tracing

the evolution of the world using a text by the same name would be more focused and workable when a case study model put into the scheme of things.

The case study had the added benefit of individualizing the learning experience. Why not just cast each student in the role of business people working under the same operational assumptions that governed the real representatives of the most successful colonial powers? Why not put them through the same changes in circumstances these real life factors or agents had to endure? Let them experience what it was like to develop and exploit both the New World and the older ones of Africa, Asia and later Oceania! They would soon be gaming. They might each of then individually confront and work through the vicissitudes undergone by the English, the French, the Dutch or the Portuguese. Spain was excluded because its *encomienda* model did not lend itself to a more or less modern business frame of reference.

This experiment in historical systems theory, syspeak or putatively the flow charting Imperialism came to fruition in two distinct episodes. The first was an input study done with view toward determining the feasibility of organizing the course in the manner outlined above. The second was a process measure in which the focus of the first effort was honed, sharpened and pointed much more squarely at the thesis offered by Fernández-Armesto in his text.

Input: In the Spring of 2008, the new approach was tried with no advance certainty that it could work at all. Would they read Fernández-Armesto more closely? Should they come to embrace non-linear yet broader perspectives on the evolution (and devolution) of civilizations as we know them? What elements would strike a responsive chord within them? A broad spectrum of variables were drawn from the text and linked together to form the conceptual basis for tightly drawn model. During each unit of the course, students had to confront a problem that would have been familiar to the four colonial powers. The rub or hitch came via the format in which the problem would be presented to them.

The solution was to devise and implement a business looking decision analysis matrix in which somewhat more familiar reference points would light the way. All problems in the staged matrix began with America in 2008 as a frame of reference. Modern day events and circumstances were out there waiting to be applied to five hundred years of historical patterns.

If the model and the matrix were unfamiliar to many of the students, and their instinctive reaction was to resist it as much as the text,

then the approach soon embedded it self in class discussions and lectures too. It began innocently enough. Students were asked to massage the cultures of two American states of their own choosing. They did so according to a staggered ten week continuum. The confluence of European Colonialists with Africa, Asia, the Americas and Oceania might well be understood from reading Fernández-Armesto's book. Portions of it were read aloud and all of the chapters were discussed. The end product of these discussions ought to be the deliberate elaboration of a dynamic by each individual student. What happened then and there could be abstracted and made into a role play within the case study.

Marking the milestones of gaming colonial outreach and aggrandizement had to be conducted in a painstakingly careful manner. The principle involved was loosely akin to game design and so it had an inherent appeal to today's youth. It made sense to some of the adult learners as well. They read the book, talked about it in class and drew inferences in order to play the game. There was independent learning going on separately yet all at the same time.¹

There would be no escaping the game. The game could not be played with any kind of prowess without using the Fernández-Armesto text. The essence of what happened when cultures collided and more rarely blended was there for them to observe and classify. Broad and putatively pristine outlines were not. This proved to be a wonderful thing. Students undertook the case study process in earnest beginning in the fourth week of the term and had to have it completed before they took their final exam. Ten gradable assignments fed into a comprehensive exam at the end of the term. The course itself centered on the words and ideas in Fernández-Armesto's text as put into fuller relief most assuredly due to the fact that they stood in stark contrast to a seemingly dynamic albeit modernistic corporate model. The process left no room for equivocation. Decisions had to be made. Decisions had consequences. They did not insure outcomes, They did vouchsafe the attenuation of process. Some might call that growth. Others might call it progress. Fernández-Armesto's words served as a constant foil for arguments to either side of that divide. In theory, the model gave each a tether as the course continued along its experimental trek.²

Once the student began his or her case study, the journey toward the final took on momentum. The interrelationships between an ostensibly non-political text and actual goings on over the course of almost five centuries were intertwined. Current events in the Americas, Africa, Asia and Europe added to

their feel for the subject matter. The fact that multinational corporations had survived or even prospered eluded nobody. Mr. Obama pointed out how much China was effectively colonizing and politicizing much of the world during his debates in the primaries. Chavez paid off the debts of Cuba and other countries. These countries had the money to buy Chinese weapons and accept the concomitant sphere of influence that came with it. Contemporary gamesmanship made the events of World Civilization since 1400 easy enough to visualize. Empires might still spell the end of everything before too long? Fernández-Armesto wanted them to notice it.³ Students still had to decide if human race had any real alternative to ruining the world's ecology.

The Matrix and the Case Study⁴

ONE - Choose two U.S. states. Students had to pick states that were no further than five hours flying time apart. Each state would have a different official religion.

TWO - Specify which has upstart county or region in purely religious terms. One of the states is troubled by an affluent county full of religious dissidents who try to refine or purify the established religion. The corporation run by the student functions in both states and the distinctive county as well. Students could behave like the Dutch in Japan or Indonesia. Students could be like the Portuguese in Angola.

THREE - Identify whether the state receiving upstarts has a governor or legislative chaos. The corporation aspires to relocate the people from the bumptious county into the other state for financial considerations both immediate and long term. It can fund a governor in the local election and establish him or her as a deputy administrator sympathetic to the corporation's needs. It can also fund opposing political groups all over the state creating an impasse or stalemate in the government there. Students draw on Fernández-Armesto to decide which course to take.

FOUR - List two religious values that impact the law suit by this state. The state that is losing its affluent group of dissidents wants to sue the state that is welcoming them. Cultural and religious strains surface. The corporation struggles to keep the confrontation from coming to head all the while profiting from their dealings with both states and the county as well.

FIVE - List two religious values that make the newcomers unwelcome in the new state. The county has migrated lock, stock and barrel to a new state where beliefs are different. Not unlike the Orange Free State,

the Cape Colony, Ulster, Palestine and other experiences of the late 18th and early 19th Century found in *The World*. An enclave is created. Tensions rise. Business areas end at the county line in both directions in the new place.

SIX - Decide Will either state secularize its government or culture after new industry arrives? A lot of uranium is found in the state the then affluent upstarts left and a huge lode of platinum is found just beyond the newcomer's enclave in their new state. Wealth and new ventures begin a leavening process that softens up the more rigid expressions of the official religions in both states. (But not the enclave.)

SEVEN - Advise and help mandate whether either state will reassert separation of church and state via taxation? The corporation can only hope that riches temper the much too sacral dimensions of each state. Religion can be marketed and made a bit more prosaic too.

EIGHT - Decide if your company sponsor missionaries from other religions in each state? In one state maintaining orthodoxy at all costs may not be conducive to progress or sound business practice. In the other centrifugal forces within the true faith could have the direct opposite effect. Franchising of Faith employing outlets stocked with videos, CDs and books can make religion omnipresent but a bit less suffocating. In the state where the outcast enclave now exists, trade barriers serve to isolate the wealthy new arrivals. The corporation helps the enclave and its neighbors live well but separately.

NINE - Note whether the French, English, Dutch or Portuguese Experience govern your choice? Students reflect back over the decisions they have made and compare their actions to strategies employed by one of these four European Empires. Mercantile interests are paramount until after World War I when monocentric Communist and Capitalist Empires begin to evolve.

TEN - Are two religions in two states at loggerheads with each other good for business? Can the company manager transition to a world in which Moscow and Washington are no longer the only stakeholders? In one state overseas investment are the hidden force behind the economy there. The dissidents who fled to a new state are no longer welcome back by their coreligionists. Not any price. In the other state, outside the increasingly troubled enclave, a pluralistic economic operating environment prevails. Religion is social and political but a bit more surface.

Students brought their completed case studies with them to the final exam. More than 60% of them had been able to select a European Colonial Model to justify their reasoning. They were tasked to apply what they has learned to a series of template driven questions drawn directly from Fernández-Armesto's *The World*. Had the matrix helped, hindered or neither one?

The Final Exam Process

A number of questions were used to assess how widely used and understood the Fernández-Armesto book and the matrix had actually been in practice. Each was linked to a text based transparency. T243 Is there a significant number of non-citizens in either state? If so, does this create a problem.? T245 Does International Trade play a major role in both states or only one? Why? T250 Are both states likely to remain high income or upper middle class in nature? Is one of them less likely to do so? Why? T256 How green are the two states? Is vegetation or the lack of it an issue in either state? T249 How densely populated are your two states? Is this important? T247 How many languages are spoken in each state? Does it matter in political, religious or economic terms?⁵

Each of the questions tended to showcase Fernández-Armesto's overall argument. They elicited a definable response. It was clear that the students had become cognizant of Fernández-Armesto's argument. See *Figure 1*.

Discussion: There were 50 completed exams. The six templates with embedded questions on them had formed nothing less than an experimental probe. This was facilitated by the fact that the publisher of the text offers a set of transparencies which contains all of the maps, tables and documents any instructor might want. The final exam itself contained templates. The illustrative aspects of the Fernández-Armesto text are there in their entirety. Wonderful for purposes of a slide show? Suitable for a telling cascade of slides too. But a more traditional use suggested itself.

For each question posed an accompanying map with a legend or data summary was attached. What they saw when they read the book either at home or in class was reified for them in a far more focused format. In practice, students could infer whatever they might like from analyzing them without reference to the case study at all. Some could and did. Winging it by using the assigned text represented the triumph of reverse psychology in those instances. Students rebelled against the arcane matrix and relied on the patent logic of their non-linear text instead. This was not always possible.

Figure 1

Question	Book and Case	Case Only	Book Only	Capture
T243 Is there a significant number of non-citizens?	4 .12	27 .82	2 .06	33 of 50
T245 Does International Trade play a major role?	10 .30	17 .52	6 .18	33 of 50
T250 Are both states likely to remain high income?	9 .25	23 .64	4 .11	36 of 50
T256 How green are the two states?	15 .44	12 .35	7 .21	34 of 50
T249 How densely populated are your two states?	6 .19	23 .72	3 .09	32 of 50
T247 How many languages are spoken in each state?	11 .38	15 .52	3 .10	29 of 50
Summary of Questions	55 .28	117 .59	25 .13	197 of 300

The six questions given above were analyzed for purposes of quality assurance. In three areas the reverse approach obtained. Immigration and population density and high income levels were most linked to the use of the case study materials. The book stood alone best on Fernández-Armesto's favorite area: greenness. It did almost as well as a source for international trade as an issue. The use of both the book and the case study at one and the same time loomed large in analyzing ecological history, linguistic nationalism and related ethnicity patterns and of course international trade too. The results suggested that among those answering the questions at all a dependency on the case study matrix surfaced whenever there was a doubt about the answer. Or the matrix dictated its own result as in the instance of how many languages were spoken in the two states each student had chosen. This was even more apparent in the question and template focused on resident non-citizen levels.

One major problem had arisen and it could scarcely be discounted or ignored if this experiment was repeated in the future. The two pronged approach of a non-linear text being coupled with a matrix failed to capture any answer at all from some students. Some of them had not done the work. Others had not been to class often enough. More than a third of the students could not respond to this final exam in a meaningful way. Perhaps too many questions had been asked. On the other hand it could be that simple compliance with book and matrix utilization were what was being measured and that alone. Clearly, something was

possible. Another try that incorporated lessons learned from the first experiment might show how much it might be. The end product was enough to whet one's appetite. A more focused or pointed experiment might demonstrate the wisdom of using a case study decision analysis matrix in conjunction with a richly informative yet decidedly non-linear book. The case study had already shown itself to be an added incentive to read the book, use the illustrations within it and to discuss issues raised by it. It ran parallel to the assigned content of the course and prompted more than 60% of the students to master the material successfully. The game theory or business model motif supplied a sufficient level of political content and causation to meet the needs of the a majority of the students. It did so without undermining or doing violence to Fernández-Armesto's wonderful platform text. The potential existed to do more with this two pronged approach.

Process: The second iteration came in the Fall of 2008. Since the previous effort had been a qualified success in that these urban community college students had overcome their initial resistance to non-linear history, and they had grudgingly seen the merit of using the case study as a foil in most instances, it made sense to be more direct about it the second time around. Students were given the case study as a part of their syllabus and given three full orientation lectures about it throughout the course.

There was of course a clear danger that the message would be lost in the medium. Case study and role playing could be an exercise in and of themselves—an exercise conducted without benefit of reading much of the Fernández-Armesto text. The objective needed to be

defined in advance. Students could scarcely avoid the inherent contradiction between industrial development and global well being. A global economy threatened the survival of that globe. Progress as it was traditionally defined resulted in planetary extinction. Human comfort and the pursuit of power by leaders, nations and the corporations that served as their entry into less developed areas would eventually dead end at a point of diminishing returns. And a finite point at that!

Being a manager in our role play empowered them. Wealth, power and influence blinded them. The ruling principle came down to continuing to rule. Was this bookish nonsense? Or a diatribe from the instructor laid on top of the obvious argument of Fernández-Armesto in his text? Just theory? Just a game? They might well balk at the whole scheme just as a third of the students had the first time around.

Relevance bordering at times on immediacy was the only evident safeguard in place to prevent that from happening. Timelessness was a hidden ally as well. They had little choice but to consider the proposition that a modern day case manager is the logical successor to a European Colonial Era Manager. Apple, IBM, Halliburton and Shell Oil executive were the heirs to world structures articulated by the agents of the Dutch East India Company, the Hudson Bay Company and others. The Dutch armed merchant fleets were by analogy the forerunners of private armies operating in the Middle East and elsewhere in 2008. Nationalism, empowerment and business were and are intertwined? Watching the evening news made it clear. In the previous year, foreign petroleum interests monopolized kerosene supplies in our own Southwest. They charged the citizens there usurious prices to stay warm in the Winter. Penetration by business meant influence, empire and the rape of the land and/or the people living on it.

The Republicans promised fifty nuclear plants if elected. What impact that might have on American land, water and inhabitants did not matter! Fernández-Armesto wrote about similar ill considered adventures in almost every chapter of his text! The students could find the connection with a bit of gentle if constant prodding.

Students were asked to organize their thinking around the case study rubric but only after numerous passages from Fernández-Armesto came to be read aloud and analyzed in class. Lectures provided some additional factual background but only as a source of context. Where were the Europeans coming from when they encountered Fernández-Armesto's World? The human factors or agents from English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese Imperial (Corporate) Concerns—concerns

allied with or synonymous with their respective governments—followed a pattern of manipulation and astute reaction to surprises until well into the 20th Century. They rolled with the punches whenever technological, religious or natural variables intervened in the process. Fossil fuels intensified their scope of activity. Disease and holy wars tended to inhibit it. Reasoning and operational perspectives mattered.

One striking exception to the rule stood out for the purposes of the case study as it had in History itself.⁶ The Spanish were not a valid model at all. Their reliance on the encomienda system or its successor the intendment system basically gave governors the right to rule and ruin just so long as they sent the requisite amount of spoils back to the home country. Endowing too many self interested individuals with rogue manager status fostered the development of centrifugal tendencies. Harsh individuals out for themselves provoked revolutions large and small. Zorro, San Martin and Bolivar follow closely upon the disinterested or less than comprehensive approach of Imperial Spain after its Golden Age had passed. Students saw this example as a how not to succeed in organizing an empire be it corporate, political or both. Religion was difficult to manipulate if your world view made you a prisoner of it and caused you to spend vast amounts of new found wealth in failed attempts to sustain a monolithic structure for it.

The corporate model or something definitely akin to it provided the framework for Civilization until the Cold War Era. It would take the division of the world into American and Soviet spheres of influence World War II to curtail a centuries old progression of businesslike readjustments. Events of 2008 seem to suggest that it did not end it. The process has begun anew with different distinctly non-European players such as Korea, China, India, and Venezuela having at the world in a familiar enough way.

Fernández-Armesto's text contains numerous examples of Europeans encountering and organizing the structure of alien or quite unusual places and the people living within them. His travelogue of humans at odds with each other and the natural environment is rich with material for students to absorb. Once digested these materials inform an ongoing decision process. What they were about to experience in all of its focused intensity found expression in the syllabus given out on the first day of class.

Essex County College Fall 2008
Syllabus for History World Civilization II - HST 102
Carl J. Post Instructor postc@mail.montclair.edu

TEXT: Felipe Fernandez- Armesto, *World: A History*. Volume II Prentice Hall, 2007

COURSE DESCRIPTION (from the Department Web Site): World Civilization II is the second half of a two-semester sequence. It examines aspects of the major social, political, economic, and intellectual developments of world civilization from the seventeenth century to the present. Emphasis is placed on the ideas and institutions that have shaped the society and culture of the modern world.

Clearly, this course lets you see how your world was shaped. You can and should be the judge of Western Europe. Was it the best Civilization the world has ever seen? Were there alternatives? Are there still?

COURSE STRUCTURE: Each week we will discuss distinct aspects of the change process that led us to one world today. The work is divided into several segments. They all feed into a case study. The influence of Europe and Western Tradition will be examined in this way. Your text serves as a travelogue marking the high points of human existence. The

author sees our world as a laboratory. He depicts the human race as sometimes creative but often destructive scientists at play within it.

How will we go about studying historical happenings and people this way?

On Tuesdays you will have:

A theme presentation and lecture by me;

Reaction from you.

On Thursdays you will have:

Readings from the text in class with discussion led by me.

Work is assigned and explained relating to a case study we will be using all term.

There will be a mid-term exam geared to the text readings. 10-23-08

There will be a final exam focused on the case study in relation to the text. 12-16-08

The Case Study: The case study casts you in the role of a manager working for a company supported by a colonial organizational philosophy. You are going through all of the decisions the Europeans had to make over four centuries in their dealings with the World. This is not a virtual realty game yet, but it could be. Listen as we read aloud text materials in class and be sure to read more in depth at home.

1. Name two states. Pick states that were no further than five hours flying time apart. Each state would have a different official religion. Name the Religions Involved.
2. Specify which has upstart county. One of the states is troubled by an affluent county full of religious dissidents who try to refine or purify the established religion.
3. Identify whether the state receiving upstarts has a governor or legislative chaos. The corporation aspires to relocate the people form the upstart county into the other state. It can fund a governor in the local election and maybe gain a pawn. Or it can fund opposing political groups creating an impasse in the government there!
4. List two religious values that impact the law suit by begun by one of the states. The state that is losing its affluent group of dissidents wants to sue the state that is welcoming them.
5. List two religious values that make the newcomers unwelcome in the new state. The county has migrated lock, stock and barrel to a new state where beliefs are different.
6. Will either state secularize its government or culture after new industry arrives? Why? The Industrial Revolution finds fruition in each state as a lot of uranium is found in the state the then affluent upstarts left and a huge lode of platinum is found just beyond the newcomer's enclave in their new state
7. Will either state reassert separation of church and state via taxation? Religion can be marketed and dummied down too. Can either state view religion as a valuable commodity? Why?
8. Will your company sponsor missionaries from other religions in each state? In one state maintaining orthodoxy at all costs may not be conducive to progress or sound business practice. In the state where the outcast enclave now exists, trade barriers serve to isolate the wealthy new arrivals. What will your company do to survive in each state?
9. Does the French, English, Dutch or Portuguese Experience govern your choice? Reflect back over the decisions they have made and compare their actions to strategies employed by one of these four European Empires.
10. Are two religions in two quite different states actually good for business? Can your company make a profit in the new 21st Century World? Explain your answer!

The Mid-Term (2 documents worth five points each): You will be asked to use one of two documents found in the Fernández-Armesto text in terms of their historical importance to the world's development.

The Final (2 maps worth ten points each): You will be asked to interpret two maps from the Fernández-Armesto text. Concepts from the readings and your completed case study will be involved.

Your Grade is determined by:

The Case Study - 10 exercises worth 7 points each	70 points
Mid-Term - 2 documents identified fully	10 points
Final - 2 maps analyzed appropriately	20 points

COURSE OUTLINE

(Overall themes are in italics.)

Unit One: Infidels within and without? *What if they discovered gold on oil on Mars?*

Begins 09-09-08	Read Chapters 16, 17, 18 and 19
09-18	case study item one is due
09-30	case study item two is due

Unit Two: True Faiths *All of the wealth of Potosi went for what?*

Begins 10-02-08	Read Chapters 20 and 21
10-14	case study item three is due
10-21	case study item four is due
10-23	Mid-term Exam

Unit Three: Crocodile Democracy *Does Civilization foster of hatreds?*

Begins 10-28-08	Read Chapters 22, 23, 24 and 25
11-04	case study items 5 and six are both due
11-18	case study item 7 is due

Unit Four: Tigers, Dandelions and Industry *What barricades? What sales? Which masses?*

Begins 11-25-08	Read Chapters 26 and 27
12-02	case study item 8 is due
12-09	case study item 9 is due
12-11	case study item 10 must be done
12-16	Final Exam

The semester carried with the impetus of plugging all of the readings and related discussions into the case study matrix. Each student described what was going on in his or her case study in written form. This was dutifully monitored. Near the end of the term all students shared what was going on with their two states out loud with the rest of the class. Deciding whether each individual student had followed Dutch, English, French or Portuguese models was a group process.

Consensus ran that the French were the most lenient and unlikely to interfere (Hispaniola notwithstanding). The Portuguese were undermanned and so used intermediaries or even stooges while they sometimes stooped to divide, conquer and garner slaves for transport in the process. Dutch conduct depended on the audience and did not play out in China or Japan the way it did in Indonesia. Circumspection or harshness could be employed depending on circumstance. By far the most successful and the most duplicitous approach was the one grafted on to the world by the English. Maximizing naval and mercantile assets by means of partitioning and sets at odds large areas of the planet meant market share-a share typified by the sun never setting on their sphere of influence by the time Victoria was the Queen.

Put in less pejorative terms, there was a sliding scale in terms of intensity associated with each of the four experiences. Laid back was French. A combination of laid back and hands on was Dutch. Determined and sometimes ruthless meant Portuguese. Invincible and perhaps immodest to a fault translated as English. Surely, the contestants for apprenticeships with Donald Trump on television needed to be at least Dutch and sometimes more to win another week's opportunity to secure the prize. Moving higher along the scale over time might yield then the much coveted year in the limelight. Being a colonial power's commercial arm reduced itself to a game.

The game was fun. The reality it represents could be sobering as Fernández-Armesto's text makes all too clear. Students played the game in the Fall Semester for a number of reasons. Knowing that there should be no mandated right answer so much as their own individual answer helped. Being assured of full credit for the project when it reached completion added to their eagerness as it assured then a reasonable grade for the course going into the final exam. They had to think, reason and read about what happened over the course of the centuries. The business of the world came to be business!

Nobody had to decide if the triumph of the corporate model as an organizational principle ought to be bemoaned or celebrated. It happened. The case study let them feel how it happened. It gave them a palpable means to work through the mechanics of modern civilization as it found in expression in European Empires bent on the creating and maintaining the ultimate in market shares. The pattern was clear enough. The details were all over the text.

A Role Play as a Mid-Term Exercise? Students had to examine documents from Machiavelli and Clausewitz drawn from the diskette in their text to prepare for a role play mid-term exam. The specter of pregnant little girls at a religious compound in Texas in of America 2008 made it easier to see the managerial aspects of dealing religious variables. The ongoing sectarian woes in Nigeria, Darfur, Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq served to reinforce the recurrent nature of these problems. Decisions made by European and Turkish managers hundreds of years ago set the stage for world events in the present era. Each student had to put his or her managerial hat on and decide what needed to be done about matters of Faith. Faith offered opportunities for splitting and expanding markets. Faith could also menace existing markets. The case study gave them a working rubric replete with algorithms devised in concert with their teacher for that very purpose.

Students came to their mid term and found they had to answer the following memo:

Mid Term Exam

MEMO

From: Operations Central
To: Case Managers United States
Re: Religious Woes
Date: Not disclosed October 2008

Religion is getting to be a complex issue for us. Three problems are at the forefront of our funded ventures at present!

1. We have a law suit pending from the purebreds.
2. We have met a lot of resistance from the new state over the people we have relocated there.
3. The people we relocated are not keeping a low profile at the border of their enclave and the rest of the state.

PLEASE COME UP WITH A POLITICAL AND A MILITARY MODEL FOR DEALING WITH THE SITUATION. REFER TO THE BRIEFING DOCUMENTS YOU BROUGHT WITH YOU IN YOUR PROPOSED SOLUTION.

What happened in History when your models were implemented?

Which will work better?

It presaged further analyses coming later on in the course. It reinforced the role of the matrix as a point of departure for examining Fernández-Armesto's critical words about our world. There was no one right answer. Well reasoned and coherent answers worked best. Incomplete or off the mark answers did not suffice. This had the clear advantage of forcing a high degree of compliance long before the final exam. Affective learning via the matrix could happen. They experienced the decision processes they were learning about in a tightly drawn analogy. But it had the trappings of a video or board game rather than a text book. A few students failed to take the mid term and later dropped the class. The vast majority did try their hand at it.

Students with an up to date case study matrix did well. Students who had read the book and listened to discussion of it in class did well too. Individuals who met both of these criteria waltzed through the test and enjoyed themselves in the process of doing so. Classmates took note and saw the beauty of doing likewise.

Two weeks before the final exam as alluded to already each and every student reviewed his or her case study with the teacher in class. It gave them a chance to repair gaps in their preparation and their overall understanding. Direct ties to passages read in class from the Fernández-Armesto text spurred them on. Students were asked to identify applicable or striking passages beforehand. The onus to read them changed into a passion to cover things that seemed meaningful to the individual student. The stage was set. All was in readiness.

A Deterministic Final Exam? Did they learn anything? Fernández-Armesto argued that civilizing elements had ruined the planet. The case study helped each student grasp the details of his case? Or at least that was the supposition on which the second iteration of the experiment was based! The final exam had to validate the wisdom of doing non-linear history in this manner. Two templates sufficed. One centered on income, growth and power. The other focused on the diminishing level of greenness in the world.

Final Questions:

Are either of your states still mostly green?

Is a disappearing environment a factor in either of them? Explain.

Are both states likely to remain high income? Discuss.

Discussion: These two templates and the same questions had been part of the array in the Spring (See Figure 2). Each drew high scores for case study and/or book awareness.

In the second iteration the capture was greater. More students used the book in combination with case study or the case study itself to discuss the economic material than in the first round of the experiment. Reliance on the book to guide them either by itself or in conjunction with the case study remained at a high level. Green issues were showcased well in Fernández-Armesto's text. Economic issues per se did not find full or clear expression without clarification by the teacher and the matrix. The book did not have econometrics as its focus. They could however be brought to bear to complement or amplify its arguments.

Cui Bono?

What if anything had been achieved? How do the final results from the Fall vary from those of the Spring? Are they significantly better in any important way? The answer devolves upon the concept of student involvement or more strictly, increased capture. Could it be that the learning experience had been amplified or intensified as a result of a more earnest attempt to dovetail the use of a provocative text with a most businesslike decision matrix? It was a matrix any business person would love? The text could not help but strike a responsive chord in the hearts and minds of humanists and environmentalists? Perfect foils. Did they really have an impact when used in tandem?

In the Spring, 50 students had taken the exam. Complete answers for the high income question were at the 72% level. Some 18% of all students taking the use the book and the matrix to answer the question. The matrix in of itself was used by 46%. The book in and of itself accounted for a mere 8% of the completed responses. Only 26% of the students being examined relied on Fernández-Armesto in some way to assess high income accrual as a historic variable. The results for the greenness variable were: 30% used the book and the

Figure 2

Question	Book and Matrix	ONLY Matrix	Book Alone	Capture
T250Are both states likely to remain high income?	9 .25	23 .64	4 .11	36 of 50 .72
T256 How green are the two states?	15 .44	12 .35	7 .21	34 of 50 .68

FALL 2008				
Question	Book and Matrix	ONLY Matrix	Book Alone	Capture
T250Are both states likely to remain high income?	12 .413	14 .484	3 .102	29 of 34 .85
T256 How green are the two states?	10 .34	12 .41	7 .24	29 of 34 .85

COMPOSITE OF BOTH TERMS				
Question	Book and Matrix	ONLY Matrix	Book Alone	Capture
T250Are both states likely to remain high income?	21 .32	37 .57	7 .11	65 of 84 .77
T256 How green are the two states?	25 .40	24 .38	14 .22	63 of 84 .75

matrix; 14% relied on the book alone; and, the matrix by itself accounted for 24%. Fernández-Armesto proved valuable to 44% of the students evaluating ecology as a variable.

In the Fall, 34 students took the exam. Complete answers for the high income question were at the 85% level. The number of students using the book and the matrix was found to be 35%. Students using the matrix alone equaled 41% and those relying on the book alone a mere 9%. The second time around 44% of the students used Fernández-Armesto to help them analyze the high income issue.

The results for the greenness variable in the second iteration were: 29% used the book

and the matrix; 21% relied on the book alone; and, the matrix by itself was employed by 35%. Fernández-Armesto proved valuable to 50% of the students evaluating ecology as a variable.

Conclusions

Two contradictory concepts were grasped, digested and understood by approximately half of the students registered for the Fall Semester. The use of the matrix retarded a complete embrace of the subject matter by some of them. On balance it should be argued that it helped more than it hurt. More students used Fernández-Armesto is some fashion to delve into economic issues as well than had been the case earlier on. Slightly more turned to the book alone for the evaluation of greenness. Involvement by them with Fernández-Armesto's text and its arguments increased. There is no escaping the fact that the case study process and the matrix intrinsic to it spurred them on.

Capture in terms of compliance can be linked to the use of a two pronged approach to teaching World Civilization since 1400 using a non-linear albeit very topical text. The focus was refined by setting globalization in the context of corporate decision making as it evolved when the Europeans met and supposedly mastered the rest of the world. The problems they faced became susceptible of reduction into algorithms. The algorithms in turn could be put into fuller relief via their application to two contemporary American locations. Policy decisions and variables were thereby clarified and etched into the student's minds. There was of course one variable that remained unmanaged then and now.

Fernández-Armesto's travelogue is rich in detail but it also tragic in a very profound sense. He faults the human race for squandering the opportunity provided by such a once beautiful planet. The decay is ongoing. The management of the world by the human race accelerates the process. The human condition is complicated or muddled by empowerment strategies and the insane pursuit of wealth and creature comforts. Civilization can be at cross purposes with the survival of the human race and the livability of its habitat. The end result thus far is clear enough.

Students are given no choice but to do the things Fernández-Armesto finds so worthy of criticism. They engineer

two states along the outlines of a staged process. Western Civilization made our way of life in this manner. They can transmogrify the world too. The process gets to be ingrained within them. What about its implications?

A Working Guide to Our Own Ruin?

Fernández-Armesto's *The World* provides each student with an ample amount of what might have beens together with an uncompromising indication of what may indeed no longer be. A anti-historical perspective serves only to reinforce the notion that the quest for power is headed for a dead end. The final exam required an assessment of this reality by each student. Many of them addressed it directly. The vast majority felt certain that the human race would not change it ways in any important way. The undiminished thirst for bigger empires and more resource intensive articulation of them struck them as a given.

Whether this is pessimism or realism is subject to debate. World Civilization is after all a course in what is and not what might ideally be. The game and the text used in tandem made the subject come alive for students at an urban community college. Each learned their own individual lesson. Each will retain a familiarity with civilization both concretely and abstractly. Did the human race destroy the planet? Yes. Did they have another option? Without using 20-20 hindsight, students would by and large answer that they did not.

ENDNOTES

¹ Bedore, G. L.; Bedore, Marlene R.; and Bedore, G. L., Jr. (1998). *Online education: The future is now*. (2nd ed). Phoenix, AZ: Socrates Distance Learning Technologies Group/ART Press.

² http://www.uwex.edu/disted/conference/Resource_library/proceedings/01_66.pdf

³ <http://cat.inist.fr/?aModele=afficheN&cpsid=16421563>

⁴ http://www.mindtools.com/pages/article/newCT_03.htm

⁵ Transparencies Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, Tufts University ISBN-10: 0131985051 ISBN-13: 9780131985056 Publisher: Prentice Hall Copyright: 2007 Format: Transparency Published: 11/02/2006

⁶ Ringrose, D. *Madrid and the Spanish Economy. 1560-1850* (1983) <http://libro.uca.edu/ringrose/madrid.htm> especially Chapters 4 and 12.



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**Phi Alpha Theta / World History
Association
Paper Prizes in World History - 2010**

**Entries must be e-mailed or postmarked by
June 30, 2010**

Phi Alpha Theta and the World History Association, with a generous subvention from Oxford University Press, are co-sponsoring two student paper prizes in world history, each of \$400, for the best undergraduate world history paper and the best graduate-level world history paper composed in the 2009-10 academic year.

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 might 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 be eligible, students must be members of either The World History Association (www.the-wha.org) or Phi Alpha Theta (www.phialpha-theta.org) and must have composed the paper while enrolled at an accredited college or university during 2009-2010.

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

Submission guidelines:

Submissions must be no longer than 30 typewritten, double-spaced pages of text, exclusive of the title page, endnotes, and bibliography.

Number all pages except for the title page.

Endnotes must conform to standard historical formats. Do not use parenthetical notes.

The author's identity is to appear nowhere on the paper.

A separate, unattached page should accompany the paper, identifying the author, title of paper, home address, telephone number, e-mail address, 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 dur-

ing the 2009-2010 academic year.

Papers that do not adhere to these guidelines will be disqualified.

Submit the paper either:

Via MS Word e-mail attachments of 1) the paper; 2) the page with identifying information; and 3) the abstract. The faculty member's letter must be e-mailed or posted separately.

Email to the Committee Chair, Laura E. Wangerin, lwangerin@latinschool.org

OR

Via hardcopy to the Committee Chair, below.

Hardcopy submissions must include four (4) printed copies each of the paper, the page with identifying information, the abstract, and the faculty member's letter. Mail to: Laura E. Wangerin, Department of History, The Latin School of Chicago, 59 West North Boulevard, Chicago, IL 60610.

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.

NOGWHISTO Update

"NOGWHISTO" is a real jaw-breaker of an acronym, but it helps you to remember the important organization to which it refers: "Network of Global and World History Organizations." NOGWHISTO was founded at a July 2008 meeting in Dresden and the WHA became a member of NOGWHISTO as a part of that founding.

NOGWHISTO is an umbrella organization formed of associations based in several parts of the world. Its purpose is to allow world historians to become a group affiliated with UNESCO though its organization of historians, the CISH (Comité International des Sciences Historiques).

NOGWHISTO includes four organizations of world historians: the World History Association (WHA), the European Network in Universal and Global History (ENIUGH), the Asian Association of World Historians, and the African Network in Global history. In addition, a Latin American and Caribbean group is in process of formation.

The exciting development of NOGWHISTO is its advance of world history on two fronts. First, NOGWHISTO represents a worldwide collaboration in world history, in which scholars based in Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, and North America can meet on an equal basis and develop a global discourse on world history. Second, NOGWHISTO will introduce that global discourse on world history to the historical profession as a whole, through its membership in CISH.

The CISH meets every five years; it last met at Sydney in 2005. When the CISH meets in

Amsterdam in August 21-28, 2010, NOGWHISTO will become a member of CISH.

As a ceremony of transition, NOGWHISTO will hold a one-day conference in Amsterdam, August 20 or 21, 2010, at which members of the WHA and other member organizations will present summaries of current knowledge and current debates in world history. Five representatives of WHA will be among the twenty presenters at the NOGWHISTO conference.

WHA members are urged to attend the CISH conference and the accompanying NOGWHISTO meeting in Amsterdam. This gathering of historians every five years provides insights into new and continuing work in many areas of history. Now—and for every CISH meeting thereafter—it will include a substantial portion of the program with a focus on world history.

Women's Professionalization as an Entrance into the Public Space in Ukraine: A Historical Retrospective*

Alissa Tolstokorova

Kiev, Ukraine

The second half of the 19th century was an important period in Ukrainian women's history insofar as it was a stage for gender construction and the emergence of women on the public scene. Ukrainian historiography shows, however, that unlike in Western gender cultures, gender construction in Ukraine, as in the whole of Russia where its core territory belonged at that time, was related to the self-representation of women primarily in the public sphere, focusing on reforms within the social domain. At that stage, women's emancipation did not yet change the existing gender order, but rather created new styles of behaviors, new roles, new forms of social interaction and succeeded in recasting the "gender contract." The starting point for emancipation was the movement to secure the right to higher education and professional career.¹

The Ukrainian specificity in the history of women's contribution to the social and intellectual capital of society has received little attention in either sociohistorical or educational scholarship. The few works, directly or indirectly addressing this aspect of Ukrainian social history, dwell mostly on its pedagogical dimension, while the sociocultural aspects of the history of women's entrance into professional employment, i.e. their social organization as a professionally feasible group and its impact on social change, are obliterated in the Ukrainian scholarship. The effect of academic migration to West-European universities on the integration of women into the high-skilled labour market at home, particularly after the abolition of serfdom, has hardly ever received attention in the Ukrainian historiography. There-

fore, the *social relevance* of this paper is in focusing on the social history of the formation of a Ukrainian professional class from a gender perspective. The *central concept* of this paper is “*professionalization*,” referring to a process whereby an activity or occupation becomes a high-skilled profession due to higher education. It implies “the development of a specific type of a collective consciousness and organization as well as a collective representation of interests and the approval of strategies.”²

The *main goal* of the paper is twofold: On the one hand, it aims to identify the Ukrainian specificities of women’s entrance into the public space in the late-19th and early-20th century; on the other hand, it examines the role of higher education in changing the gender identities and family roles of Ukrainian women and in their social organization as an educated class.

Historical Context of Women’s Entrance into Public Space of Intellectual Professions

For centuries, intellectual professions have been a limited resource available only to a selected few whose knowledge and skills could be used to maintain the social, political, and economic order in that given society at that given time. Women have been traditionally excluded from this elitist group and discouraged from pursuing intellectual careers. For that matter, they were denied access to higher education as a prerequisite for entrance into the intellectual labor market and as a social tool of selection for leadership roles and occupational rewards in society. Therefore, academic training was entitled the power “to open or bar the way to vocational and professional opportunities for women.”³

In Ukraine, public awareness about the need to provide access to higher education to women began to take shape no earlier than the second half of the 18th and early-19th centuries. Rapid socioeconomic and cultural developments during this historical period increased the requirements of the state to the level and quality of education of its citizens and changed the attitude of society toward educated women. The establishment of the Ministry for Education enabled the spread of women’s educational institutions and their incorporation into the system of formal training. Hitherto, education was offered to women through a network of private boarding schools, created across Ukraine in the late 18th century.

In the wake of the 19th century, a range of reforms were launched in higher education, granting women a collective access to the academic space. The first public women’s institutions were established in Ukraine by local communities. They were aimed at educating upper-class girls and were financed by the state. This process was bolstered by the spread of the progressive educational ideas of the European Enlightenment. It became a matter of vogue and prestige amongst the Ukrainian upper class to

educate their off-springs in the European fashion. To this end, noble families invited teachers from Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and France to provide home education to the younger generation. Equally, well-off parents sent their sons and daughters to study at top-rank European Universities.

Key Determinants of Women’s Social Organization as an Educated Class

At the turn of 20th century, women became an integral part of the educated class in Ukraine, ensuing their long-term struggle for the right to higher education and vocational training. As a result, they received access to professional self-realization in intellectual careers as teachers, doctors, lawyers, entrepreneurs, and so forth. Women’s professionalization had far-reaching social consequences: it affected not only the private lives of female students and their closest milieu, but also the socioeconomic order of society at large; the gender structure of the work force, family relationships, and ways of social organization were being reconstituted. Among the key determinants that set the stage for women’s entrance into the professional realm were economic, cultural, ethical, and religious factors.

Economic Factors: After the abolition of serfdom in the Russian empire, many families of destitute gentry could no longer provide for their daughters. Therefore, young women required their own means of economic self-reliance. The only feasible possibility for it outside of marriage was to seek employment in the newly shaped labor market, which required knowledge and skills. At that time, women generally received education at home or at private boarding schools and were trained, first and foremost, in the humanities, which limited their choice of paying jobs. More specifically, they could count on finding employment mainly in translation, handwriting, office work, low-paying journalism, school teaching, and so forth. A traditional occupation for a destitute gentry woman after emancipation was the position of governess at a private estate, although the outspread of public education throughout the country tangibly limited this opportunity. The social image of women was that of caring and attending individuals, particularly for children, the elderly, the sick and animals, thus predefining the range of occupational possibilities for females. As noted by J. Tuve, “it was often the estate mistress who had the only supply of medicine and cared for the peasants in their infirmities. Medical quacks and charlatans were as often women as men. Even more important was the fact that the practice of midwifery had not been preempted by men and that the government had officially sponsored minimal training for mid-wives for more than a century.”⁴ Therefore, another possibility for a destitute woman seeking employment outside the home

was to pursue a medical career, specifically in nursing and midwifery. Medical professions became available to women after the Crimean war, when Nickolay Pirogov, a prominent Russian surgeon and an advocate of women’s rights for education, founded and headed a Krestovozdvizhensk community of nurses. Later on, due to the spread of a network of medical schools, hospitals, and health-care services, the tzarist government enabled women to enter jobs at public and governmental institutions as midwives, doctors’ assistants, and chemists, as well as accountants, educators, and telegraphers.⁵

Ethical, Religious and Cultural Factors: After emancipation, in addition to economic factors enabling the social exteriorization of middle-class women and facilitating their involvement in the work force, ethical and moral underpinnings were also gaining currency. The liberation movement raised women’s self-esteem and ignited their aspiration for intellectual independence and interest in the public life.⁶ Women sought to be socially and economically independent, and to have an opportunity to make their own living based on their personal talents and skills. Often, they pursued college and professional careers upon the encouragement of their parents, who were progressive enough to accept the new roles of their daughters as entailed by the dissolution of the patriarchal family hierarchy. They realized that under the new economic order, homemaking and marriage were no longer the only possible life careers for them, and they were willing to equip young women with the survival skills necessary to succeed in society. Thus, in the discussion of a “women’s issue” launched in the popular Russian journal *Sovremennik* (*The Contemporary*) a letter from an impoverished noble woman was published, wherein she wrote: “Yes, my daughters will be good homemakers, but this is insufficient. I would like to educate their minds and train them as governesses.”⁷ Such a gender transformation in the intergenerational continuity among middle-class families was a hallmark of that era, an imperative of the time, enabling the middle class to retain its social order and prestige. This tendency was observed in many countries across the globe. For instance, in the New World, a social homemaking daughter was supposed “to fulfill her parents desires to help society.”⁸

It is notable that issues of women’s education were pinned on the moral, ethical, and cultural challenges faced by the society. More specifically, a new generation of educated mothers, it was believed, was expected to provide the country with new generations of educated children, and in doing so, enable the spread of educational ideas across society at large. Discussions in the press underscored the importance of education for women not only from privileged families, but from all social ranks. Many in society encouraged the reinforcement of a spiritual and religious upbringing in public institutions for girls and young women. Therefore, the prevalent belief at

that time favored educational institutions for girls, providing “religious, moral and intellectual education, although in the scope not exceeding the standards, acceptable for prospective mothers and wives.”⁹ Among them, parish, church, and cloister schools were the most wide-spread. These were mainly closed institutions that enrolled daughters of the clergy to prepare them for future careers as homemakers and priests’ wives.¹⁰ Orthodox priests and students of ecclesiastic seminaries were discouraged from marrying women from non-clergy families. However, in the second half of the 19th century, young priests, for the most part highly educated, began to seek educated secular wives in preference to daughters of the clergy, who often were poorly educated or even illiterate. This tendency precipitated the launching of the educational system for priests’ daughters, aimed to enable them to match the intellectual and social expectations of their prospective husbands. Furthermore, a network of charity schools was organized, affiliated with churches, cloisters, and seminaries and providing elementary training to orphans and girls from poorest families unable to cover their daughters’ education. These girls received training mainly in manual skills necessary to obtain employment in the labor market. The schools had a strong focus on religious and moral education, with the study of “Divinity Law” being mandatory.¹¹

Role of Academic Migration in the Emancipation of Ukrainian Women

In 1861, under the pressure of the civil rights movement and activist women, universities in the larger cultural centers of the Russian empire started enrollment of the first female students. In Ukraine, Kyiv St. Vladimir University opened its doors to women and they availed themselves of this opportunity in great numbers.¹² However, the tsarist government soon began using the ensuing turmoil of the student movement as an excuse to deny women’s access to academia. The new University Statute of 18 June 1863, banned university attendance of females, while school administrations were prohibited from licensing them for course auditing. Despite the plethora of petitions and protests by women, the prohibition persisted until 1905. The exclusion of women from academia by the Russian autocracy was aimed at weakening the women’s liberation movement. The experience of the first years following educational restrictions, however, made a tangible impact on the advancement of women’s struggles for the right to higher education and professional training. The governmental policy aimed at inhibiting the educational advancement of women failed to “kill their crave for knowledge,”¹³ because for most of them it was not a tribute to fashion, but a true aspiration to gain equality of opportunities in society. Being denied access to academia at home, women started to flee abroad to study in Heidelberg, Berlin, Dresden, Geneva, Vienna, Sorbonne,



Philadelphia, Helsinki, and others. The choice of these sites as targets of educational migration had mainly linguistic and historical underpinnings. The upper classes traditionally were in good command of French -- as the *lingua franca* of that time -- and less so of German, while English was not popular. This was the reason why the first wave of academic mobility was aimed at French-language universities in France (Sorbonne) and Switzerland (Bern and Zurich), the two European countries that first opened their doors to female students. Switzerland was also attractive to Russian students for its liberal ideas. Interestingly, although Switzerland was a pioneer in student enrollment for women, the opportunities were accessible mainly to foreign females, while native Swiss women at that time were not admitted to university auditoria. As a result, the first female students in Zurich were from the Russian empire.¹⁴ Later on, women from other East European countries started applying, in particular, from Poland.¹⁵ When higher education became accessible to women in Germany and Austria in the 1890s, the flux of female migration for educational purposes shifted to German-speaking academia: Heidelberg, Vienna, and Berlin.¹⁶ In the Nordic countries, women received access to higher education during the 1870s and 1880s, and some women from Ukraine went to study in Stockholm and Helsinki. However, due to the language constraints, Ukrainian women academics were not numerous in the region. British universities were not among the priorities for academic migration, as Cambridge and Oxford did not open their doors to women until after the First World War.

Switzerland was a “real Mecca”¹⁷ for female students from Ukraine, with schools of higher

learning in Zurich and Bern, where the access to higher education was opened to females as early as 1867.¹⁸ The increasing numbers of female students leaving Ukraine to study in Switzerland was regarded by the tsarist government as a challenge, given that Zurich at that time had a reputation as a center for socialist propaganda among immigrants from the Russian empire. To this end, a special governmental commission was created to study the activity and composition of immigrant communities in Zurich. According to the data from this commission, throughout the period between 1869 and 1873, 103 female students from Russia and Ukraine studied in Zurich. According to other sources, between 1860-1900 more than 700 of the 1200 foreign female students at Zurich University were women from the Russian empire.¹⁹ As evidenced by the archival data,²⁰ a prominent Ukrainian educator M. Dragomanov (working in Zurich at that time) underscored that two-thirds of female students at Zurich University were of Ukrainian origin. His contemporary, an outstanding Ukrainian female writer Olena Pchilka, testified to this claim referring to the statistics from the 1860s. It evinced that there were even more female students from Ukraine at West-European universities than from a more populous Russia. Most of them were medical students at Zurich University. As mentioned by O. Pchilka, Russian and Ukrainian female students as a group enjoyed a great reputation among European professors, who found them to be even more talented and industrious than their male colleagues.

A number of prominent Ukrainian women received their higher educations in European universities, and upon their return home made a tangible contribution into the social change and

democratic reforms at home. In particular, the first Ukrainian female doctors received training in Switzerland. Among them Sofia Dmitrieva, who studied medicine first in Zurich and then Paris, where she received a research degree. Seraphima Shakhova, born in Katerynoslav (currently Dnipropetrovsk) received a degree in medicine in Bern after her studies in Zurich. Upon her return home, she worked as a doctor in Kharkiv and was among the first females officially licensed to practice medicine in Ukraine. Maria Valytska, born to a doctor's family in Odessa, after studying medicine in Zurich finished her education at St. Petersburg, and in 1884, was granted a research degree in medicine. Maria Ivanovksa-Raevska (1840-1912, born near Kharkiv), a painter and an educator, received her higher education at Dresden University, and became the first woman in the Russian empire to receive a degree in the arts. Upon repatriation, she founded a school of painting in Kharkiv which later was reorganized into a college of the arts. An author of a number of school books on painting for beginners, Ivanovksa-Raevska did much for the spread of artistic education in her native region of Slobozhanschina.

Main Stages in the History of the Professionalization of Ukrainian Women

The year 1872 represents a milestone in the history of higher education and professional training for women. That year, a State Commission for the Study of Higher Education for Women was founded. The failure of the government to sufficiently provide the qualified personnel for secondary schools (on the rise after the abolition of serfdom) exacerbated new approaches to this challenge. A satisfactory outlet was found in the encouragement of greater involvement of females in school teaching. Upon rigorous study of the issue, the Commission made a decision to establish a network of licensed higher education courses for women. This ushered in the era of large-scale professionalization and intellectualization of women, which brought about their integration into the knowledge economy at that time. Generally, three main stages in the history of women's entrance into the realm of higher education are being put forth.²¹

The first stage (1872-1888) started with the foundation of the above Commission for the Study of Higher Education for Women. In 1873, a statute for institutions of higher learning for women was adopted. Later, a decree on the mandatory repatriation of all women studying in Zurich, was issued. In 1876, a special decision enabled the launching of training courses for women in large university cities. The first of these became available in Kyiv in 1878. Meanwhile, attempts to make them available in Odessa (in 1879) and Kharkiv (in 1884) failed, as a result of the political stagnation in the country.

The second stage (1889-1905) was benchmarked by the resistance of the tsarist autocracy

to the spread of higher education among women, and was premised on the increasing restrictions to the maintenance of existing higher education courses and prohibition to create new ones. In order to confront these restrictions, new ways and methods were designed to provide women with opportunities for intellectual engagement. These were offered by way of public lecture courses for women, taught at universities. For example, Novorossiysk University in Odessa offered courses in natural and mathematical sciences; Kharkiv University organized courses in history and humanities.

The third stage (1905-1917) represented the period of the most massive entrance of women into the system of University training. The introduction of new higher education courses for women was gaining currency. Most of these were private ventures, some were backed up publicly, whereas very few were financed by the state. Generally, their curricula and academic goals were identical to those of public universities. Most popular among women were courses in the humanities, history, and the natural sciences, although those in physics and mathematics were also in high demand.

Gender Effects of Ukrainian Regionalism on Women's Education

Regionalism is a significant factor in the social history of Ukraine. Nowadays, the country consists of two core geoeconomic regions, distinct from each other across a range of variables, with the axis of their differences revolving mainly around ethnic identities and the mentality of their residents, factors which are predicated on the specificities of their geopolitical past. In the second half of the 19th - early 20th centuries, these two lands were divided between two imperial powers – Russia and Austria-Hungary. Eastern Galicia, Northern Bukovyna, and the Transcarpatian regions belonged to Austria. Other historically Ukrainian lands were joined to the Russian empire at different times. Thus, the North (Slobozhanschina) and the South, the left-bank and the right-bank Ukraine composed a single territorial unit, amounting to ninety percent of Ukrainian lands and is known as “Upper-Dnieper Ukraine,” also referred to as “Greater Ukraine.” Therefore, the East of Ukraine, its industrial heart, is the most economically advanced region of the country. Being historically and geopolitically related to Russia, it has a Eurasian identity, and its population, for the most part, is Orthodox and linguistically Russian. The West of Ukraine is an agrarian area, its population being mainly rural, linguistically Ukrainian and Greek Catholic. Intrinsically connected to West Europe, this part of the country is influenced by its culture, identities, and mentality. The discrepancies in the social and geopolitical history of these “two” Ukraines predefined the specificities in their gender and household organizations and in their gender histories, respectively. Equally, the

distinctions between women's social spaces entailed somewhat different strategies of their entrance into the public space and professionalization.

There are indications that the South of Ukraine in the wake of the 20th century developed a multidimensional system of professional training for women, incorporating a number of tracks:²²

- the pedagogical track was represented by teachers' seminaries, church pedagogical schools, pedagogical courses affiliated to teachers' gymnasiums and parish colleges;
- the medical track covered dentists' and midwives' schools, obstetricians' courses, and so forth;
- the commercial track included trade classes and schools of elementary commerce, commercial colleges, and courses for commerce skills;
- the agricultural track incorporated agricultural colleges and gymnasiums courses;
- the artistic track embraced music schools, classes, and courses, as well as schools of painting and the such.

Meanwhile, despite the large-scale social participation of women and their acquisition of traditionally male professions, equality of rights was not on the agenda, while gender discrimination persisted, being relocated from the private to the public sphere. This discrimination was mirrored in the gender gaps in wages, choice of professions, educational possibilities, and so forth. Most educational institutions for girls survived due to enrollment fees and private and public donations, but they all lacked state support and, therefore, there were few possibilities for them to grow and develop.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, a meaningful role in the area of public education in the South of Ukraine was played by the Novorossiysk Union of Researchers in Nature, whose members tried to craft a system of higher education for women as early as in 1870s. Yet, at that stage it did not succeed in finding a practical implementation. At the same time, public lectures in natural and mathematical sciences taught at this union, played a pivotal role in the deployment of the tradition of women's higher education in the Black Sea area. At the onset of the possibility, two-thirds of auditors were women, and thenceforward they outnumbered men. These lectures gradually developed into pedagogical courses for women, and later on, into higher education courses. They supplied the country with skilled medical and teaching personnel at no expense to the state, but for the account of women themselves and their families.

Meanwhile, in the West of Ukraine, which belonged to Austria, the Galician women could obtain higher education primarily in highly westernized teachers' seminaries in Lviv (Czech utraquist curriculum) and in Peremyshl (Polish curriculum), none of which had Ukrainian as a

language of instruction. It was observed that the Ukrainian ethnic language, culture, literature, and traditions were not only neglected by the seminaries, but were often scorned. After graduation, the would-be teachers, raised up in hostility to everything Ukrainian, could neither speak the language of their surrounding nor were familiar with the realities of life which they were supposed to teach to their pupils.²³ The bitter experience of the overall polonization in the system of higher education for women incited West Ukrainian intellectuals to seek opportunities to establish institutions more favorable to national traditions. Thus, in early 1890s, a cloister institute for nuns was founded in Lviv. As a private institution, it was not liable to rigorous control by local authorities. Therefore, it could afford a more liberal curriculum, covering, on the one hand, European languages and cultures, and on the other hand, Ukrainian history, literature, music and arts, ethnic cuisine, pottery, sewing, embroidery, and so on. Studies at the institute were accessible not only to Catholic nuns, but also to girls from comprehensive schools. There, they could acquire knowledge in the above subjects, which were not taught at their own schools. The deployment of the system of professional training for women in Western Ukraine was lagging behind compared to Greater Ukraine, given that the numbers of educational institutions there were tangibly smaller. Aware of this regional asymmetry, the tsarist government assigned political significance to this issue and assumed complete responsibility for the financial provision of professional colleges for women in western areas, in particular in Volyn, but favoring those among them which maintained rigorous control over the conduct and thinking of female students.²⁴

Impact of Higher Education on the Gender Identities and Ethics of Ukrainian Women

The legislation of that period lacked legal protection for maternity and childbirth. The system of public health-care provision was not in charge for medical assistance during pregnancy and child-delivery and, therefore, these services were scarcely provided to females within the institutional framework. For example, historical documents evidenced that in 1913 the overall number of clinical cots for pregnant women and recently confined mothers in the Upper-Dnieper Ukraine amounted 1200 as compared to 7500 over the Russian empire.²⁵ At the same time, abortions were illegal and implied severe sanctions for incompliance. A woman accused of illegal abortion could forfeit her civil status and be sent in exile to Siberia.

In the second half of the 19th century, when women's rights to higher education and paid work aroused a lively public debate and a variety of critical appraisals, a wide range of new related issues emerged, such as women's social status and public activity, family relationship, patterns

of maternity and nursing, etc. Like elsewhere in Europe, the Ukrainian public consensus shared Jean Rousseau's views on female education as a prerequisite for quality services to men. Civic and patriotic motherhood, it was believed, was a women's mode of citizenship, while education of mothers was a "national obligation."²⁶ As has been common throughout history, it was war (in this case, the Crimean war of 1856) that foregrounded the key social concerns of the time, in particular, the status of women and mothers. The case in point, heatedly discussed in newspapers and magazines, was the education of mothers. The reasoning behind it was that a "new mother" had to reconfigure herself to be able to train her children to be prepared to the new social environment and fit well into the new historical conditions of socialization.²⁷ Starting in the 1850s, the publication of books, periodicals on the so-called "women's issue" and motherhood, increased dramatically. The medical thought of the late 19th century also drew close attention to it, with the focus on the definition and classification of women's reproduction, which together with motherhood, was seen as central to a female's life. It is argued that a new emphasis on motherhood throughout that period involved "colonization of the female body for domestic life, with a consequent denial to women of their sexuality."²⁸ As observed by Caine and Sluga, the conceptualization of details of maternity, pregnancy, childbirth, breast-feeding, and nursing made "voluntary motherhood" a matter of heated discussion.²⁹ Medical, clerical and pedagogical literature promoted breast-feeding as the core moral value for a woman, something good both for herself, for the health of her children, and for the nation at large. The vogue of breast-feeding was pinned on a new language and on a series of images which depicted the maternal breast as the "fountain of both physical and moral nourishment."³⁰ At the same time, the issues of sexual emancipation, reproductive freedom, birth control and contraception, along with the right to a divorce and freedom of choice in a marriage partner were also central to public debate, being reinforced by the changing roles of women in society, their higher public participation, and by the growing number of female doctors in the medical profession, especially gynecologists who had been educated mainly in western European universities.³¹

Among young women, the perception of their role in society -- as well as their world view -- was changing. Educated women could no longer accept their social space as being limited to the private sphere of family, marriage, and motherhood. On the other hand, the changing consciousness of women entailed the amendment of gender relations in society at large, and could not help but affect male gender perceptions and standards. As Smolyar observed, it resulted in the emergence of the "repenting male" type, who was ready to reconsider gender relations.³² In this context, it comes as no surprise that the responsibility for the rise of the insurgent Decembrists

movement in the first half of the 19th century was often assigned by contemporaries to the impact of their liberally educated mothers.

Throughout this period, women became more externalized, proactive, and publicly involved. More and more of them opted out of family and marriage as the means to provide for themselves. Women began to play unconventional roles in society, and therefore, life demanded a new concept of femininity, a new image of a woman's identity, different both internally and externally. This entailed more than a change in women's status alone: it required the transformation of the lifestyle of society at large. Throughout the second half of the 19th century women, struggling for their civil and educational rights, had been creating a new image of a woman as a "business person," that is, an independent, educated, and self-reliant individual. For young women at that time, freedom in the choice of outfits was equal to the struggle for the right to an education and the autonomy in the choice of a marriage partner, profession, and career. Thus, a dress became one of the principal means of asserting emancipation. In the late 19th century, the "dress reform movement," already underway in Europe and the United States, aimed at enabling a greater freedom of physical movement by liberating women from heavy undergarments and whalebone corsets.³³ The goal of this reform was naturally supported by Ukrainian female students, although the so-called "Bloomer costume," so popular among Western "libs" did not find many followers among the Orthodox youth because its main attributes -- knee-length skirt worn over voluminous, baggy pantaloons -- were perceived as a sign of the Muslim identity and alien to the Christian tradition. Therefore, women in pants were not numerous on the streets of Ukrainian university cities.

The reconceptualization of femininity, carried out by the image of a "new, emancipated woman," was not always perceived positively by the patriarchal society, intimidated by the spread of ideas of "free love," denial of orthodox family values, and independent thinking bereft of the influence of Christian values and moral traditions. Therefore, the "women's issue" was perceived "not as a separate problem, but as one of manifestations of social ills."³⁴ A female student was referred to as "*instytutka*" (an institute girl) coined by analogy to a prostitute, "*prostytutka*". She was portrayed as a "nihilist,"³⁵ with her hair cut short, dressed bleak, gloomy, untidy, smoking a cigarette, wearing glasses and described as "externally a hermaphrodites, while internally a real Cain."³⁶ It is argued that the feminine beauty of the time was decadent, morbid, androgynous, and bisexual, although young women themselves perceived it as an expressions of "true freedom."³⁷ A classical Ukrainian "institute girl" matched a generalized image of an educated European woman of the time by her non-conformist opinions, extravagant behavior, and embarrassing "men's manners."³⁸ Strong resist-

ance by a large segment of society to the emancipation of women incited young females' propensity for even more belligerent and rampant actions than they themselves implied, thus challenging the middle class public. Yet, although "institute girls" were not numerous, the fact of their existence *per se* proved that educated females were acquiring a social status equal to that of educated males, becoming citizens with their own social, intellectual, and spiritual values.

Influence of Women's Exteriorization on the Social Reorganization of Family and Marriage

An analysis of the available pedagogical scholarship shows that generally, the growth in the level of women's education affects family roles. The higher the level of education a woman can afford, the more likely she is to remain single, to hold a professional job, or to continue employment outside the home while married with children. She is also less likely to be part of a family in which members follow traditional sex-differentiated roles.³⁹ For that matter, the issues of unsuccessful marriages and unwelcomed or forced family bonds became central to social transformations during the second half of the 19th century, entailing a reform in the divorce procedure and in the institution of marriage more generally. The unwillingness of the state and society to grant women access to higher education was not the only constraint on their way to emancipation. Most often, it was the family who created the major obstacles to the exteriorization of females. The economic dependency, first on the parents and then on the husband, the obsolete legal regulations and practices of inheritance, and the conservative ethical norms in regard to females induced them to seek self-realization outside the family. Family upheavals and conflicts between generations, especially between daughters and parents, became a hallmark of the time. Sofia Kovalevska, a prominent mathematician of the 19th century, noted in her memoirs that intergenerational ideological clashes were very common in families of the urban middle class and often could be the main reason why children were abandoning their parents and why the elder generation was rejecting its daughters and sons.⁴⁰

This period is sometimes depicted by historians as "a pandemics of home escapes" among the younger generation of women. For them, it entailed a tangibly higher risk than for their male counterparts, considering that an independent woman living outside her parents' or husband's home was socially stigmatized, treated as a "nihilist," and condemned as immoral. In the early 1860s, a noble girl's escape from the family was labeled as an outrageous and even a adventurous step (and which none but the courageous few could afford), although only a decade later it had already become a track followed by many women who did not want to live the placid lives of their foremothers. The situation was even more

dramatic for young married or engaged women, who either did not want to depend on their husbands any longer, or were reluctant to marry or stay in a forced marriage. Dependency on a spouse and limited freedom of movement were exacerbated by the fact that married women were not liable to hold identification documents (e.g., passports). Furthermore, legal regulations required a woman to have a license from her husband to be able to leave her place of residence, to seek employment, to receive university training, or to pursue a profession. In such conditions, a fake marriage was the only possible, albeit the most radical, way to escape pressures of the paternal family and undesirable spousal bonds. Such an arrangement allowed females a viable option against the familial control as well as a strategy for obtaining personal liberty, which opened doors to education and careers, and respectively, to financial independence. A fake marriage was a hazardous step to make for both partners, but especially for a woman, because at that time marriage implied serious obligations to a spouse, family, and society. Moreover, in many instances it was legalized not merely through a formal civil registration procedure, but required a traditional church wedding ceremony, which imposed serious moral and spiritual obligations on marriage partners. To dissolve this "god blessed" family union was not an easy venture either in legal or in ethical terms, let alone in terms of human investment. Many young women, however, dared it even despite a conceivable dependency on a fake husband - an "honorable knight-the-rescuer," because for them it was an opportunity to escape the authority of the paternal family, to make their own choices in life, and to have doors open to the world of knowledge and professional self-realization. The fake marriage enabled some talented women not only to receive university degrees, but also to become internationally renowned "bonneted academicians,"⁴¹ and make a tangible contribution into the World science. One of them was the mathematician Sofia Kovalevska (Korvin-Krukovska at birth), who was born in rural Poltava to a noble family with liberal views. To receive her university training abroad, Korvin-Krukovska arranged a fake marriage with an editor, Volodymyr Kovalevsky. The arrangement enabled her to be enrolled in a German university, first in Heidelberg then in Berlin. In 1874, she received a research degree in Göttingen. In 1889, she secured a position of a professor at Stockholm University and later became the first woman to have the title of a distinguished member of the French Academy of Sciences conferred upon her. Nevertheless, at home, despite her remarkable academic credentials, Kovalevska did not find opportunities for professional self-realization. Hence, by the early 1900s, many middle-class women in Ukraine -- as elsewhere in Europe and North America -- had already experienced of "the taste of freedom before marriage."⁴² This period of personal independence could not help but influence women's

attitudes toward themselves and their new roles within the family and society.

Conclusion

Throughout the history of modern civilization, the private domain was the principal area for women's socialization. In the second half of the 19th and in the early 20th century it still remained mainly so in Ukraine, as elsewhere in the Russian empire. Females were not welcomed into intellectual professional careers, viewed as a traditionally male social space. Their possibilities for public self-realization were limited to cultural, educational, and charitable activities mainly in private foundations. This historical period, however, was benchmarked by the beginning of the social (re-)organization of Ukrainian women as an educated class. The key preconditions for this process were the abolition of serfdom and the deployment of capitalist production, followed by large-scale reforms in the social domain, which opened doors for the professional engagement of women. The movement for the emancipation of women enabled them to gain the right to higher education and professional training, which further encouraged their entrance into the public space on a par with men. Like their sisters in other East European countries, the Ukrainian women who pioneered the professional emancipation of their gender (especially those who received degrees at West-European universities) cleared the path to self-reliance and independence for subsequent generations of women. These women, due to their education, began the climb to significant positions within the sociopolitical hierarchy of society.⁴³ At the same time, historical data suggest that women who struggled for their own place in the public sphere faced multiple discriminations; yet, at that stage, they have displayed little overt discontent on this account, primarily due to the fact that men who did not belong to upper classes were also discriminated against.

The process of entrance into the public space shaped new social values and goals for this generation of "new women" who rejected the idea of "home as the woman's place"⁴⁴ and aimed to find their own legitimacy in the world of intellectual labor and social activism. Their principal goal was occupational emancipation as a prerequisite for economic independence and personal liberty. This objective predefined another priority - obtaining access to higher education and professional careers as a form of intellectual and spiritual emancipation, which in turn demanded the development of self-reliance as an individual quality necessary for the women of this new generation. Pursing these objectives allowed women to tangibly augment their personal life space, primarily for the use of public space as a new possibility for social self-realization.

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NOTES

- 1 See Lyudmyla Smolyar (2006).
- 2 Lyubov Fadeeva, p. 369.
- 3 Patricia Sexton, p. 75.
- 4 Jeanette E. Tuve, p. 39.
- 5 See Elena Likhacheva.
- 6 See Natalya Pushkareva.
- 7 V...ya (1858), taken from Elena Jidkova, p. 88.
- 8 Julie A. Matthaei, p. 258.
- 9 Lyudmyla Smolyar, 1998, p. 69.
- 10 Lyudmyla Ershova, p. 140.
- 11 See Olexandr V. Bilyuk.
- 12 See Kateryna A. Kobchenko.
- 13 Lyudmyla Smolyar, 2006, 402
- 14 See Stefanie Brander.
- 15 See Jadwiga Suchmiel.
- 16 See Christian Poulsen.
- 17 Elena Jidkova, p. 89.
- 18 See Linda M. Vögel.
- 19 Cathy Porter, p. 41; taken from Pushkareva, p. 369.
- 20 Taken from Lyudmyla Smolyar (1998).
- 21 See Tamara Kovalenko.
- 22 See Viktoria Dobrovolska.
- 23 See Rajisa Dysak.
- 24 See Olexandr V. Bilyuk.
- 25 *Zhenschina v SSSR* (1979), taken from Lyudmyla Smolyar (1998), p. 53.
- 26 Karen Offen, p. 47; taken from Krassimira Daskalova, p. 415.
- 27 See Varvara Ponomaryova and Lyubov' Khoroshilova.
- 28 Ruth Perry, p. 167; taken from Barbara Caine and Glenda Sluga, p. 39.
- 29 See Barbara Caine and Glenda Sluga.
- 30 Ibid., 39.
- 31 See Jadwiga Suchmiel.
- 32 Lyudmyla Smolyar, 2006, 402.
- 33 See Helene E. Roberts.
- 34 See Natalya Pushkareva.
- 35 "Nihilist" is a word, coined by a Russian writer Ivan Tourghenev, and used in his novel "Fathers and Sons" to designate a person, negating traditional social values.
- 36 Citovic (1878), taken from Elena Jidkova, p. 90.
- 37 See Varvara Ponomaryova and Lyubov' Khoroshilova.
- 38 Krassimira Daskalova, p. 415.
- 39 See Marie Richmond-Abbot.
- 40 Sofja Kovalevskaja, p. 57.
- 41 Anna Eremeeva, p. 342.
- 42 See Lois Banner.
- 43 Jadwiga Suchmiel, p. 553.
- 44 Barbara Caine and Glenda Sluga, p. 130.

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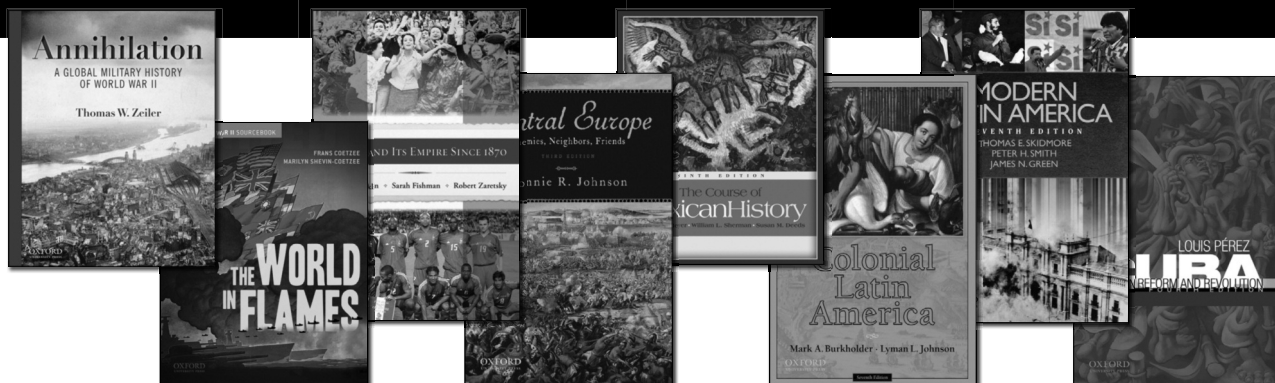
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